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IDENTITY, VISIBILITY AND LEGITIMACY IN

TURKISH CYPRIOT TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

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Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the

requirements for the PhD degree

University of Kent at Canterbury

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## A B S T R A C T

### IDENTITY, VISIBILITY AND LEGITIMACY IN TURKISH CYPRIOT TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Since the division of Cyprus in 1974, political, cultural and economic means have been used to underpin and legitimise the conflicting national claims of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities. Turkish Cypriot efforts to develop tourism in the north and to market Northern Cyprus as a tourist attraction highlight the contested identity of Cyprus and place of Turkish Cypriots in its past, present and future.

The aim of this thesis is to explore the issues of Turkish Cypriot identity, visibility and legitimacy through the lens of tourism development in the north. Access to the capital resources of land and finance; business relationships and job-seeking behaviour; and the packaging of local culture and the construction of history and landscape for tourists, are all analysed in terms of their relevance to the goal of "tanıtma" [lit: "making known"], which is a central concept in Turkish Cypriot tourism development, and which can be understood in three ways: as the activity of marketing and promoting tourism in Northern Cyprus; as the goal of gaining international recognition for the existence of a Turkish Cypriot political, social and cultural entity; and as the project of creating and making known to its own citizens a Turkish Cypriot state based simultaneously on the idea of historical continuity - the long-standing presence of Turks in Cyprus and their cultural imprint on the island - with discontinuity - the creation of a Turkish Cypriot state in the north.

The thesis also incorporates an examination of the relationship between tourism and anthropological theory in order to offer a critique of models of culture, identity and causation which feature widely in the tourism literature. I examine the encounter between the "professionalised" international tourism sector and internal social networks; between "hosts" and "guests"; and between locals and migrant workers; and discuss how the meanings generated by these encounters illuminate the issues of identity, culture and boundaries, and the categories of "inside" and "outside".



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Responsibility for the findings and views presented in these pages is mine alone. Parts of this thesis are due to appear in forthcoming publications:

a version of chapter seven as "Sexual and National Boundaries in Tourism" in volume 22 of *Annals of Tourism Research*;

parts of chapter five in a revised and expanded form as "Chances and Choices: Women and Tourism in Northern Cyprus", in *Tourism and Gender*, edited by Thea Sinclair (London: Routledge).



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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

My initial approach to tourism was shaped by what I had observed as a tourist in Turkey in the mid 1980s, and my subsequent reading of the literature on tourism. I framed my enquiry in terms of the impact of rapid development and the presence of large numbers of foreign tourists on small "traditional" communities; however, when I eventually started fieldwork in Northern Cyprus, the conditions of tourism development I found there did not fit in with my expectations or research framework. I was struck by the contrast between the obvious significance attached to tourism in the media, public pronouncements, and the plans of individuals, and its insignificance in terms of GDP and numbers of tourists. In the late 1980s, tourism, along with the rest of the economy, had experienced something of a boom, largely fuelled by the activities of Asil Nadir's Polly Peck corporation. At its height, approximately 250,000 tourists had visited Northern Cyprus, more than 75% of whom came from Turkey; compared with more than a million tourists in the south of the island, of whom 30% came from Britain. When I arrived at the beginning of 1991, tourism was struggling in the aftermath of the Gulf War and the collapse of Polly Peck. New hotels stood empty, and the newspapers were full of reports of bankruptcy and sequestered assets. At the time of writing (late 1994), tourist numbers have still not recovered to their pre-1990 level, yet as an idea, tourism retains its high profile and status as leading sector of



the economy. My aim of trying to find out about the effects of tourism development in Northern Cyprus changed to trying to find out what tourism in Northern Cyprus is about - what wider social processes and meanings it embodies - and ways to approach this problem theoretically.

In this introduction I retrace my steps through the literature, as I tried to find an approach which synthesised ideas and findings about tourism with the wider issues which surfaced in the course of fieldwork. As Nash and Smith (1991) have pointed out, work on tourism is notable for its crossing of disciplinary boundaries, and over the years a considerable body of literature has built up. A recent issue of *Annals of Tourism Research* was devoted to a review of the different approaches to tourism adopted by the various social science branches, and included papers on anthropology (Nash and Smith 1991), ecology (Farrell and Runyan 1991), economics (Eadington and Redman 1991), geography (Mitchell and Murphy 1991), history (Towner and Wall 1991), sociology (Dann and Cohen 1991), political science (Matthews and Richter 1991) and psychology (Pearce and Stringer 1991). Others have examined the planning, marketing and development aspects of tourism (Burkhart and Medlik 1974; Mathieson and Wall 1982; Pearce 1989). Important contributions to theoretical developments in the sociology of tourism have been made by Cohen (1972; 1979; 1984; 1988); whilst themes and trends in the anthropological study of tourism have been reviewed by Graburn (1983), Wilson (1993) and Wood (1993). It is beyond the scope of this introduction to cover the whole range of tourism issues, which have in any case been comprehensively reviewed by the writers cited above. My discussion of the tourism literature is necessarily selective: my intention is to relate developments in the anthropological study of tourism to wider developments in anthropological theory.

I start by contrasting early anthropological and sociological responses to tourism, and consider the theoretical limitations of the attempt to

constitute tourism as an anthropological subject. I then examine some of the fundamental shifts in the ways anthropology approaches its subject: the reassessment of the concept of "places" and how they embody culture, and the discovery of travel and space as ways of constructing knowledge and identity; and I consider the uses these approaches make of tourism. I suggest that tourism in Northern Cyprus is intimately linked to the issues of Turkish Cypriot identity, visibility and legitimacy, and set out the theoretical approach and procedure adopted in this thesis. I examine some of the problems of methodology and give details of how fieldwork was conducted; and end with a note on the terminology of the "Cyprus issue".

#### EARLY ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESPONSES TO TOURISM

One of the first articles by an anthropologist concerning tourism was Nunez's 1963 study of "Weekendismo in a Mexican Village", yet despite this early interest, and tourism's massive growth since then in terms both of volume and economic importance to become the world's largest industry, anthropologists have been slow to take on tourism as a legitimate field of serious interest.

The reasons for this early reluctance to engage with tourism reflect both methodological concerns and the views, current in the 1960s and 1970s, about what properly constituted the anthropological project. Writing of the problems of anthropology in the Mediterranean region, Davis considered that mediterraneanists suffered from "professional insecurity" stemming from "... a sense that anthropology is only anthropology if it is done very much abroad, in unpleasant conditions, in societies which are very different from the ethnographer's native habitat, very different from the sort of place where he might go on holiday" (Davis 1977:7). Holidaying was not a subject for serious anthropology, but a distraction: too familiar to enable the anthropologist to experience the "cultural disorientation" which is part of anthropological



method, or the discomfort of fieldwork in the "backwoods" (ibid:7) which is also a rite of passage marking entry into the professional body of anthropology (Jarvie 1984).

Although anthropologists may have strived to avoid tourism and tourists, with the spread of mass tourism and the inclusion of long-haul destinations in standard tourist itineraries, anthropologists increasingly came across tourists in the course of fieldwork; tourism, therefore began to intrude into the "peripheral" areas which were the traditional stamping ground of anthropology, and much of the early published material on tourism was a spin-off from other work (eg M Redclift 1973a, 1973b; and the contributions of Hudson, N Redclift, Heppenstall and Wade to Bailey 1973, a collection that dealt with innovation in peasant societies).

In the 1960s and early 1970s anthropology dealt with tourism largely in terms of its impact on the communities which anthropologists were studying, adopting a "black box" approach to the subject of tourism itself, which was treated as simply another variety of industrial input. Studies focused on dramatic and rapid changes in the local economy, loci of authority, land use patterns and value systems. As the communities in which anthropologists were working were largely agricultural, a lot of attention was paid to the fate of agriculture, both as an economic activity and in terms of the socio-cultural institutions with which it was linked. Tourism was seen as an "agent of change", in which rapid economic growth was "superimposed on pre-existing economic and social arrangements in a way that industrialisation is not, because the beneficiaries do not have to leave their homes in order to participate in it" (Greenwood 1972). Both Greenwood and Redclift, working in different locations in Spain (Greenwood in a small Basque town and Redclift in a village in the Pyrenees), identified the main changes as decreasing reliance on ties of mutual help and obligation, competitive consumerism, a



breakdown in relations between the local population and the municipal government, development of an occupation-based class structure and the formation of new interest groups linked to outside interests, and the decline of agriculture (Greenwood 1972; M Redclift 1973a, 1973b). Rambaud, who drew on evidence of rural tourism development in France, also characterised tourism as an "urbanising" force which marginalises those sections of the rural population left working in agriculture, resulting in polarisation and relative impoverishment in the countryside (Rambaud 1967). As the economist Bryden, himself a strong critic of the effects of tourism, pointed out, the findings presented by anthropologists tended to counter the enthusiastic promotion of tourism by development agencies convinced of its economic benefits to developing countries (Bryden 1973), and were marked by disapproval, and sometimes outright condemnation, of tourism. Forster, for example, condemned the growth of a "cash nexus" replacing the "moral nexus" of small communities, and the reduction of ceremony to the "fake culture" of spectacle, arguing that these developments represent "latent costs" outweighing the benefits of tourism (Forster 1964; cf also Barley 1990; Jordan 1980; Greenwood 1989).

#### SOCIOLOGICAL RESPONSES TO TOURISM

Whilst anthropologists were documenting the effects of tourism in particular communities in short ethnographic papers, a few book-length treatments of tourism appeared, which broadened the perspective to include tourists' own societies, and set a theoretical agenda.

Turner and Ash's 1975 book The Golden Hordes provided an historical and literary perspective on tourism, from the days of ancient Roman "proto-tourism" on the Campanian littoral, through the European Grand Tour of the 17th and 18th centuries, to the changes on the French Riviera as, from being the elite playground of the bohemian set which included the Fitzgeralds and

the Murphys, it is "vulgarised" by the arrival of tourist masses in search of the sun. Turner and Ash's account was an essentially one-sided view of tourism: developments in tourist resorts are dictated by conditions and fashions in the home societies of the tourists, motivated by the intellectual and aesthetic trends of the Enlightenment, Rousseauesque romanticism, or the stylised simplicity of the Jazz Age. The writers associated tourism with a positively sanctioned form of deviant behaviour, which constructs whole areas as a "pleasure periphery" where local people and their cultures are reduced to a picturesque backdrop for the tourists' hedonistic pursuits. Apart from the drifter/hippie traveller, only one type of tourist emerged from this study: affluent, conservative, politically apathetic, ignorant, vulgar, crass, racist, and an advocate of the Victorian self-help ethic. Little wonder that the writers concluded that "... tourism is socially corrosive and should be controlled" (Turner and Ash 1975:288).

The Golden Hordes is a particularly outspoken example of what de Kadt has referred to as one of the "expressions of outrage" (de Kadt 1990) about tourism which characterised much early work and which was often a substitute for analysis. In this respect it is more interesting as an illustration of a particular attitude to tourism than for its insights into the tourist phenomenon, but it did raise some issues, which were given more measured treatment by other writers, concerning definitions of tourism, tourist motivation and behaviour, and the part the ideological superstructure of the tourists' home society plays in shaping the type of tourism abroad. One year after the appearance of The Golden Hordes, these themes were addressed in MacCannell's ground-breaking book The Tourist (MacCannell 1976). Influenced by Durkheim, and employing a structuralist analysis, MacCannell propounded the view that the mass popularity of tourism came about in response to the unprecedented differentiation of modern society. The tourist attempts to



overcome the anomic fragmentation accompanying modernisation by seeking out authentic experiences, which are generally organised and presented in the form of spectacle. In contrast to the stereotype of the hedonistic tourist boor presented by Turner and Ash, MacCannell's tourists were earnest and hardworking in their pursuit of authenticity. In an analysis which drew heavily on Goffmann's frontstage/backstage distinction and the dramaturgical approach to social situations (Goffmann 1959), MacCannell equated the authentic with the backstage and the intimate. He argued that the presentation of the backstage world of work constitutes one of the main forms of tourist attraction, accounting for the popularity of attractions such as the tours of the Paris sewers. He proposed a new type of international division of "cultural" labour based on leisure: to the modern complex is added

... a complex of countertendencies for traditional folks to dramatise their backwardness as a way of fitting themselves in the total design of modern society as attractions ... The common goal of both ethnography and tourism is to determine the point at which forced traditionalism ceases to base itself on the truths of day to day existence and begins to crystallise as a survival strategy, a cultural service stop for modern man. (MacCannell 1976:000)

In MacCannell's analysis, mass tourism arose as a response to a collective representation which characterised it as a modern phenomenon. Less than twenty years later, however, Urry's The Tourist Gaze presented tourism as the ultimate postmodern experience (Urry 1990). Unlike MacCannell's tourists, the postmodern tourist - or the "post-tourist" - was not necessarily searching for the authentic. In a world of mass media and the proliferation of images mixing "high" and "low" culture, the commercial and the serious, the post-tourist may, according to Urry, enjoy the inauthenticity of the tourist situation in a mode of self-conscious playfulness. Front and backstage divisions are broken down, and "... everything is a copy, or a text upon a text, where what is fake seems more real than the real" (Urry 1990:85). Influenced by Foucault's work on the clinic, Urry's analysis of tourism



examined how the tourist "gaze" is socially organised and systematised, and classified tourist sites according to the type of gaze brought to them. These fell into two main types: the romantic gaze, which relies for effect on the enjoyment of solitude and absence of other tourists; and the collective gaze, in which part of the enjoyment is the presence of sometimes large numbers of others. Urry categorised the romantic gaze as an essentially middle class and elitist mode of enjoyment, and argued that it has become the normative perspective underlying criticisms of the effects of (working class) mass tourism.

Urry backed his analysis with an examination of the institutions which construct and support the tourist gaze. These include

... an array of tourist professionals ... who attempt to reproduce ever-new objects of the tourist gaze. These objects are located in a complex and changing hierarchy. This depends upon the interplay between, on the one hand, competition between interests involved in the provision of such objects and, on the other hand, changing class, gender, generational distinctions of taste within the potential population of visitors. (ibid:3-4)

In the UK, a few major holiday companies, such as the Thompson Group and the International Leisure Group, dominate the market, and through their organisational infrastructure in destinations abroad, and their use of advertising at home, they are able to shape both the expectations of tourists and the fulfillment of these expectations in the holiday resorts, from the "service with a smile" at hotel reception to the orchestrated "hyper-reality" of the heritage industry.

The studies examined above adopted a broad sweep approach to the study of tourism, working with "ideal types" of tourists which inevitably oversimplified the diversity and range of tourists, their goals and experiences. Some of their theoretical insights were, however, valuable in informing the traditionally more small-scale anthropological case studies which had neglected the ways in which tourism is generated "at home" and the issue of

tourists' motivations. They demonstrated the importance of considering the tourism process as a continuum, with the beliefs and expectations shaped in the tourists' own cultures interacting with those of their "hosts" to influence events in the tourist destinations. This point was taken up in one recent anthropological study of the work of tour packagers, which analysed tourism as a "culturally constituted good" and concluded: "For the destination areas, it may be impossible to understand completely the host-guest interactions without reference to the generating situation" (Reimer 1990:510). MacCannell and Urry also introduced a more sophisticated analysis of the issue of authenticity: whereas Forster, and later Greenwood (1977) dismissed the touristic packaging of culture as an inauthentic fake which damages and demeans local systems of meaning, MacCannell and Urry treated "the authentic" as a category susceptible to manipulation, elaboration and play. Increasingly, these insights were incorporated into anthropological approaches to tourism.

#### TOURISM AS AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SUBJECT

It was in the late 1970s that anthropological interest in the study of tourism took off, and a number of studies began to appear which were devoted to this issue. Most of these were collections of empirical studies undertaken specifically within a tourism framework. Collections edited by Valene Smith covered tourism and economic change (1978a); tourism and behaviour (1978b); and the classic collection of anthropological studies Hosts and Guests (1977; second edition 1989). De Kadt's Tourism: Passport to Development?, published in 1979, collected contributions on the social, economic and cultural effects of tourism in developing countries. Anthropologists were also regular contributors to "Annals of Tourism Research", which started publication in 1973 and has devoted two special issues to anthropological perspectives on



tourism. Departments of anthropology in the USA have been offering courses on tourism for more than a decade (Jafari 1981); since the early 1990s tourism has also featured in the undergraduate teaching of anthropology at some universities in the UK (eg London University's School of Oriental and African Studies), and in 1989 the first Masters programme in the anthropology of tourism opened at Roehampton Institute.

Research from the late 1970s onward differed from earlier work in that anthropologists began to "unpack" the black box of tourism. The proliferation of case studies revealed a high degree of variation in the manifestations and effects of tourism. In the introduction to Hosts and Guests, Smith distinguished between ethnic, cultural, historical, environmental and recreational tourism, and noted that each category attracts different types of tourists, and makes different demands on the locality, although one type of tourism may evolve or merge into another (Smith 1977a). Variations in travel behaviour were also picked on as determinants of the cultural impact of tourism, with frequency (whether occasional, regular or extensive) and style (rapid movement, fast-paced touring, leisurely movement, exploratory, multi-destination or multi-purpose) of travel determining the nature and extent of interaction with "hosts" (Nolan and Nolan 1978).

Research also began to distinguish determinants of different types of development in destination areas. In 1964, Forster proposed three stages in a processual model of tourism development, from discovery of a location by a few tourists, through local response and initiative, as greater numbers of tourists come and the community adapts to meet the new demands, to institutionalisation, as the whole local economy is geared towards tourism. Cohen, however, criticised the notion of a unilinear process. In a 1979 article, he categorised two different types of development, according to the degree of local and outside control of business: organic, which corresponds



to Forster's process outlined above; and induced, where institutionalisation takes place in the initial stage, and facilities are managed by outsiders with little local participation (Cohen 1979).

Attention began to be paid to the issue of causation. Earlier research had tended to emphasise the dramatic changes in tourism areas, and to imply that tourism was the sole cause of these changes. Later studies identified areas of social and cultural continuity, and the contexts of wider social, political and economic developments in which tourism occurred. A study of tourism development in the Caribbean demonstrated that the employment patterns, income distribution, and the role of expatriates which existed on Caribbean islands before tourism were not changed but replicated in the type of tourism development on each island (Young 1977); whilst a study of the Greek island of Mykonos identified changes in employment and consumption patterns, social relationships and cultural practices, but argued that these changes were due to the higher incomes earned in tourism, the effects of TV and cinema, and the desire to emulate the fashions of metropolitan Greece, rather than just to the presence of tourists (Stott 1978). Other studies found continuities between tourism development and the experience of colonisation, in terms of an ongoing relationship between the "periphery" and "metropolitan centres" which continued to determine both the provision of infrastructure and the actual and symbolic content of relationships between tourists and "hosts" (Farrell 1979; Smith 1977b; Manning 1979; Nash 1977; Erisman 1983).

With the increase in published case studies it became clear that tourism is not a uniform phenomenon, and that it interacts with events and conditions in the destination areas. The development of typologies of tourism and tourists resulted in more sophisticated analyses than had been possible when tourism was treated as an undifferentiated input. Anthropologists also

acknowledged the need to avoid value judgments on the effects of tourism, and to evaluate them against local ideas of development which are the outcome of local negotiation and conflict (Boissevain 1977; Wallman 1977; Nash 1981; Mormont 1987; de Kadt 1990; Wood 1993).

This phase of the anthropology of tourism was characterised by attempts to define tourism and its place in anthropology (Wilson 1993). An article by Nash (1981) which appeared in *Current Anthropology* is particularly notable as a definitional exercise which generated a lively debate over the nature of the anthropological study of tourism and the direction it was taking. Nash's article attempted to define tourism as an "anthropological subject" by identifying uniquely anthropological perspectives - such as migration, play and pilgrimage - from which tourism could be approached. He argued that anthropological theory needed to be injected into the largely descriptive empirical case studies which were accumulating, and proposed a definition of tourism broad enough to be "cross-culturally, or even universally applicable", and which would be "compatible with existing anthropological theories and methods, so that by using it we can make some scientific progress" (Nash 1981:461). He suggested that anthropologists should move on from their preoccupation with modernisation, development or underdevelopment which, he argued, had been the only theoretical focus of studies of tourism's effects in host societies, and broaden their enquiries to take in the causes and types of tourism generated in the tourists' own societies. What was controversial was his implication that tourism could be viewed as a system with its own internal dynamic, and that anthropological research should be aimed at elucidating this system.

Whilst the responses to Nash's article broadly welcomed its publication in a leading anthropological journal as evidence that tourism had "arrived" as a field for serious academic study, many writers took issue with Nash's



assessment of the existing body of tourism literature and with his views on the future directions research should take. Several identified a contradiction between the desire to establish a unifying anthropological theory of tourism as a system with its own dynamic, and the desire to establish tourism as a legitimate topic of anthropological enquiry. Whilst aiming to "carve out a niche for anthropologists" (Dann 1981:470), the emphasis on cross-cultural similarities implicit in Nash's very broad definition of tourism neglected the issue of internal variation and difference which are the strength of small-scale anthropological studies (Cohen 1981; Manning 1981; Pi-Sunyer 1981), such that Wilson wondered "... in what way ... would an anthropology of tourism differ from a sociology of tourism, a psychology of tourism, an economics of tourism, or a politics of tourism?" (Wilson 1981:477). Hermans argued that the failure to make any significant theoretical contribution stemmed precisely from lack of clarity over what was actually being studied, since it was "by no means certain" that tourism does, infact, constitute a system with its own dynamic (Hermans 1981); whilst Smith suggested that "... more rigor and better insight would obtain if the methodology were reversed and tourism data were used to test established anthropological theory" (Smith 1981:475).

At issue in this debate was not only tourism's status as a sub-discipline of anthropology, but the relationship of the study of tourism to wider anthropological theory. In a recent article, for example, Wood has argued that "normative assumptions" about the positive and negative effects of tourism still underlie tourism research and are responsible for the persistence of models of tradition, authenticity and culture which have been overtaken by theoretical developments elsewhere - in particular, the developments associated with post modern cultural critiques (Wood 1993).



## TOURISM AS AN ELEMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL THEORY

Tourism had presented itself to anthropologists as a result of encounters in the course of fieldwork, and the issues continued to be pursued largely at the level of ethnography, with the findings from case studies generating empirical generalisations and second-order theory. Anthropologists engaged in the study of tourism were trying to establish a theoretical framework for tourism within anthropology; meanwhile, references to tourism started to multiply in the work of anthropologists not directly concerned with the study of tourism, in response to theoretical developments which were forcing a reassessment of anthropological approaches to culture, community, place, authorship and authority. Tourism appears to encapsulate many of the issues of globalisation and fragmentation which have increasingly exercised anthropology in the 1980s and 1990s, and is frequently co-opted in modern/postmodernist debates. In this section I examine the relationship between tourism and recent anthropological theory, and consider the implications for the study of tourism.

### The question of bounded cultures

In his 1977 book People of the Mediterranean, Davis offered a critical appraisal of the anthropology of "the mediterranean". One of the problems with "the mediterranean" as a category is that it unites under the head of one "culture zone" extremely diverse habitats, societies and cultures. As Davis noted: "... it seems unlikely that it is possible to generate an abstraction which would subsume all mediterranean societies and yet exclude the rest of the world" (Davis 1977:14). He argued that anthropologists' preoccupation with fieldwork in isolated communities has produced a static vision of a mediterranean of self-sufficient settlements, and that the resulting fragmentation has been compounded by a failure to be comparative; whereas what

binds the mediterranean together is a millenia-long history of movement, contact and exchange, backed by institutions and processes to facilitate interaction, which anthropologists have ignored.

Davis proposed breaking down the unit of the bounded community which was the traditional focus of anthropological fieldwork in order to realise the possibility of a broader unity beyond the village. In Europe and the People without History, Wolfe argued that the perspective should be broadened still further. He presented a history of movement, of a dynamic world of relationships formed across spaces following trade routes, migratory paths and the expansion of empires, and deconstructed the concepts of "nation", "society" and "culture", which "name bits and threaten to turn names into things" (Wolfe 1982:3). His project was a revision of the Western history which silences and disempowers subjugated groups by denying them their own active histories. In the process, he emphasised the fluidity and interconnectedness of the world as "... a whole, a totality, a system, instead of as a sum of self-contained societies and cultures ..." (ibid:385).

Several anthropologists have taken on the implications of these arguments for the study of "bounded" communities, replacing the notion of discrete "culture essences" with attention to the social relations which construct fluid, permeable and cross-cutting boundaries (Goody 1992; Eriksen 1993); at the same time, Eriksen acknowledges the usefulness of the concept of "cultural islands" as a heuristic device for isolating units of research and drawing comparisons. However, with reference, again, to the mediterranean, Herzfeld has questioned the theoretical use made of "culture zones", arguing that "... their elevation to separate theoretical status threatens the very goal of comparative analysis at the outset" (Herzfeld 1984:440). His objections are two-fold: firstly, a culture area which is "by [its] very nature parochial" (ibid:440) cannot justify separate theoretical



treatment on a par with "global" themes such as symbolic or economic anthropology; secondly, the cultural unity of the mediterranean cannot be assumed on the basis of a common history and ecology. He suggests that "the Mediterranean" has become a stereotype which its inhabitants grasp and apply to themselves, in ways which often reflect western European assumptions: "... the handling of such categories as 'the Mediterranean' reinforces that of terms like 'the evil eye' or 'honor', to the point where each has come to be regarded as a virtually sufficient justification for the other. Of such circularities are stereotypes made" (ibid:443).

There are parallels between the arguments presented by Herzfeld concerning the theoretical value of an "anthropology of the mediterranean", and the debate, noted earlier, about the status of an "anthropology of tourism". Both address the problems of unifying a disparate body of ethnography under a single rubric, and both raise the question of the relevance of a "parochial" concern to wider theoretical issues. However, what is also significant is the way that tourism enters Herzfeld's argument about the stereotyping of the Mediterranean, and how (and why) local people collude in this stereotyping. He notes the popularity in Greece of the glass eye beads (to ward off the evil eye), which not only sell well to tourists, but also make a symbolic statement about national and regional cultural identity: "It emblematically reimports into the universe of tourists and Athenian sophisticates an argument about cultural continuity that began with nationalistic folklore but has since expanded into a new pan-Mediterraneanism" (ibid:450). The fact that these beads are frequently imported from Czechoslovakia and Japan may seem to be an ironic comment on the authenticity of the stereotype and the part commercial self-interest plays in the promotion of cultural identity; but it is also a reminder of the fluidity of boundaries and the relationship between the local and the global.



The questions raised about culture boundaries have drawn attention to the significance of movement as well as settlement, and the need to examine communities within the wider systems in which they are embedded. Tourism's relevance to these issues has not gone unnoticed. In the example given by Herzfeld, tourism brings together: local people selling a stereotype of "the Mediterranean", which they have also "bought into" as an expression of identity; the tourists who are "consuming" - both commercially and symbolically - the stereotype which has been manufactured for them, but in which local people also collude for their own reasons; and a stereotypical artefact, manufactured in Japan or Czechoslovakia, but which has local significance. The tourism process provides a way of focussing "global" themes - of exploring complex and often paradoxical interrelationships, and arriving at some understanding of their meanings.

#### Travel and the spatialisation of knowledge and identity

To understand [the] world of 1400, we must begin with geography.  
(Wolfe 1982:25)

Wolfe opens his analysis by taking an "imaginary observer" on a journey through the "Old World" - not a world of "distinctive tribes, culture areas and civilizations" (Wolfe 1982:24), but a world in which the only borders are natural ones, of mountains breached by passes, of climate zones favouring different types of habitation and activity, which "delineate the interlocking networks of human interactions" (ibid:24). The metaphor of travel as a way of understanding the world implies a shift in emphasis from the study of static settlements to a dynamic exploration of movement and the spaces between specific locations. It is a metaphor which has also been used by Clifford, to "... convince anthropologists and others that the traditional disciplinary

practice of 'localizing' cultures in 'the field' or 'the village' is problematic in that identities are established in the course of travel as much as spatial and cultural rootedness" (Smith and Katz 1993:78).

In Wolfe's book, the shift from a static to a dynamic mode is linked to a critique of the ways in which knowledge (specifically, history) is produced, whilst in Clifford's work it underlies a reassessment of the relationship between identity and location. These two arguments are combined in a recent book which examines the relationship between travel writing and imperialism (Pratt 1992). Pratt links the emergence of new structures of knowledge in enlightenment Europe to the movement towards exploration and global expansion, resulting in specific genres of travel writing which in turn "produced 'the rest of the world' for European readerships at different points in Europe's expansionist trajectory" (Pratt 1992:5). She contrasts the European "'planetary' consciousness" so produced with the textual attempts at self-representation of the colonised cultures - "autoethnographies" which engage with, and partially assimilate, the categories and idioms of the conqueror. She locates each in a different kind of space: for just as European travel literature projects a Eurocentric consciousness which takes in the world as a whole, so the interstitial literature of autoethnography reflects the spatial consciousness of "the contact zone" - a social space where "disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination - like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today" (ibid:4). "Space" and "location" become active constituents in the construction of knowledge, social relationships, and the identity of both self and others.

The relationship of spatial metaphors to ways of knowing has long been recognised in anthropology (cf Salmond 1982). Categories such as "periphery"



and "centre" suggest a spatialised hierarchy which is replicated in the asymmetrical relations of "contact zones". The dominance of the centre is reflected not only in the material conditions of superior economic and military might, but also in the monopoly of ways of knowing which locates "truth" in the "centre" and verifies knowledge according to "Western" positivist criteria. The fate of the self-representations which were the products of "contact zones" was neglect and oblivion;<sup>1</sup> their resurrection as legitimate forms of knowledge was possible only when "positivist reading habits gave way to interpretive studies and Eurocentric elitisms gave way to postcolonial pluralisms" (Pratt 1992:4) - a process which has widely been seen as signalling the breakdown of Western epistemology, and heralding the era of "postmodernism".

"There are no places anymore..."

Postmodernism's encounter with tourism has already been touched on in relation to The Tourist Gaze (Urry 1990), discussed earlier in the chapter. It is beyond the scope of this introduction to delve in detail into the nuances of the postmodern debate, particularly since postmodernism is notoriously difficult to define (Ahmed 1992:6). But underlying the various manifestations of postmodernism is a spatialised consciousness, in which the "buzz-word" is "globalisation". The breaking down of boundaries - cultural, epistemological, ideological and so on - is a central image of postmodern discourse, and linked to the break down of authority and certainty: "To approach an understanding of the postmodernist age is to presuppose a questioning of, a loss of faith in, the project of modernity; a spirit of pluralism, a heightened scepticism of traditional orthodoxies; and finally a rejection of a view of the world as a universal totality, of the expectation of final solutions and complete



answers" (Ahmed 1992:10). Ahmed's further point, that postmodernism replaces clarity of meaning with richness of meaning, is pressed home by one of the leading exponents of the post-modern in anthropology:

For post-modernism, truth is the minimum enabling condition for lying. Without it, we cannot be sure we are lying. Truth is a rhetorical means, its invocation is persuasive, and if successful, powerful. Modernism's 'truth-and method' is a disguise for 'truth-as-power', for even the invocation of 'method' serves a rhetorical end. There is another possibility, explored, too, by the Sophists, that PLAUSIBILITY is more important than power, method, and truth, for the plausible relativizes everything to belief ...

Truth and method make the economy of SCARCITY. What seems less abundant than truth, which can only be produced by hard work with the right tools? Plausibility is EXCESS, the explosion of possibilities encysted and clapped together by the insistent convenience of convention. (Tyler 1991:85)

According to Tyler, the search for knowledge-as-truth is an exercise in reimposing a clapped out authority - an authority which, ironically, has destroyed itself, by imposing on the world a sterile uniformity:

TOPOI. Place. To be in a place. The spirit of place. Home. Modernism has effaced the differences that make places. There are no places anymore in a world where one place has been made to be so much like another that you can't really tell whether you are in Bangkok or New York. Modernism has domesticated the exotic, catalogued it, museum'd it, paved it over, and now manufactures it in safe, sterilized plastic packages for tourists. Carefully preserved relics, bits and pieces of otherness no longer remote in time and place, souvenirs of difference, emblems of cosmopolitanism for the coffee table, mantle or museum, dis-played in safe titillation, sweet nostalgia for the never was. (ibid:84)

The metaphors of travel and space are yet again linked to a critique of knowledge: this time the point is, that there is no point - to either travel or knowledge - in a world where there are no places anymore. Travel has now become a desultory activity: we travel only because we have no home. Whilst modernists still believe that they have the maps to "the catacombs ... where meaning lies buried", postmodernists understand that "... we are all homeless wanderers on the featureless, post-industrial steppe ..." (ibid:84).

Tyler's eloquence is impressive, but gives the uneasy feeling that he is playing games. Certainly, the playfulness of his "Post-modern In-stance", from which I have just quoted at length, is in the spirit of postmodernism, as is its eclecticism and its invocation of poetry and the spirit of Ezra Pound, rather than academic authority. But whilst Tyler eschews the authority of classical anthropology, it is his authoritative voice which consigns difference to "sterilized plastic packages for tourists"; and underlying his mockery of the "sweet nostalgia for the never was" it is possible to detect a note of "homesickness" - nostalgia for a time before modernism had "domesticated the exotic", when Bangkok was still different from New York. Tyler's attack on modernism can be read as a lament for the disintegration of identity, in which tourism is implicated. Postmodernists, suggests Tyler, are more realistic than modernists in their recognition that attempts to restore that identity are futile and self-indulgent, producing inauthentic copies and pastiche.

Nevertheless, identity is in vogue. From the identity politics of class ascription, gender, ethnicity, age, and handicap, to the ravages of nationalist wars, individuals and groups strive to construct and assert an identity, and a home for that identity, whether as a social space, a "position" from which the world can be viewed and rights pressed, or as an "ethnically cleansed" territory within its own borders. Identity is also a marketable feature of tourism destinations, a selling point which is used to tempt tourists to Turkey rather than Spain, Bali rather than Fiji. As Friedman notes, the fragmentation of the world has become the pluralisation of cultures (Friedman 1991:104).

Having moved away from bounded cultures, the argument appears to have turned full circle; however, we are not quite back where we started. With the intervening deconstruction of space and boundaries, and the postmodern



critique of place, has surfaced an interest in the mechanisms whereby identity, culture and boundaries are constructed and maintained, and an interest in the issue of authenticity. It is, again, tourism, which has provided a common focus for arguments about authenticity.

### The reinvention of places

Handler has described authenticity as a "cultural construct of the modern Western world" (Handler 1986:2). Other cultures are imagined as "discrete, bounded units, each unique - like a personality configuration ..." (ibid:2), on the model of Western notions of the individual. Underlying the search for "authentic cultural experience - for the unspoiled, pristine, genuine, untouched and traditional" (ibid:2) is the idea of "the part, unit, or individual asserting itself against the rest of the world as a locus of ultimate meaning and reality" (ibid:3), itself a reflection of an "anxiety about existence" which characterises both nationalist ideologies and the identity crises of modern individuals.

Tourism has frequently been held responsible for destroying the authenticity of local cultures. The spontaneity and warmth of "genuine" human interaction is said to be replaced by impersonal commercialism; traditional values give way to the "demonstration effect" of free-spending tourists with little understanding or respect for local ways; and traditional crafts and rituals are reduced to the status of spectacles for tourists. The damage is compounded by promotional literature which encourages insensitive behaviour on the part of tourists by emphasising the pleasures of the resort whilst neglecting to give information about the society, people and their customs; whilst tour guides, who should play a mediating role between "hosts" and "guests", are often "culturally ill prepared for their mediating function and are mainly oriented toward commercialism" (de Kadt 1979:56).



Anthropologists frequently deplore the deprivations of tourism on local cultures (cf many of the contributions to Hosts and Guests, in particular Crystal 1989; Greenwood 1989), and some have been involved in rescue attempts. An early example of this is the "Tourism for Discovery" project in Senegal, reported by Saglio (1979). The project was intended to facilitate "true encounters between tourists and their hosts" (Saglio 1979:321) in order to dismantle stereotypes and preconceptions accentuated by promotional literature, and to try and put an end to tourist behaviour which demeaned and insulted local people: "... a few coins given to a little girl to take off her loincloth and dance for the camera, an old man who was asked to climb up and tap palm wine for a photograph, and ceremonies performed on request" (ibid:322). The project was also designed to direct some of the income from tourists towards local people instead of large hotel chains. Small numbers of tourists were to be accommodated in conditions of minimum comfort in simple, traditional village lodgings built, managed and operated by local people. With the increasing popularity of discovery tours, new villages were drawn into the scheme, rather than existing accommodation expanded, in order to keep concentrations low, and oblige tourists to adapt to, rather than dominate, their environment. This adaptation was also encouraged by the production of new publicity material "stripped of cliches" (ibid:324). The role of the anthropologist is not made clear in the account of the project, but appears to have consisted largely of consultation and mediation with local people. This involved a lot of explanation and "education", as many local people involved in the project, including villagers, were unconvinced of the "value" of their traditional architectural heritage. Saglio reports:

I was frequently reproached, at least at the beginning, for not including glass windows, numbered doors, electricity, and even air-conditioning. Many highly placed individuals had to be convinced of the importance of preserving the integrity and quality of the traditional architecture. Even the villagers

themselves would have preferred to build in cement block with sheet metal roofs because it "looks better and cleaner for tourists". Many meetings were necessary to gain the understanding and full support of the administrative, political, and village authorities, but this educational process was essential to the success of the project. (ibid:326-327)

The difficulties experienced by the anthropologist raise the question: authenticity for whom? Authenticity was not an issue for the villagers; it had meaning only when understood in terms of the idiosyncratic tastes of foreign tourists. The irony of "authenticity" in this context is that, as a standard for evaluating the "truthfulness" of manifestations of an identity which was previously unquestioned, it is itself an inauthentic intrusion.

The "Tourism for Discovery" project is an early example of what has become known as "heritage" tourism, about which postmodernism in particular has had much to say (cf Urry 1990). According to Friedman, postmodernism typically views all culture as inauthentic, even where it is suggested, as Tyler does (see above), that "there was, once upon a time, a pure unadulterated culture" (Friedman 1991:105). This, he argues, is because postmodernists are trapped in a vision of "culture as substance" (ibid:104): "The notion that it is culture that ought to be authentic again bears the imprint of modern essentialism" (ibid:105) that postmodernists actually argue against. Ironically, postmodernism employs the unreconstructed concept of authenticity which, in Handler's view, has underlain classical anthropological authority. Indeed, Friedman goes further, and argues that by rejecting attempts to construct cultural, ethnic etc identities as inauthentic, postmodernism in fact reinstates the authority of the anthropologist as the professional culture specialist. Contra the postmodern position, Friedman quotes Sartre, for whom

... authenticity is the state of engagement of the individual in the larger project that defines his [sic] selfhood. It is not a question of academic truth values but of identity.

... The invention or reinvention of culture is the authentic essence of human existence, not its negation. The



latter only appears to be the case for those whose own identity depends upon the monopoly of a particular version of a culture, that is, the monopoly of the "other's" identity. (Ibid:105)

Friedman's argument implies that authenticity needs to be judged not according to whether it is "true", "real" or "unselfconscious", but in terms of the meanings underlying modern identity movements. Thus, whilst Linnekin can point to the inconsistencies and eclecticism in Hawaiian constructions of "national" traditions and identity, she also shows how the meaning of authenticity is negotiated within the native Hawaiian movement, in response to social, political and economic conditions, and the images of "traditional Hawaii" promoted in tourism: "Today's country dwellers are wage laborers who grow and market taro to supplement their salaries. Yet Keanae villagers see themselves as living a 'traditional' life, and according to the modern meaning of Hawaiian tradition, they do" (Linnekin 1983:249).

It is instructive in this respect to contrast Saglio's report on the "Tourism for Discovery Project" with an account of anthropological involvement in heritage tourism twenty years on. Unlike Saglio, Howell specifically engages in the critique of authenticity and the question, for whom is it meaningful? Whereas the Senegal project was a top-down initiative, heritage programmes in the USA have arisen in response to "grassroots interest in ethnicity, regionalism, and markers of diversity" (Howell 1994:152-153). The problem for the anthropologist is the diversity of identities clamouring for monumentalisation in local heritage projects. The role of the anthropologist is not to sort out which one is "true", since: "... the assumed divide between 'spurious' and 'genuine' culture is in the last analysis untenable" (ibid:153); nor does the anthropologist have to educate local people on the value of authenticity, since all the interested parties are well able to manipulate the concept of authenticity in order to press their claims. Rather, the anthropologist has to negotiate the political complexities of the



competing versions of identity, and educate people to recognise the rights to representation of versions of local identity other than their own. To borrow from Tyler (quoted earlier), authenticity, identity and place have moved from the economy of scarcity to the economy of abundance, as the anthropologist's search for a single "truth" gives way to negotiation with a plethora of local versions of the "plausible".

#### LITERATURE ON CYPRUS - A BRIEF SURVEY<sup>2</sup>

A wealth of literature exists on the subject of Cyprus, although relatively little of it is anthropological. Since the division of the island in 1974 following a Greek-backed coup and military intervention from Turkey, much of what has been written has been framed in terms of "the problem" of Cyprus. To the historical and archaeological literature, the journalistic accounts and the memoirs of travellers, sojourners and British colonial administrators, has been added a substantial body of literature from a political science perspective, examining "the Cyprus question" as an issue of ethnic nationalism, of international relations and of international and constitutional law.

Most of the anthropological literature on Cyprus has been concerned with Greek Cypriots, both because most of the anthropologists doing research on Cyprus were Greek Cypriot or had links with the Greek Cypriot community (eg Attalides, Peristiany and Loizos), and also because of problems of access to the Turkish Cypriot population following the withdrawal of most of them into enclaves after 1964 and the division of the island in 1974 (cf Attalides 1981; Papadakis 1993). Much of this work has been done in villages, although Loizos (1975) and Sant Cassia (1981) have examined the relationship between village-level and national politics, and the work of the Social Research Centre of Cyprus has been concerned with issues of urbanisation and social

change (eg Attalides 1981; Markides, Nikita and Rangou 1978). The village focus was also widened in response to the new issues of nationalism, ethnic coexistence and conflict (cf the contributions to Attalides 1977; Loizos 1974, 1988; Papadakis 1993); and refugees, resettlement and what place means to those who have been dis-placed (Loizos 1977, 1981).

In contrast, there is very little material dealing principally with Turkish Cypriots. Beckingham's paper on "The Turks of Cyprus" concentrated on place names, linguistic usage and religious affiliation (Beckingham 1957). Ladbury's fieldwork was conducted mainly amongst Turkish Cypriots living in London (Ladbury 1977; 1979), but has also included collaborative research comparing the political and symbolic processes of reconstruction in Cyprus north and south of the Green Line (Ladbury and King 1982; King and Ladbury 1988). Volkan has studied Turkish Cypriot responses to war and resettlement from a psychoanalytic perspective (Volkan 1978), and in addition there have been a number of contributions in German on the history and experiences of the Turkish Cypriot community and resettlement patterns in Northern Cyprus (eg Berner 1992; Wellenreuther 1993). Most of the work published by Turkish Cypriots has been on the political, constitutional and legal issues of the "Cyprus question" and, like much of the equivalent Greek Cypriot literature, is often polemical, either counterposing a "Turkish Cypriot" outlook to the "Greek Cypriot" version of events (eg Denктаş 1988; Salih 1978; İsmail 1992; Egeli 1991) or voicing internal Turkish Cypriot opposition (eg Kızılyürek 1988; Özgür 1992). Although the question of Turkish Cypriot "identity" has attracted considerable interest in recent years, this has usually been approached as a political-historical (eg Nesim 1990; Gazioğlu 1990) or folkloric issue (eg Gökçeoğlu 1985; İslamoğlu 1984; HAS-DER 1986); an exception is Faiz 1993, which examines the social relations of cultural production in Northern Cyprus. The most recent work in English to be



published about Turkish Cypriots is Dodd 1993, which collects contributions from Turkish Cypriot and foreign writers on politics, economy, international relations, social change, agriculture and tourism in Northern Cyprus.

#### THEORETICAL AIMS AND OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

As I have argued in this chapter, it is no longer possible to take for granted place, culture and community, for so long the standard units of anthropological research. This is particularly obvious in the case of Cyprus, where all three concepts are manipulated in the course of contests over the identity of the island and its people.

The significance of nationalism in Cyprus has rightly received considerable attention; however, in this thesis I am not directly concerned with the sources, myths and manifestations of nationalism as an ideology (Gellner 1983; Smith 1983, 1988). Rather, I explore the construction of Turkish Cypriot identity and its relationship to its "place" in Cyprus (and specifically within its new post-1974 borders) as an active and creative process (Anderson 1983; Cohen 1989), and I examine how cultural institutions act as a focus for the idea of a specific community. Hirsch has demonstrated how the adoption of betelnut consumption by the Fuynges of Papua New Guinea enables a marginalised rural community to feel part of, and indeed, central to, PNG metropolitan culture (Hirsch 1990). Similar claims can also be made for arabesk music and the cultivation and consumption of tea in Turkey (Stokes 1992; Hann 1990). I suggest that tourism in Northern Cyprus can be viewed in the same light.

The urgency and intensity of ethnic identification in Cyprus has fluctuated over time, in response to political and economic conditions on the island (Loizos 1972). Since the island passed from Ottoman to British rule in 1878, Turkish Cypriot leaders have been faced with the necessity of



defining and legitimating the place of Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus, both to counter Greek Cypriot claims for "enosis" - union with the motherland of Greece - and to compete for influence and resources under the British administration, and, subsequently, in the independent republic of Cyprus. Once the Turkish role as the rulers of Cyprus had become redundant, the concern of Turkish Cypriot leaders was to establish a new position for the Turks who remained. Not content with the status of an ethnic minority on a Greek island, they claimed the right to be treated as equal partners - an aspiration which Greek Cypriots regarded as illegitimate. The constitution which was finally agreed for the independent republic of Cyprus conceded the Turkish position by allocating government and municipal representation between Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities on a 70:30 basis, which on a strictly numerical basis overrepresented Turkish Cypriots who formed 18% of the population. Following the breakdown of the constitution at the end of 1963, the government of the republic of Cyprus consisted of Greek Cypriots only; whilst this was internationally recognised as the legitimate government, Turkish Cypriots claimed that it was illegitimate, because they were excluded, contrary to the constitution. Similar arguments are repeated with regard to the division of the island and the establishment of a Turkish Cypriot state in the north after 1974: the Greek Cypriot government in the south is internationally recognised as the sole legitimate government of the island; the division of Cyprus is condemned as not only illegitimate, but unfair, because it has left 18% of the population in possession of 30% of the island.

For Turkish Cypriots, the issue of identity is bound up in the issues of legitimacy and visibility. The problem of visibility is partly that of maintaining and manipulating several identities at once: Turkish, Turkish Cypriot, and Cypriot; but it is compounded by the fact that there is no "legitimate" Turkish Cypriot presence in the bodies which represent and pass

resolutions on the future of Cyprus.<sup>3</sup> In the discourse of "legitimacy", the Turkish Cypriot voice is not heard. Thus the term "Cypriot refugees" almost invariably refers to Greek Cypriots who lost their homes in the north in 1974, whilst Turkish Cypriots who moved north, either in clandestine flight (cf Oberling 1982) or in the exchange of populations which took place during the course of the following year, are "occupiers" of Greek Cypriot property, and the experiences of Turkish Cypriots who were made refugees, sometimes more than once, between 1964 and 1974, are left out of account.<sup>4</sup>

The movement north has removed the threat to personal security for Turkish Cypriots, but the problems of identity, visibility and legitimacy are as alive as ever. Although physically separated, Greek Cypriots remain a constant point of reference for Turkish Cypriots, a demonstration of how "absences are constitutive of presence" (Keith and Pile 1993:20). The meaning of "place" is as strong for Turkish Cypriots as it is for Greek Cypriots<sup>5</sup>: in constructing a new home in the north, Turkish Cypriots have had to come to terms with the loss of an identity attached to places in the south, which form part of both personal and collective histories.<sup>6</sup>

Tourism in Northern Cyprus makes explicit the connections between place and identity, visibility, and legitimacy. Tourism development has been seized upon as a means to create an economically viable state in the north, and to "tanıtılmak" (promote, make known - gain "recognition" for) Turkish Cypriots. However, it is premised on conditions of "illegitimacy" and "invisibility". The Cyprus which is most widely known to foreign tourists - the island of Aphrodite, of antique sites, of holiday brochures, of Makarios and monasteries in the Troodos mountains - is primarily Greek; the campaign waged against publicity for Northern Cyprus as a holiday destination has largely kept it that way. The bitter Greek Cypriot opposition to tourism development in the north is based partly on the fact that the majority of Greek Cypriot and



foreign-owned hotels in Cyprus before 1974 were in the north of the island, and were now to be put to use in the service of Turkish Cypriot tourism; and partly on the desire to deny a source of income which would entrench the "illegal occupation" of the north. The few foreign tourists who made it to Northern Cyprus towards the end of the 1970s did so under the threat of prosecution in the British courts for trespass and use of stolen goods (Matthews 1987).

Tourism obliges Turkish Cypriots to construct their place in Northern Cyprus for an external audience of tourists, and to confront the dominant discourse of legality; in turn, tourism has generated a whole complex of meanings for Turkish Cypriots. The symbolic importance of tourism in Northern Cyprus is out of all proportion to its economic contribution so far, given the problems which beset it - some of which have been touched on above. Newspaper and TV features on tourism, in which trends and future prospects are analysed and hotels show-cased, are a daily occurrence. Hopes for the future are pinned on tourism, as a way to "köşeyi dönme<sup>1</sup>k" - turn the corner out of the cul-de-sac of illegality and economic stagnation. But Turkish Cypriots have also turned the köşeyi dönme<sup>1</sup>k "mentality" against themselves, to criticise an attitude of "getting rich quick" which places individual interests above the common good, and sacrifices long term effort and professionalism to short term gains. Tourism has become a forum for self-criticism, a way of thinking about Turkish Cypriots and their relationships with the rest of the world, and particularly with Greek Cypriots and Turkey.

I have argued that, after their early indifference towards tourism, anthropologists reached a theoretic impasse in their attempts to define tourism; meanwhile, tourism has been increasingly co-opted in wider anthropological debates. My major aim in this thesis is to bridge the gap between work on tourism and work which uses tourism, by focusing on "the



complex ways tourism enters and becomes part of an already on-going process of symbolic meaning and appropriation" (Wood 1993:66). There is a tendency for many writers on tourism to treat social relationships and culture separately, as qualitatively different phenomena; identity as a "given", which is acted upon by "outsiders"; and not to question the concept of "authenticity" as it is applied to the effects of tourism on customs and cultures. At the same time, analyses which draw on tourism for material can benefit from the comparative scope of ethnographic studies of tourism, and detailed study of the roles and relationships within tourism (eg van der Werff 1980; Wahnschafft 1982; Hermans 1981a, 1981b; Michaud 1991; van den Berghe 1992). Examples of this kind of bridging are Bowman's analysis of the politics of tour guiding in Israel and the Occupied Territories, which shows how discourses of identity are shaped by the roles and constraints of tour guides and the preconceptions of tourists; and Shenhav-Keller's paper - again, on identity in Israel - examining the production and display of tourist souvenirs (Bowman 1992; Shenhav-Keller 1993). A recurring theme of this thesis is that tourism in Northern Cyprus is shaped by local events, conditions and meanings. In asserting this, I take issue with Nash's view of tourism as a form of neo-imperialism, which stresses the power of metropolitan centres to determine tourism in the periphery, and also with the spatial categories he employs (Nash 1989). Rather, I consider tourism in terms of a discourse, whose parameters are externally determined, but which still allows scope for local agency and individuality (cf Rapport 1992). Accordingly, I set the context for the discussions in chapters four to seven by prefacing each with a brief summary of the relevant tourism literature.

## SUMMARY OF FURTHER CHAPTERS

In chapter two, I consider the literature on Cyprus in more detail, and explore how the place of Cyprus and the identity of its inhabitants has been constructed in textual narratives. I examine how "place" is employed rhetorically to produce two topoi of Cyprus: the "enchanted island" and "paradise lost"; and consider how these conflicting topoi frame tourists' perceptions of Cyprus.

In chapter three I turn to the major institutional actors involved in tourism in Northern Cyprus, and the political and symbolic dimensions of the tourism planning process. I survey the history of tourism development in Cyprus up to 1974, the main characteristics of tourism in the north, and its relevance to national social, economic and political concerns.

Chapter four is concerned with access to the capital resources of land, property and finance. I consider the territorial dimension of the resources issue, tracing the characteristics of land tenure in Cyprus since Ottoman times, and their relevance to the "legitimising systems" of various nationalist discourses which continue to govern the way land and property is thought of today. I ask how the relationship to land, place and property is reflected in the allocation of land to refugees and settlers and the changing land market, and how the commoditisation of land and property through tourism and the way access to it is mediated affects ethnic and social relations. I explore how "ownership" is conceptualised, and the implications for planning and investment by individuals in the accommodation sector.

In chapter five, I examine tourism as an activity rooted in local relationships and political, social, cultural and economic concerns. I analyse the entrepreneurial activities of travel agents, and the multi-dimensional aspect of the demand for and supply of tourism employment. I trace their relationship to changes in the social, business and economic



environment, and explore the significance of the goal of "professionalism". I suggest that the local tourism debate has become a forum for the self-critique of Turkish Cypriot society, and a way of understanding relations with Greek Cypriots and the rest of the world.

Chapter six looks at the processes of creating and marketing cultural products for tourists, and the political aspects of cultural representations of identity. I examine the differences between cultural performances for tourists and for Turkish Cypriots, and consider the relevance and meanings of the concept of "authenticity". I examine the work of tour guides, the dynamics of the guided tour, and how "time" and "space" are used to produce Northern Cyprus for tourists; and I explore how the reception of the "message" by different groups of tourists affects its meaning.

Chapter seven is about boundaries. Whilst chapter six looks at identity in terms of its representation as "a culture", chapter seven is concerned with how social relationships form, maintain and cross boundaries. I examine the centrality of local concepts of gender and sexuality in the construction of community boundaries, and their relevance to gendered patterns of tourism employment, which can be explained by women's dual roles as social actors and boundary markers/symbols of identity. I consider how local ideologies of gender and sexuality operate in, and are influenced by, the incorporation of a female migrant workforce in tourism employment.

## METHODOLOGY

Participant observation combines elements of both proximity and distance. The experience of being present in a place is filtered through the fieldworker's consciousness of being an outsider. For the native anthropologist, this may consist primarily in the sense of having a different purpose from the people around them, a particular intellectual framework which is brought to the

events and interactions of daily life (cf Papadakis 1993); for the foreign anthropologist, "scientific distance" is compounded by the "cultural disorientation" referred to by Davis (1977 - see above) in which - theoretically - the props of the familiar are removed and social and cultural inexperience can be used as part of a learning process.

When I first arrived in Girne (Kyrenia) in January 1992 with my seven-month old daughter Tomris, it was not for the purpose of doing fieldwork in Northern Cyprus. My intention was to spend the remainder of my maternity leave with my husband, who had returned to Cyprus to take up a new teaching post several months earlier, before continuing, with Tomris, to Turkey, where I planned to do fieldwork in line with my original research proposal and the library preparation I had done in England.<sup>7</sup> The disorientation of my arrival in Cyprus, and my reception at the airport by fifteen of my husband's close kin, was outweighed by my greater disorientation at having recently become a mother: my main concern was to "fit in" with my affines and my husband's social and cultural environment. For personal and domestic reasons, I attempted to minimise the disorienting impact of my first months in Cyprus; and, when I eventually decided to switch my research to Northern Cyprus, this interval seemed, retrospectively, a wasted opportunity, which had also set the pattern for a continuing disjuncture between the "domestic" and "professional" areas of my life which it was subsequently hard to reintegrate in fieldwork.

This disconjunction was, with hindsight, apparent in my indecision about what my unit of study should be - where, precisely, and how, I should "do" my fieldwork. My feeling that I should be working "away from 'home'" stemmed from a desire to create some distance from the distractions of domestic commitments and what, by now, had become the "familiar" - in both its senses of pertaining to routine, and to the family. I had imagined researching the effects of fairly rapid tourism development on a fairly small, compact -



"manageable" - community. I wanted to find a place which had these features, and where my own potential gaffes as a foreign woman and inexperienced researcher would not impinge on the reputation of my immediate family and affines. Although my affines' village, some 60 miles away from where I was living in Girne, was largely dependent on tourism, I rejected it for the purposes of fieldwork as being both too far away from, and too close to, home. It proved impossible to find a place which combined all the characteristics I was looking for, both because of the spatial distribution and sporadic growth of tourism in Northern Cyprus, and because the diaspora from the villages of the south, and the extremely diffuse and extended Turkish Cypriot kin networks, meant that family was "all around".<sup>8</sup>

It took some considerable time to reconcile my personal situation with my position as a fieldworker; this happened as my perspectives on both fieldwork and tourism widened, and gradually came together. Once my fond expectation of doing fieldwork "baby on hip" had finally proved itself impractical, the search for a childminder introduced me to neighbourhood networks where the issue of tourism, both as employment and a topic of conversation, emerged naturally, and I was able to pursue it in the context of other aspects and concerns of Turkish Cypriot life. Although I could not hope to "cover" exhaustively Girne, a town with a permanent population of about 10,000, as the show-case tourism resort with the greatest concentration of tourists and tourism establishments in Northern Cyprus it became clear that this was a "natural" choice for a fieldwork location. The two neighbourhoods with which I had links provided a residence-based sample, where I was able to participate in the largely female activities of visiting, coffee drinking, engagement parties, weddings and mevlits, centred on eight households. In addition, I sometimes made appointments to conduct more formal interviews with family members working in hotels and restaurants. As the result of a chance

encounter, I started giving English lessons to the young son of a settler family from Turkey, and was introduced to several of the other Turkish families living in the same apartment block; and friends, family and students of my husband who visited our home were another source of information and ideas.

To balance the residential samples, I conducted more formal semi-structured interviews in tourism businesses in and around Girne, approaching the owners or managers of twenty-six hotels and guest houses; twelve travel agencies; four gift shops; and four estate agencies. With the permission of the employer, I conducted workplace interviews with employees, sometimes in private, and sometimes in the presence of a manager or supervisor. Altogether, I was able to interview about 100 individuals - some self-employed, some owners, some managers and some employees - either at home, or in the workplace. Some questions were designed to elicit specific information about ownership of and investment in the business; staff recruitment and training, wages and conditions; business relationships; and numbers and provenance of tourists. More open-ended questions concerned views on the tastes and expectations of tourists; previous work experience; family background; opinions on the problems and prospects of tourism and its significance to Northern Cyprus; and changes in personal circumstances. The time taken to conduct interviews varied from twenty minutes to an hour or more, depending on the interviewee, and often turned into social occasions, accompanied by coffee and the contributions and comments of colleagues, family or customers in passing. I made several return visits to a number of the businesses in the sample over an extended period.

In addition to these interviews, which were focussed on samples in Girne, I spoke to a number of people who represented institutional, planning and sectoral interests in tourism, many of whom were based in the capital



Lefkoşa (Nicosia). These included a former minister of tourism; the presidents of the travel agents', hoteliers and tour guides' organisations; staff in the department of tourism promotion at the ministry of tourism; the heads of the state hotel and tourism school and the school of tourism at Eastern Mediterranean University; and representatives of the tourism interests of Evkaf (the foundation which administers the properties of the mosque), the state tourism enterprises body, and the tourism employees' union. Finally, I participated in a number of guided tours with British tourists; attended a month-long training course for tour guides, organised by the ministry of tourism; and spent a week working in a travel agency. Most of the fieldwork was conducted in Turkish, but as many Turkish Cypriots are fluent English speakers, some interviews were in English, and occasionally German was used, for example, when speaking to German tourists and on the tour guide training course.

#### NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

The writer on Cyprus is, to an extent, trapped by the polarisation of "the Cyprus issue" which has reduced language on the subject to two politicised and opposing discourses. Greek Cypriots refer to the "Turkish invasion" of 1974, Turkish Cypriots, to the "peace operation". As Papadakis has pointed out, even attempts to use "neutral" third terms such as "intervention" can be construed as support for the opposing viewpoint (Papadakis 1993:23). The same problem applies to the use of place names in the north, many of which have been changed since 1974, and what name to give to the entity which Turkish Cypriots call the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, and Greek Cypriots the "pseudo state" or "occupied north".

Like Papadakis, I attempt to use neutral terms throughout this thesis. I use the term "refugee" to apply to both Greek and Turkish Cypriots who were

displaced after 1974 (see further note 4, below). Except where I am making a particular point, I use the term "Northern Cyprus", and refer to places by the names current in the north, followed, on first mention, by the name most familiar to English speakers.<sup>9</sup>

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. Similarly, Manning has criticised anthropologists' lack of attention to what local people have written about the effects of tourism in their communities: Manning 1981.
2. The literature on Cyprus is examined in more detail in chapter two.
3. Ie not only in the United Nations, but also the Commonwealth, and the discussions on Cyprus' entry to the European Community.
4. An exception is Loizos (1981), who compares the Greek and Turkish Cypriot experience of becoming refugees. Turkish Cypriots themselves use the term "göçmen" [migrant], which carries connotations of displacement, rather than the flight which the term "mülteci" [refugee] would imply. Throughout this thesis I use the term "refugee" for the Turkish Cypriots who were displaced during the 1960s and for those who came north in 1974, in order to distinguish them from the economic migrants who left the island for Australia and Canada and the settlers from Turkey (whom Cypriots refer to simply as "Türkiyeli", ie "Turk from Turkey": see chapters four, six and seven).
5. Many of the psychological responses of Turkish Cypriots from the south to their new situation in the north reported by Volkan (1978) are very similar to the responses of Greek Cypriots resettled in the south



documented by Loizos (1981). However, the political discourse surrounding the meaning of resettlement in the north was very different to that in the south: see Ladbury and King 1982.

6. This is explored most fully in Turkish Cypriot poetry and autobiography; cf, for example, Kutlu Adalı's occasional articles in the newspaper Yenidüzen, and Nevzat Yalçın's memoirs of growing up in the mixed village of Poli (Yalçın 1988; 1991).
7. My original proposal was to research the effects on gender roles of tourism development in Turkey. This project was abandoned as a result of illness and the birth of our daughter Tomris in May 1991.
8. On the fieldwork dilemmas of another in-marrying female anthropologist, see Searle-Chatterjee 1981.
9. For a fuller discussion of the implications of place name changes, see chapter six, and King and Ladbury 1988.

## CHAPTER 2

### CYPRUS IN HISTORY/HISTORY IN CYPRUS

In a recent article on the relationship between land and identity, Thornton has drawn attention to the distinction between "countries" and "nations", and the powerful symbolism of borders (Thornton 1994). The borders of countries are often arbitrarily determined; nations, tribes, and ethnic groups, on the other hand, seek legitimacy by converting chance into destiny (Herzfeld 1991:11). For Thornton, the landscape is the primary symbolic resource of "failing nations", appealing to "the earth itself, to the aesthetics of landscape, to the native (in the sense of 'one born in'), and to autochthony" (Thornton 1994:12): "If nations are, as Benedict Anderson has argued, 'imagined communities', then countries are imagined geometries of landscape that mould their human content" (ibid:11-12). Thornton makes his argument with specific reference to the map of South Africa; however, it also has relevance for Cyprus, a "natural" island country whose contours have been shaped by various contests over their meaning.

Cyprus is a country with topographical features which may be given, somewhat drily, as follows:

Cyprus is the third largest island in the Mediterranean. It is smaller than Sicily and Sardinia, larger than Corsica and Crete; its area is 3,584 square miles. It lies some 40 miles south of the Karamanian coast of Asia Minor, 60 miles west of the coast of the Syrian Republic, about 230 miles north of Egypt.



Its greatest length, from south-west to north-east, is 140 miles; its greatest breadth, from north to south, 60 miles. A narrow tongue of land known as the Karpass, some 10 miles in breadth and 45 miles in length, runs east-north-east from Trikomo to Cape Andreas. The ancients compared the shape of the island to an outspread deer's skin whose tail was this spit of land. (Luke 1965:21).

However, Cyprus is also a metaphorical place, a "topos". Fabian reminds us that, in the rhetorical art, *topoi* were originally an aid to memory, "a method of joining the principal parts of a speech to objects in various places in a real or imagined building" (Fabian 1983:110); however, "... as images, places, and spaces turn from mnemotechnic aids into *topoi* they become that which a discourse is about" (ibid:111). In Fabian's analysis, the figurative movement between "places of memory" represents the "spatialisation of consciousness", and ultimately the "spatialisation of Time", a proposition which is to be developed in chapter six in connection with the rhetorical devices of tour guides as they lead their groups through a physical and metaphorical landscape. The purpose of the present chapter is to show how narratives about the country "Cyprus" produce the features of that metaphorical landscape.

At the heart of the relationship between "place" and "topos" lies the geographical location of the island. The "few elementary facts of a topographical nature" given by Luke (above) lend themselves to elaborations which conflate *topos* and topography and establish the nature of the contest over the "meaning" of Cyprus. Captain Orr, who served as a British colonial administrator in Cyprus from 1911 to 1917, develops his introductory remarks on Cyprus' location as follows:

Geographically, Cyprus belongs to the Asiatic continent; ethnologically and climatically it may claim kinship with both Europe and Asia. The short winter lasting from December to February is not unlike the same season in Sicily and Southern Europe generally. At times a fierce wind sweeps down from the North, bringing with it an icy blast from the Taurus snows ... (Orr 1972:11)

The ambiguous location of Cyprus between Europe and Asia and its cultural and political implications are elaborated further in the following exchange between a newly arrived Greek tourist and his taxi driver.<sup>1</sup> The driver has just informed him that the unusually hot burning winds are due to the fires in Kuwait in the aftermath of the Gulf War:

Dođru, evet. Bunu unutmuřtum. Kıbrıs kaotik Ortadođu'ya ok yakın, hatta Yunanistan'dan daha yakın. Bu yakınlık arkeologların adanın ilk sakinlerinin Asya'nın bir tarafından geldiklerini dűřünmelerine ve batılı politikacıların Kıbrıs'a Yunanistan'ın bir parası olarak deđil de, Ortadođu'nun bir parası olarak bakmalarına yol amıřtı...

"Ama kűzeyden estiđi zaman, rűzgarlar Yunanistan'dan gelir" dedi taksı sűrűcűsű, sanki ne dűřündűđűmű tahmin etmiř gibydi. yle ya en son yıkım da, Atina'daki asker diktatorluđun Kıbrıs'ta iktidarı ele geirerek, Tűrkiye'ye adayı istila etmesi ve sınırların olmadığı yerde sınır yaratması iin enfes bir fırsat verdiđi yıkımdı ve Yunanistan'dan gelmiřti. (Kallifatides 1993:7-8)

[True, yes. I had forgotten this. Cyprus is very close to the chaotic Middle East, even closer than it is to Greece. This proximity led to the belief of archaeologists that the island's first inhabitants came from somewhere in Asia, and to the view of western politicians that Cyprus is not a part of Greece, but of the Middle East...

"But when it blows from the north, the winds come from Greece" said the taxi driver, as if he had guessed what I was thinking. So it was that the last destruction had been the one when the military dictatorship in Athens, by siezing power in Cyprus, had given Turkey an excellent opportunity to invade the island and create borders where no borders had been, and it had come from Greece.]

Do the north winds blow over Cyprus from Greece/Europe or from Asia Minor? This question, in various guises, is a constant theme of the narratives of Cyprus.

#### THE PAST AS A RICH RESOURCE

Chronological tables of "events" which are appended to guide books of Cyprus, and even political analyses of recent history, commonly document a history of the island stretching back 9000 years. Cyprus is a country with "a lot of history" which, particularly from the tourism point of view and the island's



reputation as an "open air museum", has proved a rich resource. The past also yields an abundance of themes for competing national narratives of Cyprus.

The themes of autochthony - establishing the nation's beginnings in the landscape - and a continuous national presence are characteristic features of narratives in which the nation is the central transhistorical actor (Thornton 1994; Papadakis 1993), and also determine what is "significant" in the country's past. The British journalist Christopher Hitchens explains the relevance of the ancient history of Cyprus to his political analysis of twentieth century events on the island as follows:

These things may not seem to bear very heavily on the twentieth century and its less glamorous feuds, but the shaping of a national consciousness depends on continuity, and the Cypriot line of descent, passionately affirmed up to the present, can be attested by disinterested research. (Hitchens 1984:30)

Appealing to the authority of scientific objectivity, Hitchens suggests that only one reading of the island's history is legitimate, but the circular logic of the selectivity which determines what is significant is apparent in the following extract from Markides' paper on social movements in Cyprus:

The most important historical events that were culturally significant in the evolution of Cypriot society were the Mycenaean immigrations of 1400 BC ... and the Byzantine period, AD 300 to AD 1192. Mycenaean colonization of Cyprus was significant because Greek culture was established on the island. The language, art and religion of mainland Greece were transmitted to Cyprus and no subsequent historical event succeeded in changing this basic Hellenic cultural pattern. (Markides 1974:310)<sup>4</sup>

In contrast, some British writers have made claims for the historic continuity of the British role in Cyprus on the basis of a one-year occupation by Richard I in 1191 prior to Britain's "second occupation" from 1878 to 1960 (discussed later in this chapter); and both British and Turkish Cypriot writers (eg Gunnis 1936; Luke 1965; Kızılyürek 1988; Gazioğlu 1990) have maintained that Cyprus' history, including the Byzantine era, represents a continuous

tradition of regional super-power domination - that Cyprus has never been the author of its own history.

Authentication for national narratives can also be sought from the material evidence of historic relics; but these too are subject to selectivity and retrospective amendment. According to the British governor Sir Ronald Storrs, for example, documented Phoenician artefacts predating Mycenaean colonisation were clandestinely removed from the museum in Nicosia: "... none has survived the determination of the Greek majority that Cyprus shall possess proofs of none but Hellenic origin" (Storrs 1939:488).

National narratives of Cyprus aim to convince by creating their own logic of authenticity and validation, with appeals both to tradition and the landscape. In the following pages I examine how these narratives function in relation to three different issues which each focus on particular historic eras, drawing mainly on Cypriot and British writers; I then go on to look at two topoi of the island of particular relevance for the ways in which tourist perceptions of Cyprus are framed.<sup>3</sup> I suggest that Cyprus' past becomes a scarce resource, in the sense used by Appadurai (1981), when addressing outside audiences who do not "hear" all narratives equally (Bowman 1992).

### A Christian island?

In the first century BC, Cyprus became a Roman province. It was during the first century of Roman rule that Saint Barnabas, a native of Salamis, made two missionary journeys to Cyprus (AD 45 and 47) accompanied by Saint Paul. These visits were later to prove important in establishing a unique position of autonomy for Cyprus within the Orthodox faith, when the attempts of the See of Antioch to absorb the church of Cyprus were countered with claims to the church's own apostolic status. Cyprus' special status was acknowledged by the conferring of special privileges - the right of the Archbishop to dress in



robes of imperial purple, to carry the sceptre instead of the pastoral staff, and to use red ink for signatures; and Saint Barnabas was eulogised by the Cypriot historian Kyprianou: "I doubt whether any other Apostle so defended his native land and proved himself such a patriot as our Barnabas" (quoted in Hackett 1901:25).

The inauguration of Constantinople as the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire in AD 330 meant that Cyprus' imperial overlords were also co-religionists, a relationship in which the autocephalous Cypriot church enjoyed a special status. The Empress Helena visited the island in about the same year, bringing with her a fragment of the True Cross which, installed at the monastery of Stavrovouni, became an object of veneration and pilgrimage. The miraculous powers of the relic are said to have ended a long period of drought which had depopulated the island; the Empress also took practical steps to boost the population and productivity of the island by instigating colonisations from Arabia, Syria and Anatolia (Hackett 1901).<sup>4</sup>

Periodic depopulation, caused by drought, locusts, war and plague, was a recurring feature of the island's history over the centuries, which successive rulers attempted to remedy by the introduction of settlers from the region. On two occasions during the Byzantine era, however, the threat of invasion was met with the decision to remove substantial numbers of the Christian population from the island. A wave of invasions by Moslem warriors began in the 7th century AD and continued into the 10th century. During the first invasion, Umm Haram, a female relation of the Prophet, fell from her mount, breaking her neck. Her shrine, the Hala Sultan Tekke, became one of the holiest shrines of Islam.

With the advent of Christianity and the subsequent rise of Islam, the antagonism between religious faiths became a theme in the contest for the "meaning" of the island. With its Christian and Moslem holy places, Cyprus

now comprised "places of memory" for both faiths. The arrival of the Crusaders in Cyprus - Richard I, followed by the Knights Templar and the dynasty of the Lusignans - meant that for several more centuries Cyprus was to remain closely identified with the Christian camp in its fight against the Islam of the orient, its significance as a "Christian place" heightened by its position as an "outpost" at the fringes of the Christian world. But the Christian world had its own cleavage between east and west, and whilst the new rulers from western Europe were adherents of the Roman (Latin) church, their subjects in Cyprus, co-religionists in the broad sense of the term, were also regarded as eastern schismatics who denied the authority of Rome. The geopolitics of religion created its own categories of west and east, within which the position of Cyprus was symbolically as well as geographically ambiguous.

The struggle between eastern and western Christianity which took place in Cyprus provided a counterpoint to the political intrigues of the mediaeval Lusignan kings and queens, and their attempts to rally further crusades to retake Jerusalem from the Infidel. The Bulla Cypria, published in 1260, institutionalised the subordination of the Orthodox clergy of the island to the Latin bishops, and the post of Orthodox archbishop was abolished. In 1360 a papal legate was sent to "convert the Orthodox by force to the Roman faith" (Hackett 1901:130). Although he failed in his mission, the continued and often violent persecution of the clergy and adherents of the Orthodox faith was a cause of bitter resentment.

In 1439, the declaration of unity between the Christian faiths of east and west at the Council of Florence opened the door to a rapprochement between the religious observance of the rulers and the ruled which Hackett considers to have constituted a "new national movement" in Cyprus (Hackett 1901:154). Comparing the situation to that of the assimilation of the Normans in post-Conquest England, he writes that "all distinctions between the two communions



seemed fast becoming obliterated" (ibid:153) - a process which was assisted by the marriage of King Jean II of Cyprus to wives (two in succession) professing the Eastern faith. It was not unusual to find the same cleric officiating at both the Latin and the Eastern rite, and "it was a common thing to find within the same party walls a man, his wife, and children all professing different religions" (ibid:153) as convenience and expediency dictated. The efforts of the papacy to put a stop to such trends had apparently little effect in Cyprus.

Yet when, after three centuries, the Lusignan dynasty finally gave way to Venetian colonisation, it was to their Islamic neighbours in the east that Orthodox Cypriots finally turned for liberation from Latin rule; and the Fetva (opinion issued by the minister responsible for matters connected with Moslem law) obtained by the Ottoman sultan approved the proposed Cyprus expedition on the grounds of Cyprus' Islamic past:

... "to recover a former Moslem land, a ruler is not bound by any treaty of peace if such a treaty is no longer in the interests of Islam, and it may be broken when necessary". Cyprus, though a Venetian colony, was under the suzerainty of the Mameluke Sultans of Egypt who were Moslems, and had to pay an annual tribute to them which was devoted to Mecca and Medina. The island had been ruled at various times previously by Islamic rulers and therefore, according to Islamic tradition, its re-conquest was not contrary to any treaty obligations. (Gazioğlu 1990:23)

Fiercely resisted by the Venetian forces, the Ottoman troops were welcomed by the Orthodox population. Nicosia was besieged, and on its fall the Ottoman standard was raised by an Orthodox Cypriot.

The redemption of the island - saving it from Christian/Moslem misrule and returning it to its "true" place in Islam/Christendom respectively - invokes higher, divine authority - each equivalent, and incontrovertible in its own terms - to legitimise national narratives. Thus Hackett, a military chaplain who researched his exhaustive "History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus" during two tours of service in Cyprus, painstakingly documents abuses

of the Church perpetrated by the Latins and Ottomans, to conclude:

On 10th July, 1878, the Crescent, that symbol of oppression and murder, set for ever, and Cyprus suddenly awoke to find that the nightmare of Turkish misrule, which had brooded over her for 300 years, had become at last a thing of the past. An English sovereign in the centuries long gone by had been the means of introducing Western tyranny into the island.<sup>5</sup> An English sovereign was now to repair the wrong wrought by her predecessor... Perhaps under God's providence it has been reserved for her to serve as the bond of union between those two great branches of Christ's Church, which have remained too long dissevered, the Eastern and the Anglican ... The Orthodox Communion of Cyprus need be under no misgiving as to its future. The English Church, unlike its Romish predecessor, does not seek to deprive it of its lawful heritage. (Hackett 1901:236-237)

Despite Hackett's indignation at the conversion of Latin churches into mosques, Ottoman rule had in fact already restored the rights of the Orthodox Church, reinstating the Archbishop as ethnarch with the responsibility of leading and representing the Orthodox "millet" in Cyprus. Although anecdotes abound about the forced conversion of Christians to Islam, and Moslems to Christianity (eg Catsellis nd; Nesim 1990), religious tolerance was a feature of the Ottoman millet system, and indeed an intrinsic part of its administrative structure (Luke 1989; Gazioğlu 1990). Whilst the Orthodox Christians enjoyed religious freedom and considerable autonomy under the Ottomans<sup>6</sup>, however, the Latin church was subject to persecution and the confiscation of property; according to one Turkish Cypriot historian, the pressure on the Latin church was a result, not of religious intolerance, but of regional super-power rivalry (Beratlı 1993). The phenomenon of the "linobambaki" - "linen-cottons" professing both Islam and Christianity, and carrying both Moslem and Christian names - was seen by Christian travellers to Cyprus as evidence of a "crypto-Christian community" forcibly converted to Islam (Cesnola 1991; Scott-Stevenson 1880); but according to Turkish Cypriot historians Gürkhan and Beratlı, such sects, which manipulated the millet system by "passing" between religious identities to avoid taxes and military conscription, were widespread in the Ottoman Empire (Gürkhan 1986; Beratlı



1993). The linobambaki persisted in Cyprus well into the twentieth century, until the political and ethnic polarisation in the country could no longer tolerate the existence of these anomolous groups, and nationalist pressures forced a choice between, what had by now become, Turkish or Greek identity (Gürkhan 1986). As religious affiliation became tied to an ethnic identity which also determined "mother tongue" and education, the phenomenon, observed by Beckingham earlier this century, of Greek-speaking Moslems and Turkish-speaking Christians, also died out (Beckingham 1957).<sup>7</sup> A Moslem equivalent to the efforts of the papacy to maintain the distinction between the Orthodox and Latin rite (mentioned above) was the religious education role of the mainland Turkish officers posted in Turkish Cypriot enclaves during the 1960s (Ioannides 1991). Ioannides views this strengthening of Turkish Cypriots' Moslem identity as part of a strategy for the Turkification of the island, an accompaniment to the renaming of villages and the ultimate partition of the island.<sup>8</sup>

Religion is not only a fundamental component of the ethnic and cultural identity of Cypriots: it is inscribed on the landscape, thus tightening the identification between country and people, and giving each the impress of the other; but at the same time, it embodies wider and conflicting affiliations and loyalties beyond the bounds of the island, and reconstructs Cyprus according to its meaning for Christianity and Islam. Situated at the margins of east and west, and ambiguously placed in relation to both, Cyprus was the object of countervailing pressures towards syncretism and polarisation. The arrival of British rule in Cyprus in 1878 introduced a new element which tipped the balance towards polarisation.

The British administration: divide and rule, or a "neutral umbrella"?

The British moved into Cyprus in July 1878 as the result of a secret agreement concluded between the British Prime Minister Disraeli and the Ottoman Sultan. According to the Convention of Defensive Alliance, Britain was to occupy and administer Cyprus under Ottoman suzerainty and in return for an annual rent, in order to support the Sultan against Russian incursions in Asia, and simultaneously to safeguard the British route to India through the Suez Canal (Luke 1965). Cyprus continued to be a nominally Ottoman possession until its annexation in 1915, when Turkey entered the First World War on the side of Germany, and subsequent incorporation into the British Empire as a Crown Colony in 1925; but for some British, the "second British occupation" (the first being the year-long occupation by Richard I which ushered in the Lusignan dynasty) was the fulfillment of an historic destiny. The new High Commissioner, Sir Garnet Wolseley, chose the traditional place of King Richard's encampment as the site for Government House, a decision which Hepworth Dixon, a visitor to Cyprus in the early days of British rule, greeted as follows:

"Our policy, Sir Garnet, should connect our ancient occupation with the new. Whether we will or not, the facts of our former visit stare us in the face. There, for example, you are building your new quarters on the ground once occupied by Lion-Heart's men. Richard - Victoria! By these great names we link our second advent with our first. A chain from Richard to Victoria seems long; but England is an ancient country, and her sovereigns are connected with each other by unbroken lines." (quoted Luke 1965:90)

British colonial policy in Cyprus has been characterised as being fundamentally divisive. The reports, memoirs and histories of the island written by British who served in various capacities in the colonial administration (eg Storrs 1939; Luke 1965; Orr 1972; Reddaway 1986) indicate that they perceived the population to consist of two distinct peoples, mutually antagonistic by nature, culture, history and religion, a view which



was reinforced by the radical demands of the enosisists on one side for union with Greece, and on the other side by claims of the Turkish element in what, until 1914, was still nominally an Ottoman territory.<sup>9</sup> The strategy of the British was at least to appear to be dealing even-handedly with both. Certainly, British measures, such as the removal of the special privileges enjoyed by Orthodox clergy under the Ottomans, the assumption by the State of the running of Evkaf (the pious foundation administering the property of the mosque and religious affairs of the Moslems), and the reprisals against both Greek and Turkish Cypriots after riots in 1931, had succeeded in giving equal offence to both communities.<sup>10</sup> The British had endeavoured to recruit Greeks and Turks to the colonial service in proportion to the ethnic mix in the population, to give equal priority to the official use of the Greek and Turkish languages, and to consult equally with Greek and Turkish village muktars (Reddaway 1990); but at the same time, as at least one colonial administrator admits (Orr 1972), they were willing to exploit the divisions between Greeks and Turks in the constitution of the Legislative Assembly in order to achieve the reality of British rule whilst giving the appearance of representative democracy - a policy which Captain Orr regarded as unwise.<sup>11</sup>

The campaign of violence begun in 1955 by the newly-formed Greek Cypriot organisation EOKA raised the political temperature. British complacency about the material benefits to the population of British rule had led them to underestimate the appeal of Greek irredentist nationalism (the "Megali Idea" - cf Oberling 1982), in particular to passionate Greek Cypriot youth who formed the backbone of EOKA's recruits (Markides 1974). Violence and political assassinations carried out against British officials, the families of British servicemen, left-wing Greek Cypriots and Greek Cypriots who maintained personal friendships with British residents, were also extended to Turkish Cypriots. Critics of British actions suggest that this was a result of the

cynical deployment of Turkish Cypriots in the police force and British army, and the belated discovery by the British of their obligation to protect the rights of the Turkish Cypriots in any future settlement, thus identifying the Turkish element as the main obstacle to enosis (Hitchens 1984). Such arguments represent enosis as "an anti-colonialist, anti-British movement ... to unite the island of Cyprus with mainland Greece" (Markides 1974:310), not aimed at the Turkish Cypriot population. Nevertheless, the Greek Cypriot demands for enosis were now countered with equally vociferous Turkish Cypriot demands for "taksim" - partition - which the British are accused of encouraging for their own ends (Hitchens 1984).

Hitchens' line is consistent with what Papadakis (1993) characterises as the most recent phase in the historiography of Cyprus, according to which division and hostility between Greek and Turkish Cypriots were largely artificially created in furtherance of regional and super-power interests. By maintaining the fiction that it was only the "neutral umbrella of the British Administration, which made it possible for the two island races to co-exist in peace" (Luke 1989:xi), Britain could justify maintaining a role in Cyprus which also secured its use of the island as a strategic base in the eastern Mediterranean. Furthermore, the interests of the western security alliance dictated that harmony between the two NATO members Greece and Turkey should not be endangered, thus excluding enosis as an option for the future of Cyprus. In Hitchens' view, it was for this combination of interests that the right to self-determination of the "Cypriot majority" was denied. In contrast, other writers have argued that the conflict between Greek and Turkish Cypriots was at least in part the product of their own mutually antagonistic nationalisms, which placed allegiance to the respective motherlands of Greece and Turkey above a common Cypriot identity (Papadakis 1993; Stavrinides 1975; Salih 1978; Feyzioğlu and Ertekün 1987; Kızılyürek



1988). Salih agrees with Luke's position, that it was only the presence of the British which prevented earlier bloodshed between Cypriots, and provides a long list of the points which divide Greek and Turkish Cypriots: ethnic origin, religion, language, culture, allegiance, traditions, and literature. "The public spirit for the love of Cyprus and Cypriotism is absent. Citizens of the two communities love the island, but their supreme loyalty is to their respective fatherlands" (Salih 1978:27 - emphasis added). Nationalist Turkish Cypriots demanded that they should be treated as a separate "halk" - people with its own rights to self-determination, not as an ethnic minority in a (Greek) Cypriot nation (Denktaş 1988).

Nationalist ideologues capitalised on the divisions between the two ethnic groups, but other writers have pointed to evidence of pluralism in Cypriot society. Whilst the cleavages amongst Cypriots during the period of Ottoman rule were sometimes between Christians and Moslems, at other times the two groups combined to form coalitions against their rulers (the Orthodox ecclesiastical hierarchy and Ottoman governor); it was when the British, out of a mixture of "phil-Hellenic idealism and the cynicism of Great Power imperialism" began to shift resources to Greek Cypriots, thus weakening the position of the Turks, that the specifically ethnic character of the social cleavages became fixed (Loizos 1972). In the hands of nationalist school teachers from mainland Greece and Turkey, education became a weapon for promoting allegiance to the "mother country", and found a ready response amongst the bourgeoisie and intelligentsia of the two communities; according to Kızılyürek, their nationalism was a class response both to the block placed on their aspirations by colonial rule, and to the left-wing and communist trade unions and political parties in which Greek and Turkish Cypriots were cooperating together (Kızılyürek 1988). Both the Greek Cypriot (EOKA) and Turkish Cypriot (TMT) paramilitary organisations had a marked anti-communist

character, and targeted left-wingers in their own communities who were active in organisations such as the trade union PEO (Attalides 1977; Berner 1992).

The shape of the island: independence, enosis or taksim?

Greek and Turkish Cypriot nationalisms are based in part on a view of social relations on the island according to which the ethnic groups are at worst mutually antagonistic and at best different and separate. However, the solutions which they propose also envisage a particular shape for the island, as the reflection of a particular national relationship to the land. The figurative "union with Greece" which was the goal of enosis was initially countered by the demand for a "return" to Turkey, which was subsequently modified to "taksim" -partition of the island. In the 1960s, the Acheson Plan, proposed by the American secretary of state Dean Acheson, envisaged a form of "double enosis", with the island divided up between Greece and Turkey. But once the British had finally decided that their position in Cyprus was no longer tenable, it was independence which was agreed upon in the London and Zurich talks held between Britain, Greece and Turkey - a shape for the island which had been neither foreseen nor particularly desired by the Cypriot parties to the conflict.

The constitution for the independent Republic of Cyprus which was drawn up with the advice of a Swiss constitutional expert created the apparatus for a unitary partnership state, with a system of checks and balances designed to safeguard the position of the Turkish Cypriots. In addition to a 70:30 ratio for ethnic representation in government, legislature and public service, and a 60:40 ratio in the security forces, the five major towns were to have separate Greek and Turkish Cypriot municipalities, a point which had been insisted upon by the Greek Cypriot leadership so that the financial burden of bringing the Turkish quarters up to the standard of the Greek ones would not



fall on Greek residents. Britain, Greece and Turkey became guarantors of the independent constitution of the island: an agreed number of mainland Greek and Turkish troops were to be stationed on the island, and two areas in the south, amounting to 2% of the territory of Cyprus, were to remain under British sovereignty for use as military bases (Reddaway 1986).

Critics of the Republic's constitution claim that it was unworkable from the start: it entrenched the division between Greek and Turkish Cypriots; the checks and balances on the executive and legislature were unwieldy; and the Turkish Cypriot powers of veto and the 70:30 ratio were inequitable, given that Turkish Cypriots composed only 18% of the population.<sup>12</sup> The Greek Cypriot leadership belatedly decided that the establishment of separate municipalities would be tantamount to an endorsement of "taksim", and President Makarios refused to implement them (Oberling 1982). After being in operation for only three years, the immediate cause of the breakdown of the constitution in December 1963 was the proposal by Makarios of 13 constitutional amendments, among them the ending of the Turkish Cypriot veto and the provision for separate municipalities, and the adjustment of the 70:30 ratio in line with the actual proportion of Greek and Turkish Cypriots in the population. However, the publication in a Greek newspaper in 1966 of a document signed by "The Chief, Akritas" (later identified as Minister for the Interior Yorgadjis) and subsequently known as the "Akritas Plan" suggested that the purpose of proposing the amendments was to provoke a strong reaction from the Turkish Cypriots which would provide the excuse forcibly to subdue the Turks and declare enosis (Oberling 1982; Reddaway 1986). In the aftermath of the resulting "Christmas War" the Turkish Cypriot population became concentrated in about 150 enclaves which formed 49 separate areas under Turkish control and took up approximately 2% of the land surface of the island.

The events of 1963/64 were a watershed in terms of both ethnic relations and the landscape of the island, but the meaning of the changes produced remains hotly contested. The official Greek Cypriot line was that the Turks responded to the proposed amendments with an outburst of violence which was part of an orchestrated attempt to achieve taksim; and that some of the irregulars involved in putting down the insurrection were out of control and over-enthusiastic. The Turkish Cypriot counter claim, supported by the accounts of British journalists on the spot, such as Gibbons (1969) and Crawshaw (1978), holds the Greek Cypriot leadership responsible for organising a genocidal onslaught on the Turkish Cypriot population, which was thwarted only by the threat of Turkish intervention. This fundamental disagreement over the significance of the Christmas War and its aftermath is at the heart of "the Cyprus Question"; the Turkish Cypriot position, that "... the problem started in 1963, not 1974" (Feyzioğlu and Ertekün 1987:9), has so far failed to find support in the international arena.<sup>13</sup> Differences also arise over the meaning of the new map of Cyprus which resulted from the conflict. More than 100 villages with mixed populations lost all or some of their Turkish population (Area Handbook for Cyprus 1971), and the areas in which Turkish Cypriots were concentrated had their own administrative, political and legal institutions under Turkish and Turkish Cypriot control. According to the Turkish Cypriot leadership, these areas were defensive enclaves, to protect their community from further Greek Cypriot attack; whilst for the Greek Cypriot leadership, they were potential bridgeheads for an invasion from Turkey, and foreshadowed eventual taksim.<sup>14</sup> Roadblocks operated by both Turkish and Greek Cypriots restricted access, and Greek Cypriots prevented building materials, batteries, tractors, car parts and items of warm clothing from entering the enclaves. Half the Turkish Cypriot population relied on the Red Crescent for food, and an important source of employment was as "mücahit"



- fighters paid by the Turkish army. In 1972 nearly 25% of Turkish Cypriots were without electricity, compared to 0.2% of Greek Cypriots (Berner 1992; Purcell 1969; Attalides 1977).

When a military putsch in Athens brought a right-wing junta of army colonels to power, relations between President Makarios and the Greek mainland government became strained just as relations between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots were improving. Communal talks in Cyprus had been opened towards the end of the 1960s, producing some amelioration in the conditions of the Turkish Cypriots, and with the lifting of many of the road blocks, restrictions on movement around the island had been eased. The reappearance of Turkish fighter planes over Cyprus when renewed fighting had broken out in 1967 had apparently convinced the President that enosis was no longer a realistic goal and in public statements he expressed the view that, although enosis was still desirable, it was not obtainable. Furthermore, Makarios enjoyed the support of left-wing parties in Cyprus and the communist bloc and non-aligned countries abroad. It was with the priority of undermining and ultimately removing President Makarios from power and with the backing of the junta in Athens that the former EOKA leader and anti-communist Grivas returned secretly to Cyprus from Greece in 1971 and formed the new organisation, EOKA B, dedicated to the final realisation of enosis. It has been suggested that the junta were encouraged in their project by Kissinger and the CIA, who, in the Cold War climate of the time, had come to see the existence of an independent and potentially left-wing Cyprus as a threat to the global security interests of the west (Hitchens 1984; Birand 1985).<sup>15</sup> In July 1974 EOKA B and the Greek National Guard stationed in Cyprus launched their coup on the government of Makarios, and Nicos Sampson was installed as President. The first victims of the coup were left-wing Greek Cypriots (Loizos 1981), but the reputation of Sampson suggested that it would not be long before Turkish Cypriots became

targets of the violence. Invoking the Treaty of Guarantee to which Turkey was a signatory, the Turkish president Ecevit authorised the intervention on the island of Turkish troops. On 20 July 1974 troops established a bridgehead on the northern coast of Cyprus and began to secure a corridor through the mountains between Kyrenia and Nicosia.

According to the Turkish journalist Mehmet Ali Birand, who attended the Geneva conferences convened to try and settle the situation in Cyprus, the Turkish "peace operation" was initially welcomed by the international community, although fears were expressed that it would lead to war between the two NATO allies Greece and Turkey (Birand 1985). However, within the space of a month, the Turkish troops had been branded as "invaders". The reasons for this were uncertainty over Turkish intentions, and the collapse of the military junta in Athens. Despite ceasefire agreements, the Turkish army had continued its advance and encircled Nicosia International Airport; and before the session of the second Geneva conference had terminated, a second military occupation was launched, increasing the territory under Turkish control. The Turkish justification for this second operation was the need to increase their troops' room for manoeuvre at a time when, also contrary to agreements, Greek forces had failed to withdraw from Turkish enclaves. According to Birand, the Turks were determined not to repeat their mistakes of the 1960s, when early withdrawal to allow United Nations forces to step in had left the Turkish Cypriots vulnerable to further attacks. A return to the status quo was out of the question for the Turks and Turkish Cypriots, who considered the 1960 constitution to have been abrogated, not by the Greek coup of 1974, but by the actions of the Greek Cypriot leadership in 1963. On the other hand, Britain, Greece and the United States opposed constitutional renegotiations which would expose Greece's fragile new civilian government to a backlash from nationalist anti-democratic forces in the military (ibid).



The second Geneva conference ended in stalemate. The Turkish army's second push achieved de facto partition of the island, and an exchange of populations was agreed between Greek and Turkish leaderships in 1975; however, the partition, and subsequent unilateral declaration of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in 1983, have never been recognised by Greek Cypriots or the international community. The "foundation myths" for establishing and legitimising a new national character for the north of the country have not gained acceptance outside Northern Cyprus and Turkey, with the consequence that the north of the island has effectively become a "non-country" (Berner 1992).

#### CYPRUS AS "TOPOS"

The island's past yields a range of, often contradictory, possible narrative themes. Underlying them is a discourse of "continuity" (cf Hitchens 1984 quoted earlier), but continuity itself is constructed. Thus the Byzantine era, in nationalist Greek Cypriot narratives, represents 800 years of uninterrupted Greek influence on the island, whilst from Turkish and British perspectives, it represents a continuous tradition of regional super-power domination of the island; the Ottoman occupation represents a return to the island's essentially eastward orientation or, alternatively, the trampling down of a western, Christian culture; even the significance of geographical location is subject to interpretation, in the sense that east, west, north and south, as well as being points of the compass, are also shifting political and symbolic categories to which geographical location is only tangentially relevant. For example, the location of Cyprus has a different significance within the east/west division of Christianity, the east/west division of Christianity/Islam, and the east/west division of global security alliances.

Since 1974, official maps showing the northern third of the island as a blank "under Turkish military occupation"; the designation of "the Attila Line" for the boundary marking the partition between north and south; the identification of the government in the south as sole representatives of the "(Republic of) Cyprus"; and the changing of place names in the north, are all examples of how the "rhetoric of place" is used in support of different narratives. This rhetoric of place has particular force when it is combined with the direct experience of place - as in tourism:

Die zyperngriechische Position ist weitgehend bekannt. Wo lokale Aspekte der Zypernfrage überhaupt Beachtung finden, stösst man auf diese Sicht. Sie schildert den Zypernkonflikt als ungerechtes, unvorhersehbares Ereignis, das ein friedfertiges Volk brutal in seinem idyllischen Inselleben überkam. Der Zypernkonflikt beginnt demnach mit dem türkischen "Überfall" 1974. Dabei wird vorausgesetzt, dass die Bevölkerung Zyperns griechisch ist. Jährlich sind hunderttausende Urlauber im Süden Zyperns und begegnen dort zwangsläufig der griechischen Sicht der Dinge.

Der Norden wird dabei zum "Un-Land". (Berner 1992: Introduction)

[The Greek Cypriot position is widely known. Where attention is given at all to the local aspects of the Cyprus issue, you come across this point of view. It describes the Cyprus conflict as an unjust and unforeseeable event, which brutally befell a peaceful people in its idyllic island life. According to this view, the Cyprus conflict begins with the 1974 Turkish "attack". At the same time it is taken for granted that the population of Cyprus is Greek. Every year there are hundreds of thousands of holidaymakers in southern Cyprus, and there they necessarily meet the Greek view of things.

In this process the North becomes a "non-country".]

As Berner suggests, the presence of tourists in Cyprus has symbolic (as well as economic) significance. Not only is their "knowledge" about Cyprus supplemented and verified (or possibly, contradicted) by their experience of the place, but their very presence attests to the place's existence (in a sense, makes it real), which in the north is itself a propaganda coup:



...Wendy was puzzled by the fact that if northern Cyprus officially did not exist, how was it that British Airways had handled the family's baggage when they had arrived three hours ago?

Her bewilderment had increased when she had put her three-year-old son, Matthew, in the airport's nursery and a member of staff asked their destination. "Ercan", Wendy had replied.

"There's no such place," the nurse insisted. Carter's wife answered that there most certainly was, and, furthermore, she added, the flight indicator board would confirm her statement as would the labels on her bags, put there by British Airways staff. There the matter had rested, but it was not very reassuring to think that the people who worked at Heathrow were as divided amongst themselves as the Cypriots. (Matthews 1987)

In the closing sections of this chapter I should like to look more closely at how tourists' "experience of place" is framed by briefly examining two "topoi" which in travel writing, memoirs and even political analyses have become part of the rhetoric of Cyprus. These topoi I have called: "the enchanted island" and "paradise lost".

#### "The enchanted island"

One of the most common images associated with Cyprus is that of an "earthly paradise". Lyrical passages extolling the island's natural beauties introduce even Orr's dry, factual record of the strengths and weaknesses of the British administration (Orr 1972). In descriptions by British writers the landscape of Cyprus is not just a delight to the eye, but a feast for all the senses: the heat of the Mediterranean sun, the fecundity of the soil, the ripeness of the fruit, the natural rhythms of the seasons, the sound of running water and the humming of insects, the blaze of colour from the spring flowers, and the scent of jasmine and orange blossom - all are dwelt upon in loving detail. But more than this, Cyprus is the earthly paradise of the gods of Greek legend, its sensuality heightened by its association with Aphrodite, the goddess of love, who emerged from the sea at Paphos. Quotations from Tennyson, and from Homer, Euripides and Horace in the original Greek and Latin, punctuate the descriptions of Cyprus. Myth and early history are

merged: in Luke's account, it is the gods of the Phoenicians who leave their native land and "leaving their uncouth eastern names behind them, blend in Cyprus with their counterparts from Achaia".

....thus is divine Astarte reborn off the coast of Paphos, "Idalian Aphrodite beautiful," to mourn anew the annual death of her beloved Tammuz in the guise of the spring-god Adonis, gored by a jealous boar. From her bleeding feet as she hastens through the thickets to her wounded lover grows the wild rose with its delicate pink; from the deeper sanguine of his life-blood, ebbing away as the lad lies dying in the arms of his goddess, springs the tender anemone of the opening year. (Luke 1965:22)

Their drama, repeated annually in the rebirth of spring, is recalled in the celebrations of Kataklysmos and Saint Lazarus which are kept by the Orthodox church (ibid). The continuity with a magical past is also preserved by the customs of the peasants, who leave votive offerings at the ancient shrines in the hope of receiving a cure for illness and infertility (ibid; Thubron 1986); and after a heavy rainfall, the earth casually yields up its treasures - brilliant mosaics, and other artefacts from the antique past (Kallifatides 1993). In the enchanted island, the Golden Age, which was the main cultural reference for the classically educated middle and upper class Englishman, is brought to life and lives on in the landscape and the customs of the people.

There is another aspect to the topos of the enchanted island, which Lawrence Durrell had to search for beneath the suburban veneer created by the British administration, and which he eventually found in the village of Bellapais - one of the "... weird enclaves ... [where] these Mediterranean folk lived a joyous, uproarious, muddled anarchic life of their own" (Durrell 1989:34). The pages of Durrell and Thubron are full of encounters with the exuberant and eccentric representatives of the "true Mediterranean". These figures are almost all Greek, and the few Turks who feature are markedly "other": the languid Oriental courtesy of Durrell's estate agent, the lonely decrepit Hodja he befriends, the dour aggressive occupants of the armed enclave where Thubron spends the night, with their penchant for trading in



looted antiquities - all are part of a different world from that joyous, simple Mediterranean which for the (Greek-speaking) writers is Cyprus, and in which they are privileged guests. It is perhaps significant that in the books by Thomas (nd), Matthews (1987) and Burch (1990), whose travels in the north of the island took place after the division of 1974, Turkish Cypriot "characters" have much the same qualities and roles as the Greek Cypriot "characters" discovered by Durrell and Thubron.

The topos of the "enchanted island" contains elements of the sentimental nostalgia of the "civilised" northerner for the mythical past of classical antiquity on the one hand, and the simple peasant spontaneity and sensuality of the Mediterranean on the other. But as an image of Cyprus, it denies the "coevalness" (Fabian 1983) of the country and its people, for the enchantment would be shattered by the intrusion of the events and concerns of the twentieth century.

#### "Paradise lost"

As I said in the previous edition of this book, I dislike having had to write this chapter ["From Enosis to Republic"]. Where there is, as in Cyprus, so much beauty, so much to interest, please and make for happiness, so much real kindness, friendliness and of the spirit of hospitality among the people of both races, it is sad to have to strike a jarring note. I have wanted this to be a happy book. But it is useless to blink the facts ... (Luke 1965:173)

With the intrusion of "facts" into the idyll, the "enchantment" of Cyprus becomes more poignant through the awareness of its fragility. Luke was writing about the shock of the violence of the EOKA campaign of the 1950s. Several decades later, Hitchens is writing about the effects of the Turkish "invasion". "At certain times of day, and at particular bends in the road or curves of the shore, Cyprus is still so lovely that it takes you by the

throat" (Hitchens 1984:27). However, rereading a "tribute" to the island written in 1908 by Sir Harry Luke, his pleasure in the description is destroyed:

Rereading that passage now, I find it overwritten and sentimental. I am condemned to see all those aspects of Cyprus through the prism of their desecration. They have been spoiled for me and - more crucially - ruined for the Cypriots. Othello's tower is within sight of the empty waste of the city of Varosha. St Hilarion is in a military zone. Pyrgos can be reached only by skirting a fortified enclave and passing through a napalmed village. The Karpass has been subjected to a clearance and repopulated by colonists. (ibid:28)

Apart from their effects on the people of the country, violence and destruction form a distorting prism which changes the meaning of the landscape. This effect is striking in Gibbons' account of the Christmas War of 1963/64. The soil of Cyprus is now as likely to conceal mass graves as antique mosaics. A British school-teacher, the only eye-witness to the shooting of 150 Turkish Cypriot hostages at Kykkos school on Christmas Day was sent home "for her own safety", and the story never made public:

Because of this hundreds of Turks in Cyprus still await news of their loved ones, convinced they will one day return home. They cannot believe that somewhere in lovely sunny Cyprus, the tourist paradise, there are mass graves, bulldozed into level ground in fields, shunned, perhaps, by Greek cultivators; blossoming, perhaps, with stands of wild mimosa and jasmine. (Gibbons 1969:86)

The irony of the contrast between the atrocities being carried out and the island's image as a tourist paradise is pushed to the point of bathos when Gibbons notes that the equipment left behind by armed Greek civilians from Kyrenia after their abortive attack on the Turkish village of Ağirdağ included blankets from the Dome Hotel (ibid:113).

Although war in paradise distorts the meaning of the landscape, in Gibbons' account there is a sense in which it also strips away the veneer to reveal an older, truer meaning beneath. The "fairy-tale castle" of St Hilarion, which, as the guide books inform the visitor, was the model for the



castle in Walt Disney's "Snow White", and was also a favourite picnic spot for the wife of the first British civilian governor of Kyrenia and her friends (Scott-Stevenson 1880), was originally a fortified stronghold and itself the scene of bloody fighting and atrocities. In the 1960s it became a headquarters for Turkish Cypriot fighters, who thus restore the link with the castle's past: "From the towering mountain behind Templos, down goat tracks from Richard the Lionheart's [sic] Hilarion Castle, the Turkish Fighters came" (Gibbons 1969:150).<sup>16</sup> Ten years later, having fallen into the hands of Greek Cypriot fighters, St Hilarion was a strategic point from which the landing Turkish troops were bombarded.

The loss of paradise brings with it a different kind of knowledge from the learning which animates the vision of the enchanted island. Pondering the refugee experience of the Greek Cypriots, Kallifatides uncovers an alternative meaning in the figure of Aphrodite, more appropriate to the times: "Hatta ... Aphrodite de buraya mülteci olarak gelmişti" (Kallifatides 1993:45) [Even Aphrodite came here as a refugee]. This hard knowledge destroys the unanimity of meaning characteristic of the enchanted island and replaces it with a duality which splits emotional response, as John Reddaway most aptly illustrates with the title of his personal memoir of Cyprus "Odi et Amo" [I hate and love].

To close this discussion, I return to the topos of Bellapais, whose transformations well illustrate the preceding points. As popularised by Durrell, Bellapais is a Mediterranean idyll. Even during his stay, however, its meaning, expressed in its name of "Beautiful Peace" (emphasised by Durrell's spelling "Bellapaix") had become an ironic counterpoint to the violence of the EOKA campaign. Durrell did not stay long enough to see his paradise destroyed. Twenty years later, Hitchens returned to Bellapais to find it occupied by the Turkish army. The image of the rustic Mediterranean

idyll created by Durrell becomes a symbol of expulsion from paradise, as the original occupants are replaced by Turkish Cypriots from the "undistinguished hamlet" of Mari. Oberling, however, "uses" Bellapais to different effect: it now becomes a "microcosm of the north as a whole" (Oberling 1982:232), its new inhabitants the survivors of the atrocities carried out in Mari and Tokhni. For them, the "Beautiful Peace" of "Durrell's" village offers the opportunity to rebuild their shattered lives. Oberling reverses the symbolism implicit in Hitchens' account to suggest a return to paradise:

Today, the visitor to Bellapais encounters a similarly peaceful scene [to that described by Durrell]. While the young are busy tilling the fields, a group of aged but surprisingly clear-eyed men sit on Van Gogh chairs sipping coffee or brandy in the shade of the same plane tree and, like their predecessors, punctuate long sentences of silence with an occasional terse comment about the weather or the latest political controversy. But nowadays the coffee house is called Ulusoglu Kahvehanesi and the only language spoken there is Turkish. As a recent visitor described it, the experience of returning to the village after an absence of several years is "like seeing a familiar film only to realize belatedly that it has been reshot with a different cast". (Oberling 1982:231-232)

But this paradise is marred by an underlying sadness:

... beneath Bellapais' placid surface there is an undercurrent of sadness and even tragedy, for its new inhabitants have all been deeply scarred by the Cyprus conflict. In this way, Bellapais is a microcosm of the north as a whole and the fears and anxieties of its inhabitants are those of all Turkish Cypriots. Therefore, a visit to the village can be highly instructive. (ibid:232)

From earthly paradise, to paradise lost, and paradise regained; from nostalgia to instruction; the topos of Bellapais becomes an expression both of the unreflecting innocence of the enchanted island, and the intrusion of knowledge and loss of innocence of the fall.

## CONCLUSION

In a later chapter (chapter four), I explore the intimate relationship between land and people as it is embodied in social relationships, personal histories and emotional bonds; in the present chapter I have focussed on how historical



narratives construct "the country" for a "nation". Unlike Papadakis (1993) I have not been explicitly concerned with nationalism per se, except in so far as nationalist narratives contribute to discourse on the identity of the island. In the case of Cyprus, collective nationalist aims have been perceived largely in spatial terms, that is, with the goal of enosis - union with Greece - on the one hand, and taksim - the partition of the island - on the other. Nationalist narratives have both constructed an identity for the island in line with these goals, and have appealed to this identity in support of their claims.

"Continuity" is an important aspect of both historical and spatial discourse. Continuity emerges as a legitimising principle in all the narratives, but is subject to different constructions: the island's continuous Greek identity on the one hand is opposed by its continuous regional identity on the other; a tradition of homogeneity is opposed by a tradition of heterogeneity. Similarly, the "island" of Cyprus is a "natural" symbol of spatial continuity, and its division by an "artificial border" comes to stand for rupture and discontinuity. Although narratives associate discontinuity with illegitimacy, again they differ as to what constitutes discontinuity.<sup>17</sup> From Turkish Cypriot perspectives, the 1963 war and its aftermath are the most potent embodiment of discontinuity, whilst the primordial discontinuity from Greek Cypriot perspectives is represented by the trauma of 1974. An unnamed western diplomat quoted by Reddaway (1990:83) observed, "The problem of Cyprus is that Turkish Cypriots can't forget what happened between 1960 and 1974 and the Greek Cypriots can't remember"; however, what is remembered and what is forgotten is in part an outcome of the dominance of particular historical narratives (Papadakis 1993:98 ff).

Danforth has argued, with reference to the conflicting claims to Macedonian identity, that bodies such as the European Community and the United

Nations have assumed great importance as the arbiters of national disputes: "It is to these organizations that nations now turn when they seek recognition, legitimacy or support" (Danforth 1993:8). In the current "era of globalization" (ibid), the parties to national disputes increasingly direct their efforts towards influencing opinion in the international arena, with national groups in the diaspora and their supporters playing an important lobbying and publicity role. Turkish Cypriot efforts in this direction have so far met with little success.

Tourism too has its part to play in the globalisation of national disputes, but it is a complex and often contradictory part. Resorts appeal to foreign holidaymakers by marketing themselves as "tourist paradises": the slogan of Northern Cyprus, for example is "A Corner of Earth Touched by Heaven". Confronting tourists with "the political facts about Cyprus" can shatter the illusion of paradise. Sometimes, however, "the facts" obtrude themselves. For tourists, the fact that the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is an unrecognised country may simply be a puzzling or irritating inconvenience: travel agents may never have heard of Ercan airport, or deny that it exists; the flight time is six hours (instead of the four hours it takes to reach Larnaca in the south) because the plane has to touch down in Turkey; air tickets are more expensive; once in Northern Cyprus, they may not cross into the south, and on entry they are advised to have a piece of paper stamped instead of their passport, in case they subsequently want to visit southern Cyprus; several swimming beaches and historical sites adjoin military zones. The "Cyprus issue" is brought home to tourists through their experience of the place. How the alternative visions of "the enchanted island" and "paradise lost" are handled, and how Turkish Cypriot identity is constructed and reconstructed in the process, is examined in chapter six.



In this chapter I concentrated on textual constructions of Cyprus. A major theme of the following chapters is how Turkish Cypriot identity and the place of Northern Cyprus are constructed through the tourism process. Tourism is both symbolically and economically important to Northern Cyprus, and in the next chapter I examine how this is reflected in official policies and planning.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. The writer Kallifitades is a resident of Sweden, and the extracts from his book are taken from the Turkish translation of the original Swedish. According to the publisher's notes, the author's family is from Trabzon and emigrated to Greece in the 1930s.
2. In contrast Denktaş, writing about Cyprus from a Turkish perspective, starts his chapter on the "Early History" of the island with the Ottoman period and reaches 1960 in half a page (Denktaş 1988).
3. Loizos (1981) and Stavrinides (1975) write about the meaning of place for Cypriots as it is constructed, not by textual narratives of "the nation", but social relationships and personally lived experience, in particular the experience of being refugees. I examine these "internal" constructions in chapter four.
4. This was a remedy adopted by successive rulers of the island when the population became dangerously low: for example, the introduction of the Maronite community during Lusignan times, and the colonisation from Anatolia after the Ottoman conquest.
5. Ie Richard I, who, by selling the island to the knight Guy de Lusignan exposed the Orthodox population to Latin rule.

6. According to the British traveller William Turner, whose "Journal of a Tour in the Levant" was published in 1820, Cyprus, "... though nominally under the authority of a Bey appointed by the Qapudan Pasha, is in fact governed by the Greek Archbishop and his subordinate clergy". Quoting Turner, Luke notes:

What had happened was that the Archbishop and Bishops, who had been allowed by the Porte to grow powerful in order to act as a check upon the local officials, soon entered into an alliance with those very same officials for the purpose of enrichment at the expense of the luckless peasantry. (Luke 1965:80)

7. Beckingham also maintains that intermarriage between Moslem men and Christian women was not uncommon in the past, although it became more rare after the Greek War of Independence.

8. Mainland Turks and non-Turkish Moslems often told me that they did not consider Turkish Cypriots to be "good Moslems", and according to one resident in Cyprus from an Arab Gulf State: "Makarios was a fool - if he'd just waited long enough, the Turkish Cypriots would have become Christians just like the Greeks".

9. Britain maintained many of the Ottoman administrative and judicial institutions. According to Luke, the failure of the British to expand English language teaching and educational opportunities for Cypriots, viewed by Lawrence Durrell as an example of Britain's neglect of its colonial subjects, stemmed in part from the desire not to offend the Turks by appearing to be carrying out a policy of anglicisation in Cyprus.

10. These were enosist riots which culminated in the burning down of the Governor's house.



11. The composition of the Legislative Assembly was such as to ensure that the Turkish and British members, voting together, could always outvote the Greek members. "Whether it is wise to rely on the permanent hostility between two sections of the population to carry into effect the policy of the Government is a matter of opinion" (Orr 1972:106).
12. When the British took over the administration of Cyprus in 1878, Turks formed 25% of the population. According to the Turkish Cypriot historian Haşmet Gürkhan, the decline in their numbers relative to the rest of the population was due to several factors: many emigrated to Turkey following Britain's annexation of Cyprus, in particular those from the middle-class families of the bureaucracy; and emigration was further stimulated by the economic conditions of those remaining in Cyprus, who found that, with the British assumption of power, trade links switched from the Middle East to Europe, creating problems of language and lack of contacts for the Turks. During the First World War, which Turkey entered on the side of the Germans, many Turkish Cypriot traders became bankrupt, and several were imprisoned in Girne Castle on suspicion of helping German submarines (Gürkhan 1986).
13. The Turkish position is that, not only did the problem start in 1963, but the Turkish Cypriots were its victims (cf Egeli 1991 "How the 1960 Republic of Cyprus was Destroyed") - that is, a mirror image of what is commonly accepted as the 1974 scenario. Many Turkish Cypriots say that their failure to make the rest of the world "hear" this version of events is due to the superior public relations skills of the Greek Cypriots, in particular Makarios, and the historic western prejudice against the "Terrible Turks". Their position during the 1960s was not helped by their absence from the organs of state; thus "...whenever there was renewed fighting in Cyprus, and Turkey prepared to intervene

and put an end to the massacres of Turks once and for all, Makarios would loudly protest about outside interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus" (Denktaş 1988:29).

14. This is mostly clearly illustrated by the case of Erenköy/Kokkina, a Turkish enclave attacked by Greek units in 1964 to stop the landing of arms from Turkey. Turkish Cypriot students returned from Turkey and Britain to join the local fighters, and the defence of Erenköy has entered Turkish Cypriot national mythology as a symbol of heroic resistance (İsmail 1992:88). Today it remains as a tiny island under Turkish military control in the Greek Cypriot south of the island.
15. The Acheson Plan (see the beginning of this section) would have dissolved the independent republic and awarded parts of the island to Greece and parts to Turkey. According to Hitchens the proposal was motivated by the fear, "often expressed by the less polished elements in the Johnson administration, that Cyprus might become 'the Cuba of the Mediterranean', with Makarios as its 'cassocked Castro'" (Hitchens 1984:57). Hitchens' account produces evidence that this plan still underlay American policy on Cyprus in 1974.
16. Although Richard I captured St Hilarion in 1191, the castle was actually Byzantine and was added to and fortified by the Lusignans. By making St Hilarion "the Lionheart's ... castle", Gibbons not only stresses Britain's line of descent in Cyprus, but also creates a bond between the British and the Turks, whose fighting demeanour he subsequently compares to that of the British tommie.
17. An historic precedent for the partition of the island is in fact the Genoese occupation of Famagusta and the surrounding region, which lasted for some 80 years during the Lusignan era.



## CHAPTER THREE

### TOURISM DEVELOPMENT, POLICY AND PLANNING

#### TOURISM DEVELOPMENT BEFORE 1974

Although Cyprus' tourism did not take off until the late 1960s, organised tours had been visiting the island for at least a hundred years before then. The American consul Louis Palma di Cesnola, in his memoirs of his sojourn in Cyprus first published in 1877, complained of the nuisance of Thomas Cook tourists who periodically turned up at his house, demanding to see the famous antiquities displayed in his garden (Cesnola 1991). Cyprus was a regular port of call for cruises en route to Egypt and the Middle East, and Sir Ronald Storrs, British Governor of the island from 1926 to 1932, recognised the potential for tapping extra income from tourism and using it for the conservation and protection of Cyprus' ancient monuments; but his proposal for a ten-shilling landing tax on tourists came to nothing, "... because of the objections raised at the Colonial Office by the shipping companies, that the extra ten shillings on a £40 or £50 return ticket might deflect the traveller from Cyprus to Peking or the Andes" (Storrs 1939). Patrick Balfour's proposals for developing Cyprus' tourism a decade or so later at first met with similar apathy from the Colonial Office; but eventually a Director of Tourism was appointed for Cyprus, and by 1950 the revenue from tourism was 1,250,000 pounds sterling (Martin 1993).

During the period of British rule, Cyprus was considered a type of "sanatorium", where colonial officers and their families could rest and recover from the rigours of tropical postings (Orr 1972). Cyprus was principally popular with visitors from the Middle East, who patronised the hill resorts of Platres, Troodos, Prodromos and Kakopetria, whilst the majority of tourists at seaside resorts was made up of local inhabitants and visiting relatives of British troops and colonial government officials; tourist accommodation consisted almost entirely of small-scale, family-run businesses (Ioannides 1992). The nascent tourism industry of the 1950s was all but extinguished during the violent EOKA campaign (Martin 1993). In 1960, the year when Cyprus gained independence from Britain, 25,700 tourist arrivals were recorded. Fewer than 4,000 bed spaces were available for tourist accommodation; of these, 45% were in the hill resorts, whilst fewer than a third were in the coastal towns of Limassol, Larnaca, Famagusta, Paphos and Kyrenia, the remaining 26% being situated in Nicosia (Ioannides 1992).

Ioannides (1992) study of the Cypriot resort cycle gives a detailed picture of the pattern of tourism development on the island, and the factors affecting it. Tourism development was prioritised in the first Five-Year Development Plan (1962-1966) of the independent republic. The steady upward growth in tourist arrivals suffered a set-back in the middle of the decade, as a result of the violent intercommunal conflict of 1964-65, but soon recovered, and in 1966 the income from tourism amounted to 3.6 million pounds sterling, with 54,000 tourists visiting the island. Towards the end of the decade, the government adopted a more proactive role in encouraging foreign and local investment, establishing the Cyprus Tourism Organisation in 1969, passing legislation to enforce international hotel standards, and investing heavily in the international airport at Nicosia, and Cyprus Airways, the national carrier. Tourist numbers received a substantial boost in the early



1970s, when Cyprus began to feature as a package holiday destination; British tourists continued to predominate, and their numbers climbed steadily, but from the late 1960s onwards they were joined by small but growing numbers of tourists from West Germany and Sweden. In 1971, tourist arrivals reached 178,000, but over the following two years this number jumped dramatically to reach 264,000 in 1973 (Andronicou 1979). Cyprus now took on the definitive character of a "sun-lust" destination. Of the total 10,796 bed spaces registered in 1973, 74.1% were now in coastal areas: of these roughly 8,000 bed spaces, 45% were in Famagusta, and 12.7% in Kyrenia (giving Kyrenia the third-greatest concentration of bed spaces on the island, after Famagusta and Nicosia) (Ioannides 1992:718). Much of the tourism development was in an area five miles long and three-quarters of a mile wide - the Famagusta suburb of Varosha, where early uncontrolled development led to a concentration of high-rise hotels and apartments which sent land prices rocketing and placed an enormous strain on the existing infrastructure. Despite the undoubted wealth of Varosha, and its contribution to national income, it came to be seen as a "problem area" demanding action by the authorities (Andronicou 1979).

#### Turkish Cypriot participation in tourism development before 1974

Before 1974, Turkish Cypriot participation in Cyprus' tourism development was minimal. In his paper "Tourism in Cyprus", the head of the Cyprus Tourism Organisation ascribes this largely to cultural differences between Greek and Turkish Cypriots:

The Greek Cypriot culture may ... be described as competitive and individualistic ... The Turkish Cypriot culture differs in not attaching such great importance to achievement and wealth, and the Turkish community was therefore relatively less well represented in the business and economic life of the island. (Andronicou 1979:246)

Whatever their cultural predisposition, however, Turkish Cypriot participation in tourism development from 1963 onwards was undoubtedly hindered by the

spatial segregation of Turkish Cypriots in their own enclaves, and by discrimination against would-be Turkish Cypriot entrepreneurs, particularly those who attempted to make tourism investments in predominantly Greek Cypriot areas (Çağın 1990; Martin 1993). Turkish Cypriot tourism businesses were largely of the "pansiyon" (basic family guesthouse) variety, catering to the domestic market, whilst travel agents catered almost exclusively to Turkish Cypriot migrants leaving for Australia and Britain.<sup>1</sup> A British visitor to Cyprus during the 1960s notes:

At present [Turkish Cypriots] benefit proportionately very little from tourism, and pressures are sometimes brought to bear on foreigners who use their hotels or become too friendly with them. (Purcell 1969:55)

Purcell himself was arrested by Greek Cypriot plainclothes police when he left the Turkish quarter of Nicosia by a street "other than the one permitted", but was released "when one of the plainclothesmen recognised me as having been at the monastery of Machaeras on a Greek Cypriot national occasion a few days before" (ibid:51n1). The first Turkish Cypriot hotel was the Saray, built by Evkaf in Nicosia and opened to the public in May 1964; but until the conflict between Greek and Turkish Cypriots eased off in 1969 it was run by a foreign operator (Çağın 1990).

By the early 1970s, relations between Greek and Turkish communities on the island had become more relaxed, but Turkish Cypriot participation in tourism remained marginal and was on the whole mediated by Greek Cypriot businesses and municipal authorities. Some Turkish Cypriot travel agencies began to operate as sub-agents to Greek Cypriot businesses selling airline and shipping tickets, and a Turkish Cypriot businessman who began construction of an international hotel in a Greek-Cypriot controlled area west of Kyrenia was required to take a Greek Cypriot partner on the basis of a 50/50 share of



profits (Martin 1993). With a few exceptions, the tourism boom by-passed Turkish Cypriots, and by 1971 their average per capita income was only 50% that of Greek Cypriots compared with 80% in 1961 (Ladbury and King 1982).

#### AFTER 1974: TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN NORTHERN CYPRUS

So we come to 1974. The Turkish Cypriots suddenly find themselves in control of a large number of hotels, but, alas, no tourists. The island's air and sea links are disrupted, and travelling in or out of the island is strictly limited. (Çağın 1990:36)

In July 1974 Turkish troops established a bridgehead on the northern coast of Cyprus just west of Girne, and began their push southwards. When the Green Line was finally established, and populations exchanged between the north and south of the island in 1975, approximately 65% of total bed capacity, mostly concentrated in the resorts of Girne and Mağusa, was left in the area under Turkish and Turkish Cypriot control. Of the total 10,200 licensed beds in these two resorts, 6,000 were in the Mağusa suburb of Maraş (Varosha), which, up to the time of writing, has remained a closed area under military control (cf Lockhart and Ashton 1990). Despite its heavy losses, Greek Cypriot tourism has made a rapid recovery since 1974, developing new resorts in the south and attracting more than a million visitors in 1988 (ibid). In comparison, tourism development in the north has remained slow and often stagnant, despite its high priority in official policy and planning.

In November 1974, the parastatal organisation "Cyprus Turkish Tourism Enterprises Ltd" was established to take charge of the existing hotel stock in Northern Cyprus; and in February 1975, Ercan Airport came into operation. During 1975 74,171 visitors entered Northern Cyprus; of these, 67,486 or 90.99% came from Turkey (Martin 1993). As Martin points out, Turkish curiosity and national sentiment about Cyprus was strong as a result of the Turkish military intervention; the large numbers of Turkish tourists can also

be accounted for by visitors to military and ancillary personnel stationed in Cyprus, and by the "valisci", or "luggage tourists", commissioned by Turkish retailers to make bulk purchases of those items available more cheaply in Northern Cyprus for resale in Turkey. Undoubtedly, however, a substantial proportion of Turkish visitors to Northern Cyprus actually entered as "tourists" with the aim of finding work. In any case, the problem of international transport and communications referred to by Çağın (above), as well as the north's reputation as an occupied zone with a heavy military presence, were major obstacles to attracting tourists from countries other than Turkey.

Turkish Cypriots, on the whole, lacked the contacts and the transport and communications infrastructure to build up an international tourism sector; they also lacked tourism skills and experience. A state-run hotel and catering school was established in Girne in 1975, and in addition, personnel were sent abroad for training. One informant, who had graduated in economics at a Turkish university and was employed by Evkaf as an accountant, was suddenly asked to take a course in tourism at Nottingham University, then come back to organise the running of the Dome Hotel: "At that time, there was only one plane and one boat a week, and I asked them, 'Where is the tourism?'". For ten years, up to the mid 1980s, Turkish Cypriot tourism stagnated, remaining heavily dependent on luggage tourists from Turkey. The number of foreign (ie non-Turkish) tourists stuck at about 20,000 per year (ca 20% of the total), and both the means and the incentive for investment was lacking.

In 1986, at the instigation of President Özal of Turkey, tourism was declared the "locomotive sector" of the Turkish Cypriot economy. The Second Five Year Plan (1987-1992) aimed to give tourism a leading role in the economy, replacing the reliance on agriculture (74% of exports in 1986).<sup>2</sup> Tourism was seen as a means to boost employment, improve the balance of



payments, and obtain foreign exchange, taking advantage of the natural attractions of climate, beaches and landscape.<sup>3</sup> In order to achieve this, tourism investment was made a priority: 10.4% of total fixed capital investment was to be allocated to tourism, of which 80% would come from government sources, heavily supported by subventions from Turkey; at the same time, foreign investment in tourism was to be attracted by incentive packages offering tax holidays and repatriation of profits. The plan foresaw an average annual increase of over 12% in tourist numbers, an increase in the average length of stay from 6.91 to 12 nights, and a 65% bed occupancy rate by 1992 (compared with 40% in 1987), at the same time as bed numbers were to be more than doubled to nearly 10,500. These ambitious targets reflected a further aim: to reduce the proportion of Turkish tourists, whose average length of stay was considerably shorter than tourists from other countries, and of whom about one-third stayed in pansiyons and guesthouses rather than hotels. Employment in tourism was expected to increase by 6.9% per year.

These expectations were fuelled by a number of positive developments in 1987. Total tourist arrivals increased by 40% over the previous year, and although non-Turkish arrivals still made up only 20% of the total, this represented a 41% increase in numbers in this group. A further 54% increase in non-Turkish tourists raised their share to 24% (see Appendix 4). The plan's target of 250,600 tourists by 1992 was exceeded in 1989. When the programme for 1991 came to be published in September 1990, tourism development was in many respects exceeding its targets: value added was increasing at 14.8% per annum rather than the planned 9.1%, employment was increasing at 10.7% pa, and tourism's net invisible earnings for 1990 were estimated at \$218.8 million, nearly four times the sum of all other invisible earnings and exceeding target by 157%. At the same time, the rest of the economy was experiencing a boom - therefore, despite its growth, tourism's share of GDP

showed no dramatic rise, the increase from 1.8% in 1986 to 2.2% in 1990 merely restoring tourism's share to its 1982 level (see Appendix 5). Similarly, direct employment in tourism at 2.3% of total employment showed a negligible increase relative to other sectors, because of the general improvement in employment levels (see Appendix 6). The annual programme for 1991 restated the commitment to and confidence in the future of tourism, revising targets for investment and tourist arrivals upward (the new target of 437,000 tourist arrivals in 1991 being 71% up on the Five Year Plan target for 1992); but plans to raise significantly the proportion of non-Turkish tourists were abandoned; the expectation that they would continue to comprise about 80% of all tourists was reflected in the downward revisions of targets for length of stay and number of tourist hotel beds (to 7.5 nights and 8,108 beds respectively).

Events in train at the same time as the optimistic 1991 Programme was being published were to have a disastrous impact on these plans. The Turkish Cypriot businessman Asil Nadir had been investing heavily in agriculture and tourism. The collapse of his Polly Peck business empire not only brought to an end his construction of high-quality hotel and holiday complexes, but also ended the activity of the group's travel companies which had played a vital role in overcoming the north's marketing and transport bottlenecks. At the same time, Northern Cyprus' tourist trade, in common with other tourism destinations in the region, suffered through the effects of the Gulf Crisis. Tourist arrivals to Northern Cyprus in 1991 fell by 27% compared with the previous year; at the same time, bed capacity had increased by 26% since 1989 in response to the seeming upward trend, resulting in one of the lowest-ever bed occupancy rates (22.3%). Net earnings from tourism in 1991 were nearly halved compared with the previous year. Businesses which had borrowed heavily at high interest rates to take advantage of the short-lived boom found



themselves on the verge of bankruptcy; only in 1993, when Kurdish bombing campaigns in Turkish resorts made some operators transfer their bookings to Northern Cyprus, did tourism pick up substantially.

When my fieldwork commenced early in 1992, Northern Cyprus' tourism was still suffering the effects of the Gulf Crisis and Polly Peck crash. The average occupancy rate for hotels in 1992 was 31.2%, but in Girne the occupancy rate was slightly higher at 33.7%. With Maraş/Varosha<sup>4</sup> lost to both Greek and Turkish Cypriot tourism, Girne has taken over as the premier resort of the north, with the greatest concentration of hotels and bed spaces (see Appendix 7) and the highest number of four- and five-star establishments. According to Ministry of Tourism figures, 61% of all visitors to Northern Cyprus in 1992 stayed in the Girne region. Despite the generally low occupancy rate, some hotels managed to sustain fairly high rates of over 50%, whilst others were completely empty for substantial parts of the year (usually excluding Turkish public holidays and festivals, when most hotels were full).

The slow revival which began in 1992 continued in 1993, and the Third Five Year Plan (1993-1997) reflects renewed optimism in tourism's future, foreseeing a higher annual growth rate in tourism numbers than that envisaged in the previous Five Year Plan (12.2% compared to 12.1%) and a 42.9% increase in bed capacity (from 7,000 bed spaces in 1992 to 10,000 in 1997). The number of foreign tourists is projected to rise by 22% per year compared to 8.5% for Turkish tourists; but tourists from Turkey are still expected to form the majority (albeit a reduced majority at 65%) of the total of 432,000 tourist arrivals which is the target for 1997.

#### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING IN NORTHERN CYPRUS

Large-scale infrastructural projects were begun in Northern Cyprus almost immediately after the division of the island. The opening of the new

"international" airport at Ercan in February 1975 has already been mentioned above; in addition, a major east-west road linking Mağusa with Güzelyurt (Morphou) was constructed to a scale and standards far in advance of the needs of the time, plainly anticipating the transport requirements of substantial future economic growth which would stem from speedy recognition of the north. As Ladbury and King (1982) point out, development projects in Cyprus in the aftermath of the Turkish intervention represented symbolic as well as economic strategies: "... both building projects [ie Ercan Airport and the Mağusa-Güzelyurt road] are political statements insofar as both anticipate a time when the TFSC [Turkish Federated State of Cyprus] is a more or less autonomous economic unit" (Ladbury and King 1982:7). In contrast to the south, where emphasis was placed on the illegitimacy and impermanence of the island's division (expressed in the long-term "temporary" housing of refugees, old locality-based associations, and road signs which still pointed to Kyrenia), the north's ideology was of permanence and legitimacy and, Ladbury and King suggest, stressed the present and future, not the past. Whilst this certainly seems to have been the policy behind, most notoriously, the Turkification of place names in the north (see chapter six, and King and Ladbury 1988), the past is, in fact, a constant reference in Turkish Cypriot development planning, and is constructed within two different time-frames: the distant past - the pre-history of the Turkish Cypriot state; and the recent past, against which progress in the north is measured (for example, measuring achievement against past targets in the Five Year Development Plans). Both time-frames feature in the following extract from the Prime Minister Dr Eroğlu's opening address at a 1990 conference held on structural changes in the economy of North Cyprus:



During the last twenty-seven years, Turkish Cypriot People lived a period of sorrow and happiness. The people of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus left behind innumerable economic, social and political problems. Having overcome the great difficulties, looking hopefully to the future and being in a state of rapid development process [the] Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus has become a modern state ... (Eroğlu 1990:7)

The past - particularly the past of twenty-seven years ago, ie 1963 from when Turkish Cypriots date the breakdown of the independent Republic of Cyprus - is something which has been overcome, "left behind", in the progress towards an ever brighter future; but it must be constantly born in mind, so that the full extent of that progress can be appreciated.

Development policy and planning in Northern Cyprus is both forward and backward looking. It aims to satisfy present and future economic and social (and political - considered later in the chapter) needs; it is also a statement of the present and future viability of the Turkish Cypriot state, which is bound up in the demonstration of Turkish Cypriot competence to manage their own affairs successfully (in contrast to the assessments of, for example, Andronicou, quoted earlier).<sup>5</sup> Secondly, reference to the past serves as an explanation for the slowness of progress in some important areas (ie because of the magnitude of the task facing Turkish Cypriots). This emerges clearly in Hüsrev Çağın's paper on tourism, delivered at the conference opened by Prime Minister Eroğlu:

I believe it is debateable whether what we did in tourism until 1986 was "Structural change" or indeed erecting a structure ie creating the tourism industry that was non-existent when we won our independence in 1974 ...

The most important structural change, to me, is far beyond the positive trend shown by the number of tourists visiting our country. Whereas in 1986 we were proud of operating efficiently what we had found, we are now boasting of what we ourselves have accomplished in the form of adding new installations through our own investments. Currently almost 80% of the bed capacity is the outcome of Turkish Cypriot investment. (Çağın 1990:37, 39)

Contradiction underlies the way in which the past is constructed through ideologies of development and planning in Northern Cyprus: on the one hand,

development represents a break with the past, but on the other hand, development grows out of the conditions of the past, and the past is invoked to explain present and future conditions. This dual attitude to the past, and the way it informs attitudes to the present and future, is clearly illustrated by the debate on the reopening of Maraş/Varosha and Nicosia International Airport, both proposed by the UN in 1993 as part of a package of "confidence building measures" for the two communities of the island.

The proposals were widely discussed by Turkish Cypriots, both in the media and in daily conversation. Opinions expressed tended to be very definite, either for or against the proposals - some argued that Maraş should "never be given back to the Greeks", whilst others enthused about the splendours of Maraş, calling it the "Paris of Cyprus", and argued that it was a sin to continue to let these resources go to waste. Many were not sure what Turkish Cypriots would gain from the proposals: whether Maraş was to be under UN supervision, or jointly operated by Greek and Turkish Cypriots, and how this could be reconciled with allowing original owners to return to their property; and whether opening Nicosia International Airport would give equal access to north and south. In response to this interest and uncertainty, a series of "open forums" was convened in the Atatürk Cultural Centre in Lefkoşa to discuss the issues. The first, attended by over 100 members of the public, was concerned with tourism and business opportunities, and the five-man panel included the heads of the travel agents' and hoteliers associations, who expressed by far the most positive attitudes to the proposals. They argued that opening Maraş and the International Airport would improve access to the north and increase capacity, which was vital for tourism; however, the hoteliers' representative expressed caution about the conditions of competition which would arise between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, suggesting that it would be "like a corner shop competing with a super-market", and that



all the north's skilled personnel would want to work in Maraş. Would Greek Cypriot guides be allowed to bring tours over to the north, and what would they say about it? Would Turkish Cypriot guides be allowed to operate in the south? This caution appeared to be based on the fear that old antagonisms and relationships of dependency on Greek Cypriot businesses would be revived. Countering this, the travel agents' representative argued that "Turizm barış aracıdır" [tourism is a means for peace]; Turkish Cypriots needed Maraş and the International Airport more than the Greeks, and it was important to be forward looking, not constantly harking back. In response to a final comment from the floor, that "Maraş Türk toprağıdır" [Maraş is Turkish soil],<sup>6</sup> the travel agents' representative countered with: it's Turkish now, but the question is, can we get something more worthwhile for it? Whilst Maraş represents the possibility of a bright future, which can only be achieved when the past really is "left behind", it also represents the possibility of a return to the conditions of the past.

The Maraş issue also brings into question Turkish Cypriots' more recent past. During the forum on Maraş, the north's development record was frequently criticised. Several people suggested that the north's infrastructure and personnel could barely cope with the existing level of tourism, and was ill-equipped to benefit from Maraş, let alone compete with Greek Cypriots; and the hoteliers' leader argued that the opening of Maraş would require more disciplined and systematic planning and execution than had hitherto been applied to tourism in the north. Whilst on one level, development planning as a symbolic strategy is addressed to an external audience, making a statement about Turkish Cypriot collectivity and its place on the island, on another level it is subject to internal dissent, and its symbolic significance reworked in line with internal group interests and

concerns. In the final sections of this chapter, I examine how tourism development and planning feature in internal debates and strategies.

### The view from inside tourism

Sectoral interests within tourism are represented by the appropriate union or professional association. There is only one union for hotel employees, which represents employees in state sector hotels alone (see further chapter five); in addition, tour guides have their own professional association KITREB (see chapter six). Employers and investors in tourism are represented by two organisations: one, KITSAB, for travel agents; and the other, KITOB, for hotel owners. Both KITSAB and KITOB were formed in the 1970s: KITSAB in 1974, with 20 members; and KITOB in 1976. In 1992, KITSAB had 134 members, and KITOB 42.

Both KITSAB and KITOB are legally incorporated associations, with their own regulations passed by the Meclis, the Turkish Cypriot national assembly. The "Travel Agents Law" regulating KITSAB was originally passed in 1978, and has since been amended twice, most recently in 1989, when businesses were divided into A and B categories, the former licensed to package tours for incoming groups, and the latter licensed only for ticketing (see further chapter five); 42 of the association's 134 members were in group A. The regulations set out minimum qualifications of education and good character for ownership of and employment in travel agencies, determine the size of the security deposit to be paid by members, require all foreign travel agents bringing tourists to the country to work with a local agent, and require all travel agents to be members of the association. The regulations, therefore, establish minimum standards for the profession and give KITSAB the power to enforce those standards, as well as the sole right of representation.

KITOB, on the other hand, registered only in 1991, and during the period of fieldwork was still waiting for its regulations to be brought into force.



Official registration came about in response to dissatisfaction with the way in which public resources were being allocated within tourism. According to the KITO B president, some hoteliers were "too close to the government": "Due to the spoilt system they were getting most of the benefits from the government, and some investors were in a bad situation due to the Gulf Crisis". The organisation launched a campaign to get fair treatment for all its members from the Ministry of Tourism: "They know there is a hoteliers' association at the moment".

KITSAB and KITO B have, therefore, a dual role: they act as pressure groups representing the interests of their members to the Ministry of Tourism, and they also work with the Ministry to ensure standards in tourism - KITO B, for example has representatives on the Government Standards Committee which determines the star-grading of hotels and monitors these standards with visits twice a month. They are also consulted on tourism policy and planning. Because of their dual role, they maintain a critical distance from the work of the Ministry of Tourism, and their criticisms are in fact often outspoken and widely publicised. During 1992 and 1993, KITO B failed to gain satisfaction on the allocation of resources to its members; another grievance was the short repayment period allowed on loans, resulting in a heavy debt burden on hoteliers whose hotels had been virtually empty since the Gulf Crisis. KITSAB complained that the government failed to abide by its own regulations, and allowed unregistered travel agents to continue operating. Both organisations maintained that, although they were consulted on policy and planning, no action was ever taken on their advice. This was said to be due both to the unwieldy and unresponsive bureaucracy, and to the ascendancy of a political culture, rather than a culture of the "tourism professional". Both organisations want a Tourism Master Plan, which would provide a clear agenda for tourism and integrate all aspects of tourism development in one

document; and they favour the establishment of a Tourism Organisation, like the one in the south, to take tourism out of the party political arena, cultivate a professional approach to tourism, and take full responsibility for coordinating tourism development at all levels. Many see the solution to the perceived lack of professionalism in tourism as lying in political change, and tourism development is, therefore, highly politicised.<sup>7</sup>

#### The view from outside tourism

The enormous significance given to tourism in Northern Cyprus becomes apparent after only a short time of living there. The local TV station carries weekly programmes featuring particular hotels and holiday complexes; and during a six-month period, in which I surveyed two local daily newspapers (Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen) and one locally-published English language weekly (Cyprus Today), I counted over 150 articles in which tourism was an important element. The stories varied considerably, from reports on the latest tourism figures and projections of tourist arrivals for the coming season, to coverage of the tour guides' training course, criticism of the state of the north's beaches, financial scandals in the running of hotels and political scandals in the running of Cyprus Turkish Airways, and photographs of tourists relaxing and enjoying the sights. Newspapers also carry reports on tourist numbers in the south, as well as campaigns by the south to undermine tourism in the north.

Tourism has a protean quality in public discourse and debate: people think with tourism, as well as about it. It has become one of the ways in which the relationship with the south is envisaged (ie largely in competitive terms); and tourism's high profile, as the central plank in the government's economic policy, has made it a party political issue, its successes and failures a way of boosting or criticising the long-time ruling party, the UBP (National Unity Party). This could be observed in the coverage of the two



daily newspapers, one of which was pro-government, and the other, pro the left-wing opposition party, the CTP (Turkish Republican Party). The former tended to concentrate on positive tourism stories, the latter picked up largely on failures, short-comings and scandals - whilst maintaining a positive commitment to the idea of tourism. Tourism has also acquired broader political significance beyond party interests, specifically in three main areas: as a distributional issue; as a management/competence issue; and as an image/credibility issue.

Distributional issue: According to official statements (for example, in the investment and incentive guide for foreign investors published in December 1992) Northern Cyprus is committed to a free-market economy in which the state plays a guiding and facilitating role. Although the economic resources, industrial plant and tourist establishments which were found in the north in 1974 were initially taken over by the state, the state's holdings have been gradually reduced, so that, for example, only five hotels remain in the state sector (Cyprus Turkish Tourism Enterprises Ltd). Nevertheless, because of a strong public ideology which lays stress on the common injustices suffered by the Turkish Cypriot people in the past, and the solidarity of the Turkish Cypriot people in the present and future, there is an expectation that the resources of the north will be used to the benefit of "the people". This expectation is frequently referred to in public commentary on tourism, for example, in this typical statement by the leader of the travel agents' association:

Isteğimiz tek şey, turizmle büyüyecek pastadan tüm ekonomik sektörlerin, ülke insanlarımızın eşit şekilde pay almasıdır.  
(KITSAB 1993)

[All we want is equal shares of the cake, which will grow with tourism, for all the economic sectors and the people of our country.]

The unfair distribution of tourism credits blatantly contradicts this public ideology, and was made a feature of the national assembly election campaign towards the end of 1993. With its high profile, and the high expectations invested in it, tourism became the focus for promises to restore the electorate's faith in the handling of public funds. When the opposition CTP was elected in a coalition with the DP (Democrat Party: a right-of-centre breakaway from the UBP) the distribution of tourism credits was officially investigated by the Sayıştay (Department of Auditing), and in a political weekly journal, names were named, together with the sums of money received (Nokta Kıbrıs 1994: Nos 12, 14). In the view of many, however, the problem is one not just of the distribution of funds within tourism, but of the sectoral distribution of funds; several informants, and some of those attending the "open forum" on Maraş (mentioned earlier), questioned the wisdom and fairness of continuing to pour large sums of money into tourism (and, by implication, enriching hotel owners at public expense) at a time when citrus and potato producers, craftsmen, and other small industrial sectors are experiencing severe difficulties.

Management/competence issue: Despite a general improvement in living standards and prosperity, and the short-lived economic boom at the end of the 1980s, Northern Cyprus remains beset with economic problems. Average per capita income in the north was US\$3,446 in 1990, compared with US\$9,000 in the south (Olgun 1993:284); in addition, Northern Cyprus is tied to the unstable Turkish Lira, and during the period of fieldwork inflation was running at about 70%. Many basic food items are more expensive in the north than they are in the south of the island. As the locomotive sector of the economy, tourism has been presented, and is widely perceived, as the solution to the north's economic ills. Part of the concern about the proportion of public



resources allocated to the tourism sector, touched on above, stems from the perception that tourism so far has failed to fulfill its promise.

People accept that the north faces particular problems in developing its tourism, specifically, the boycott on international flights to the north and international aid and investment, and the problems of publicising Northern Cyprus abroad in the face of Greek Cypriot opposition. These, indeed, are the factors adduced by the Ministry in defence of the tourism development record, but the criticisms levelled by professional associations and opposition political parties have brought into question the extent to which tourism's problems are externally produced, or self-inflicted; whilst ordinary Turkish Cypriots tend to express scepticism about the professional skills of local tourism employers and entrepreneurs in general.<sup>8</sup> The political opposition has capitalised on the suggestion that it is the ruling party's mismanagement and bad stewardship of resources which is at fault, and this strikes a chord with a generalised cynicism about the effectiveness of politicians and the bureaucracy; by definition, however, it is hard to convince people that a new set of politicians and bureaucrats would do better.

Image/credibility issue: As with other development projects undertaken in the north, tourism development is a symbolic as well as an economic strategy. Tourism represents the future and the viability of the Turkish Cypriot state; additionally, it represents an opportunity to "tanıtımak" ["promote" or "make known"] the north to the outside world.<sup>9</sup> Its message is directed inwards, to Turkish Cypriots, as well as outwards, to Greek Cypriots and the rest of the world. Turkish Cypriots judge the success of tourism development in part according to how effectively it conveys the intended message.

To the extent that tourism has, so far, not delivered the goods in economic terms, the image of Northern Cyprus as an autonomous and viable unit

suffers. The credibility of Northern Cyprus, as expressed through its tourism, becomes a particularly salient issue for Turkish Cypriots when comparisons are drawn with the south of the island. The prosperity of the south, the numbers of tourists who are attracted there every year, are spoken of with admiration and envy; on the other hand, many foreign tourists tell Turkish Cypriots that the south is being spoilt by overdevelopment and commercialism. Inasmuch as Turkish Cypriot tourism is obviously less "successful" than Greek Cypriot, locals say that Greek Cypriots are better businesspeople and better planners than Turkish Cypriots; but in relation to the environmental damage in the south, Greek Cypriots are said to be "too greedy".

Turkish Cypriot tourism is heavily dependent on the Turkish market, and, particularly in the past, on luggage tourists, and in the view of many this also undermines the credibility of tourism in the north. The opinion that visitors from the mainland are not "real tourists" is based partly on their tastes and behaviour as tourists (see chapters five and six), and partly simply on the fact that they are not foreigners - not only do they not spend hard currency, but their ethnic and historic relationship to Turkish Cypriots is too close for them to be considered real outsiders or "guests".<sup>10</sup> The dependence on the Turkish market reinforces the sense of isolation from mainstream international tourism, and is used by many to suggest that what Northern Cyprus has is not "real" tourism. As Wood (1993) points out in relation to Richter's comments on tourism in Pakistan, the very lack of international tourist interest can produce a sense of relative deprivation and a sort of inferiority complex, particularly among the elite.



## CONCLUSION

Tourism in Cyprus has a long history, and many of the most beautiful tourist spots are in the north of the island. Given the island's comparative advantages, tourism presented itself as a natural development strategy for creating an economically viable Turkish Cypriot state. It has, however, been beset by particular difficulties - the circumstances surrounding the division of the island, the early lack of tourism experience and skills, transport problems, and the total absence of foreign investment and aid other than that of Turkey - which have made tourism development in the north slow, sporadic, and uncertain. From 1986 onward, when tourism was declared the "locomotive sector of the economy", tourism development policy became more proactive, and was achieving some considerable success, particularly with the activities of Asil Nadir and Polly Peck; but a year before fieldwork started, this boom was brought to an abrupt end by the Gulf Crisis and the collapse of Polly Peck. During much of the period of fieldwork, an atmosphere of pessimism prevailed, and the "crisis in tourism" was subjected to constant discussion and scrutiny.

Public discussion about tourism is embedded in local preoccupations and concerns. As a development strategy, tourism represents the means for transcending the past - in the terms constructed by national mythology, by allowing Turkish Cypriots to take their turn to benefit from the natural resources over which Greek Cypriots previously held a monopoly (Olgun 1993). But the issue of the future of Maraş/Varosha has raised the possibility of an alternative means of transcending the past, in which tourism can be the means for creating the conditions for peaceful and prosperous co-existence. Tourism embodies ways of thinking about past, present and future relations with Greek Cypriots; it has also become a way of thinking about social, political and economic relations in the north, and an arena for the expression of internal dissent. This dissent is expressed in particular in relation to the

distributional, management and credibility issues raised by tourism development.

The aim of this chapter has been to sketch in the background against which fieldwork occurred: the history of tourism development; its main features; the institutional framework; the various interests at work; and tourism's significance in terms of the wider issues in Turkish Cypriot society. In the following chapters I proceed to a more detailed ethnographic discussion of these themes.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. According to sources quoted by Olgun (1993:270-271), 17,106 Turkish Cypriots (14% of the Turkish Cypriot population) migrated from the island between 1955 and 1974, 10,330 of them between 1959 and 1969. Many Turkish Cypriots told me that this migration was encouraged by President Makarios as a means of achieving the "hellenisation" of the island; but according to Wellenreuther (1993) Greek and Turkish Cypriot migration during this period was roughly equal in proportion to the size of the two communities.
2. The data in the following paragraphs were extrapolated from the First, Second and Third Five Year Plans and Annual Programmes of the State Planning Organisation, and the yearly Tourism Statistics of the Tourism Planning Office.
3. This policy was also encouraged by UN reports which promoted international tourism as a development strategy: Çağın 1990, Ioannides 1992.
4. Turkish Cypriots still commonly use the name "Varosha".



5. The characteristics Andronicou describes reflect the communal division of labour in the Ottoman Empire. The Turkish Cypriot writer Olgun also notes: "The traditional occupations of the Turkish-Cypriot population of the island are agriculture and the public service, the latter reflecting the Ottoman dominance after 1571, and the disinclination of Turks in Ottoman times to engage in commerce" (Olgun 1993:270). Turkish Cypriots often suggest that the legacy of this historic division of labour persists to this day, and holds back Turkish Cypriot economic development; but in Olgun's analysis, it is another aspect of the past which can be transcended in the new conditions of autonomy.
6. After the Ottoman conquest Orthodox Cypriots were not permitted to live within the city walls of Mağusa, and resettled just outside the walls in the suburb of Varosha; but according to some claims (eg articles appearing in Kıbrıs newspaper after the UN's proposals for Maraş were made public) Maraş is Turkish, firstly, because it stands on land which belonged to Evkaf, and secondly, because it was conquered in 1974 with Turkish blood. On the ways in which claims to land ownership in Cyprus are legitimised, see chapter four.
7. This point can be illustrated by an incident which took place after the main body of fieldwork was completed, and which was reported to me on a subsequent visit in May 1994. During fieldwork, many hoteliers criticised the running of the state enterprise hotels, largely because they were not subject to market discipline, charged uneconomic prices for rooms, and were permitted to run up enormous debts with public utility companies whilst other hotels had their supplies terminated for lesser debts. When the left-wing CTP took over the tourism portfolio after the elections in December 1993, steps were taken to put state sector hotels on a similar footing with private sector hotels, and this

included enforcing budget discipline and permitting them to apply for tourism funds in the same way as their competitors. This, too, met with strong objections from other hoteliers, and in protest they boycotted the annual Tourism Day which marks the beginning of the tourist season.

8. For example, during fieldwork many expressed the opinion that the boycott could be circumvented if "turizmci" [those involved in tourism] showed more initiative. Asil Nadir was frequently cited as an example of what could be achieved, although at his most successful he was widely criticised for monopolising the country's resources, and for the political patronage he enjoyed. Turkish Cypriots often accuse themselves of a readiness to find fault, and accompanying distrust of success, just as the townspeople of Rethemnos in Crete accuse themselves of not liking to see neighbours doing well (Herzfeld 1991:92). In both cases, what people claim is typical behaviour forms part of the "poetics of ... social interaction" rather than evidence of an active belief in the principle of "limited good", which is "... a reality for Rethemniots, not because people necessarily believe in it or act as though they did, but because repeated usage has stylized it as a form of common sense" (ibid:92). In the same way, Turkish Cypriots often employ the rhetoric of limited good in everyday social discourse, but this appears to reflect less a guiding principle for action than a general cynicism about the motives and abilities of others, particularly those in public life, which can also serve as a hedge against the possibility of failure.
9. See chapters one and two for further discussion of this point.



10. Wood has argued that the distinction between foreign tourists and local tourees is no longer meaningful, as, with the global spread of tourism, tourists are increasingly likely to be local themselves, and tourist attractions to express local cultural concerns rather than cater to the tastes of foreigners (Wood 1993). When talking about "tourists", Turkish Cypriots tend to exclude visitors from the mainland - in everyday conversation the word "turist" almost always refers exclusively to visitors from Britain, Germany etc. From an emic perspective, Turkish Cypriots do continue to distinguish between tourists and tourees as two separate cultural categories, and this is revealing of local attitudes, both towards what constitutes "proper" tourism, and towards the relationship with Turks from the mainland. This is the perspective I adopt in the following chapters, as I explore locally constructed categories - for example, of "tourism", "tourist" and "Turkish".

## CHAPTER 4

### ACCESS TO RESOURCES

#### Introduction

In the course of discussions about tourism with people in Northern Cyprus, the point was often made, both by those working in tourism and those unconnected with it, that, whereas Northern Cyprus does not have the raw materials or the internal markets for industrial development, the "free resources" for tourism - climate, landscape, sea, ancient sites, cultural and historical heritage - are plentiful and represent the only possibility for the future. Whether these resources are truly free is debateable. In an earlier chapter (chapter two), and later, in chapter six, I examine the factors constraining Turkish Cypriot access to the historical and cultural heritage of Cyprus. In the present chapter, I examine the issues of land, property and finance which are key resources in tourism investment.

In studies of other tourist areas, land and property have been considered largely in relation to changes in use from agriculture to tourism. Some writers suggest that the trend is for agriculture to be marginalised and ultimately replaced by tourism, with concomitant weakening of social solidarity as cooperative patterns of work give way to individualised competition (Greenwood 1972; Rambaud 1967; Redclift 1973a, 1973b); whereas



Hermans argues that such changes are only likely to occur where agriculture is already marginal (Hermans 1981a). The development of a land market in tourism represents an unprecedented opportunity to realise assets which were never previously considered such (Redclift 1973b), but, according to de Kadt, the speculative gains made from the rise in land values do nothing to reduce inequalities in wealth (de Kadt 1979). The greatest gains are achieved by those who can forge contacts outside the community for the development of tourism resources, resulting in new social cleavages as groups compete to consolidate control (de Kadt 1979; Redclift 1973a; Reiter 1989). The outcome of competition between insiders and outsiders for the control of tourism in a resort is likely to depend on the speed and type of tourism development, whether growth is "organic" or "induced", and the extent to which the community is relatively isolated or incorporated into national and metropolitan structures (Cohen 1983).

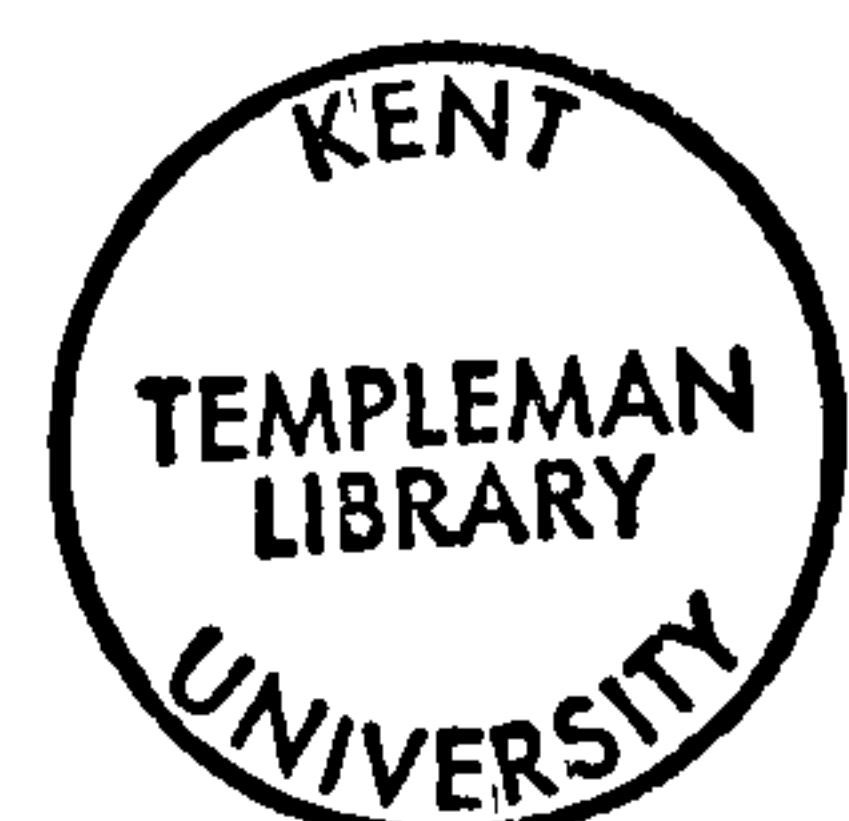
In the case of Northern Cyprus, the way in which access to these resources is mediated has repercussions not only for internal social, political and economic relations, but also for relations with Greek Cypriots, and is a central issue in international debates concerning Cyprus. Hann has discussed how the process of decollectivising land in Hungary has highlighted differences in the concept of "property", as people seek to legitimise their claims with reference to one of two competing ideologies of ownership: one based on the rights of producers who have worked the land, the other on the rights of the original owners which are rooted in a set of pre-existing social relations (Hann 1993). In the context of Cyprus, the issues cannot be separated from the historic relations between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities; discourses of "ownership" can simultaneously be seen as "legitimising systems" for the roles of the two communities on the island. The chapter opens with a discussion of the historical and territorial

dimensions of ideologies of ownership, from the time of the Ottoman conquest until 1974, and goes on to examine the market for land and property created in the TRNC after 1974, the realisation of assets in tourism, and the competition for finance.

#### LAND AND PROPERTY OWNERSHIP BEFORE 1974

In the Lusignan and Venetian periods which immediately preceded the Ottoman conquest, Cyprus was a feudal society, with the majority of land owned by the Latin Church, the king, and members of the foreign ruling elite. The Orthodox peasantry consisted of slaves, serfs and freedmen who paid tributes of money, produce and forced labour to the fiefholders. This system was transformed by the new Ottoman administration: "As Cyprus was a country that had been conquered by force of arms, the Islamic principles appropriate to such a conquest were applied" (Gazıođlu 1990: 123). Many of the new settlers from Anatolia were allocated land which had been confiscated from the Latin feudal lords and Church, and were given title to the land thus allocated; according to Wellenreuther, the dispersed pattern of Turkish Cypriot settlement throughout the island before 1960 is explained by the landholding pattern of the Lusignan nobility (Wellenreuther 1993:34).

The Ottoman administration distinguished between land ownership and the right to usufruct: "ođriyye" land (owned by Moslems before being conquered or given after occupation) and "haraciye" land (left in the hands of Christian owners after conquest) was considered the property of the owner with full rights to bequeath, sell etc (Gazıođlu 1990), but private ownership played only a small role in Ottoman land tenure, and Wellenreuther (1993) estimates that only 5-10% of Cyprus' land was in private hands under the Ottomans. All the agricultural land in the villages came under the State's proprietorship as "miri" land: nominally in the ownership of the Sultan, this was held by





various categories of official who derived an income for themselves and the state from the land which was cultivated by tenant farmers. The tenants' right to usufruct was recognised through the issue of temporary deeds, and could be inherited. Under the Tanzimat reforms of the 19th century, new title deeds were issued for miri land, which could now be mortgaged and inherited in the same way as "mülk" (buildings, trees, gardens, vineyards and wild trees). Additional categories of land were wasteland; common land; land belonging to the Orthodox church and monasteries; and Evkaf land, dedicated by Moslems to pious and charitable purposes and administered either directly through the office of Evkaf or through trustees (Christodoulou 1959; Morvaridi 1993).

According to the Turkish Cypriot writer Gazioğlu, the new system of land registration introduced by the Ottoman administration was "so efficient and successful that, even after the British took over the island, the system remained in use without major changes for many years (Gazioğlu 1990:124). The Greek Cypriot author of the World Land Use Survey's monograph on Cyprus, Christodoulou, however, sees the situation rather differently: he writes that "The chaos and vicious system of land registration and tax assessment was to bedevil Cyprus and its government far into the twentieth century. The efficient collection of taxes by the British administration helped to make the inequities more flagrant" (Christodoulou 1959:73).

The British land reform of 1946, coupled with the water law of 1954, extended the agricultural area under irrigation and created the conditions for a major land market. The main thrust of the reforms was to halt the trend to fragmentation of land holdings and the practice of multiple ownership which was a consequence of the system of bilateral partible inheritance, compounded by a common strategy of spreading land holdings over a variety of types of land in order to ensure subsistence (Christodoulou 1959). The British also

created new tenancies on some of the large Turkish-owned estates or "çiftlik", which contained some of the best agricultural land on the island.

From the 1950s increasing urbanisation and the trend towards part-time farming raised the value of urban land, and the land reform carried out by the British gave the impetus to a booming Greek Cypriot land market.<sup>1</sup> Attalides writes that by 1959, urban land around Nicosia was commanding "fantastic" prices, as a result of rural in-migration, loose money in the economy looking for investment, and the relative lack of other lucrative investment opportunities (Attalides 1981). On the outskirts of Nicosia, vacant plots and stretches of land not yet parcellated stood amongst completed dwellings.

"This is the result of the speculative disposition which has built up among landowners, encouraged by the constant land price increases. In a situation in which many owners have land side by side, in which there is an expectation of an upward trend in prices, a kind of competitive refusal to sell sets in. It is felt that the first one to sell will suffer a loss, since subsequent sellers will be able to point out that X months or years ago land was sold at Y price and that the price should now be Y+Z. To forestall this, very high prices are asked for immediately, with the consequence that relatively few sales take place" (Attalides 1981:120-121).

The appearance in the villages of large, modern urban-style houses alongside traditional rural dwellings showed the growing importance of income derived outside agriculture, as well as a shift in the traditional priorities expressed in the saying: "a house as little as can accommodate you, and land as much as you can see".

Turkish Cypriots were largely excluded from these developments in the land and property market, for economic reasons, and, after 1963, for political reasons (Wellenreuther 1993:62). There is a wealth of anecdotal material amongst Turkish Cypriots concerning the cheap sale of Turkish Cypriot land to more prosperous Greek Cypriots. The picturesque coastal town of Girne was at one time an Ottoman garrison, surrounded by large Turkish-owned estates; but with the advent of the British in 1878, the new rulers took over Girne Castle



and the Turkish Cypriots became a relatively small minority of the townspeople.<sup>2</sup> According to informants from Girne, a large area of Turkish land was sold to Greek Cypriots to cover gambling debts; and as tourism began to take off, intimidation was sometimes used to force Turkish Cypriots to sell land on the coast. Where Turkish Cypriots were in a position to buy, there was often reluctance on the part of Greek Cypriots to sell to them. According to Turkish Cypriot sources, at least 8% of the total area of Cyprus was sold by Turkish Cypriots to Greek Cypriots or international companies between 1955 and 1974 (Olgun 1993:271).

The withdrawal of Turkish Cypriots into enclaves as a result of the violence of 1963-64 changed the dispersed pattern of Turkish Cypriot settlement on the island and resulted in the loss of the Turkish population from more than 100 mixed (ie Greek and Turkish Cypriot) villages (Area Handbook for Cyprus 1971). Many Turkish Cypriot dwellings and belongings were destroyed, and the cultivation of the land taken over by Greek Cypriots. In a few cases Turkish Cypriots were able to obtain a nominal rent for the land which they were no longer able to farm.

#### Historical/territorial legitimisations for ownership

Wellenreuther notes that estimates concerning the aggregate land ownership of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities vary widely, and comments that the variations can be explained by the politically inflammatory nature of the land issue, particularly after 1960: "Turkischzyprische Stellen operieren mit einem imaginären Anteil von 30-33%, der, wie sie selbst zugeben, real nie existent war, aber aus moralischen Gründen als Ausgleich für das nach 1963 erlittene Unrecht in dieser Höhe angesetzt wurde" [Turkish Cypriot positions operate with an imaginary proportion of 30-33% which, as they themselves admit, never really existed, but is set at this level to compensate for the injustice

suffered after 1963] (Wellenreuther 1993;61).<sup>3</sup> It is, however, also possible to detect a sub-text in accounts of earlier periods, in which a moral standpoint is adopted on the issue of land and ownership. The logic of the Ottoman administration's land policy as explained by Gazioglu has a two-fold legitimation: the right of conquest, and the ending of an onerous and unpopular feudal system. By conquest, all land became the property of the sultan, which was then redistributed according to various categories (see above). Underlying Christodoulou's account, on the other hand, is the issue of restitution to the original and rightful owners of land which had been alienated under an oppressive regime: land in the early Christian and Byzantine era belonged largely to the state or to very large estates, "usually of the church" (Christodoulou 1959:70), and had been alienated by the Latin church and rulers, but only part of this land had been returned under the Ottomans. As legitimating systems, rights of conquest and rights of original ownership stand in opposition to each other; the former gives a moral underpinning to the rights of the newcomers, whilst the latter emphasises the continuous historic existence and rights of the island's "original" inhabitants.<sup>4</sup>

Another recurring theme is that of "productivity" versus "neglect". Gazioglu's depiction of the efficient and rational Ottoman land code contrasts with the story of corruption and neglect which characterises Christodoulou's and other accounts (eg Catselli nd). Whilst Ottoman reforms recognised usufruct rights, according to Christodoulou, these were only legally enshrined in the 1946 British land reform, whilst the unproductive rentier landlords let their land fall into ruin. "Purchase" and "inheritance" are other means by which rights to land and property may be established. In terms of the relationship with the land, purchase and inheritance represent trends which are countervailing, but not necessarily in conflict: whilst inheritance is



based on a continuous relationship over generations and is closely associated with the idea of "original ownership", purchase marks a discontinuity and change of direction.

Finally, the issue of compensation cuts across all these categories. As Wellenreuther's remarks on the overestimate of Turkish Cypriot landholdings indicate, compensation cannot be seen strictly in terms of restitution of property; the right to compensation is based not just on the principle of original ownership, but takes other moral issues into account, such as suffering or injustice. Apart from the loss of life suffered in the 1960s and early 1970s, the gap between Turkish and Greek Cypriot per capita income widened considerably, and the Turkish Cypriot enclaves were deprived of infrastructure and amenities. In addition, the alienation of much Turkish Cypriot land through sale is retrospectively viewed as unjust, since it is argued that advantage was taken of the weak position of the seller.<sup>5</sup> The 30-33% land share estimate quoted by Wellenreuther coincides approximately with the land area of Cyprus currently within TRNC borders, a proportion of the island which is said to be disproportionately large for a population which represents approximately 18% of the total population of Cyprus. In defence of the size of the TRNC's territory, Turkish Cypriots frequently argue that the proportion is fair because of the large amount of land previously in Turkish ownership which was alienated through the British land reform. At the same time, a common objection to the Greek Cypriot demand for the "three freedoms" of movement, settlement and property ownership<sup>6</sup> in any future settlement is that "the Greeks will buy all the land off us for peanuts and we will be left without anything again".

Original ownership, conquest, productiveness, purchase, inheritance and compensation can be seen as the core concepts of six competing legitimising discourses. The preceding discussion has concentrated primarily on the

territorial dimension of land, and its historic significance in Greek and Turkish Cypriot relations. The following sections turn to the situation in Northern Cyprus since 1974.

#### SETTLEMENT IN THE NORTH

The exchange in populations between the north and south of the island did not occur immediately after the Turkish intervention in 1974, and took place under different conditions for the Greek and Turkish Cypriot populations (Loizos 1981). Whilst the Greek Cypriots in the north fled before the advancing Turkish army, it was not until a year later, after agreement between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaderships was reached, that the bulk of the Turkish Cypriot population in the south moved across the Green Line to the north (although some preempted the agreement, crossing the border in secret at night, and others, particularly women and children, crossed through the British bases, leaving home in slippers and apron as if going to the shops in order to avoid suspicion: cf Oberling 1982; House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee Report 1987).

As far as possible the integrity of communities from the south was preserved in the resettlement process. In an effort to maintain continuity in social structure and economic activity, rural communities were settled in villages in the north and urban Turkish Cypriots were relocated in towns, but it was not always possible to maintain this pattern as a large proportion of the Turkish Cypriot population had traditionally been urban.<sup>7</sup> People from the bustling port and regional centre of Larnaca, for example, were resettled in the village of Iskele (Tricomos), and many of them subsequently left for other towns, or villages closer to urban centres. Former residents of Limassol, another harbour town close to the British base of Akhrotiri, were resettled in Girne.



The plentiful availability of empty property abandoned by Greek Cypriots meant that Turkish Cypriot refugees did not face the pressures of overcrowding experienced by Greek Cypriot refugees in the south; rather, the problem was one of a population which was insufficient to maintain the productivity of the resources in the north.<sup>8</sup> On arrival, the newcomers were allocated housing, fields and orchards to cultivate, and commercial property (see below). As it was not possible in the early days to operate any criteria of equivalence of the property left behind, people had to take whatever they were given. One woman described the process as a "lottery": "When we arrived, everything else had been taken, this was the only place left". Another, indicating the small house in front of which she sat, concluded her account of those days: "Kaderim buydu" [This was my fate]. The selection of abandoned property for resettlement in the north was governed by criteria of "quality" (Wellenreuther 1993:76). By the time the refugees from the south had arrived, much of the better property had been appropriated by Turkish Cypriots already living in the north, who moved out of their poorer dwellings into higher standard Greek Cypriot accommodation. Many Turkish Cypriots from the south also found that settlers from mainland Turkey had got there before them. The issue of mainland settlers in the north is politically highly sensitive, and their numbers hard to ascertain. Wellenreuther argues convincingly that the early influx of mainland settlers diminished substantially after 1979, and estimates their numbers to total about 40,000, in contrast to Greek Cypriot estimates of 80,000-100,000.<sup>9</sup> The early settler policy responded to the priority of maintaining the productivity of resources in the north, but led to some conflict and resentment over the distribution of those resources, particularly with the subsequent arrivals from the south of the island (Morvaridi 1993:232).

### Allocation of land and property: "tahsis"

Morvaridi has examined the process of the distribution of agricultural resources which were a priority for feeding the population, maintaining the agricultural export base, and integrating the newcomers into the social structure (Morvaridi 1993). In addition, land and property, including hotels, shops and business premises, was allocated for commercial use. Individuals were able to apply for a lease from the Turkish Cypriot government to manage "tahsis" [allocated] property which carried no deeds of ownership or security of tenure. The allocation of hotels was supervised by the State Tourism Enterprises, a parastatal organisation established in November 1974. Because of the delay in the arrival of Turkish Cypriots from the south, the allocation of such businesses in practice favoured those who were already on the spot, and who still had the financial means to run the business - another drawback for those who had left everything in the south. In central Girne, the hotel stock amounted to some eight hotels which had previously been in Greek Cypriot ownership. Of these, about five were allocated to mainland settlers, while one was run by the state and the oldest and most famous of Girne's hotels, the Dome, was allocated to Evkaf.

In addition, an element of political patronage influenced the distribution of tahsis properties, which became an important means for the ruling UBP (National Unity Party) to consolidate its hold. Supporters of the left-wing CTP (Turkish Republican Party) experienced particular difficulty in obtaining property. In some instances, individuals were able to use political allegiance as a bargaining counter to obtain property, by threatening to switch their support to an opposition party. Some were also able to obtain property by means of "torpil" - literally, torpedoes, or social clout. Torpil is a double-edged weapon. The use of torpil is widely acknowledged and decried, but at the same time it is recognised as a valuable way of getting



things done.<sup>10</sup> Because the Turkish Cypriot community is small and close-knit, almost everybody has access to kin or political networks which can be mobilised in support of a particular goal. Achieving a favourable outcome brings not only the satisfaction of attaining the desired objective, but also confirmation of one's place in society, proof that "arkamızda var" [we have force or people behind us]. Whilst the successful mobilisation of torpil reinforces a sense of social integration, the effect for those who do not have access to, or lose a contest of, torpil, is of demoralisation and alienation, as they are brought face to face with their powerlessness to influence events. These are the very sentiments evinced by many who left substantial land in the south, but have been unable to obtain access to the property resources in the north.

#### Compensation and property markets

In contrast to the Greek Cypriot position, the official Turkish Cypriot line has always been that partition of the island in some form is permanent. People have been encouraged to think in terms of compensation for what has been lost in the south, and to create a new home in the north. In order to achieve this, the Turkish Cypriot authorities have adopted a unilateral policy on refugee property. The Ministry of Resettlement (İskan) was established in 1976, and, in accordance with legislation enacted the following year, began to allocate points to Turkish Cypriot settlers in the north representing the value of the land and property they had left in the south, which could be exchanged for certificates of ownership for property in the north. These certificates of ownership are referred to as "TRNC deeds" to distinguish them from deeds to property which was in Turkish ownership before 1974. The registration of these new deeds has been a slow and painful process. In 1993 nearly one third of applicants were still waiting for certificates of

ownership to be issued (Morvaridi 1993). Disputes frequently arise over the valuation of the land left behind in the south and the number of "eşdeğer" [equivalent value] points received. Furthermore, developments in the property markets which have been stimulated by tourism development in the north (whilst rises in the value of land left in the south are not taken into account in the distribution of points) often mean that the points awarded are not adequate to secure title to the allocated property in which people have been living and working since 1974, and have to be topped up with the purchase of additional points from other refugees. The price of points is fixed by the government and has not kept pace with inflation; on the other hand, land with "kesin tasarruf" [clear deeds of ownership] - particularly those in tourism development areas - can command high prices on the open market. The difference ownership status can make to the value of land is often dramatic. In one case, a family bought top-up points to the value of about 1,000 pounds sterling to secure the deeds to 2 dönüms<sup>11</sup> of their tahsis land; at about the same time, an adjacent plot of equal size with kesin tasarruf was sold on the open market for 7,000 pounds sterling.

The land and property market in Northern Cyprus is, therefore, highly fragmented; market information is difficult to obtain, and highly sought after. The classification of the property, who is buying, who is selling, and the type of transaction, are complicating factors which are reflected in the variety of social networks operating within the market, as well as prices and the outcome of transactions. All eşdeğer transactions are theoretically restricted to refugees from the south, and top-up points are meant to be purchased only from kin, but permission can be granted which waives these requirements: for example, some non-refugees who have held tahsis property for years may be given permission to buy points to acquire their property, though the rights of refugees who have not yet obtained property are supposed to take



precedence. In some cases, refugees have taken legal action to win the right to acquire hotels which were tahsis property occupied by a non-refugee. These cases are examined in more detail later in the chapter.

Although land and property cannot technically be bought and sold without certificate of ownership, this problem is largely circumvented by the trade in "hava parası" [air money]. The sums involved can be substantial, hence it is sometimes said ironically that so-and-so "havadan zenginleşti" [has got rich from the air]. In conventional business dealings, hava parası approximates to a consideration for "good will"; in the Northern Cyprus property market, it comes close to the idea of "key money". The lease on a rented shop in central Girne was sold for hava parası of 40,000 pounds sterling, when the traders moved to new premises. Leases on new property are sometimes taken up with the sole purpose of charging hava parası and a higher rent to the sub-tenant, with the difference being pocketed by the sub-lessor.

Outside the rented sector, what is actually being traded is the future right to acquire property. An old stone house in a ruined state in the old Turkish quarter of Girne which was allocated to a mainland settler was sold for hava parası to another mainlander who bought the deeds with points and had placed it on the market for 38,000 pounds sterling. Hava parası enables those with no immediate prospect of acquiring ownership to make a quick profit by passing it on to someone who is in a position to realise that asset.

#### TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AND THE MEANING OF LAND

Around Girne, the raised beaches of the coastal strip are rich in alluvial soil, whilst terraced cultivation in the mountains benefits from the plentiful supply of spring water, particularly around Lapta (according to Christodoulou, the Lapta spring gives "up to well over 1 1/2 million gallons" of water per day; Christodoulou 1959:40). Mulberry and olive flourish on the higher

ground, and citrus trees on the coastal strip. However, tourism is increasingly seen as preferable to agriculture as an occupation, and in many cases the olive and citrus groves are being uprooted to make way for holiday villages, with some trees kept for their aesthetic appeal within the landscaped gardens.

The changes in the use to which land is being put, and their effects on the landscape, pose a dilemma for many Turkish Cypriots. Although citrus is still the biggest export earner for Northern Cyprus, bottlenecks in purchasing and marketing have brought severe financial hardship to many growers which threaten the future of the sector (Morvaridi 1993). At the same time, people are reluctant to see the agricultural base depleted, and particularly unhappy when trees are uprooted. One young married man working as an accountant at a large hotel near Girne said that he was trying to persuade his father not to uproot their orange groves in order to build holiday bungalows. His reasoning was that tourism alone is not sufficient to develop the country: "yalnız turizm olmaz" [tourism alone won't work]. He expected that if Maraş was opened as part of the UN confidence building measures, it would result in the creation of a huge new internal market which Northern Cyprus, with its lower wages, would be in a good position to exploit.

Some people also have sentimental reasons for not wanting to see land sold and trees uprooted: "My father planted those trees, tended and nurtured them like children. I cannot do anything with that land as long as my parents are alive". People also speak of an attachment to land which has been passed through their family over generations, land which is their inheritance. In such cases there is generally a close association between "land" and "place". The place where one is born and brought up is an important aspect of identity, and the reputation which attaches to people from a certain town or village in the south still clings even after nearly two decades in the north; people from



Limassol are said to be territorial, people from Reqa fierce and unpredictable, people from Manya naive, etc. For those who have moved to the north, the new land they have been allocated does not have the same resonances as the inheritance they left behind, and they have fewer regrets about selling it.<sup>12</sup> For those whose original home was the north of the island, the issue is more a generational one, as the example of the trees above illustrates; the relationship with the land is closer for the older generation, and this is respected by the more urban younger generation. However, given the present problems in the agricultural sector, the younger generation have less reason to maintain land for agriculture and horticulture, and changes in land use are liable to increase with the passing of their parents.<sup>13</sup>

The following piece of advice was given by a Turkish Cypriot woman in her fifties (a refugee from the south) to her son who was considering selling his share of the land which had just been obtained with the family's eşdeğer points: "Never sell land, always buy - you must have something to pass on to your children". This point of view was endorsed by her daughter, who reasoned that, if you sell everything, in the future your children will be forced to rent property, or pay a lot of money to buy somewhere. Providing for the future of one's children has traditionally had a high priority in Cypriot society. It is the responsibility of the parents to start their children off with dowry, housing, land, and, in more recent years, a good education, to enable them to marry well and earn a living. Where the considerable expenses cannot be met from current income, the selling of assets has always been an option, and Attalides describes how land and property feature in the calculations of Greek Cypriot parents on such occasions (Attalides 1981). The way in which land is transmitted over the generations suggests that it represents more than just the property of the individual; rather, each generation is the custodian of the inheritance, the channel for passing it on

to the future, if possible, adding to it in the process. This attitude is clearly illustrated by the practice of dividing up property amongst the children whilst the parents are still alive, with elderly parents relinquishing the family home to a married son and moving into a small, specially constructed "yardımcı ev" [auxiliary house].<sup>14</sup>

One effect of the commoditisation of land is that the possibility of realising immediate gains diminishes the future inheritance and rights of children, grandchildren etc, shifting the focus from the progressive enrichment of "the line" to the time-span of the individual's lifetime. This can lead to accusations of "menfaat" [self-interest], which many deplore as being increasingly prevalent in modern Turkish Cypriot society. In one case, a married man in his early thirties complained about the lack of help he had received from his parents. His mother owned land which she had inherited in a prime area between the mountains and the sea just outside Girne, but had delayed giving any to her son, who had experienced difficult accommodation problems and was living with his wife and child in a rented house. She had put her land on the market, saying that she would give her son the proceeds of the sale, but had been told by the estate agent that the price she wanted was too high, and two years later, the land still was not sold; and she refused his requests to give him the land, so that he might sell it himself. Friends were very critical of the mother's attitude: "That land does not belong to her, she inherited it in order to pass it on to her children". They were sure that the woman intended to benefit herself from the sale, a clear case of "menfaat" entering family relations.

At the other extreme, people's behaviour can sometimes seem to show little awareness of the money value of land. In the same family involved in the dispute outlined above, deeds were found to land in the name of the young man's maternal grandfather, in the same stretch of prime development



land. He, however, denied all knowledge, saying that, as he had never known he had land there, he did not want anything to do with it, and showed no interest in selling the deeds. In another case, a man who had just concluded the purchase of 21 dönüms of land next to a tourism development area was surprised when the seller approached him some time later with the deeds to five more dönüms. The seller had paid for his tahsis land with eşdeğer points, and had subsequently discovered that the property comprised five additional dönüms, which had not been part of the deal; nevertheless, he presented them to the purchaser and wanted no payment for them. Whilst such behaviour is viewed very positively, as representing an old-fashioned, non-grasping attitude to land (in which the idea of property as "an entity" takes precedence over the commodity value of its parts), it can also be seen as unrealistic under present conditions. Within twelve months, an offer was received for the land which more than tripled the price paid by the purchaser.

#### Estate Agency

Since the mid 1980s, when the designation of tourism as the "leading economic sector" was accompanied by a marked increase in tourism activity, estate agency has become an expanding business. It is often combined with the work of travel agents, lawyers and notaries, and in addition a number of specialist estate agencies have sprung up, either dealing exclusively with the purchase, leasing and development of land and houses, or providing maintenance and cleaning services for the owners of second homes who spend much of the year out of the country.

Because of the complexities of the market, an important factor in the success of estate agents is access to social networks, for the acquisition of information as well as potential clients. This means that estate agents tend to work within a market niche delineated by the range of their contacts. A

number of agencies in Girne are run by British men and women resident in Girne, who tend to work in the important second-home, holiday let and long-stay market, a position which is favoured by their contacts with the extensive ex-pat community in Girne; similarly, some agencies are run by mainlanders catering to the Turkish market. According to one of the British estate agents, Cypriots prefer to work through their own networks of family and friends. Indeed, land and property are a common topic of conversation amongst Turkish Cypriots, giving them informal access to a wide range of information about activity in the market. For transactions amongst Cypriots, the use of "aracı" [middlemen] is common; these bring potential buyers and sellers together, working more often from the cafe, the hub of information, than from an office.<sup>15</sup> They make their money either by commission, or by negotiating an independent sale price, keeping the excess between the seller's asking price and the money paid for the property, without the buyer and seller ever meeting. Established estate agents, in contrast, work from fixed prices with a set commission, a way of working which is more familiar to non-Cypriot clients.

British estate agents also tend to work through personal contacts and recommendation, particularly in the holiday-let market, because this enables them to offer a standard of accommodation in keeping with the tastes of European tourists. Their stock consists of modern apartments and villas, as well as old stone houses and village properties which have been renovated by foreign owners who spend part of the year in Cyprus and part of the year away. Many of them go to considerable trouble to furnish their property with "authentic" traditional Cypriot features, whilst also installing modern comforts and facilities, which suits the tourist clientele who want an "ethnic touch" to their holiday accommodation: according to one British estate agent, "They want to feel that they are on a Mediterranean island". The agents



advertise the properties with operators in the UK, and service them over the summer. According to the estimate of one agent, there are about a hundred village properties let out, approximately thirty of which are in Karaman (Karmi), a mountain village a few miles west of Girne, which is populated exclusively by foreign residents (see below). The residents of Karaman have their own agency, which was formerly run by Mosaic Tours, until the collapse of the Polly Peck corporation (of which it was a part).

Village house accommodation is let out for between 90 and 350 pounds sterling per week (for a house with a swimming pool). Some Cypriots living in villages also rent accommodation to foreigners, but tend to avoid the holiday lets with their higher turnover of tenants, preferring longer leases with a smaller return - generally about 100 - 200 pounds sterling per month. When I asked why they did not enter the more lucrative holiday let market, Turkish Cypriot homeowners replied that they do not have the overseas contacts or the knowledge of English to take on the organisation which holiday letting requires, and are anxious about dealing with a succession of strangers who might create problems; they preferred to establish a more low-profile relationship with their tenants over a longer period.

The issue of foreigners living in Greek Cypriot property is politically sensitive. The official Greek Cypriot line is that they are living in stolen property, and from time to time lists are published of members of the parliamentary pressure group "the Friends of Northern Cyprus" who have property in the north, with the aim of undermining their moral standpoint. This argument was also used against tourists staying in foreign and Greek Cypriot owned hotels in the late 70s, who were threatened with prosecution in the British courts for trespass and using stolen goods.<sup>16</sup> Houses which belonged to foreigners before 1974 represent a separate category of ownership as property with "foreign deeds": the right of owners who were resident in

Cyprus before 1974 to sell and rent out their property, and indeed to cross the Green Line and use the facilities of the south at will, is undisputed. It is the occupancy of property owned by Greek Cypriots which is problematic.

Would-be foreign purchasers generally prefer to buy property which was in foreign or Turkish Cypriot ownership before 1974, as they feel this guarantees their security in the event of a future settlement. Many are wary of buying property with TRNC deeds issued after 1974 even though Turkish Cypriots assure foreigners that they are secure, because they represent property left in the south: their rights would be protected by the Turkish Cypriot government in any future negotiations with the south. Nevertheless, some foreigners remain unconvinced, particularly those who have previously been living in the south of the island, where the Turkish Cypriot policy on property distribution is constantly attacked. According to a Turkish Cypriot estate agent, most purchasers are more concerned with the price of a property, rather than the type of deed, but foreign or "old" Turkish Cypriot deeds can raise the price of a property substantially.

The TRNC government has also reserved some empty property for tourism. These come under the Ministry of Tourism, and cannot be allocated to settlers or bought with points. In the case of Karaman, the whole village is designated for tourism, and Turkish Cypriots may not own property there.<sup>17</sup> The properties are leased out, usually on 25 to 30 year leases renewable every five years, on condition that the tenant pays for the renovation and refurbishment of the properties in accordance with guidelines set down by the Ministry, which are meant to preserve the original fabric and look of the village. The tenants may sell the lease on their property to other foreigners, and these generally fetch upwards of 30,000 pounds sterling; in addition many of the houses are let out to short-stay tourists over the



summer. The policy has had the effect of saving many abandoned properties from dereliction, and of tapping an affluent tourist market.

The main groups of clients using the services of estate agents are: Turkish Cypriots from London returning to Cyprus for retirement; students from Turkey renting property during term-time; and European nationals. The requirements of this last group are diverse. Some want to buy property or leases on property for retirement or second homes, whilst some wish to settle and open a bar or restaurant business; others are employed in Northern Cyprus and want property to rent or buy. According to some estate agents, the main investment from Turkey is institutional, with unions buying land and property as holiday and training centres for their members. Some of the top range of British owned houses (250,000 pounds sterling plus) are also being bought by Turks from the mainland. In addition, with the construction of apartment blocks on the outskirts of Girne, there is an increasing number of flats on the market which are sold or rented to European nationals, mainland Turks and Turkish Cypriots, either as permanent homes or week-end and summer residences. Flats normally sell for between 20,000 and 35,000 pounds sterling, and rents are usually about 120 pounds sterling per month.

Despite the rise in prices of land and property over the past decade, Turkish Cypriot estate agents argue that Northern Cyprus is cheap in comparison with Britain and Germany; whilst British agents maintain that it has become very expensive compared with other parts of the Mediterranean. The price of rented accommodation has gone up because of the demand from students and foreign teaching staff at the two private universities. Also significant is the "Asil Nadir" factor, whose business and tourism activities in the late 1980s introduced a period of buoyancy and optimism, along with numbers of foreign employees willing to pay high prices for rented accommodation. The collapse of Polly Peck did not, however, bring a fall in prices. A British

estate agent put this down to the "hard-headedness" of Cypriots in business dealings, based on a continued optimism in the future, and the lack of any other lucrative form of investment: once they have decided on a price, they are very loathe to drop it, unless they have a pressing cash flow problem. This behaviour is reminiscent of the "competitive refusal to sell" described by Attalides (1981:120-121) and mentioned earlier. On the other hand, a similar phenomenon is found amongst British foreign residents when they want to sell up and return to the UK, and who set prices with one eye on the British property market, which they will have to buy back into. Unless the need to return becomes urgent, prices can remain high for several years, until the property is sold.

The importance of overseas clients in the property market is indicated by the fact that, according to one estate agent, there is a 40% increase in demand for property in the summer months, when "London Cypriots" are looking for a home for holidays or retirement and foreign visitors often decide to buy property on the strength of their holiday experience. At the end of 1993, prices had stabilised; confident predictions that they would rise again over the following year were based largely on the expectation that the improvement in tourism experienced in 1993 would gain momentum in the near future.

#### HOTELS, PANSIYONS AND GUESTHOUSES

Ministry of Tourism figures for 1992 show that there were 20 hotels, and 27 apart-hotels (self-catering flats) and holiday villages in the Girne region; in addition, there are about 15 "pansiyons ve misafirhane" [guest and boarding houses] in Girne, which come under the control of the Belediye [municipality] and do not have a star grading.<sup>18</sup> In the course of my research, 16 hotels and ten pansyions in and around Girne were surveyed, with return visits over the space of a year to about a third of the sample. Interviews with owners and



managers aimed to elicit information about ownership, investment and plans for the future; separate interviews were conducted with hotel employees, the results of which are incorporated in the following chapter.

Of the hotels surveyed, seven had been in Greek Cypriot ownership and had opened before 1974. The oldest and largest of these, the Dome (with 170 rooms), is now run by Evkaf. With the exception of the Grand Rock hotel, which has 65 rooms, the other town-centre hotels can be classed as small-to-medium sized, with between 10 and 30 rooms. Larger complexes, which combine conventional hotel accommodation with self-catering bungalows, are found on the outskirts of Girne and close to nearby villages. Of these, two have been constructed since the mid 1980s, whilst the Jasmine Court, foreign-owned, and completed shortly before the 1974 intervention, stood empty until it was taken over by Asil Nadir and opened in 1990. The capacity of these larger facilities varies from 150 to 400 occupants. Town centre hotels which have been built since 1974 are generally small, having 10 to 20 rooms, but one new hotel with self-catering apartments has a 100 bed capacity.

Pansiyons are distinguished from hotels by their size - ie fewer than ten rooms, and by the market for which they cater. They provide basic accommodation with shared cooking facilities for valisci (luggage tourists) and workers from the mainland, and for young backpackers from Europe. The cost of a pansiyon room may be 15-50% that of a room in a guesthouse of similar size catering to a more well-heeled market and offering more luxurious facilities (a bar, dining room, modern and comfortable furnishings). On being approached to participate in an interview for a study of tourism, some owners initially doubted whether they would be able to be of any help, as theirs was "only a pansiyon".<sup>19</sup> There is a grey area in the definition of small hotels, guesthouses and pansiyons; for the purposes of presenting data, I have used the criteria of size (employed by the Ministry of Tourism) and price in

distinguishing pansiyons from hotels, but it should be noted that there are considerable differences between establishments at the top and the bottom of the range of pansiyons.

#### Ownership: pansiyons

With the exception of two establishments, all of the pansiyons surveyed were in old buildings which had been converted to provide guest accommodation. The remaining two had been purpose built: one, on a plot near the old harbour, which had been bought with money, not points; the other a purpose-built ground floor of the house where the owner's family lived (the family residence being a modern elevated apartment with space left underneath for later addition). This was one of only two cases where the owner's residence and the pansiyon were not spatially separate. In the other case, the pansiyon was situated in a large plot of land, with the owner's family living in another building at the back. (In neither case was there communicating access between guest and family accommodation.) Nearly all the pansiyons, including the two purpose-built ones, had been opened since 1990, and two of the conversions slightly earlier. The two purpose-built pansiyons offered a higher standard of accommodation than most of the conversions (an exception was no. 10: see below, and Table 1), with en suite bathrooms and showers, new furniture and decor; and, unlike the other pansiyon owners, these had contacts with tour operators in Europe.



Table 1

Pansiyons surveyed in Girne (fewer than ten rooms)

	Tahsis		Rented	Purchased with cash	Converted building	Purpose built
	Deeds outstanding	Deeds /obtained				
<u>Pansiyon</u>						
1.		1				1
2.				2		2
3.	3				3	
4.		4			4	
5.		5			5	
6.			6		6	
7.			7		7	
8.		8			8	
9.			9		9	
10.			10		10	

Source: interviews

Note: Pansiyon No. 2 was built new by a Turkish Cypriot from the south on land bought for cash

Seven out of the ten pansiyons, including the two modern ones, were run by Cypriot refugees from the south: these included two cases where a Cypriot woman was married to a Turkish husband. Five of these were on tahsis property for which the occupants possessed eşdeğer points; of the other two, one rented Evkaf premises, and the other (no. 2) had built new premises on land bought for cash. Two others were run by Turkish settlers from the mainland who rented their property, one of which also combined a cake shop; on the expiry of the lease on the property they were previously renting from Evkaf, they moved into a nearby building rented from a local Cypriot, but within a year of the move, the business had closed and the building was taken over by a kebab restaurant. The final business (no. 10) was run by a British couple as a side-line to their restaurant business; their clientele consisted principally of week-end visitors from the international diplomatic community in the south.

Ownership: hotels

Unlike pansyons, the vast majority of hotels are, as might be expected, purpose-built, and in only two cases out of the survey sample had existing premises been converted for hotel accommodation. Both of these conversions came about under special circumstances, which are to do with the changing pattern of hotel ownership over the past five years.

Table 2

Hotels surveyed in Girne (more than ten rooms)

Hotel	Tahsis		Rented	Purchased with cash	Converted building	Change of owner	Newly built
	Deeds outstanding	Deeds obtained					
A*							
B*							
C							C
D*							
E		E					E
F	F						
G		G					
H		H				H	
J		J				J	
K							K
L				L		(L)	L
M		M				M	
N							N
O							O
P			P		P		
Q			Q		Q		

Source: Interviews

Notes: Hotels A, B, C and D are "institutionally" owned: two by companies, one by Evkaf, and one by a businessman in partnership with the state.

\* Hotels A, B and D: part of pre-existing hotel stock, leased by government, but information on current status not available.

Hotel E was newly built on land obtained with esdeger points.

Hotels H, J and M changed hands as a result of legal action; (L) as the result of sale.



Of the pre-1974 hotels in Girne, all but three (one run by Evkaf, one by State Tourism Enterprises, and one in a partnership between a Turkish Cypriot and the government), were leased to mainland Turks. Jasmine Court, which had not opened by the time Turkish troops came, stood empty until it was opened by Asil Nadir in 1990 after substantial renovation and refurbishment. Six of the hotels in the sample had been built new, one opening in 1987 and five since 1990; of these, one was built by a settler from the mainland.

The changes in ownership have taken place amongst those hotels which were leased out after 1974, as Turkish Cypriot refugees have applied for hotels with their eşdeğer points - in only one case in the sample had a hotel changed hands for money, when a small newly-built hotel near the old harbour was bought by a Turkish Cypriot from Lefkoşa (hotel L). Three hotels have changed hands as a result of eşdeğer point transactions, two of them going to families from Limassol, one to a family from Larnaca. In a fourth case (hotel G), the Turkish sitting tenant managed to obtain ownership with points he had bought, and in the case of a fifth hotel (F), the tenant had received permission to buy points in order to obtain ownership of the property, and was hopeful of securing the deeds.

The issue of hotel ownership has aroused feelings of bitterness and recrimination amongst both Turkish Cypriots and mainland settlers. The acquisition of the three hotels by Cypriot refugees was opposed by the sitting tenants, and was achieved only after prolonged and expensive legal battles. In two cases (P and Q), the previous tenants opened hotels across the road in property they rented and converted for the purpose. From the point of view of the Cypriots, it was unjust that outsiders should obtain ownership of economic assets when they themselves had left substantial property in the south and had nothing in the north;<sup>20</sup> from the point of view of the tenants,

they had earned to the right to buy the property because of all the work they had put in over 20 years.

#### INVESTMENT IN HOTELS AND PANSIYONS

Uncertainty about ownership is a major disincentive to investment for those who have the resources to put into a business, and a major obstacle to those who need to raise finance. Tenants from the mainland running hotels said they had shelved investment in both the maintenance and the development of the property until their situation was clarified, and the new owners of the three hotels which had been obtained with eşdeğer points said that they had had to spend considerable sums bringing their properties up to scratch and making improvements. The family from Turkey who were buying points to secure ownership of hotel F had carried out painting, maintenance and refurbishment, but also had plans to build additional rooms, a sauna, terrace bar and disco which were being held in abeyance until they obtained "tapu" (deeds to the property). Their reasons were two-fold: without deeds, they had no collateral on which to raise finance for major projects; in addition, they did not want to spend time and money without knowing that the property was theirs. The family son, who was managing the hotel, said that he had asked his family's permission to go back to Turkey after they have obtained the deeds, because he had become tired and disillusioned over the issue: "We can go to school here, do our military service here, marry here, but we can't own our property".<sup>21</sup>

Investment is also a problem for the owners of pansiyons. Because of their size and the budget market to which they cater, they have lower costs than hotels, but some had plans to upgrade their accommodation or to add extra rooms. One family for whom the pansiyon was the sole source of income



(supplemented by videoing weddings and circumcision celebrations during the summer) had been nearly ruined by the drop in business during the Gulf War. Although they wanted to install toilets and showers in the rooms in order to attract more European tourists, they had not yet exchanged their eşdeğer points, and had been unable to raise finance without collateral. Others were reluctant to invest money in their property, because they were afraid that "a Greek Cypriot might come back to claim it if there is an agreement", even though the deeds had been obtained with eşdeğer points.

In the case of the Dome Hotel, the obstacles to investment are rather different. Because the hotel acts as a profit centre funding the other activities of Evkaf, money has not been made available for the long overdue refurbishment of the premises, and the management structure of Evkaf, whose decisions are taken by a governing body with political appointees who change every two years, militates against a more entrepreneurial approach, such as tapping external sources of commercial finance. As a result, the Dome has been overtaken by Jasmine Court as Girne's premier hotel. However, whilst the problems of the Dome are institutionalised in Evkaf's management structure, according to one of Girne's bank managers, the failure to invest in maintenance and redecoration is widespread, resulting in a depreciating stock of hotels. The reasons for this are to be found in more general problems of the slow take-off of tourism, the high level of indebtedness in the sector, and the high interest rates charged on loans.

#### Access to finance

The Tourism Industry Incentive Law (Turizm Endüstri Teşvik Yasası), promulgated in 1987, aimed to encourage private investment in tourism by making available cheap investment credit. Interest rates were held at a subsidised level 20% below the commercial rate of around 70%, and, once a

scheme had been approved by the government, loans were handled by the banks. The scheme was funded chiefly by money from Turkey through a series of protocols, amounting to 55 billion TL worth of credits in 1993, and 25 billion TL in 1992. In addition, tax exemption is granted on the purchase of equipment, furnishings and fittings.

According to the manager of one of the banks administering the loans, the incentive scheme has been dogged by two major failures. Firstly, the repayment period of the loans is too short at three years, whereas ten years would be more appropriate. This has meant that new businesses have not had the time to become profitable before meeting their repayment obligations, and the installments are too high. Secondly, loans have been approved for projects only 20% completed, instead of on half-completed projects, so that businesses start off with a disproportionate debt burden. The period of optimism based on the dramatic improvement in trends towards the end of the 1980s, which encouraged the belief that new hotels would be able to absorb their debts, came to an abrupt end when the Gulf War brought tourism activity to a standstill, and hotels were forced into extra borrowing at commercial rates to service their interest payments. In some cases, debts have increased by 300%, so that, in the bank manager's words, new hotels "have not been able to raise their head above water". Tourism incentive credits are now handled by the new Kalkinma Bankası (Development Bank, opened in 1993), to which existing debts have been transferred by the commercial banks, who have been required to buy shares in the new bank. The government requires 10% of the lending of other banks to go to the tourism sector. The Limassol Cooperative Bank, one of the oldest of the Turkish banks and the only one to have moved with all its assets to the north after 1974, estimates that 16% of its lending goes directly into tourism, and another 16% into tourism related activities; it no longer, however, finances new projects, and its lending is all for



current costs. In the view of the manager, hotel beds have reached over-capacity for the present level of tourism, and the new hotels are not large enough to make the economies of scale which would render them economic.

Of the 16 hotels surveyed, ten said that they had not received incentive credits; only one said that he had received them, and the information was not available from the other hotels because of the absence of the owner. The ten who said they had not, comprised both new hotels and refurbished pre-1974 hotels. In all but one case, the owners had applied for incentive credits; the decision on one application was pending, and the rest had been turned down.

A variety of opinions was expressed on the matter of the distribution of incentive credits. One owner said that it was a complex and bureaucratic procedure, and was still waiting for a decision four months after making the application. In the meantime, they had used their own resources for the work, borrowing a small amount on which they were paying interest at 90%, and hoped to use the incentive credits, should they get them, to pay off this debt. It was generally felt that incentive credits are not fairly distributed, but are always monopolised by the same few big hoteliers. Settlers from Turkey felt that they were discriminated against because they were mainlanders, with Cypriots sharing the money amongst themselves. Others pointed to political bias and the use of torpil in the distribution of credits. The exclusion of a large majority of hoteliers from access to incentive credits has been recognised as a problem by the Turkish Cypriot Hoteliers Association (KITOB), which has tried to remedy the situation by applying for a block of funds to be distributed by KITOB amongst its members, but this scheme has so far been turned down by the government. Following the election of December 1993, when the ruling UBP was replaced by a new coalition, many hoteliers expressed the

hope that more justice would now be introduced into the incentive credit system.

The type of project for which finance was being sought included the replacement and improvement of existing facilities, extensions for new rooms, restaurant, bar and swimming pool, and big projects such as the construction of conference facilities, in line with the government's strategy for extending the tourist season and developing winter tourism. In most cases, the failure to secure incentive credits means that the plans are not carried out. Others had been able to finance some projects from their own resources. One hotelier had spent 50,000 sterling on the hotel which he had taken over from a Turkish settler, and had needed a further 10,000 pounds sterling to replace the old air conditioning and renovate the basement area to make a new dining room, but decided not to carry out the work when his application for incentive credits was turned down. Another, who had built a large new complex outside Girne, commented ironically that he was "one of those who did not receive incentive credits", and had financed the building with borrowing at 110% interest. He added that the real problem was that Northern Cyprus, as an unrecognized state, does not receive international aid or funding from multi-lateral lending agencies such as the World Bank: "No one in this world, except in Northern Cyprus, is investing in tourism at such high interest".

Establishments with fewer than ten beds are not eligible for state-supported finance, and are forced either to use their own resources or to borrow commercially. One owner, a European expatriate with dual nationality, had been able to borrow 80,000 pounds sterling for building and renovation through contacts abroad, which attracted far lower interest than finance raised locally. For those without the contacts to do this, another source of funding is the Faisal Islamic Bank, which was established in Northern Cyprus some five years ago, and which does not charge interest, but offers a number



of partnership arrangements for investment. The bank had provided finance for building work by a pansiyon owner, but he was sceptical of the benefits. The arrangement he had had was that the bank provided the building materials, which he then bought from them. "They say they don't charge interest, but the prices you pay for materials are far more than you would normally pay". In addition to Faisal Islamic Bank, there has been a boom in off-shore banking in Northern Cyprus, with eleven new banks opening in the space of a year, but the general opinion expressed was that they would not make much difference, as the interest rates they charged were too high.

#### Attitudes to credit, investment and development in the hotel sector

In the opinion of most hoteliers, high interest rates are one of the biggest problems they face, forcing them either to borrow at uneconomic rates, or shelve plans for maintenance and development which would enable them to upgrade the star category of their establishment. When asked what the ingredients for success in tourism were, one hotel proprietor expressed the view that the most successful people were those who had made early investments with money they had made in England, and those who are not afraid of taking risks and running up debts. "Most people are constrained by their resources and timid about taking risks, but some borrow from all over the place, and they are the most successful." According to this view, faith in the future and the entrepreneurial spirit are what make success, and are what is generally lacking in Turkish Cypriots; but the reference to investors who have made their money in England also makes a point about the access to liquid resources in a society where wealth has traditionally been held in land and is often, as in this particular case, tied up in eşdeğer points.

A name which frequently came up in discussion was that of Asil Nadir. The most common opinion expressed was that he had made an enormous

contribution to tourism, both by increasing European tourist numbers through his charter airline Noble Air, and by setting a high standard of quality in his hotels. One hotelier said that he used to be angry with Asil Nadir, because he thought that he was monopolising all the money, land and resources, but after the collapse of Polly Peck, he saw that there was "no money around and nothing doing", and realised that "the man was a multiplier in his own right". Others drew the conclusion from the effects of Polly Peck's collapse that Northern Cyprus had relied too much on Asil Nadir, and had become vulnerable as a result: tourism development cannot be left to one man.

Some who were particularly disenchanted with the incentive credit system volunteered the opinion that the criteria for the distribution of credit undermined professionalism by favouring those with social, political and economic resources over those with tourism expertise. One hotelier who had received incentive credits was dismissive of the whole issue, claiming that everyone had received credit, but that they had "eaten" it (ie not used it properly for the purposes for which it was intended). He felt that businesses should keep within the limits of their own resources, rather than take on debts to finance their schemes.

Self-sufficiency was also the goal of another hotelier, but for different reasons. He was very critical of the "unprofessional and illogical" way in which credit was distributed, and preferred to keep a distance in order to avoid "getting into a fight"; but he also felt that too much emphasis was placed on credit for grandiose schemes, when people should be more concerned with ensuring the quality of basic things, such as good service, clean towels, fresh paintwork etc, which are cheap to provide but lacking in many hotels. He believed that tourism credits should be put into infrastructure: solving the problem of water shortages which are particularly acute in the summer,



cleaning and smartening up the streets, more frequent collection of refuse, etc.

Several others also identified a conflict between investment in personal goods and investment in common goods. No matter how splendid the hotel, business will suffer if the reputation of the resort as a whole is let down by dirty streets, lack of water in the hotels, rubbish on the beaches. Many were anxious about the progressive "betonlaşma" [literally, concreting over] of Girne, which has seen the proliferation of high rise apartments and a diminution in green spaces in recent years, particularly since a large part of the appeal of Northern Cyprus is based on its unspoilt environment and beautiful scenery. Frequent criticism was voiced of the Belediye [municipality], which levies a 3% tax on each hotel guest, but suffers from chronic lack of resources. The implementation of the Girne "İmar Planı" [urban improvement plan], was regarded as a positive step, but many were cynical about how effective it would be, with comments such as: "On this island, where everybody knows everybody, people can always get round the rules." When the old Turkish quarter was taken out of the protected area designated by the plan, in which no further development was to be allowed, it was seen by many as the triumph of "menfaat" [self-interest] over the common good. For those who already have tourism businesses, and who see their success as linked to the protection of the environment and the improvement of municipal services, these issues illustrate the limits of torpil in securing tourism's future.

## CONCLUSIONS

Tourism development in Northern Cyprus has seen changes in the value and meaning attached to land, but these changes have been shaped by local events and conditions: the course of local tourism development which, despite its

relatively low bed capacity (approximately 7,000 registered beds in 1993) is supply-led rather than demand-led, and falls readily into neither the "organic" nor "induced" models proposed by Cohen (1979); the economic conditions of high inflation and high interest rates; the experience of displacement, which has influenced both the relationship to land and property, and the values which can be realised; and the pattern of local social and political relationships, which mediate access to property and financial resources.

The issue of legitimacy affects access to tourism resources on both a territorial level - the level of negotiations between governments - and at the level of individual transactions. The fragmentation of the land market has arisen principally because of the long delay in regularising ownership, and the parallel development of the processes of commodification and compensation. Property and transactions are categorised according to the moral rights to ownership of particular groups, which are themselves contested: between, for example, mainland Turkish tenants who have run their tahsis hotels for 20 years, and Cypriot refugees who left land and property in the south. The effects are not only socially divisive, but they have also introduced an additional element of uncertainty into the plans and investment projects of individuals, with the further consequence that government policies - for example, for the development of winter tourism and conference facilities - cannot be realised on the ground.

The uncertainty about ownership gives ample scope for the exercise of torpil to secure advantages - for example, in the valuation of land, the positioning of boundaries, or the allocation of particular properties. Perhaps equally importantly, it gives scope for "dedikodu" [gossip] about the exercise of torpil; whilst the new opportunities to realise the commercial value of land and property lend added piquancy to accusations of menfaat. The



conditions of access to land, property and finance appear to demonstrate the commonsense basis of a "limited good" approach to the issue of resources; but opinions and comments offered on the sources of tourism success and the strategies adopted by individuals also demonstrate that "limited good" tends to be employed rhetorically rather than as an operational principle.<sup>22</sup> "Professionalism", hard work, confidence, and creativity in the tapping of other resources were regularly listed as ways of making the best of the current situation; whilst the owners of medium- to small-size hotels and guesthouses in the town centre, whose guests were more dependent than those of out-of-town holiday villages on the provision of public amenities, emphasised the importance of public spending on common goods such as street- and beach-cleaning and public transport. Like the Rethemniots of Crete (Herzfeld 1991), Turkish Cypriots often maintain that jealousy - "kızkanç" - is widespread, and this accusation is implicit in the contention of one hotelier, mentioned earlier, that, regardless of what they said, everybody had, in fact, received tourism credits but had "eaten them". Distrust of the motives of others - and the probability that one's own motives will likewise be distrusted by others - makes for difficult business relationships, a point which will be developed in the next chapter. Two hoteliers mentioned in the present chapter preferred to pursue a policy of self-sufficiency rather than entangle themselves in potentially damaging relationships. Nevertheless, given the absence of foreign developers in Northern Cyprus, and in contrast to the situation found in studies of other areas, access to and control of tourism resources is at present favoured by strong internal rather than external networks.

This leads on to the question of the control of tourism resources in Girne. Many hoteliers said that they would welcome activity from overseas developers, particularly given the problems of finance and high interest

rates, but because of the political dispute over the status of the north such involvement has not been forthcoming. So far, foreign participation in the accommodation sector (excluding participation from Turkey) has been limited to the owners of second homes, who dominate the market for holiday letting. Within the last five years, control of most of the tourist accommodation sector in Girne has passed to refugees from the south, and particularly to those from the town of Limassol who now form the majority of the population of Girne. This has occurred as refugees have pressed their claims to compensation for land and property in the south, and have begun to build new hotels and holiday complexes. In several cases, the Turkish tenants of tahsis hotels have been forced to cede the property to refugees who have been able to back their moral right with the resources for pursuing their claims in court. Although some new hotels have been built by Turkish investors, renting premises remains the main option for those committed - for family or other reasons - to staying in Northern Cyprus.

This chapter has explored the issues surrounding access to capital resources: the symbolic meanings of land and property, the control of tourism assets, and the implications for social and political relationships. Some of these themes are developed in the following chapter, where attention shifts to tourism as an activity from which income is earned.



1. This was not the first land boom to occur in Cyprus within the past century. Shortly before the start of British rule the expectation of an increase in land values fuelled large-scale purchasing of properties and estates by foreign speculators. The purchase of large estates for agricultural development and model farming by the Anglo-Egyptian Allotment Company of Cairo at the beginning of the 20th century also sent prices up; and Jewish investors paid up to 50% more than the registered value for land at a time when Cyprus was being considered as a possibility for a Jewish homeland (Christodoulou 1959).
2. The ethnic composition of the major towns in Cyprus at the start of British rule and on independence 80 years later are given by Attalides (1981:112) as follows:

ethnic composition (%)

	<u>Greek Cypriot</u>		<u>Turkish Cypriot</u>		<u>Other</u>	
	1881	1960	1881	1960	1881	1960
Nicosia	49	70	47	23	4	7
Larnaca	64	69	25	20	11	10
Limassol	66	73	26	14	8	13
Famagusta)	71	71	28	18	1	11
Varosha )						
Paphos	39	68	60	31	1	1
Kyrenia	50	69	49	20	1	1

3. According to figures from the 1960 Census of Population and Agriculture given by Wellenreuther, the Turkish proportion of property owners with holdings of between 40 and 80 donums (ie medium sized landholdings) was roughly equivalent to the Turkish proportion of the population (taken to be about 18%). For landholdings smaller than this, the proportion

of Turkish owners was lower, and higher for larger landholdings, reaching a proportion of 42% of landholders with 500-1,000 and above 1,000 dönüms (Wellenreuther 1993:62). According to the General Survey of 1909-1920, carried out by the British and cited by Christodoulou, the Greek Orthodox Church was the largest landowner, with 5.3% of the total of agricultural land; tekkes, Evkaf and mosques owned 0.6%, and large estates accounted for 1.6% (Christodoulou 1959:74).

4. cf Papadakis 1993 on the importance of the "continuous Greek presence" for hellenist historiography.
5. Whereas for Catselli, Greek Cypriot purchases of Turkish Cypriot property were a demonstration of the difference between Greek industry and thrift, and Turkish neglect/laziness. Similar views were advanced by Greek Cypriots in the village of Argaki, where most of the Turkish land had been bought by Greeks, and Loizos comments: "This view so obviously fitted some of the Greeks' more general attitudes to the Turks that it might have been little more than a rationalisation of the 1968 status quo" (Loizos 1981:40).
6. cf House of Commons 1987, page xxviii
7. According to Attalides, 25% of the Turkish population of the island lived in Nicosia at the time of the first British census of 1881, a reflection of the numbers employed in government and administrative positions. In 1960, 40% of the Turkish Cypriot population were urban-dwellers (Attalides 1981). According to Wellenreuther, the settlement pattern in the north after 1974 slowed down the rate of urbanisation (Wellenreuther 1993:76).
8. As with much of the statistical information relating to the Cyprus conflict, the figures given for refugees are obfuscated for political and propaganda purposes. The estimated numbers of refugees vary from



150,000 - 200,000 Greek Cypriot, and 32,000 - 80,000 Turkish Cypriot. Wellenreuther argues that the most realistic figures are ca 160,000 and 40,000 - 50,000 respectively.

9. For a detailed discussion of estimates of settler numbers and the political dimensions of the debate, cf Wellenreuther 1993:42-49.
10. Variations on torpil exist throughout the Mediterranean region; eg "fuerza" described by Schneider, Schneider and Hansen (1972) and "mesa" amongst Greek Cypriots (Attalides 1981). Torpil should not be confused with "rüşvet" [bribery] - the buying of favours for money - which is universally condemned by Turkish Cypriots, and, furthermore, regarded as "uncypriot". In this respect torpil, like the practice of bargaining in shops (see chapter six), can be understood as forming part of that complex of behaviour, based on networks of social obligation amongst "insiders" and constructed in opposition to the formal/monetary transactions characteristic of relations with "outsiders", which defines who is and who is not "one of us" (cf Herzfeld 1991:195).
- 11 One dönüm = approximately one-third of an acre.
12. The feelings of many Turkish Cypriot refugees for place, property and home, and the personal histories and relationships they embody which cannot simply be transplanted to an "equivalent" house and land elsewhere, closely parallel the attitudes of Greek Cypriot refugees recorded by Loizos (1981).
13. Particularly when the generally low level of wages is considered. The sale of a dönüm of prime land near Girne can net the equivalent of several years' wages.
14. Turkish Cypriots practise bilateral partible inheritance. According to the Ottoman Land Code which remained in force in Cyprus until 1946, "... Children of both sexes had equal rights in property transmitted as

inheritance" (Sant-Cassia 1982:649). Unlike the situation in Turkey (cf Starr 1984) legal and customary rights in Cyprus do not appear to conflict: women both inherit and dispose of property in their own right (cf the family dispute over property outlined in the following paragraph of text), and married women also receive and hold in their own right eşdeğer points for land in the south. Land and property are regularly transmitted as inter vivos gifts as well as post mortem inheritance, but I have no data on the proportions, or on the strategies governing how property is passed on. As far as dowry is concerned, the usual practice on marriage is for the parents of the groom to provide a house or flat, whilst the bride's parents provide furnishings and fittings, but this can vary according to the situation of the parties. I came across several cases where the bride's family had provided a flat or house, and the married couple lived in property above or adjoining the wife's parents.

15. Social relations are multi-stranded, with economic, kin and social ties mutually reinforcing. The common way of conducting a transaction would involve several visits to view the land, the drinking of coffee, and probably also a meal before amounts of money are seriously discussed.
16. In the event, this was a threat which could not be carried out; see Matthews 1987:74-75.
17. The village also has a core of permanent residents, and its own "muhtar" [village head] - a position which, for many years, has been held by an Austrian woman. Individuals may own the lease on only one property in Karmi. More generally, foreigners are limited to the ownership of two donums of land, otherwise they must form a company with 51% of shares in Turkish Cypriot ownership.



18. Ministry of Tourism figures underestimate the number of pansiyons, giving a figure of only 10 for the whole Girne region.
19. Pansiyons, especially the ones in Lefkoşa, have the reputation of being dormitories for casual workers from Turkey, and their poor conditions have been highlighted by the press: cf Yenidüzen 2/2/93, 3/2/93; Cyprus Today 30/1/93. Cf also Martin 1993:351.
20. The individuals involved came from wealthy families in the south, where two had already owned tourism businesses (a hotel and large restaurant).
21. The common Turkish Cypriot belief that mainland settlers want to obtain ownership of property so that they can sell it and leave the island was not borne out by the findings of my survey. It seems that after almost 20 years, with children born and raised on the island, those in the sample were sufficiently committed to stay whether operating from rented premises or from the hotel they had purchased with points.
22. cf chapter 3, note 8.

## CHAPTER 5

### MAKING A LIVING FROM TOURISM

The range of services extended to tourists in resorts constitutes the tourism sector, and according to Nash (1981) it is through this sector that a host community experiences tourism's most immediate effects.

The most frequently commented-upon characteristic of the modern tourism sector is its capacity to effect sweeping changes in the appearance and the social, cultural and economic organisation of host communities, in line with the tastes and requirements of wealthy tourist-generating countries (Nash 1989). For this reason, it has been described as an "alien system" which "invades" the local "native system" (Cohen 1984), creating new types of work and destroying or marginalising pre-existing subsistence bases such as agriculture: "Modern tourism is an ecological, economic and political system that is complex and global. As it matures, it attains a degree of separation from the rest of society" (Cohen 1984:382). This separation comes about in response to the incorporation of "host areas" into the complex network of relationships dominated by "a group of national and increasingly trans-national corporate actors and governmental and intergovernmental agencies, such as airlines; travel companies, travel agencies and tour operators; hotel



chains; international travel organisations; and various governmental and intergovernmental organisations" (ibid:382).

According to Cohen, a principal distinction between tourist and "native" systems is the "professionalisation" of the tourist system, as local standards of hospitality and service become increasingly incompatible with the demands of an internationalised sector: "Professionalisation thus consists of the effort to surmount the potential conflict between the economic and social components of the service role" (ibid:380). In most resort cycle models, this ultimately leads to the dominance of foreign-owned, "industrial scale" businesses, which can reduce local control of the sector and widen income disparities (Butler 1980; Cohen 1983; Debbage 1993. Cf also Rodenburg 1980; Samarasuriya 1982; Wahnschafft 1982; van der Werff 1980).

Systems views of tourism provide a good reminder of the global context in which any local tourism development occurs, but some writers have questioned the validity of models which emphasise change whilst overlooking elements of continuity in host communities, and ignore the influence of local actors and conditions on the form of the tourism sector. Young, for example, has argued that the major determinant of the type of tourism development in the Caribbean has been the pre-existing pattern of economic relations and activity, and, questioning the assumption that the introduction of radically new types of industry automatically imposes radical change, suggests that the question which should be asked is: "... under what circumstances can a new industry that will bring changes be introduced into and survive in a host country?" (Young 1976:672). In the case of Cyprus, Ioannides has demonstrated the role of local development agents in shaping the tourism sector, thus providing a critique of the notion of resort cycles which respond primarily to the external logic of an international (rather than local) tourism system (Ioannides 1992).

This chapter explores the operation of the tourism sector in Girne by examining the activities of the travel agency sub-sector, and the tourism employment market. The analysis follows the lead of Young and Ioannides in not assuming that the tourism sector constitutes a "separate" system, but looks at ways in which it is stamped by and reflects local events, conditions and concerns, and how these are in turn influenced by the experiences, ideas and information gained from tourism. I focus on "professionalisation" as a goal of local efforts to develop tourism, and explore what this means in the particular social and cultural context of Northern Cyprus. Little has been written on the activities of travel agents except in relation to the packaging of destinations and their marketing in tourist-generating societies (eg Reimer 1990; Silver 1993); in this chapter, I consider their roles as entrepreneurs and gatekeepers, the first line of the local tourism sector. I start with a brief recapitulation of Girne's tourism sector and the tourists it serves.

#### THE TOURISM SECTOR IN GIRNE

The picturesque harbour town of Girne and its surrounding mountain villages have long been popular with the British in Cyprus. The principal attractions in the days before mass tourism were its greenery and comparative coolness, and the dramatic scenery, with its combination of rugged coastline and "Gothic" mountains.<sup>1</sup> Since 1974, the Girne region has been the prime tourism area of the north. "Sea and sand" tourism has been added to its other attractions, and its visitors have become more diverse. Girne is now the most popular resort amongst mainland Turkish tourists, European tourists (especially British, German and Austrian), and affluent Cypriots from Lefkoşa who maintain week-end and summer residences in the town or on the sandy bays which punctuate the rocky coastline. Girne, with a resident population of only 10 000 (excluding the population of the outlying villages), contains more



than 80 bars and restaurants, approximately 10 gift shops and carpet shops, the same number of estate agencies, and about 20 travel agencies.<sup>2</sup> In addition, there are more than 30 tourist accommodation facilities of various sizes and grades in or near the town centre, and three casinos, with more casinos, clubs and discotheques in outlying areas. Apart from the shops catering to the souvenir and handicraft market, the majority of shops on the high street are dependent on shoppers from Turkey, and their stock responds to the demands of the mainland Turkish market.<sup>3</sup>

Those working in the local tourist industry distinguish between the different European nationalities according to perceptions of their tastes and behaviour as tourists; however, the differences between British, German, French or Scandinavian tourists are not considered to be as great as the overall differences between European and Turkish tourists. The image of the "valisci" [luggage tourist] dominates the common perception of Turkish tourists, who are widely thought to come mainly for shopping or gambling - that is, Turkish tourists are regarded as having primarily economic motivations, even in their patterns of recreation; whereas European tourists are thought to be more interested in the history, landscape and culture of Cyprus. As one travel agent put it: "European tourists walk around with a bottle of water to drink looking at everything, Turks walk around with enormous suitcases on wheels." But in fact the Turkish and European markets are each heterogenous. Package tourists from Turkey stay in the whole range of hotels and guesthouses, from pansiyons to four and five star hotels. Many European tourists, on the other hand, are independent travellers visiting friends and relatives; renting accommodation from expatriate residents; living semi-permanently in property which they have bought or leased; or are members of the diplomatic community (based south of the Green Line in Lefkoşa) or British and UN armed forces on weekend leave, who come to enjoy the

restaurants and quiet beaches, and to shop for handicrafts and fake "designer" label clothes. In addition, a few young backpackers cross to Northern Cyprus by ferry from Turkey, and stay in cheap pansiyon accommodation.

The tendency to regard the tourist market as split into two internally homogenous groups is reinforced by other factors which structure access to these markets. The political situation and lack of recognition of the TRNC mean that international flights cannot come to Northern Cyprus direct and hamper publicity and marketing efforts; whilst the proximity of Turkey and relaxation of many customs and passport requirements mean that Turkey is almost a domestic market.<sup>4</sup> The relative difficulty of dealing with Europe, compared with the accessibility of Turkey, require the development of different types of business relationship and channels of communication - and this is the principal role of the travel agents in Girne.

#### TRAVEL AGENCIES

Out of the 20 travel agencies operating in Girne, 12 town centre businesses were surveyed, all of which were the agency's only or main office. Of these, three had been in existence before 1974, one had opened in 1984, and the remainder had opened since 1988, once the upswing in tourism was underway. All of the older (pre-1974) agencies were classified as "group B" businesses (ie not licensed to bring in package tours);<sup>5</sup> of the newer businesses, six were group A agents, and three group B, selling individual airline and ferry tickets, dealing with visa requirements, etc. Five agencies dealt exclusively with the Turkish market, and two mainly or exclusively with the European. For the remainder, the majority of their business was with Turkey. Two exceptions to this were two of the pre-1974 group B agencies, most of whose custom came from the expatriate community living in and around Girne.



Most of the travel agencies in the sample were family businesses, sometimes employing one additional member of staff to deal with ticketing and office enquiries.<sup>6</sup> A striking feature of the sample was the number of businesses run as husband and wife partnerships, six out of the total of twelve. In the case of the only agency with branches in other towns, the husband and wife worked separately, running different branches. In the other cases, a division of labour was operated whereby the wife managed the office, dealing with telephone enquiries and ticketing, and the husband spent much of the time outside the office, collecting and delivering tickets and payments for bills, and visiting premises.<sup>7</sup> In two cases, the wife was no longer an active partner, remaining instead at home to look after children; in the four other cases, the couples' children were minded by other members of the family while the wife continued to work. According to one woman working in partnership with her husband, businesses are usually registered in the husband's name: "The man deals with the offices, registration and so on, and it's registered in his name. That's usually the way". One business was run as a father-and-son partnership; in addition, two businesses had grown out of a split in a previous family business, in one case, between a married couple and the wife's uncle, and in another, between two brothers. Only two agencies, both Group A businesses, employed more than one full-time member of staff; of these, one had four employees, and another 20, spread over five branches. The employees included tour guides, office staff and drivers. Other agencies employed tour guides and drivers on a casual basis in peak season.

Travel agents had entered the business from a variety of backgrounds. Although about half the owners were university graduates, only one had taken a first degree in tourism, and another a masters degree in tourism after initially studying industrial engineering. Amongst the sample were a

qualified accountant; an electrical technician; a former teacher, policeman, and army officer; and a Cypriot who had retired back to Cyprus after working in the garment trade in London. Only half of the sample had spent all their working life in tourism, whilst another two had had substantial experience as tourism employees before opening their own business. Reasons behind the move into tourism from other fields varied. In four cases, travel agency had been chosen as a second career after retirement from some other occupation, and in two cases, the travel agency was run alongside a continued second occupation in the construction industry. In two cases, the travel agency had been opened as a specific result of dissatisfaction with the conditions and career opportunities of employment in hotels. Those who had opened their businesses since the late 1980s said that they had chosen the tourism field because it was the most dynamic sector, holding the greatest possibilities for the future. In one case, the formation of the company had preceded the decision to operate as a travel agency: the partnership company had been formed in 1988 between a married couple and a male friend, when the two men were on the point of retiring from public service employment. They had spent two years considering several business options, including estate agency and import-export trade, before eventually deciding that tourism was "the only real option, because this is a touristic island". Their travel agency eventually opened as a group A business in 1990.

Of the twelve businesses in the sample, three were run by non-Cypriots,<sup>8</sup> all of them opening since 1990. One of these was run by a German citizen, working with two Cypriot "sleeping partners". A second was owned by a retired Turkish army officer, who had been stationed in Cyprus, and a third by a man from Istanbul:

C is in his early thirties, and came from Istanbul with his wife and young child in 1990. He has worked in tourism since



graduating from university, and for five years before coming to Cyprus had been employed in a large hotel in Bursa, where he had worked his way from receptionist to food and beverage manager. When he did not get a promotion he wanted at the hotel, he and his wife decided to come to Northern Cyprus, where he had previously lived as a child during the 1960s. On arriving in Cyprus, they had considered various possibilities for work. As there are no big international hotels such as the ones in Turkey, he could not do the sort of work he was used to doing, and so they considered opening a pansiyon, but found the rents for the type of building they wanted too high at 400 pounds sterling per month. After 18 months, he opened his travel agency; his wife runs a beauty salon next door, and they live in a flat above their business premises, for which they pay rent.

C experienced a lot of difficulty in opening his business, and felt that the ministry and the travel agents' association had been obstructive, rather than helpful. He thought that this attitude stemmed from the desire to stop "travel agency inflation", but felt that they are trying to stop the wrong people - "there are too many without any real interest, knowledge or skill, and they should be weeding out those who are not doing the job professionally". He wanted to register as a Group A agency, but when the security deposit which Group A agents are required to lodge went up without warning to 15 million TL, he refused to pay, and has a court case pending. For this reason, he is currently operating as a Group B agency. He works solely in the Turkish market, and has contacts with a travel agent in Bursa and in Istanbul. He does not do any advertising himself,

but "word of mouth" advertising is important, and his older sister, who is a pharmacist, sends him clients from among her friends and colleagues. He would like to branch out into the European market, but does not yet have the resources to do so; furthermore, the political situation and the lack of direct flights is a problem for this market. C is torn between wanting to see more "professional" input into tourism in Northern Cyprus, and the fear that its natural beauty may be spoilt. He has bought some mountain bikes, which he hopes to rent out, and in the future would like to organise cycling and camping tours, and open a small pansiyon. He feels that he will never earn a fortune as a travel agent, but that it is an enjoyable way of earning a living. He and his wife plan to give themselves five years in Cyprus, to see how things turn out, and after that they may go back to Turkey.

C's experience and comments touch on a number of problems common in the travel agency sector: the issue of "travel agency inflation" and professionalism; the question of contacts and the problem of breaking into the European market; and the uncertainty about the future. In the next section, these issues are explored in greater depth.

### Numbers and competition

The increase in the number of travel agencies has occurred largely since the mid 1980s, when tourism was designated the leading economic sector. Before 1974, there were few Turkish Cypriot travel agencies, although their numbers started to climb with the rapid pace of tourism development and the improved relations between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities at the end of the 1960s. The oldest travel agency in the sample had opened in Larnaca



(in the south) in 1958 and had catered mainly to Turkish Cypriots emigrating to Australia. Two others had opened in Limassol in 1971 and 1973 and in those days had, according to one of these agents, worked with Turkish airlines as well as Greek Cypriot companies, but were obliged to be sub-agents depending on Greek Cypriot main agencies.

It appears from the sample that the travel agencies opening from the mid 1980s onward were responding to two stimuli: firstly, the new optimism about the future of tourism encouraged by government policy and improving trends; and secondly, the desire to be self-employed. The move from other occupations into tourism reflects the view that tourism was becoming the most dynamic sector of the economy; or, more negatively, reflects the lack of opportunity in other sectors. One travel agent explained his choice of occupation: "Tourism is the only possibility. Farming is marginal, and there is very little industry, only a few factories". Individuals who had previously been employed in the tourism industry had come both from the hotel sector and from other travel agencies. For those without the resources to open a hotel or guest house, travel agency offered the best opportunity for self-employment using their skills and experience.

The problem of "agency inflation" has come about because the agency sector has expanded faster than the accommodation sector. It was frequently pointed out that "we have only 7,000 beds, and 120 travel agencies; in the south they have 80,000 beds, and not as many travel agencies as us". This is felt to have led to a devaluation in the skills of travel agents, and an atmosphere of cut-throat competition. On the one hand, I was told: "People think that anyone can be a travel agent. People retire, and open a little office, but they are not making their living from the agency, they have their pension". Paradoxically, this assessment can lead to further increases in the numbers of travel agents, as individuals considering opening an agency rate

their own expertise favourably compared to the sector as a whole: "There is always room for a proper professional". On the other hand, as the number of beds has remained fairly stagnant, large-scale European operators do not get involved, and the industry is dependent on a handful of airlines, competition for custom can be fierce: "There is always someone looking over your shoulder". One agent who had worked for several years with a German tour operator had developed a series of walking holidays accompanied by specialist guides, and was furious to discover that a competitor had approached the operator, offering to do her tours more cheaply. The operator's initial decision to accept the cheaper tour was only reversed with difficulty. According to the travel agent, such competitive practices militate against innovation, creating a climate of insecurity and an emphasis on doing things cheaply rather than providing quality.

The activities of travel agents are subject to regulation by the travel agents' association KITSAB and by the Ministry of Tourism. The president of KITSAB has been vocal in condemning "travel agency inflation" as damaging to the business of professional travel agents and tourism in Northern Cyprus in general. One means of attempting to limit access to the profession and raise standards has been the introduction of Group A and Group B classifications for businesses.

#### "Professionalisation" and its effects

To be entitled to bring in-coming package tours to Northern Cyprus, a travel agency must be registered as a Group A business. In order to qualify for this classification, a business must be equipped with a fax machine and computer, employ a secretary, carry a stock of tickets, and lodge a security deposit of 15 million TL (just under 1,000 pounds sterling in 1993). In order to maintain group A status, a business must bring in 150,000 tourist nights per



year; an agency which is temporarily unable to sustain this target may register as a "temporary Group A" business. Group A businesses may import their office equipment duty free.

By stipulating a minimum investment and scale of operation, the regulations aim to promote a "serious" travel agency sector geared to the generation and expansion of tourist markets. This reflects the change to a more proactive tourism policy which was adopted in the mid-1980s. Although the A/B classification has been in operation for some years, in 1993 only half of the sample of 12 agencies were in Group A, with the three oldest and three of the newest agencies in Group B. The reasons for this varied according to the existing market niche of the business, present economic circumstances, and their assessment of the future.

The three oldest agencies had businesses pre-dating the expansion in package tourism, based on specialist knowledge and expertise in tailoring travel itineraries to individual requirements. One of these, a husband-and-wife partnership, had established a particularly strong reputation and close links with the expatriate community living around Girne, and was satisfied with the current level of business, selling about 4,000 tickets per year. Their reputation was enhanced by the wife's IATA qualification as well as her long years of experience. When the A/B distinction was introduced, they decided not to bother seeking Group A status, because two people were not sufficient to handle Group A business, and they had no interest in expanding. In fact, they have established a secure niche away from mainstream travel requirements - the greater the problems of travel, the greater the need for their services, and they were one of the few agencies which saw an increase rather than a decline in business during the Gulf War in 1990: "Everybody wanted to leave the island. Many airlines had stopped operating, but some of the Arab airlines continued ...". Their business flourishes on lack of

homogeneity in the market, the diversity of customers and their requirements. Their situation was similar to that of the other old-established business from Limassol, although there the turnover was not as great. The travel agent had spent some time as a Group A business, but "uğraşamadım" ["I couldn't keep it up"]. Age appears to have been a factor in decisions to maintain Group B status. Unlike the owners of the Group A businesses in the sample, who were all in their thirties or early forties, those who have reached their fifties after spending 20 years in the same business said that they did not have the energy or interest to make the transition. In only one case was an older business considering acquiring Group A status, and in this case a son had returned from England to run the agency with his father. This agency did not enjoy the niche advantages of the other two agencies, and the business had been in decline. The son felt that they would have to make the move to Group A, but was daunted by the investment they would have to make, the number of other agencies in the market, and the lack of tourism infrastructure and flights to the north of the island. He had decided to spend a while watching the market and investigating contacts with agents in Turkey before committing the agency to Group A activity, and considered the possibility of returning to England should his plans not work out.

In the case of one of the newer agencies, the decision to operate as a Group B business had been a matter of choice. The agency had been established by a Turkish Cypriot couple who had retired to Girne after spending many years working in London, and who wanted a business "to give us something to do". The office was open at irregular hours, and was not relied on as a source of income, since the couple had a pension; but the business did have some links with another sideline, which was supervising the sub-contraction of building work for expatriate residents and London Cypriots. The couple did not rule out the possibility of expanding their business at some time in the future,



once tourism was more established, but felt there was no scope for future investment at the present. Other businesses, such as C's agency outlined in the case study above, actually wanted to operate in Group A, but felt that the formal investment requirements entailed too great a risk, stretching their limited resources and overcommitting them in a field of activity marked by too many uncertainties.

The tightening of controls on travel agencies is having the effect of squeezing Group B businesses between, on the one side, the Group A agencies, which also offer individual ticketing services; and on the other side, informal, unregulated outlets, such as shops which sell tickets on a casual basis as a sideline. One of the older travel agents felt that Group B businesses were discriminated against: Group A agents do not pay customs duty on office equipment and receive more favourable credit terms. He had applied to KITSAB to have this discrimination ended. However, it seems likely that Group B businesses will continue to be viable only for those for whom it is not the main line of business, and for the one or two old established businesses with a niche market. Once these older agents have retired, it is probable that specialist Group B agencies will disappear.

The aim of the two-tier system is to promote a "professionalised" travel agency sector, to encourage entrepreneurial and risk-taking businesses which will expand the tourist market. Some of the Group A agents who were conscious of this role felt that too much was expected of them without adequate safeguards and support. One, who had experienced severe cash-flow problems and had had one group of Turkish tourists turned away from a hotel because of the agent's unpaid bills, commented: "We could go bankrupt, and nobody would lift a finger". One of the problems faced by Group A agencies is the difficulties attendant on business relationships and expansion into the European market.

## Business contacts and market

The business of Group B agents is based on maintaining good face-to-face relations with the individuals requiring their services, whereas group A agencies must establish more formal relationships with a variety of businesses outside the island. Part of the resistance to changing to Group A status stems from reluctance to make the qualitative changes required in business relationships and style of operation. Group A businesses are involved in four main types of business relationship: 1. with other local travel agencies; 2. with tour operators and agents abroad; 3. with airlines and ferry operators; and 4. with hotels.

1. Relations with other local agents: At the formal level, local travel agencies are linked by their membership of the travel agents' association KITSAB. Although all the agents said that they attended general meetings of the association, few participated as active members in the running of the organisation, a fact which was mentioned as a problem by the president of KITSAB in a personal interview. Some of the Group B agents felt that KITSAB did not represent their interests adequately, and expressed resentment at the requirements laid down by the association for acquiring Group A status. In many cases, this reflected unease at the growing "professionalisation" of the sector, as criteria such as financial resources replace criteria of reputation based on experience and expertise. This is also linked to the common complaint about "travel agency inflation". Whilst visiting one of the oldest agencies, the son of the man who had founded the business produced the KITSAB leaflet showing the list of members, and leafing through them, commented: "Look at all these agencies, and I have never heard of most of them. Businesses should function on personal reputation, not money guarantees, but it's impossible in these circumstances. If you go to any town or any village, everyone knows my father, and has heard of his business. He used to work with



big international airlines, like Sabina". Nevertheless, he was required to pay his deposit and meet all the other requirements for registration, like all the new agencies. This created a problem for the agency, as their business had declined, so that resources for meeting the formal requirements for moving into Group A were limited. KITSAB has a difficult role to fulfill, because of the competitive relations between local travel agents and the transitional stage reached in the development of the sector. All the agents complained that there were too many agencies for the present level of tourism, and expected KITSAB to do something about it; but none wanted to be squeezed out themselves by the enforcement of criteria appropriate to a more professionalised business context.

2. Relations with tour operators and agents abroad: The bulk of Group A agency business is incoming tours, which necessitate working with tour operators and agencies based in Turkey and Europe.

Turkey's proximity and the direct transport links by air and sea make it relatively easy to visit the offices of collaborating companies and to establish face-to-face relationships. One agent who was investigating possible business contacts in Turkey said that he would not work with an agent without personally visiting their office and checking that they were "straight" - he had already received visits from potential business partners. Many of the business relationships come about as a result of the personal contacts of individuals who have kin living in Turkey, or who have previously lived or worked there themselves. In addition, it is relatively inexpensive to visit the travel fairs in Istanbul and Ankara in order to widen the network of contacts. The formal relationship between KITSAB and TURSAB, the Turkish travel agents' association, provides an institutional framework for the relationships between individual companies and the possibility of redress should problems arise.<sup>9</sup> Some agents, however, doubted the organisations'

effectiveness in regulating business relationships, mainly because of the small size of the Turkish Cypriot travel agency sector compared to Turkey, and their dependence on Turkish agencies, both for access to European markets and for the important Turkish market. According to a Girne bank manager, many Cypriot agents experience severe cash-flow problems because of long delays in receiving payment from Turkey, and are frequently forced to mortgage their home or car for a short-term loan to tide them over such crises.

Contacts with European operators and agents are harder to establish, because of the greater distance of the market, which makes it harder to make informal contacts and more expensive to attend travel fairs. Major European operators are reluctant to work in Northern Cyprus because of the danger to their lucrative business with the south of the island, and, because of the lack of recognition of the north, institutional relationships cannot be formed with European travel agent associations. Most agents felt that, although they were hampered by the boycott on Northern Cyprus, the problems were not insuperable as far as relations with small- to medium-size companies are concerned. Many of the agencies they work with are in fact owned by Turkish Cypriots living abroad, particularly in London.

To a great extent, relations with the European tourist market are mediated through Turkey and also through the Greek Cypriot south. Some European operators, working through agents in Turkey who act as intermediaries with Turkish Cypriot agents,<sup>10</sup> organise day trips from the south of the island to the north, crossing the Green Line at the Ledra Palace checkpoint in Lefkoşa; but it was a common complaint that Greek Cypriot border officials often arbitrarily stop such tours crossing, allow over only half the tour, or take so long processing the documents of individual tourists that much of the day is lost.



Some agencies have been able to establish direct contacts with operators in Europe, many of whom send regular "special interest" tours for walking, painting, or to visit archaeological sites. One agent had a longstanding relationship with a company in Switzerland, which was the mainstay of his business. He had established the contact in 1983, and brought 5-600 tourists per year: "This is enough for me, because it is a good market - secure, and rich". Another agent who had settled in Northern Cyprus from Germany had links with several German operators. Some were personal contacts from her previous employment in tourism in Germany, and others she had approached by telephone. In establishing these relationships, she was helped by her familiarity with the German scene, her previous experience, and the fact that she was German-speaking.

Knowledge and contacts are a valuable resource for travel agents, and relatively hard to come by as far as the European market is concerned. For those who do not possess these resources themselves, one possibility is to form a partnership with foreign citizens who are in a better position than the local agent to develop links abroad. This may be an ad hoc arrangement formed with long-stay tourists or expatriate residents. The partnerships are frequently unsuccessful, as misunderstandings and clashes arise over areas of responsibility and the running of the business. According to one expatriate resident, partnerships often break down because the Cypriots are unwilling to share their local knowledge and contacts with their foreign partner. While many expatriates condemn this as an opportunistic attitude, the Cypriot partners' careful management of the flow of information can also be seen as a pragmatic response, in a competitive business environment, to the risks of dependency on outsiders who cannot be made accountable to "inside" networks of social obligation.

3. Transport connections The lack of direct flights to the island was mentioned as a major problem by nearly all the travel agents in the sample, particularly in relation to the European market. Only five companies fly into Ercan, and all flights arriving from outside Turkey must touch down in Turkey first, adding to the cost of travel and the length of journey time. Flights from the UK generally wait for only one hour in Turkey before carrying on to Northern Cyprus, but travellers from other countries, such as Germany and France, usually have to change planes and may have to wait hours for a connecting flight. One agent working primarily with Germany explained: "You can get a good deal to Istanbul - then you have the problem of the flight to Northern Cyprus, with its bad connections. Tourists sometimes arrive in Turkey at 10am, and then do not have a connecting flight until 9pm - they arrive tired and a bit angry, and say that they will not make the journey again. Or they arrive in Cyprus at 4am, and at the end of the holiday the flight leaves at midnight". Because of the small size of most of the agents, obtaining seats on charter flights is almost impossible: "Small operators cannot take the risk of chartering a whole plane, and big operators will not sell seats to those they regard as competitors". A travel agent who had been in business before 1974 summarised the current situation thus: "Before 1974 there were planes, cruises and ferry boats, and business was done on the phone. Now there are too many agencies, and too few airlines. You have to go to the offices, and book face to face, and even then they may be booked up."

Another problem is lack of communication between airlines and travel agencies. Changes to flight schedules and ticket prices are sometimes implemented without travel agencies being informed. Apart from the inconvenience to business, many agents viewed this as symptomatic of a lack



of professionalism which undermines morale, leading to comments such as "The Greeks [Rumlar] are much better at this kind of thing".

Because air routes are subject to strict international surveillance, the problem of the lack of direct flights has proved intractable and its solution is seen by many agents as being dependent on achieving a political agreement on the island. Sea routes, on the other hand, offer greater flexibility and potential for opening up regional markets, or integrating Northern Cyprus' tourism more closely with the southern coast of Turkey (for example, by selling day and weekend trips and multi-centre holidays). One initiative resulted in a partnership between a Turkish Cypriot and Israeli travel agency, working with a Turkish Cypriot boat owner, operating a service between Haifa and Magusa which is expected to bring a regular stream of Israeli tourists. The original contact was made between the travel agents, who had met at an international tourism fair, and was followed up by a year of communication, including visits to Israel and Northern Cyprus, to explore the viability of the working relationship and the potential of various schemes. The project initially foundered on the difficulty in obtaining a ferry boat, as the boycott on Northern Cyprus made foreign companies unwilling to rent out a boat. The partners persisted, and after approaching a Turkish Cypriot businessman with an established service to Turkey, eventually succeeded in finding a suitable boat and commenced their service, which on its first trip brought 600 Israeli tourists.

The success of this initiative was a result of the persistence of the travel agents; this in turn was possible because of the relationship of trust which had been developed through prolonged contact and exchanges of hospitality, the commitment of the Israeli agency to Northern Cyprus as a tourist destination,<sup>11</sup> and the Cypriot agent's respect for the professionalism

and experience of his Israeli partners. Such relationships are not always so positive, as the following case illustrates:

A fast boat service was established from a southern Turkish resort to Girne, making several return trips a week. The service was run by a Turkish and a Cypriot company, carrying both independent travellers and small tour groups booking a package of accommodation, guided tours and entertainment. Tickets were sold direct from the travel agencies running the service, and from other local agencies on 10% commission. The Cypriot agent received the proceeds from the tickets sold in Cyprus, and was responsible for paying harbour dues in Cyprus and for refuelling the boat, with the Turkish agent periodically sending over his share of these expenses.

Problems began to arise when the Turkish agent failed to send money to meet his agreed share of costs. By September, the debts to the Cypriot company had mounted to 130 million TL, about 6,000 pounds sterling. In addition, the Turkish agent ended the summer schedule of services without consulting his Cypriot partner and without notice to passengers, leaving tourists stranded in Cyprus for two extra nights, and implementing a winter timetable with only two return journeys a week, whose timing was inconvenient for tourists from Cyprus wanting to take a short break in Turkey.

The Cypriot agent warned that if the outstanding debt was not paid the boat would not be sent out. Displays of brinkmanship resulted: on several days, the departure from Girne was delayed until money was received for the refuelling, with local staff having to deal with the anxious and irate tourists.



Eventually a cheque was sent from Turkey to cover the bulk of the debt, but the cheque subsequently bounced. The Cypriot agent suspended the service, and the boat was impounded pending settlement of the dispute. In the meantime, expenses mounted, as the Cypriot agent had to feed the crew and pay daily harbour fees for the impounded boat.

In part, the problems arose because of the large number of parties involved in running the service, resulting in complex and conflicting constellations of responsibility, authority and loyalty:

- to deal with the ferry business, the Cypriot agency had established a subsidiary company in an equal partnership with a Turkish Cypriot finance company, with representatives of both companies involved in the day to day running of the service at the Cypriot end;

- the boat was owned by a Russian company, and chartered by a Russian/Turkish businessman based in Turkey who in turn leased the boat to the two travel agents and was responsible for the welfare of its captain and crew;

- the boat's captain and crew were Russian, and maintained lines of communication and authority with both the subcontractor and the boat's owners in Russia;

- the travel agents in Turkey and Cyprus set up the service and made their profit independently, on the basis of the business they generated, less their agreed share of the costs.

Over the course of the dispute, relations between all the parties deteriorated. The boat's subcontractor arrived in Girne demanding payment from the Cypriot travel agency, and on inspecting the books promised to take the matter up with the Turkish agent; the cheque which was later paid bounced, and the subcontractor and the Turkish agent were subsequently "unavailable" when the Cypriot agent attempted to resolve the matter. The captain and crew

did not receive their pay from the sub-contractor, but were given subsistence from the Cypriot company whilst the captain awaited instructions from the owners in Russia. As it became clear that the enterprise would result in losses to the Cypriot company, responsibility for covering the losses was disputed between the two Cypriot partners. The feeling was that they had been deceived by the Turkish agent, probably in collusion with the sub-contractor, who were keeping all the profits of the operation, and there were recriminations over the negotiation of the original agreement which had opened the door to the abuses.

Although the episode was unfortunate for the Cypriot partners, it was not entirely unexpected that problems would arise, and the outcome appeared to justify the distrust which often underlies ventures in which control is shared with "others". This attitude was summed up in the rueful comment: "Başkısının ipiyle koyuna inme" [Don't go down the well with somebody else's rope] - that is, the only person you can really trust is yourself. While to some extent this sentiment characterised the relationship between the two Cypriot partners, it was much more marked in their relationship with the Turkish companies, whose behaviour was seen as unexceptional, and symptomatic of the problems attendant on working with mainland businesses. It was felt that a sound scheme had broken down because the relations between the parties had not worked out, but that it could succeed if the operations were concentrated in the hands of one party, with "someone we can trust" working in a sub-branch in Turkey. In the event, one of the Cypriot partners bought the boat from the Russian owners, intending to recommence the service with themselves in sole control the following year.

4. Relations with hotels The service provided by Group A agents includes the booking of hotel accommodation. Most agents said that they worked with "all the hotels and holiday villages", and at times of peak



demand, particularly during Turkish Bayrams and public holidays, there is a scramble to find whatever accommodation is available. Some agencies, and particularly those with a large European component to their business, work with a few regular hotels and holiday complexes, and one had recently dropped a large complex from the accommodation he offered, because he felt it was not up to the standards demanded by European tourists. The problem of standards was felt to result from a lack of professionalism in the sector, and the poor quality of hotel staff, due partly to the seasonal nature of employment, and partly to the inadequacy of training provision. The skills gap was said by several to be particularly acute in the middle-management and skilled technician range, and it was the opinion of many that, rather than expanding degree-level training in tourism, the capacity of the state tourism school OTEM needed to be increased and its training upgraded.

A frequent complaint was of lack of cooperation between the travel agency and hotel sector: travel agencies need to know hotel tariffs well in advance of the tourist season, but experience difficulty in obtaining this information from hotels, who set their prices at the last moment. (On the other hand, many hoteliers complained of their treatment by travel agents, and particularly of their failure or slowness to pay bills.) Travel agents also felt that hotel prices were too high compared with Turkey and the south of the island, who are generally regarded as the main competitors. This issue was highlighted by one particular incident which received wide press coverage and became a matter of public debate at the start of the 1993 summer season: a Turkish agency had begun to advertise tours from Turkey to the southern Cyprus. The outcry which greeted this announcement focussed largely on the question of the "betrayal" of Northern Cyprus by the Turkish company;<sup>12</sup> at the same time, the point was frequently made that, even though the tours flying to the south would have to make a detour via Athens, the cost of the holiday

was substantially cheaper and the standard of hotel obtained for the price higher than what was available in the north. Some travel agents suggested that this was because local hoteliers were too greedy and simply charged too much for rooms; but others pointed out that tourism in the south benefited from more government support and access to international funding than the north's under-resourced tourism: "After the Gulf War, hotels in the south were practically free in order to revive trade".

The foregoing analysis of the range of relationships involved in the activities of travel agencies reveals a high degree of interdependence between the various sectors and individual businesses, but also a high degree of frustration at the quality of these relationships. One possible strategy for overcoming these frustrations is to reduce dependence on others through the integration of different branches of tourism activity, but on the whole this was not a strategy pursued by travel agents in the sample. One of the partners in a travel agency had his own holiday bungalows which he ran separately from the main business of the agency; a couple of others owned their own buses for the internal transfer of tourists, or had family connections to bus companies. Generally, travel agents hire coaches and mini-buses as required, and act as sub-agents for car-hire companies. This is largely a matter of the resources available. According to one travel agent: "Diversification is not good. There is too much competition, and you can't make money". He preferred to use his resources to consolidate and expand his existing businesses, through attending travel fairs etc.<sup>13</sup>

### Uncertainty and the future

The travel agency sector has experienced many changes within the past ten years - the rapid increase in the number of businesses, the beginning of



regulation by government and professional bodies, the shift away from servicing individual travel requirements to the package market - which suggest that the process of professionalisation is underway. However, this process is not led by a rise in tourist numbers or the operational demands of big international companies; rather, it is being undertaken with the aim of creating a local travel agency sector consisting essentially of small family businesses capable of penetrating European markets and increasing the tourist demand for Northern Cyprus.

Cohen has pointed out the difficulty in stimulating sustained local development "in the absence of sufficient local capital and technical and entrepreneurial resources" (Cohen 1984:385). The conditions of uncertainty in the travel agency sector, of which travel agency inflation and the squeeze on Group B activity are both symptoms and causes, illustrate the sort of difficulties to which Cohen refers. Additional problems are created by the dependence on Turkey and Turkish travel agents as a gateway to the rest of the world. Many of the cash-flow problems experienced by travel agents are a result of their Turkish counterparts' slowness in paying outstanding debts (or their failure to pay them), which in turn sours relationships with local hoteliers; such problems are intensified by high inflation and interest rates. These factors also exacerbate the lack of trust which is a common feature of business relationships (see also chapter four).

A major stumbling block is that no satisfactory alternative has been found to "old-fashioned" notions of reputation as a basis for business dealings, which are appropriate for face-to-face transactions in a situation where everyone is known from a number of contexts, but less practical in an expanded business environment where partners are scattered over several countries and are not known in any other capacity. The evidence from the sample is that agents attempt to "domesticate" relationships - to establish

ties of mutual obligation and reintroduce reputation as an element of certainty - by insisting on personal visits before committing themselves to a business partnership, building up multi-stranded relationships with their partners (sometimes involving other members of the family), or forming ad hoc business relationships with locally based foreigners whose role is that of intermediary.

The issue of forward planning and travel agents' assessments of the future was introduced into discussions by me, and reflected my expectation that the future is seen as the realm of uncertainty, where events are not yet known and outcomes can only be guessed (Wallman 1992). However, it emerged that, as far as their business is concerned, it is the present which travel agents see as uncertain. Their optimism that the future would be "parlak parlak" [very bright] is based on the examples of other tourism destinations in the region, such as Turkey and the south of the island, and the certainty that such a future is assured for Northern Cyprus once a political settlement had been reached and restrictions on dealing directly with major European operators lifted. In particular, the big international tour operators are expected to introduce into the local tourism sector an ethos of professionalism, of which a central quality will be the predictability of relationships.

#### EMPLOYMENT

Creating employment and raising GDP are the major macroeconomic aims of official tourism development policy, as the Five Year Development Plans make clear (see chapter three). From the point of view of those selling their labour, tourism is judged largely in terms of how it enables individuals and families to meet their own goals and aspirations, and it is this perspective



which is examined in the following sections. One theme which is explored is how national policies and objectives intersect with the views and interests of individuals, reflecting the way in which general economic conditions influence the opportunities and strategies of the population, and provoke responses which are informed by personal experience and/or political opinion. More than this, the findings also demonstrate the tendency for the current situation and future prospects of individuals to be identified with the fate of Turkish Cypriots in general: statements about tourism almost invariably become comments on the character and culture of Turkish Cypriots, the internal political situation, and relations with Greek Cypriots and the international community.

Before presenting in detail the results of interviews with tourism employees, I start by looking at the requirements of employers in the accommodation sector, which is the biggest source of employment, and the ways in which large hotels in particular approach the recruitment and organisation of their workforce.

#### Requirement for labour in the accommodation sector

In terms of their formal ownership arrangements, accommodation businesses in Girne fall into one of two main types: institutionally owned, and privately owned. Institutional owners in Girne consist of the state and Evkaf, with one hotel each, and Turkish trade unions, two of which have either taken over existing hotel premises or built new premises as training and holiday centres for their members. In addition, the state runs another hotel in partnership with a Turkish Cypriot businessman. I also class hotels from the Asil Nadir group of companies as institutionally owned, although their actual ownership status since the collapse of Polly Peck is unclear, even to those working there. Only one other hotel in the environs of Girne has a company ownership

structure: this is a sister company to the Polly Peck holiday group, and previously included an air charter company whose operation has now been suspended. Businesses which I categorise as "privately owned accommodation" are in individual or family ownership, or run as a partnership between two or three individuals.

Of the 26 accommodation businesses in the sample (see chapter four), four may be described as "institutionally owned", and are given in the table below as group I.

Table 3  
Group I: "Institutionally owned" accommodation by size and number of employees

*Hotel	No of beds	**Total employees
A	305	120
B	392	163
C	152	85
D	126	55

Source: Tourism Planning Office Statistics 1992 and personal interviews

\* includes hotel and self-catering accommodations  
\*\*core number of permanent staff

The remainder consist of medium and small-size hotels, guesthouses and pansiyons in private ownership. Figures are given below for hotels and guesthouses which come under the regulation of the Ministry of Tourism (ie have more than 10 rooms).



Table 4

Group II: Privately owned hotels and guesthouses by size and number of employees

*Hotel	No of beds	**Total employees
E	166	60
F	44	2
G	28	5
H	32	9
J	36	14
K	40	2
L	24	4
M	48	6
N	44	5
O	100	4
P	na	na
Q	20	2

Source: Tourism Planning Office Statistics 1992 and personal interviews

\* includes hotel and self-catering accommodations

\*\* core number of permanent staff, with exception of:

Hotel E: shows number employed in high season only; in low season a skeleton staff of 13 employed

Hotels F and K: staffed mainly with family labour; shows numbers of "outside" ie non-family staff only

Hotel P: data not available

The small guesthouses and pansiyons not included in tables 1 and 2 all have under 10 rooms, and use mostly family labour.

Employment in Group I hotels: With the exception of hotel E in Group II, the Group I businesses are the largest establishments in the sample with the greatest number of employees. They are characterised by a professional management structure with opportunities for promotion and career development. Staff are organised in departments each dealing with a separate aspect of the business; typically these consist of front-office/reception, back-office/accountancy, service (dining room and bar), housekeeping (cleaning rooms), and technical (maintenance), each with a departmental manager reporting to the general manager and his assistant. In addition, one hotel

with computerised reservation and accounting systems has a computer manager, and two have a food and beverages manager. With one exception, the general managers had many years of experience running hotels and/or university training in tourism; the manager with no previous background in tourism was a graduate in economics and engineering with general business experience, who had been hired as an administrator rather than as a tourism specialist. Apart from one manager who was Turkish, all the managers were local Cypriots.<sup>14</sup>

Quality and professionalism of service are important in these top-of-the-range hotels, both for the satisfaction of the customer and the image and reputation of the hotel. A common complaint of managers was the lack of good, trained staff, and recruitment and training policies in Group I aim at retaining a solid core of long-term employees to ensure consistent quality of service. The majority of staff are recruited locally, and two reasons were given for this; it was felt that local staff would be less likely to leave their job, and also that tourism should provide local jobs, especially given the scarcity of other types of employment on the island. Standards in pay and conditions of employment are set by the only unionised hotel,<sup>15</sup> hotel A, and include "onüçüncü ay" (an extra month's salary per year), various allowances, above average pay for the sector, and index-linking to match inflation every two months. Matching the major benefits obtaining in the unionised hotel is a way of keeping the union out of the other hotels, and attracting and keeping good staff from what is perceived as a limited pool. At the same time, overt competition for staff is avoided. Several of the hotels prefer to recruit staff without previous hotel experience, who can be trained from scratch to the standard required, and two of the hotels do not advertise jobs, but interview applicants from a backfile of people who have approached them in the past. This was explained as a way of avoiding accusations of poaching from other hotels, and the lobbying and canvassing for candidates by family and



friends which occurs when a vacancy is advertised. Staff turnover in Group I hotels is generally low. Many of the staff in hotels A, B and C had worked in the same hotel since its opening, which in the case of hotel A meant continuous employment of nearly 20 years; in addition, there was some movement of staff between hotels B and C, which belonged to sister companies. The low turnover of staff is a reflection both of the above average pay and conditions in these hotels, and the paucity of hotels of similar standard which can offer comparable terms.

Hotels in Group I work with a hierarchical authority structure which attempts to promote an ethos of discipline and high standards amongst the staff, and to apply criteria of merit in recruitment and promotion. Some of the hotels have a policy of not recruiting staff from the immediate family of existing employees, and of not permitting family of staff to use the hotel facilities. Several reasons were given for this, which all had to do with reinforcing a sense of professionalism in the workforce: it avoided the possibility of abuses, and meant that merit criteria are seen to be applied in hiring staff; managers also justified this policy by referring to international hotel practice. Implicit in the policy is the view that the family is out of place in the professionalised work context, largely because it carries its own ethos and authority structures which have the potential for undermining management discipline and authority.<sup>16</sup> The discontinuity between the workplace and the domestic sphere is further reinforced by the wearing of uniform, in some cases in the back-office as well as in jobs which have contact with customers - a practice which also contributes to the creation of a corporate image and identity.<sup>17</sup>

Employment in Groups II and III: Businesses in Groups II and III are privately owned, in the sense that they belong not to companies or institutions but to individuals and families who live off the income from the business. This does not necessarily mean, however, that family members participate in the running of the business. Only four hotels in Group II (F, H, K and M) described themselves as a "family business" working mainly with family labour; the remaining hotels in the group were owned and run by married men (and in two cases, by a single woman and a single man respectively), employing entirely non-family labour. The input of family labour was somewhat higher in Group III: in four cases, no family labour was involved; in two cases, family labour was supplemented by the employment of a cleaner; and in another four cases, all the work was done by members of the family.

Figures for the numbers employed in Group II businesses are given in table 4. In all but two cases (K and N), the owner was involved in the day-to-day management and running of the hotel; nevertheless, in five cases a full-time manager was employed (E, G, K, N and O), usually where the owner had additional business commitments to attend to. Three Group III businesses also employed a manager for the same reason, although the owner was usually present on the premises in all but one of these cases. In establishments with bar and restaurant facilities, kitchen and bar staff (usually one bar man for the evening) and waiters were employed in addition to sufficient receptionists to provide 24-hour-a-day cover, with the owner filling in on all these duties as necessary. In all but three cases, the only female staff hired were cleaners, usually numbering one or two per establishment - one of these three exceptions was hotel E, which had many of the characteristics of a Group I business and appears in Group II only because it is not institutionally owned. Hotels H and J were exceptional in employing women as receptionists, restaurant staff and kitchen staff, as well as cleaners.



## THE DEMAND FOR EMPLOYMENT IN TOURISM

Having considered the main characteristics of the job market and the requirements of employers, in the following sections I explore the other side of demand: the demand from those seeking work for employment in tourism, and how the supply of jobs matches that demand. Four different factors which shape demand are discussed: education and training; changing attitudes to public service employment; economic demand; and personal taste.

### 1. Education and training

Both Turkish and Greek Cypriot parents traditionally place great importance on the education of their children, and literacy levels and the proportion of the population with university degrees are amongst the highest in the world (Morvaridi 1993). High educational levels also raise employment expectations, and in conversation this was frequently given as a reason for the belief that Northern Cyprus' future lies in tourism. According to a government official in the tourism sector: "So many of our people go to college and university, and people do not get an education in order to plant potatoes - they want to work in tourism. It's nice, clean work, and more suited to a country like ours with an educated population."

In the larger hotels, many of those interviewed working in reception or back office jobs had completed high school (up to the age of 18) or university education, and were working as accountants, computer operators, personal assistants, secretaries, middle managers or receptionists with language skills. In addition, tourism is becoming more popular as a specialist area of study. Training in aspects of hotel and catering work is provided for graduates of middle school and above at the state's school of hotel and tourism (OTEM), and in recent years, tourism has been introduced as a degree course subject for university students. In 1990, a school of tourism was

opened at the University of the Eastern Mediterranean (at Mağusa), and now offers four-year degree programmes intended to prepare its graduates for management posts.<sup>18</sup> The head of school reported a high level of demand for the course from Cypriot students, and he thought that one reason for this was the recognition of tourism's leading role in the economy: "It is seen as the industry of the twenty-first century". On the other hand: "Not all the [tourism] students are committed to working in tourism. Some of them, especially from rich families, see it as a means to the end of getting a degree, they want the educational status rather than the training".

One aspect of demand for tourism employment, therefore, is as an outlet for the educated young of Northern Cyprus. In the past, many of these would have expected to take up a career in public service employment, which generally offers better conditions than the private sector, and a particularly generous retirement scheme. Although such work is still sought after, there has been a change in public perception about public service work which is making it appear less desirable when an alternative such as tourism is available.

## 2. Changing attitudes to public sector employment

Writing of the sectoral employment patterns in Northern Cyprus, a Turkish Cypriot analyst observes:

"It is interesting to note that agriculture and the public services accounted for 49 per cent of the E[conomically] A[ctive] P[opulation] in 1990, clearly pointing to the pressing need for socio-economic restructuring and the institution of a system that would facilitate the redistribution of labour into sectors more contributive to the GDP. The current employment pattern is attributable to the agrarian background of Turkish Cypriots and to the traditional preference of Turkish-Cypriot urban dwellers for employment in the Public Service" (Olgun 1993:275).

Whilst the proportion of the EAP in agricultural employment appears to be in secular decline (falling from 37.3% in 1982 to 26.7% in 1990), the proportion



in public service has remained steady, and even risen slightly, over the same period (22% compared with 22.3%). The call for economic restructuring made here by Olgun is one which is frequently reiterated in the press and political debate, and is echoed in everyday comments about the country's lack of productivity.

Young people in their twenties were particularly critical of the ethos of public service employment, and made specific comparison with their work in tourism:

For a long time, I tried to get a job working in a bank - I wanted something a bit dynamic, not working as a government employee drinking coffee all day. I enjoy working with pen and paper, so I thought a bank would suit me. In any case, to work in the public sector you need someone behind you, you know, we say, an 'uncle'.

She had not managed to find employment in a bank, but had eventually got an administrative job in a large hotel:

People sometimes prefer working in the public sector because, although the pay is about the same, the conditions are better - 42 days sick leave, pensions ... if you have a cold, you don't go in to work, whereas I come in even with a cold, and on Saturdays - sometimes in the summer I don't even have time to go to the toilet. People say to me, now it's election time, you should try for a public service job, they're taking on lots of people who just sit around with nothing to do.<sup>19</sup> But I don't want a job like that, I prefer to be where I am.

These views are echoed in the comments of two other young hotel employees, one a middle manager and one an accountant:

We are dependent on tourism now, because we are consumers, not producers. Why is this? I think it's a political move by the government - they've created a huge public sector and civil service, so that people will vote for them.

There is no alternative to tourism on an island such as Cyprus, there are no raw materials, and with the embargo export markets are limited. The land is too arid for agriculture. Something is needed which is productive [verimli] - at the moment, half the workforce is unproductive [verimsiz], in government employment. But you can see the potential for tourism to contribute to the economy in places like Spain.

The desire to be "verimli" or "üretken" [productive] was one which was frequently expressed and, as the comments quoted above indicate, had meaning on two levels. Firstly, the idea of being productive was important for personal job satisfaction: recruitment and promotion by merit criteria, not patronage, and the sense that individual effort bears results, enabled people to feel pride in their work. Secondly, it was seen as vital for the economic, political and psychological well-being of the country which, it was said, had fallen far behind the level of prosperity in the south of the island, and had become too accustomed to relying on Turkey: "hazır yemeğe alıştık" [we've got used to ready-made food]. Tourism was regarded as the best available means for realising both personal and national productive potential.

### 3. Economic demand

There is, of course, an economic dimension to the two aspects of employment demand discussed above: people with academic and vocational qualifications are seeking pay and responsibility commensurate with their skills, which they cannot find in other employment fields at home; for them tourism offers the opportunity to meet the higher aspirations conferred by education without migrating. However, there are differences in emphasis in the economic strategies of other groups working in tourism: these include those who might not otherwise enter the labour force, particularly women; those who move into tourism from some other occupation; and low- or unskilled migrant workers.

Women and the demand for tourism work: A characteristic of tourism employment is the high proportion of women and young people in its workforce (de Kadt 1979; Cohen 1984; Kousis 1989). This is sometimes taken as an indication of the low pay and low skilled work tourism development creates; on the other hand, tourism creates an economic demand for certain skills,



particularly women's domestic skills, from which traditionally there are few opportunities to earn an income.

Women work in a wide range of tourism jobs: in the offices of travel agencies and car hire companies; in money exchange bureaux; as tour guides; and in large and small hotels in reception, service, shops, back office and housekeeping. The gender division of labour reflects cultural notions about what constitutes women's work, as well as concerns about sexual honour and reputation, which are explored in depth in chapter seven.

The proportion of female staff in the hotels in Group I varied from about 25% to nearly 50% of the total, although the majority of female employees was concentrated in the housekeeping department (maids/cleaners), which in all cases was staffed entirely by women, whilst staff in the service departments (bar and restaurant) were nearly all men. Women typically formed 30-50% of other departments (with the exception of technical/maintenance). Secretarial and accountancy posts are attractive to women as white-collar work with a regular 9-5 day which enables them to be at home in the evening, and working at reception is also popular, particularly for a woman with language skills. The position of women in Group I hotels is helped by the ethos of "rational management" which was often stressed by managers as an important attribute in a modern hotel and evidence of a commitment to ensuring professional standards: gender was said not to be an issue in employment, rather, the division of labour was explained as the outcome of cultural preferences in society at large, not management decisions. Women in Group I hotels had reached managerial positions, although in three out of the four hotels, the only female manager was the head of the housekeeping department. For the majority of women, however, particularly married women or those with no formally acquired skills, hotel cleaning provides the most acceptable means of earning an income.

Most of the women working as cleaners were of middle age and either married, widowed or, in some cases, divorced, with children. Usually, they had been housewives before starting cleaning work, and had taken paid employment either because of a change in family circumstances (such as losing their husband), or to provide an additional source of household income, often to meet a particular item of family expenditure:

B is a woman in her fifties, married with three grown-up children. She has worked as a cleaner in a big public sector hotel for eight years. Before that she was a housewife, and her husband, now retired, was in public service employment. She started working for "madde" [material] reasons, in order to pay for the university education of their children (a son and two daughters) - they would not have been able to afford to educate all of them had she not worked. She wrote an application for a cleaning job at the hotel where she is now working, and for eight months, while she waited "to be called", she worked in a town-centre restaurant, cleaning, washing up, and doing general kitchen work.

Recently the family's economic circumstances have become easier because her two daughters have finished university in Turkey and started work in Cyprus, one of them in another large hotel in Girne. Nevertheless she continues with her job, because in a few years she will be able to retire with a good pension. She is happy with the pay and conditions at work, which she attributes to the strong union; but she is looking forward to retiring, because, with 18 rooms a day to clean, she finds the work very strenuous.

As in B's case, it is common for women to continue working for the same employer for many years, even without the expectation of a pension, and in hotels and guesthouses of all sizes, staff turnover is lowest amongst the cleaners. In some cases, cleaners have remained at the same establishment since it opened, even when the average stay of other employees is only a few months to a year. This lack of mobility between jobs reflects the low economic expectations of cleaning women: the average wage is about 100 pounds sterling per month, and whilst a few of the biggest hotels pay up to 175 pounds sterling, such jobs are not easy to come by and the waiting lists are long. Most women cannot, therefore, expect to improve their pay substantially by changing employers, and cleaning work does not vary much from one



establishment to another. In such conditions, non-monetary considerations such as familiarity and convenience become more important; cleaners often live close to their place of work, thus cutting down travelling time and expenses. Many of the hotels outside Girne draw most of their cleaning staff from the closest village, whilst other grades of employee travel substantial distances or stay in staff accommodation provided by the hotel.

Employees from other occupations: Many employees had spent all their working lives in tourism, and a substantial proportion of these had academic or vocational tourism qualifications; many others started off in some other area of work, and moved into tourism for a variety of reasons. In some cases, self-employed professionals or public service employees started a second career in tourism as hotel managers or receptionists, having taken early retirement; in other cases, people with transferable skills such as driving, accountancy, secretarial/office management and general administration wanted a change, found they could earn higher wages or enjoy better conditions in tourism than in their previous job, or, having returned to Cyprus after living abroad, saw tourism as the natural choice for combining their knowledge of a foreign language with skills acquired outside the country. A third category consists of self-employed people who had found their previous business uneconomic.

The problems of high inflation and interest rates, a small domestic market and limited transport links with the rest of the world have created insuperable difficulties for some small businesses:

F is married with a small child, and has worked for one-and-a-half years as a carpenter and maintenance man in a large hotel in the centre of Girne. Before that, he was a self-employed carpenter with his own workshop in Girne, but because of the difficult economic situation he could not make ends meet and took his present job in the hotel. He earns about 170 pounds sterling a month, but finds this is not enough to support his family, and takes on extra work in his own time at his workshop. He speaks

with feeling of the economic situation, and particularly the problem of high prices and low wages. He feels that more than tourism is needed to develop the economy - tourism only benefits those who are actually working in it, it is of no use to self-employed craftsmen, who are all having a very difficult time.

N is a young woman in her twenties and works in a hotel shop in Girne. She came to Girne from Mersin, in Turkey, with her Cypriot husband in 1987, and has been working in the hotel for two years. Her husband has his own clinical laboratory. In Turkey she trained as a dental technician, and after the birth of their first child (now five years old), she tried to start her own business making dental protheses. She was forced to give up, principally because she could not find staff with the skills she needed, and subsequently started her present job. She earns approximately 200 pounds sterling a month (which varies according to her monthly bonus); this supplements her husband's income and enables them to pay for extras, so she feels their standard of living is quite good.

M had done a variety of jobs in Cyprus and Britain, in catering and the garment trade. In 1989 he and his wife opened a small bar in Girne, which did well until the Gulf War killed off the tourist trade in 1990. Because the couple were paying rent both for their bar premises and their home, they could not afford to ride out the lull in business, and had to close the bar. M eventually found a bar job in a large hotel in Girne, and with promotion was earning 300 pounds sterling a month, but was living in a rented house costing 100 pounds sterling a month, and by now also had a small son. He felt he could do better with his own business, and found it hard to adapt to being an employee, but the failure of the bar had used up all the couple's small capital. His employment provides security for the family, but opening a bar or small restaurant remains a cherished dream.

Migrant workers: In the cases outlined above, tourism employment had been a second-best option, providing an economic safety-net when other activities failed. The third category consists of a more marginal group of employees, who migrated to Cyprus in response to more extreme conditions of poverty.

Amongst the Turkish migrant workforce there are many with tourism qualifications and experience who come to Northern Cyprus because the tourist season is longer than in Turkey, because they have family living in Cyprus, or for a change of scene. Others who come with little in the way of education



or skills end up as part of a pool of cheap labour, but stay because they earn more than they can do at home, or because they hope to use Cyprus as a springboard for migration to a wealthier European country.<sup>20</sup> Wages for a working day often in excess of 12 hours, six days a week (and seven in the summer season) in a cafe or pansiyon are usually set at the legal minimum of around 100 pounds sterling per month, with no paid leave.

L used to have a cake shop in his home town on the southern coast of Turkey, but when his business failed he decided to try his luck in Cyprus, to escape the shame of being known by everyone as "the man who went bankrupt" - nobody in Cyprus knows him, and he had heard that it is a more modern and tolerant society. He found employment working as the manager of a small patisserie and pansiyon owned by a mainlander living in Lefkoşa. His accommodation was on the business premises. For his wages of 100 pounds sterling per month he had sole responsibility for the businesses, baking cakes, doing the books, and running the pansiyon, and had no time off in the summer. Out of his wages, he sent money to his wife and child who were still living in Turkey, and with the remainder he "barely had enough money to buy my cigarettes". He was expecting his wife to come and join him for a few weeks, leaving their child with the grandparents, and they would decide together what they should do.

O is in his early twenties, unmarried, and came to Cyprus from Hattay in south-eastern Turkey, where he lived with his parents and large family of brothers and sisters. For several years he has spent the summers working in the same cafe-ice cream parlour in Girne, which he runs for the owner in Lefkoşa - in the winters he works in the Lefkoşa shop. Whilst in Girne he lives in a cheap hotel near his workplace. He originally came to Cyprus because he had heard that "the streets are paved with gold", but he is very disappointed - wages are slightly higher than in Turkey, but the cost of living is also much higher, and there is nothing to do, nowhere to go on this small island. He does not want to return to Turkey, but hopes eventually to obtain Turkish Cypriot citizenship, which he thinks will make it easier for him to enter Britain and the EC countries and earn a better living.

Although economic demand was an aspect of all job-seeking behaviour, the above cases illustrate the variety of functions tourism fills in the economic strategies of its extremely heterogenous workforce. As the final aspect of the demand for employment in tourism, this section closes with an examination of social and cultural factors.

#### 4. Cultural and social factors

Some studies of tourism development have made the point that the work is not always culturally congenial to the local population. It did not accord with the self-image of "rugged individualism" held by the Vermont farming community studied by Jordan (Jordan 1980); fishermen in a Scottish fishing village found the idea of service employment demeaning (Brownrigg and Greig 1976); and on some Caribbean islands, the role of serving white tourists is too close for comfort to the the old master-slave relationship (Erisman 1983; Farrell 1979; LaFlamme 1979). Such objections to tourism work appear to be lacking in Northern Cyprus, and there is evidence that, on the contrary, many are attracted to it because they find it personally and socially enriching.

Many individuals had recourse to general statements about Turkish and Cypriot culture and temperament in order to explain their own attitudes towards tourism work: "hospitality is in the culture"; "Turkish Cypriots are naturally friendly and take trouble over strangers". This certainly appears to be an impression which is carried away by tourists, as the letters pages of the English language paper Cyprus Today testify. The longstanding relationship with Britain has left many Turkish Cypriots with personal connections to that country which are translated into a benevolent interest in the British tourists in particular: older Cypriots held public service posts under the British administration or served in the British army; many Cypriots have spent years living and working (often in catering) in Britain, or visit family living in London; and students at the Marif colleges in Girne, Lefkoşa and Mağusa take their lessons in English and prepare for the British GCSE examination.

Tourism work offers the opportunity to make contact with foreign tourists, to practise foreign language skills, reminisce about familiar places abroad, and, for young men, to meet foreign women and make friends with young



tourists who share a common international youth culture. In many respects, this is a way of compensating for Northern Cyprus' political and cultural isolation, which for some young people produces a sense of claustrophobia and boredom. Work and leisure often overlap; some young men will go to a friend's workplace on their night off in order to give unpaid help, particularly if it is one of the livelier music-cafes which attract a crowd of young tourists. They explain that they have nothing else to do anyway, and it's a cheap way of having a night out. Large hotels tend to discourage such practices, as being not conducive to work discipline, and forbid social contacts between employees and guests. These rules are not always observed, but in one case, a young man left his job at a large hotel, because he found it "çok disiplinli" [there was too much discipline], in order to work in a small town centre guesthouse where the management was more relaxed, and relations between staff and guests more informal.

The foregoing analysis shows the multi-faceted demand for work in tourism, comprising social, political, economic and cultural elements. It also illustrates the conjunctural nature of this demand: although most or all of these elements are doubtless present shaping demand in other tourism areas, the specific form they take is dependent on the particular set of conditions and circumstances in a given place, a point which does not emerge from generalising descriptions of the effects of tourism. Similarly, the capacity for tourism development to satisfy the various dimensions of this demand depends on a specific conjuncture, and it is this which is taken up in the next section on the local supply of tourism employment.

## TOURISM'S CAPACITY TO MEET LOCAL EXPECTATIONS

Can the tourism sector in Northern Cyprus meet Turkish Cypriot career aspirations and economic expectations? The experiences and comments of tourism employees suggest that its current capacity to do so is limited.

### 1. Career aspirations

According to the head of the tourism school at the University of the Eastern Mediterranean, the students taking the course are ambitious. "Good hotels generally have eight departmental managers to one top manager, so there are more job opportunities for middle managers, but the students here are aiming for the top posts. One visiting high-school student recently asked me if he would be qualified to be a general director after completing the course."

The educated young, whether their qualifications are in tourism-specific or non-related subjects, are well aware of the career possibilities overseas: their referents are the pay and conditions in big foreign-owned establishments and international hotel chains with hierarchical organisational structures which offer the possibility of a career path and meritocratic promotion. In Northern Cyprus, however, there are very few businesses which can offer these opportunities: the travel agency sector is dominated by small family businesses working on tight margins; there are very few big company-owned hotels, and seasonal unemployment is a feature even of those which exist.<sup>21</sup> It is a common complaint that most of the large private sector hotels are run as "family businesses", with no delegation of responsibility or authority to the "professional" staff.

In the absence of businesses owned by foreign companies, employment in one of the institutionally-owned hotels is usually seen as the next-best option. State Enterprise and Evkaf hotels offer good conditions and long-term job security for staff who are "kadrolu" [permanent], but recruitment and



promotion is said to follow the same principles as other public service employment: "Rich kids don't have any problem getting a good job. You have to have an 'uncle', someone behind you".<sup>22</sup> This belief often extends to a general cynicism about all large indigenous organisations, even in the private sector. As a tourism student commented: "Working relationships are always difficult; superiors feel threatened if you show too much competence, there's no opportunity for creativity and initiative - opinions cannot be freely expressed. The big fish eat the little fish."

The hotels with the best reputation among tourism employees were those in the Asil Nadir group. Most of the employees had been with these hotels since they opened, or had moved internally within the group. These hotels had an official policy of preventing lobbying in recruitment, and giving promotion on merit, but the expectations which individuals base on their qualifications cannot always be accommodated. According to an administrator in one of the hotels: "We cannot provide jobs for all those who want them. Out of 100 applicants, we can only take, say, 20, which means that 80 have to find jobs somewhere else". The problem for the general manager is to keep employees motivated whilst staying within the parameters of the grading structure: "Sometimes an employee with good qualifications expects a higher grade, but hasn't been in the job long enough to be promoted. If we can't give a higher grade to a good worker, they get an individual pay rise, and I make sure everybody knows why". Because of the scarcity of big, "professional" hotels and the cynicism about locally-owned organisations, the students on the tourism course were pessimistic about their career prospects. "We've been advised to open our own businesses, and that's what I'd like to do, be self-employed - but where am I going to get the money to set myself up? It's not really an option for me. I don't want to leave the country, I want to stay and work in Cyprus - but I might end up going abroad."

## 2. Economic expectations of individuals

According to informants working in Group I hotels, levels of pay in tourism are generally better than in other sectors of the economy. A top waiter might earn 400-500 pounds sterling per month, including bonuses, an assistant-waiter 200 pounds sterling, receptionists and administrative staff 200-300 pounds sterling. These rates of pay compare favourably with other occupations such as teacher, bank clerk or shop assistant. Some, however, acknowledged that the rates of pay generally in the sector were not so good. "Most of the hotels just function on labour power, not skill" - and accordingly do not pay skilled rates. In many cases there was little or no difference between the rates paid in some big hotels and smaller businesses, and indeed a few employers in Group II who set store on retaining a stable and trusted workforce paid more than the going rate in big hotels.<sup>23</sup> Rates of pay in Group II varied from the legal minimum of 100 pounds sterling per month to 200 pounds sterling, with up to 250 pounds sterling for the "sorumlu" (general or reception manager). Secretaries and ticketing assistants in travel agencies rarely earned more than 100 pounds sterling a month; tour guides also earned a basic wage of about 100 pounds sterling, but had the opportunity to make this up with commission.

Middle and upper managers in Group I hotels were generally satisfied with their level of pay, but also realised that pay in Northern Cyprus was generally lower than in tourism in Turkey, and that they would earn considerably more for doing the same job in a Turkish hotel. The reason for this was felt to be the lack of foreign investment in Northern Cyprus; in addition, the same constraints which depress promotion opportunities also lower the ceiling for wages: "Members of the owner's family do all the top jobs, so they don't have to pay high wages for skilled staff".



Most employees said they found it difficult to make ends meet on their wages, especially if they had family responsibilities, and relied to a great extent on credit. A grocery shop near one of the big hotels operated credit accounts for the hotel's employees, and according to one of the waiters, received most of his and his colleagues' wages on pay day, when they cleared the previous month's grocery bills. Wages may be enough to meet living expenses when there is more than one wage coming into the family, but meeting larger expenses can be difficult. According to one young woman working as a P A in a large hotel:

I earn 5 million TL a month [about 250 pounds sterling] - what can you buy in Cyprus for that? If you want to buy a good pair of shoes or a new suit of clothes, it costs 1 million or more. At the moment, I share a lift into work with my brother [she lived in a village several miles away from the hotel where she worked], I want to buy a car but I can't afford one. Unless you get things on hire purchase, you have to do without.

Although some employees in public sector and a few private sector hotels earn above average wages, the majority of tourism employees face the same problems of low income levels and high cost of living which beset workers in other sectors of the economy. This poses the question of whether tourism, as the "locomotive sector of the economy", will be able to fuel economic development and increase general levels of prosperity.

### 3. National economic expectations

Comments quoted throughout this chapter give ample evidence of the strength of the belief that the future of Northern Cyprus lies in tourism, that there is "no alternative"; similarly, they give evidence of a mixed reaction to progress so far. Some believe that there has been a vast improvement in the level of tourism development and business over the past few years; others, including those whose own situation is comfortable (either because they

themselves are earning good wages, or previously dependent children are now contributing to household income) say that the general economic situation and standards of living have worsened over the past five years: "Many people are trying to cope with inadequate incomes". The following exchange reveals much about this conflict of opinion: it took place during an interview with a cleaner in the housekeeper's office of a large hotel, during which the supervisor was present. The cleaner had just said that she thought tourism had not made any improvement to the standard of living: everything was very expensive, and with three children at school to bring up alone, her money was not enough. "Tourists find Cyprus cheap, but Cypriots cannot afford to go away on holiday - everything has got worse 'madde bakimdan'" [materially speaking]:

A [supervisor]: How can you say that? Of course there has been progress.

B [cleaner]: I suppose that, compared to what things were like during the Gulf War, you could say there has been some progress ...

A: Of course there has. Look at the amount of building going on - much more than there was before.

B: That doesn't mean anything. That's all London Cypriots' money. It doesn't mean that people locally are any better off. That money stays among London Cypriots, and goes out of the country.

The two remained in disagreement, the supervisor maintaining that, despite the problems, "iyimserim" [I am optimistic], the cleaner seeing the future as "karanlik" [dark].

Apart from the question of who benefits from tourism, there is an unstated issue at the centre of the difference in opinion between the two women: what value should be given to economic development compared to personal/national security? The supervisor had already said that she believed that the general economic situation was not good, although she personally was better off, but took exception to the cleaner's negative attitude. Many who said that economic conditions had worsened over the previous five years



qualified their statement with a comment such as: "But on the other hand, we don't live in fear any more - there are some things which are more important than money"; and it is significant that the cleaner had also specified that conditions had worsened "materially speaking". Belief in the future of tourism is frequently equated with belief in the viability and survival of Northern Cyprus; this political dimension was seldom far away in discussions about tourism development, and surfaced in the views which were given about the reasons for tourism's problems.

#### VIEWS ON THE SOURCES OF TOURISM'S PROBLEMS

Tourism employees gave the lack of investment, and specifically foreign investment, as one of the major problems facing tourism in Northern Cyprus. In the view of the supervisor mentioned above: "If a couple more good hotels open, that means that 300 more families will be able to fill their stomachs. Tourism is 'bir bütünlük' [a whole] - it creates jobs in travel agencies, restaurants, and stimulates private investment". It was frequently said that only Asil Nadir was making this sort of investment: "What tourism in Northern Cyprus needs is more investment by people like Asil Nadir, with imagination and the resources to back it"; "If there are another two or three investors like Asil Nadir, then tourism will do very well". The common opinion was that Asil Nadir and his sister had made a big difference to the level of wages and employment options, introducing more competition into the market for labour.

A number of reasons were suggested for the generally low wages: again, the lack of foreign-owned companies and foreign resources was frequently mentioned. According to some, wages were low because of the desire of employers to "köşeyi dönmek" ["turn the corner" - ie, get rich quick], which made them mean and short-sighted in their attitude to their staff; others blamed the pool of cheap labour which had been created by Turkish migrant

workers. Amongst tour guides, "moonlighting" by teachers and government employees, supplementing their income through summer work, was felt to be a major problem and an obstacle to raising the status of the occupation.

The comments of some employees from Turkey provided an illuminating outside perspective on Turkish Cypriot tourism, and confirmation of opinions expressed by some Turkish Cypriots. They criticised the lack of planning: "düzeni yok" [there is no order]; "sistemli değil" [it's not systematic]. Some ascribed this to internal political problems; others saw in it evidence of demoralisation resulting from the experiences of 1963-74 and the north's subsequent lack of recognition: "There is an attitude of 'boş vermek' [can't be bothered]".

Finally, the campaign waged by the Greek Cypriot government in the south was viewed as having a bad effect. Apart from the lack of direct transport links, Turkish Cypriots resented the negative propaganda directed at the north. Tourism students complained: "They are always saying bad things about us, they tell tourists that it is dirty and dangerous here, and warn them not to come". Some also felt that the Greek Cypriots had gained a marketing advantage by appropriating Cypriot culture and presenting it to tourists as uniquely theirs. A mother and daughter, working as a cleaner and accountant respectively at hotels in Girne, thought this was one of the reasons Greek Cypriot tourism was more successful: "They have been very good at making people think that 'Kıbrıslı' [Cypriot] means 'Rum' (ie Greek Cypriot) - they dance our 'zeybeks', sell Lefkara work, and say it is 'Kıbrıslı'<sup>24</sup>. People are not producing Lefkara work for sale in the north, they sell it to the south -this has always been the problem, the products of Turkish Cypriot labour are always taken over by the Rum".



## VIEWS ON THE FUTURE

Opinions about future prospects were generally divided between those who felt that tourism could not develop without achieving political agreement and cooperation with the Greek Cypriots, and those who felt Northern Cyprus should persist with its own efforts, even if progress were slower, rather than make concessions. Reactions to the United Nations plan to open Maraş and Nicosia International Airport as part of the package of "confidence building measures" were mixed. Some were enthusiastic about the project, since they assumed it would finally mean recognition,<sup>25</sup> would facilitate access to the north and bring more business and investment. Others were sceptical about who would benefit from the plan: who would run the hotels, and what concessions would Turkish Cypriots be expected to make? Some thought that tourists would prefer Maraş to Girne because the resort is "daha super" [more luxurious], although most felt that nowhere could compete with the particular attractions of Girne - its picturesque harbour, relaxed atmosphere and beautiful scenery.

Whilst many saw the south of the island as a model for what tourism development could achieve in the north, others felt that for cultural, environmental and political reasons, Turkish Cypriots should develop their own tourism based on their own particular characteristics, culture and unspoilt scenery. One woman felt that Turkish Cypriots became demoralised through always thinking that Greek Cypriots do things better:

Turks should stop trying to compare themselves with Rum - I do not look to the Rum as an example. People say the Rum have succeeded because they work hard - so let us work hard too, and satisfy guests so that they come back. Anyway, I've been reading in the paper that tourist numbers are falling on the other side and rising here - because this side is cheaper than the south, there is not so much 'betonlaşma' [covering with concrete, ie building development], and the tourists are pleased with their holidays here, so we should work on that. I am not in favour of Maraş opening unless it is in Turkish hands - I don't want to live and work with Rum, and I don't want them coming here, they should be separate. If Maraş is given to the Rum, or operated with the Rum, the Turks will all want to go and see how they do things and it will be bad for Girne.<sup>26</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

Study of the tourism sector in Girne reveals the evolution of a tourism system in a society which, in GDP and sectoral employment terms, is still primarily agricultural; and it demonstrates how that system is shaped by local conditions. Those who make their living from tourism, as well as governments, have their own social, political, cultural and economic agenda, and, after so many decades of tourism development throughout the world, they also have their own information and ideas about the form it should take.

The recent history of Cyprus and the role tourism has played in the economic development of the south have made Turkish Cypriots particularly receptive to the idea of tourism development in the north, and high hopes and expectations are focussed on its success. Whereas in other locations development has been fuelled by outside investment promoted by government policies which have tended to remove the traditional subsistence base (Samarasuriya 1982; Kousis 1989), or has been in response to a de facto tourist presence (Cohen 1979), the slow and unsteady pattern of demand in Northern Cyprus has meant that decisions to enter the tourism field are largely the result of individual calculations about present economic conditions and future events, and the belief, encouraged by the government designation of tourism as "the locomotive sector of the economy", that the future lies in tourism. In the absence of demand from any of the major European tour operators, international corporations and inter-governmental organisations which make up the global tourism system, the thrust to professionalisation has been internally generated, by the Ministry of Tourism, the Turkish Cypriot travel agents' and hoteliers' associations in conjunction



with their Turkish counterparts, and by individuals who have chosen to base their "cultural capital" on obtaining academic and vocational qualifications in tourism.

Without the added impetus of external capital and "technical and entrepreneurial resources" (Cohen 1984:385), this process appears to have halted at the stage of partial professionalisation. The institutional changes in the travel agency sector have not succeeded in creating confidence in a regulatory framework as a substitute for personal reputation and, on the other hand, there are difficulties in successfully adapting traditional ways of assessing trustworthiness and controlling relationships to the new business environment. Both travel agents and hoteliers expressed the desire to work with big, international operators, even though this is associated with a loss of local control over prices and markets (Sinclair 1992; Ioannides 1992).

One of the consequences of the dominance of family businesses in the Turkish Cypriot tourism sector is the generally low level of wages, even for relatively skilled work. Employers set wages with reference to the going rate in a low-wage economy and, although the opening of the Asil Nadir hotel group had some effect in raising pay levels, the lack of competition in the market for labour has meant that there is little upward pressure on wages. Employers said that they did not have the resources to compete with the wages offered in Asil Nadir's companies, and that these had had the effect of raising expectations too high; since the collapse of Polly Peck, the differential in wages has in any case narrowed. Public sector hotels, which also enjoy higher than average pay and conditions, tend to be regarded as a special case by both employers and employees. The collective agreement achieved by the union aims at comparability with public and civil service conditions, which are not regarded as commercially realistic. Although some employees in other hotels privately said that they thought membership of a union would improve their

position, employers had proved hostile to union activity, and the union remains identified exclusively with the public sector.

On the other hand, local businesses are controlled by local interests, and, apart from at management levels in Group I hotels, differences in wages are not extreme. The sector is, however, commonly criticised for not being "professional", in terms both of standards of service and the value placed on human resources. Although the referents for comparison are big hotels in other tourist regions such as Turkey, Spain and the south of the island, the criticisms reflect local social, cultural and political preoccupations as much a technocratic concern with the workings of tourism: the local tourism debate becomes a form of self-critique of Turkish Cypriot society. In the desire to be judged in terms of international standards of service and modern management there is often an element of frustration at Turkish Cypriot isolation outside the mainstream, and of effort to overcome that isolation.

The values of "professionalism" and "productivity", which people associate with the international tourism system, have been constructed as the symbolic opposites of the "köşeyi dönmek" ["turning the corner"] and "hazır yemek" ["ready-made food"] mentality<sup>27</sup>, which are felt to underlie a malaise in Turkish Cypriot society. Professionalism and productivity are understood as an ethos which it is hoped tourism development will impart along with the economic benefits, and the measure by which the local tourism system is judged. They are felt to be the core values underlying meritocratic recruitment and promotion, which is becoming an increasingly pressing demand in a society which sets such store by education and qualifications. With the limited opportunities available in Northern Cyprus for the educated young, there already appears to be a danger of growing credentialism in tourism employment. Travel agents and hotel managers felt the skills gap to lie in the range of middle management and skilled staff (such as waiters, bilingual



receptionists etc), and argued that the state hotel and tourism school should be expanded and upgraded, rather than the numbers of university graduates in tourism increased.

The examples of successful tourism quoted illustrate the internal demand for large scale tourism development; at the same time, there is some contradiction between the desire to achieve the same type of tourism development as Spain, and the need to preserve the special attractions of Northern Cyprus as one of the "last unspoilt" parts of the Mediterranean region. On the whole, people do not perceive there to be any conflict between these two objectives, and maintain that the goal of sustainability is compatible with much higher levels of tourism, providing it is well-planned. Similarly, the goal of creating an internationalised tourism sector is not seen as incompatible with providing a forum for Turkish Cypriot culture and basing tourism on specifically local characteristics, which many view as an important aspect of tourism development. This is the topic of the next chapter.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. See "Our Home in Kyrenia" by Esme Scott-Stevenson (1878) and "Bitter Lemons of Cyprus" by Lawrence Durrell (1989) for accounts of the British in Girne.
2. Numbers fluctate as businesses open and close. Two additional travel agencies had opened in Girne by the end of 1993.
3. This depends on the relative prices and availability of goods in Turkey. With the expansion in consumer credit in Turkey, large electrical items, once in high demand from Cyprus, became more cheaply available on the mainland. The most popular lines during the period of

fieldwork were fabrics, sports equipment, toys, crockery, small electrical equipment, and imitations of designer brand clothes and toiletries. During 1993, shopping tourists came to make bulk purchases of sugar and, when customs restrictions were placed on the importation of sugar, demand switched to car batteries.

4. Some informants both inside and outside the tourist trade refer only to Europeans as tourists. See discussion in chapter three.
5. This classification was introduced in the mid 1980s to encourage the development of package tourism: see chapter three.
6. The employment of a secretary is a requirement of Group A registration.
7. The division of labour in husband and wife travel agency partnerships adapts a traditional gender division of space - in which the husband is out and about whilst the wife remains indoors - to a new working environment. The opening of the family home as tourist accommodation, on the other hand, would violate traditional norms for gendered use of space, and this, I suggest, is one reason why a strict separation between family and guest accommodation is observed and women rarely feature as active partners in "family-owned" accommodation businesses: see sections on employment later in this chapter, and also chapter seven.
8. Foreigners may only own businesses as partners with a minority share (51% Turkish Cypriot:49% foreign ownership). Two out of the three had taken TRNC citizenship.
9. In the incident recounted below where a Turkish company announced package tours to southern Cyprus, the tours were stopped through pressure from KITSAB via TURSAB.
10. All foreign and Turkish operators and local hotels are legally required to work with a local Turkish Cypriot agent.



11. Commitment is needed to withstand the pressure on foreign companies to withdraw from tourism involvement in Northern Cyprus. During 1993 British companies operating in Northern Cyprus received letters from the Greek Cypriot government advising them to transfer their business to the "legal" part of the island, and in 1994, official approaches were made to the Israeli government to put a stop to the tours from Israel.
12. Another source of ill-feeling was that Turkish tourists would visit the south whilst Turkish Cypriots were unable to go there. The proposed tours also aroused hostile opposition amongst Greek Cypriots, which was reported in the Turkish Cypriot press. In the event, the Turkish Cypriot travel agents' association applied to TURSAB, the Turkish association, to take action, and the tours did not place.
13. Several hotels, on the other hand, have diversified into other areas such as travel agency.
14. Hotel B had expatriate managers until the Polly Peck collapse, when they were replaced by local management.
15. The Tourism Workers Union (Turizm Emekci Sandikası) represents workers in state and Evkaf hotels only, and aims for conditions which are on a par with civil servants.
16. This is not to say that certain aspects of family authority relations are not transposed to the work setting, but then the source of authority is management, not the family head: cf Ecevit 1991, and chapter seven.
17. This contrasts with the atmosphere in many other work contexts, particularly shops and offices, which are informal meeting points for kin, friends and associates. Some individuals said that they preferred the more formal work relations, which they felt implied greater

respect. Others in the same hotels, however, considered their colleagues to constitute a kind of "family", and for many hotel employees, the creation of a "family atmosphere" amongst the staff contributed considerably to job satisfaction. Some of the younger staff socialise with colleagues out of work, and the use of "social" kin titles such as "abi" and "abla" [older brother/older sister] is common.

18. The tourism school was opened to meet a "regional need" for tourism education, and until recently 90% of its students were Turkish. The proportion of Cypriot students has now started to rise considerably.
19. During the 1993 election campaign, the ruling party (UBP) "created" public service jobs (reportedly numbering 3000) which were given in return for electoral support. After the UBP lost power, the government ombudsman ruled that the posts had been created illegally and the job-holders were made redundant.
20. The migrant workforce also includes a small number of Pakistani men, and women from Eastern Europe on contract to casinos and night-clubs (see chapter seven).
21. Many out-of-town hotels keep only a skeleton staff outside the summer months. In town centre hotels, where year-round business is more even, ten to twenty of their summer staff may be shed in the winter. According to the tourism union, seasonal unemployment is one of their biggest problems. Seasonal employees have temporary membership of the union, with full benefits for the period of their employment, and converting a number of seasonal employees to permanent status is always part of the negotiations for the annual collective agreement.



22. On the other hand, lobbying is not restricted to privileged individuals. The workforce of some out-of-town hotels is drawn almost exclusively from one or two of the nearest villages, and the management is dependent on the goodwill of the village both for harmonious labour relations and cooperation over the use of local beaches. The manager of one state-sector hotel complained of the difficulty of coping with village pressure in matters of recruitment.
23. These were hotels which made a point of recruiting local Cypriot rather than Turkish labour, because the employers felt that they should be creating local employment opportunities, and because they trusted them more than "here today, gone tomorrow" migrant workers about whom they knew nothing: "Staff have to go into people's rooms, and be on duty at night when guests are sleeping, so you need people you can trust."
24. The "zeybek" is a traditional dance performed in Cyprus, which Turkish Cypriots say was brought over from Anatolia; "Lefkara work" is a type of needlework which is carried out by both Greek and Turkish Cypriot women. It has no equivalent in Anatolia, and so it is said to be "truly" Cypriot. On the discourses of Turkish, Greek and Cypriot "folk" culture and their implications for national identity, see Papadakis 1993, and chapter six.
25. This is one reason why the measures are opposed by some Greek Cypriots.
26. Ie Turkish tourists. Monuments, relics and sites of the 1974 intervention are as much a source of interest for Turkish tourists as the antique sites, monasteries, churches and Ottoman buildings are for European tourists, and Turkish guided tours always include a visit to the Green Line in Lefkoşa and the "ghost city of Maraş". See further chapter six.

27. Is relying on assistance from outside rather than being "productive", an attitude which people date from the 1960s when enclaved Turkish Cypriots depended on mainland Turkey and the Red Crescent for subsistence. See chapter two, and Berner 1992.



## CHAPTER 6

### PACKAGING CULTURE

Sampling the "local culture", and even purchasing examples of it to take home as souvenirs, is a standard part of the tourist experience. For some tourists, it is the main attraction of foreign travel; for others, a guided tour round historic sites, a visit to the local market, or an evening's entertainment by a folkloric group, punctuates the holiday routine of sea and sand and gives a splash of local colour.

Several anthropologists have criticised the touristic packaging of local culture as "cultural commoditisation", a term coined by Greenwood in an early article, "Selling Culture by the Pound". With commoditisation, culture is alienated from its roots in social relations and recreated as an image of "the typical" for consumption by outsiders (Greenwood 1989; Jordan 1980). There are clear similarities with the way in which nationalist ideologies incorporate and monumentalise their revisions of "national" history and culture for both internal and external consumption, reducing the complexity of social history, relations and sources of identification to an essence of "cultural identity". Such nationalist projects sit easily with the packaging of local culture for tourists (Evans-Pritchard 1993); and both nationalist and

touristic packaging of culture have been criticised as being "fake" or "inauthentic" (Forster 1964; Herzfeld 1991).<sup>1</sup>

The accusation of "fakery" implies that identity is being misrepresented and invokes other sources of authenticity. In the case of an historic conservation project in the Cretan town of Rethemnos, Rethemniots opposed "other kinds of historical consciousness", based on "social knowledge", to the monumental vision of history imposed by the programme which conserves for the town a "detemporalized past and a desocialized present" whilst disrupting the social and economic relationships which make up the fabric of daily life (Herzfeld 1991:9-10). One strategy for countering a "fake" representation, therefore, is to reformulate the terrain on which identity is mapped,<sup>2</sup> either by offering alternative narratives, based in other kinds of social or historical consciousness (Bowman 1992), or by monumentalising alternative constructions of identity (Bowman 1993). Such monuments may take the form of physical edifices which alter the rhetorical significance of the landscape by adding new "places of memory" (cf chapter two); or they may take other representational forms, such as handcrafted objects or staged performances. I refer to these as monuments because, as finished products, they function as repositories for an essentialised version of identity, leaving the social relationships structured around the production of the artefact or performance out of the picture. Thus, Israeli souvenirs both embody and conceal the social and cultural tensions of Israeli society, which can only be "uncovered" by a contextualised reading of the conditions in which the artefacts are produced and the manner of their display (Shenhav-Keller 1993).

In chapter seven, which also examines the issue of identity, I criticise sociological approaches to the encounter between tourism and local culture which, influenced to a great extent by the commoditisation critique, adopt a model of culture as an "essence" which structures social relations, and use

"authenticity" as a gauge of the inroads of tourism on local values and meanings (Wood 1993). In that chapter, I examine the role of social relationships in structuring identity, as an alternative to the "cultural essence" model. In the present chapter, however, I am concerned with a separate issue: the ways in which identity is consciously constructed and represented through cultural categories. This is an activity which, as Bondi has pointed out, relies to some extent on an essentialised notion of culture and identity (Bondi 1993),<sup>3</sup> but which also generates its own social relationships and discourses, in which the "ownership" and "authenticity" of culture become relevant and contested issues for the actors involved, as Herzfeld's analysis of Rethemnos illustrates (Herzfeld 1991). I suggest that "authenticity" is a construct capable of a variety of interpretations: the authenticity of the "backstage" (MacCannell 1976), in which all forms of staging, particularly for tourists, introduce an element of "fakery"; the authenticity which is associated with the exclusivity of a distinctive national culture (Papadakis 1993:201); and the authenticity of knowledge, which locates "truth" in "personal experience" (Bondi 1993:95).<sup>4</sup> The type of authenticity strived for can vary according to the social context of the representation and its "audience": for example, the "authenticity" of a Turkish rug bought in a tourist shop lies in its value as the embodiment of a unique local culture; its authenticity can be enhanced or transformed when it is purchased in the village where it was made, or from the person who made it (Littrell 1990), even though this may be a staged experience in which groups of tourists are taken to the rug-producing village in a bus hired by a tour company.

In the following pages of this chapter, I examine the social context in which Turkish Cypriot culture is produced, packaged and performed, for Turkish Cypriot and tourist audiences. I explore how the relationship between place



and cultural identity is constructed and enacted, and how "authenticity" is used in the process. I start by examining the "monumentalisation" of Turkish Cypriot identity: how the "place" of Turkish Cypriots has been inscribed on the landscape of Northern Cyprus, and the responses it evokes; and the social, cultural and political significance of folkloric activities and handicraft production. I contrast this aspect of cultural packaging with the work of tour guides, who supply the coherence lacking in monumentalised versions of identity by deploying narratives which engage with the social relationships structuring location; and I demonstrate how their construction of place is also intrinsically linked to the demands of performance, in which are combined a multiplicity of professional roles, a variety of narratives of history and place, and the logistics of time and space.

#### THE POLITICS OF IDENTITY IN NORTHERN CYPRUS

In Northern Cyprus, cultural and political identity has been inscribed on the landscape in a way which emphasises the Turkish component of Turkish Cypriotness. The erection of Atatürk busts in nearly every village square, of monolithic memorials to the landing of Turkish troops and to the Turkish Cypriots who died in massacres or communal fighting, and of smaller shrines to individual "şehit" [martyrs], as well as the renaming of towns and villages, are a statement intended for Turkish Cypriots, Greek Cypriots and the rest of the world about the presence of Turks in Cyprus. On one level, the Turkification of the north counters what are perceived as Greek aspirations to cultural hegemony on the island by making the Turkish presence visible; at the same time, it symbolically restates the removal of the Greek Cypriot "threat" from the lives of Turkish Cypriots, and the close ties with the Turkish motherland. According to the official ideology, these ties are both natural and achieved. Official origin myths maintain that the present-

day Turkish Cypriots are descendents of the armies and other Anatolian settlers from the time of the Ottoman conquest, and stress the lack of intermarriage between Moslem and Christian inhabitants of Cyprus (cf Gazioğlu 1990)<sup>5</sup>. These natural ties are reinforced by the gratitude due to Turkey in its role as protector of the Turkish Cypriots, which culminated in the "Mutlu Barış Harekati" [happy peace operation] of 1974, and the continuing economic support which the "Yavruvatan" [baby country] has received from its Anavatan [mother country].

Nevertheless, the "Turkification" of Northern Cyprus has encountered internal resistance at both an ideological and affective level. "Oppositional" origin myths, whilst conceding the significance of immigration from Anatolia after the Ottoman conquest, stress the fluidity of religious and cultural categories under the Ottoman system, the degree of syncretism and "passing" between categories, and the occasions of joint action between Orthodox and Moslem peasantry (cf chapter two), as the basis for a predominantly "Cypriot" rather than a predominantly "Turkish" identity.<sup>6</sup> However, it is not necessary for Turkish Cypriots to share this view of their origins in order for them to feel an attachment to those aspects of their "Cypriotness" which the events of 1974 have relegated to the past. The break with the past signified by the changing of place names in many cases runs counter to the desire of Turkish Cypriots to maintain these links, and in some cases refugees resettled in the north applied unsuccessfully to replace the new Turkish name given to the village by the authorities with the Cypriot name of their old home in the south (King and Ladbury 1988). Where a town or village possessed an old Turkish Cypriot name, it is still often used by locals in preference to the new Turkish name.<sup>7</sup> These symbolic changes have aggravated a sense of irritation or injustice at some of the perceived problems of day-to-day coexistence with Turks from the mainland. The

enthusiasm with which the Mehmetciiks ["little Mehmeds" - the name given to the Turkish soldiers] were initially greeted gave way in many cases to disenchantment and conflicts with the early influx of Turkish settlers (Ladbury and King 1982), as well as continuing resentment over the allocation of land and property (see chapter four) and Turkey's role as political and economic gatekeeper to Northern Cyprus (see chapter five).

The relationship with Turkey and the Turkish settlers in Northern Cyprus presents a dilemma for many Turkish Cypriots, who see themselves as both "Türk" [the generic term for Turkish] and "Kıbrıslı" [Cypriot]. Which element of this composite identity is stressed depends on the context. The recent history of Greek and Turkish relations on the island, and the fact that the Greek Cypriot government in the south are the sole recognised representatives of "Cyprus",<sup>8</sup> have meant that Turkish Cypriots are not visible as "Cypriot", and has made the term "Cypriot" problematic as a means of self-identification. Most Turkish Cypriots I spoke to identified as fellow Moslems and Turks with the sufferings of the Azerbaijanis and Bosnian Moslems, and compared the perceived indifference and ineffectiveness of the United Nations in these conflicts with their own experiences in the 1960s and early 1970s. One old lady explained that this indifference was because they were Turkish and Moslem: "Açık konuşursam, hiç kimse bizi istemez" [To speak frankly, nobody wants us]. However, although Turkish Cypriots share their Turkishness with "Türkiyeli" [Turks from Turkey], they also claim a distinctness as "Cypriot",<sup>9</sup> reflected in their terminology for mainland Turks (which includes both "Türkeyeli" and "kara sakallar" - black beards - sometimes shortened to "karalar"). One arena in which this sense of being different becomes explicit is in the practice of bargaining. While Turkish Cypriots will bargain over goods to get a reduction from shopkeepers in certain circumstances, resentment is expressed at the mainland habit of bargaining, and the readiness to do this



is perceived as characteristic of mainland behaviour. One shopkeeper expressed his indignation as follows: "They always try to bring down my price. I tell them, I have my 10% mark up fixed. They don't realise, we have had the British in Cyprus!". His comment about the British influence is often heard as a shorthand way of expressing the qualities of "medeniyet" and "disiplin" [civilisation and discipline] which Turkish Cypriots say distinguishes them from their more easterly neighbours. As Herzfeld (1991) observed in the Cretan town of Rethemnos, where locals similarly resent foreign tourists trying to haggle over shop prices, bargaining between locals is a social activity involving a degree of intimacy, reciprocity, and the employment of social capital, but when attempted by outsiders, is seen as demeaning and orientalisising behaviour - in the case of Turkish Cypriots, implying that they are like "oriental Turks" rather than "civilised westerners". Nevertheless, this ambivalence about the mainland remains for the most part "intimate knowledge" not generally shared with outsiders: "Difference, a domestic weapon, is a public weakness" (Herzfeld 1987:43).

#### FOLKLORE GROUPS

At the time of fieldwork, there were about 16 folklore groups active in Northern Cyprus. The majority of the groups are town or village based, and in about half of the cases are sponsored by the municipality. In addition, there are two groups sponsored by government ministries (Education and Culture, and Youth and Sport), and a number of non-affiliated organisations known as the "Sanat Derneği" [arts association] of their particular locality. One of the biggest and most active of the arts associations is HAS-DER (Halk Sanat Derneği - Association of Folk Art), which, like the Ministry groups, is not locality-based. Two places (the western town of Güzelyurt and the village of Değirmenlik in the southern foothills of the Kyrenia mountains) maintain

both a municipal group and a non-municipal arts association; Mağusa now has only one association, since the municipal group suspended its activities. Girne municipality group too is no longer active, which means that the premier tourist resort of Northern Cyprus is the only one of the major towns not to have a folk association.

Folklore groups combine social leisure activity with a commitment to the development and promotion of Turkish Cypriot folk culture. The main focus is folk dancing. For the predominantly young membership, the groups provide an opportunity for sanctioned mixed-sex social gatherings and for travel to folk festivals and competitions abroad. The associations strive for "authenticity" - historical accuracy of detail - in costume, music and dance figures: performance is therefore based on the research of enthusiastic individuals. The HAS-DER organisation has a particular commitment to research, publishes a quarterly journal ("Halkbilim") on all aspects of Turkish Cypriot folk culture, including handicrafts, music and folk songs, folk tales and poetry, and organises panels and symposiums for folklore specialists, as well as popular activities such as children's painting and theatre. The Ministry of Education and Culture has published books on Turkish Cypriot folkdancing and rites of passage, as well as the proceedings of HAS-DER symposiums. Research carried out by folk organisations, as well as non-affiliated individuals, establishes criteria of "authenticity", whilst publication and performance popularise and promote the "Turkish Cypriot folk heritage" at home and abroad. The nature of the heritage which is actually delivered, therefore, is the outcome both of the research process, which is characterised by a marked ideological component (to be discussed later), and the formal demands of staging.

### The context of folkdance performance

Folk dances were traditionally performed at celebrations such as weddings, bayrams and holidays, and other special occasions. Social changes in recent years have meant that the opportunities to participate in folk dancing have become fewer. Weddings, which used to take place over several days, are on the whole now crammed into a two-hour session which barely allows enough time for the guests to queue up and pin money on the bridal couple; what little dancing takes place is generally of the arabesk variety popular in Turkey, performed in couples, rather than in the sex-segregated and group style of traditional dances. Some couples like to introduce an element of the traditional into their weddings by having schoolchildren perform variations on some of the dances traditionally associated with weddings (such as the "kozan", a henna-night dance in which the dancers take it in turns to carry an earthenware jar which is dashed to the floor at the end of the dance, when the children rush to pick up the sweets it contains); and there has been a limited revival of the "kına gecesi" [henna night], in particular by young London Cypriots getting married in Cyprus.<sup>10</sup> I attended one engagement party in which some of the older men led a spontaneous outburst of dancing the zeybek, çiftatelli and sırto of Cyprus, in which male and female guests of all ages joined, with obvious enthusiasm and enjoyment. The prevalence of arabesk dancing these days seems to be determined to a great extent by the dominance of Turkish mainland popular music, which is not suitable for traditional Cypriot dancing.

Folk dancing is increasingly a spectator rather than a participatory activity. Teams of schoolchildren perform in Bayram parades, such as Children's Day and Youth and Sport Day, which in Girne takes place in the impersonal surroundings of the football stadium. Folkdancing sometimes also features in the "panayira" [local fairs] which take place throughout Northern



Cyprus during the summer, and Turkish Cypriot teams appear with teams from Turkey and elsewhere in festivals and competitions organised both locally and abroad. Not all these events are exclusively folkloric. A celebration in memory of a popular local political figure held in Girne castle in 1993 included Cypriot pop groups, Turkish arabesk singers, and a mainland and Turkish Cypriot folkdance troupe.

Although most of these events take place during the tourism season, they are organised for a Turkish Cypriot audience and are neither publicised among, nor, on the whole, attended by, tourists. Generally, they do not take place in tourist areas - one of the biggest and most successful festivals takes place in Gönyeli, a rather unattractive suburb of Lefkoşa - and most of the local panayira, according to many Cypriots, have deteriorated into "bilardo and kumarçılık" [billiards and gambling] which locals themselves say they find increasingly unappealing. The Girne panayira, which takes place under the noses of the greatest concentration of tourists in the north, has attracted particular criticism, and has been compared unfavourably with the Gönyeli festival. Tourists' contact with Cypriot folk dancing and music is generally limited to the Tourism Day parade, which is organised by the Ministry of Tourism and takes place once a year in Girne castle at the opening of the tourism season, and "Cypriot Nights" which are organised by some of the big hotels, when dance troupes perform whilst the guests are sampling Cypriot food.

#### Staging and authenticity

In 1990 the Ministry of Education and Culture published a small handbook giving guidelines on the research and staging of folk dances. The introduction sets out the official cultural agenda of the folkloric movement.

Bir ulusun hayatında, kültür, o ulusun kimliğini ortaya koyan en önemli belgedir. Ancak toplumların kimliklerini koruyabilmesi ve kendilerini tanıtabilmesi açısından sergilenme olanağı olan kültür değerlerini ortaya koyması, geliştirmesi ve yayması gerekmektedir.

Insanoğlu geçmişini bilmeden geleceğe yönelemez. Bu bakımdan milli kültürümüzün seyirlik özelliğe sahip en canlı konularından biri olan Halk Oyunlarımızı incelerken, geçmişe bir göz atmak yararlı olacaktır. (Çinkayalar 1990)

[In the life of a country, culture is the most important document for bringing that country's identity into public view. But it is necessary to create, develop and spread the cultural wealth which, through the possibility of exhibition, enables societies to preserve and make known their identity.

Human beings cannot steer towards the future without knowledge of the past. From this point of view, it is useful to cast an eye to the past by studying our folk dances, which constitute one of the liveliest and most spectacular areas of our national culture.]

In this programmatic statement, folk culture is an expression of national identity, which enables a people to know itself through its past, and to make itself known to others. There is a third aspect to folklore, which is that it binds a people together. The handout on folklore given to participants on the Ministry's tour guide course states it as follows:

... Milli birlik ve beraberliği sağlamada folklor değerlerimiz birinci derecede rol oynamaktadır. Aynı türkülerle neşelenen, kederlenen insanlar kolay kolay birbirlerine düşman olamazlar. (Ministry Tour Guide Course Handout 1993)

[Our folklore wealth has a prime role to play in ensuring national togetherness. People who rejoice and sorrow to the same songs cannot easily become enemies with each other.]

This programme establishes the past as an important source of identity, and present-day performance as the means of expressing it. In order to succeed in its aims, performance must be both "authentic" in terms of its content, and widely seen - that is, attract audiences.

The practical staging of performances begs the question of what is actually meant by "authenticity". Certainly, the contexts in which the dances are performed - on a stage or in an arena in front of the serried ranks of a seated audience - are different from the old ones. Staging also has its own

aesthetic criteria, imposing a discipline which would be missing in informal village performance. In the staging instructions given by Çinkayalar, the emphasis is on harmony and restraint: the total effect of the team on the eye of the audience is more important than the virtuosity of individual dancers. The requirement to keep shouting and gestures to a minimum makes for a slick and professional, but often subdued performance.

Some teams have also introduced innovations, in order to maintain the interest of the public and keep them coming to performances. This has included the adaptation of "oryental" dancing for balletic performance by the young women of the team. The dancers wear a modern, leotard-like costume rather than the "traditional" Cypriot peasant costumes worn in the other dances. In conversation, folklore researchers justified such innovations on three grounds: firstly, the oryental element entered Ottoman culture from the Arabic, and is therefore not an "inauthentic" foreign intrusion; secondly, culture does not stand still, but must change and adapt to reflect modern conditions; thirdly, audiences do not want to see the same things all the time. It was pointed out that some existing dances, such as the çiftatelli, could be adapted to an oryental style without creating new dances, but that the women's costumes would have to be modified.

The staging and performance of Turkish Cypriot folkdancing show the interplay of three different types of authenticity, according to the function and meaning of the performance in a particular context.

Firstly, the display of historical accuracy and technical expertise functions as an authentic record of the past and a means to achieve self-knowledge; it is also a way of winning outside recognition and prestige through performances at international competitions and festivals.

Secondly, as the expression of a distinctive cultural tradition, folkdancing on national holidays and at fairs and festivals with strong local



associations functions as a reminder and a celebration of identity and the "place" of Turkish Cypriots. Innovative elements (eg oryental reworking of dances) can be accommodated provided they can be shown to lie within this cultural tradition.

Finally, whilst tourists may hope for or expect the authenticity of the "backstage", this aspect of authenticity is absent from folkdance performances, in the sense that tourists could not walk into a village wedding and find the same dances performed there in the same way; similarly, tourists might be disappointed by the oryental touches to some of the dances, and dismiss them as "inauthentic". This does not, however, mean that they are being presented with a "fake". Tourist audiences have been largely irrelevant to the development of folk dancing performance, which employs conventions of staging and criteria of authenticity recognised and shared by Turkish Cypriot audiences. Folk culture has been integrated into modern Turkish Cypriot life as a representation, rather than a participative activity; it is in this sense - as an audience - that tourists can actually experience the "authenticity" of folk culture as it is also experienced by local people.

Folkdancing (and other aspects of folkloric production and performance) has assumed a place in a range of "popular culture/art", which is also represented by indigenous pop groups, arabesk and folk-song performers, etc, who are frequently all included on the same bill. As such, possibly its main significance is as part of an eclectic manifestation of continuing cultural creativity and productivity appropriate to the life of a "nation" (cf Çinkayalar 1990, quoted at the beginning of this section). Although the organisation and titles of folk associations retain a strong link with the local, the transition from local folk tradition to trans-local "art" is also reflected in their use of the title "Sanat Derneği" - art association. As a final comment on the packaging of folkdancing for tourists, I mention the

objection of one folkloric researcher to the "Cypriot Nights" some hotels organise for tourists: his objection was, not that the "Cypriot Nights" are not "authentic", but that the setting is not "serious" enough to enable the performances to be appreciated as "art".

#### HANDICRAFTS AND SOUVENIRS<sup>11</sup>

Like dancing, traditional handicraft production is rooted in a complex of cultural practices and socio-economic conditions which have undergone considerable changes. Most decorative needlework was made for the "çeyiz" [bridal trousseau], and its production was a social occasion for women, performed in groups and accompanied by conversation and singing. Pieces were made for a particular bride as part of the web of reciprocal social and cultural obligations which bound communities together, and details of style displayed local identity and regional variation, as well as the aesthetic taste and virtuosity of individual needlewomen. Many women I spoke to of middle age and older remembered the hours of work they had put into sewing for a çeyiz, and lamented the loss of pieces which they had had to leave "on the other side" when they came north.

The availability of recreational alternatives for women (such as television), the tendency for more women to work outside the home in paid employment, and increased educational opportunities for girls, have contributed to the decline in the production of traditional decorative needlework. Although many brides still like to have a couple of pieces of lace "eski adetlerden" [for the sake of custom] (Faiz 1993:53), most of the energy in assembling a trousseau is directed at the acquisition of factory-made consumer durables such as fridges, washing machines, dish washers etc, and what lacework is acquired is generally purchased with money. The production of other traditional household items such as "sandık" [carved

chests to hold the bridal trousseau], wooden upholstered settles, and woven rugs and mats, has also suffered from the preference for modern factory-made goods, and Turkish Cypriot carpet weaving has virtually died out.<sup>12</sup> Whilst some folklore groups (notably HAS-DER) and individual researchers have documented traditional craft practices and interviewed some of the by now old women still producing embroidery, lace and silk, official attempts to revive handicrafts have not been very successful, and have largely been limited to short courses in basketry and the making of "sestos" (brightly coloured, flattish receptacles made of raffia: traditionally used in food preparation for drying beans, mullahiya<sup>13</sup> and so on, they make attractive wall decorations and are a common feature in Turkish Cypriot homes as well as hotels, restaurants, travel agents' offices etc). Formal training in women's traditional handicrafts is virtually limited to the Kız Meslek Lisesi (Girls Vocational High School); but training in school is necessarily restricted when compared to the years spent from childhood upward watching and learning from skilled needlewomen, which is how skills used to be transferred in the past; and the competition from factory products and cheaper imported handicrafts from Turkey means that the money to be made is low in proportion to the hours and skill which go into making a complicated piece.

The stock carried in most tourist souvenir shops reflects the paucity of Turkish Cypriot handicrafts. Cheap copper and brassware; "tespih" ["worry beads"], rugs, onyx eggs, vases and chess sets, and blue "kutahya" ceramics from Turkey; fez; and wind chimes and key rings with blue beads to keep off the evil eye, are the most common items. Locally-made products include sheep and goat skins; knitted "village" socks; "Lefkara işi" (needlework resembling broderie anglaise); and brightly coloured pottery which is designed and hand-produced by a local firm. In addition, some shops sell pencil cases, tin trays and ashtrays, usually imported from China, which depict maps of Cyprus



or places in north and south. The ashtrays sold in one Girne shop showed a drawing of Kolossi Castle, near Limassol in the south of the island.

Shopkeepers acknowledge that very little of their stock was actually Cypriot, and blame this on lack of availability and the high price of what is available. The fact that, compared with tourism in the south of the island, relatively few European tourists come to Northern Cyprus, means that there is not enough demand to stimulate local handicraft production for the tourist market. An important market for several shopkeepers was UN and diplomatic personnel based in the south. These customers are generally attracted by "ethnic" Turkish items, and the low price of the onyx ware. Demand for "authentic" items, both Turkish and Cypriot, with deeper symbolic associations of place (Littrell 1990), comes largely from expatriate residents wanting to furnish their Cypriot houses or to give as presents to visitors (or on visits home); and, to a lesser extent, from Turkish Cypriot customers. These customers often prefer "antique" to new items, because the quality is generally higher, and because they consider them more "authentic" than artefacts produced as commodities for sale (for the reasons outlined earlier).

A study by the Turkish Cypriot writer Muharrem Faiz (1993) of the position of Lefkara işi in the handicrafts market brings out the ironies and paradoxes of modern social, economic and cultural relations on the island, and throws the issue of authenticity into sharp relief. Lefkara işi is possibly the most famous of the Cypriot handicrafts. The debate over its origins reflects the struggle to establish claims to "ownership" of cultural identity which are a feature of both Greek and Turkish Cypriot "cultural politics" (see Papadakis 1993 and following section). As far as most tourists are concerned, its identity, as a product of the village of Lefkara, is primarily geographically constructed. As the village is situated in what is the Greek Cypriot south of the island, the association with place now promotes a Greek

Cypriot identity for Lefkara işi; whilst some Turkish Cypriot writers claim that it is a "degenerated" Turkish form brought to Cyprus by Armenian refugees from the Antep region. Contrary to this assertion, it also is claimed that Lefkara işi has been produced by the women of Lefkara since the times when it was a summer resort of the Venetian court, and was purchased by Leonardo da Vinci for the altar cloth of Milan cathedral. Lefkara work has, infact, been exported for centuries, making it a lucrative source of income for the village. Until the 1960s, the skills were passed among the Lefkara women, both Greek and Turkish, but were jealously guarded within the village by endogamous marriage practices which ensured that women did not leave with their skills. Lefkara işi can, therefore, be seen as the "Cypriot" handicraft par excellence, combining a strong sense of locality with the heterogenous cultural mix of the island.

The production of Lefkara işi spread with the break up of the old mixed communities in the 1960s. The Turkish Cypriot women of Lefkara resettled in the village of Kofunye (Geçitkale), and passed their skills to their new Turkish Cypriot co-villagers. After 1974, the villagers moved again, and settled in a number of other villages, but principally in Çayırova, leading to a wider dissemination of the craft. Parallel to this, increasing demand for Lefkara işi both for the tourist and export market led to a further spreading of production, stimulated by merchants in the capital.

Despite the fame of, and the demand for, Lefkara işi, it is not very visible in Northern Cyprus. Many shopkeepers said that they could not get hold of any, and those who stocked it said that the turnover was very low, and were not planning to renew their stock. The low turnover, they said, was due to the low quality and high price of the work. One shopkeeper had bought his stock from the handicraft cooperative in Lefkoşa. "People always come in asking for it, but then they step back when I tell them the price" - about 10

pounds sterling for a panel, although he maintained that his profit margin was low, and the same prices are charged everywhere.

High-quality Lefkara işi is being produced in Northern Cyprus - but it is being produced mainly for the Greek Cypriot tourist market. The best quality is produced by the women of Çayırova and the other villages of the Lefkara diaspora, and it is their work which is sought by the middlemen - Turkish Cypriots who cross the Green Line daily to work in the British sovereign bases or in construction in the south - on commission from the merchants in the south. Payment is on a piecework basis and is set by the middlemen. The dependence on intermediaries reduces the rate of pay to needlewomen, particularly in the villages furthest from the border where people do not have the information to compare the money they receive for their work with the prices charged in the south;<sup>14</sup> however, it is still higher than what they would get from the Turkish Cypriot handicraft cooperative, which is constrained by the duty charged in Northern Cyprus on the import of linen and thread (whereas materials imported duty free into the south are supplied to the women by the middlemen). This means that the cooperative in the north can obtain pieces only from less skilled women whose work is not in demand in the south, and have to charge higher prices for their products.

Sales of Lefkara işi in the north suffer from the fact that, although there are still skilled and active Turkish Cypriot needlewomen, Lefkara, the trademark and guarantee of authenticity of the work, is in the south. The Greek Cypriot industry has built on this strength by making Lefkara the centre of sale and marketing activities. Tourists arrive on buses, and can not only buy work in the place of its origin, but see women sitting outside in groups at their work, in time-honoured fashion. Ironically, relatively little of the work is still actually produced in Lefkara. Lefkara's success has meant that local women are increasingly occupied with the running of the sales side, and



more and more work is commissioned from outside the village - including from Turkish Cypriot women in the villages of the north. Although Turkish Cypriot tourism posters also depict "traditional" scenes of Lefkara production, this cannot be reconstructed as an "authentic" experience for tourists - the Turkish Cypriots have the skills and the "tradition", but they do not have the place.

#### CULTURAL POLITICS AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

The statements quoted earlier about the role of folklore in the life of the nation suggest a simple relationship between national culture and national identity. Herzfeld has contrasted the respective relationships of folkloric movements and anthropology to national identity in Greece by drawing a comparison with honour and shame complexes, and suggests that whilst anthropology delves into the areas of "intimate knowledge", folklore might be said to represent the "honour" of a nation (Herzfeld 1987:64ff).<sup>15</sup> Many nationalist movements have found folklore a convenient vehicle for promoting their revisions of national history, culture and identity. However, folklore can also be used as a means to challenge the dominant nationalist version of identity, and in so doing can trespass on sensitive areas.

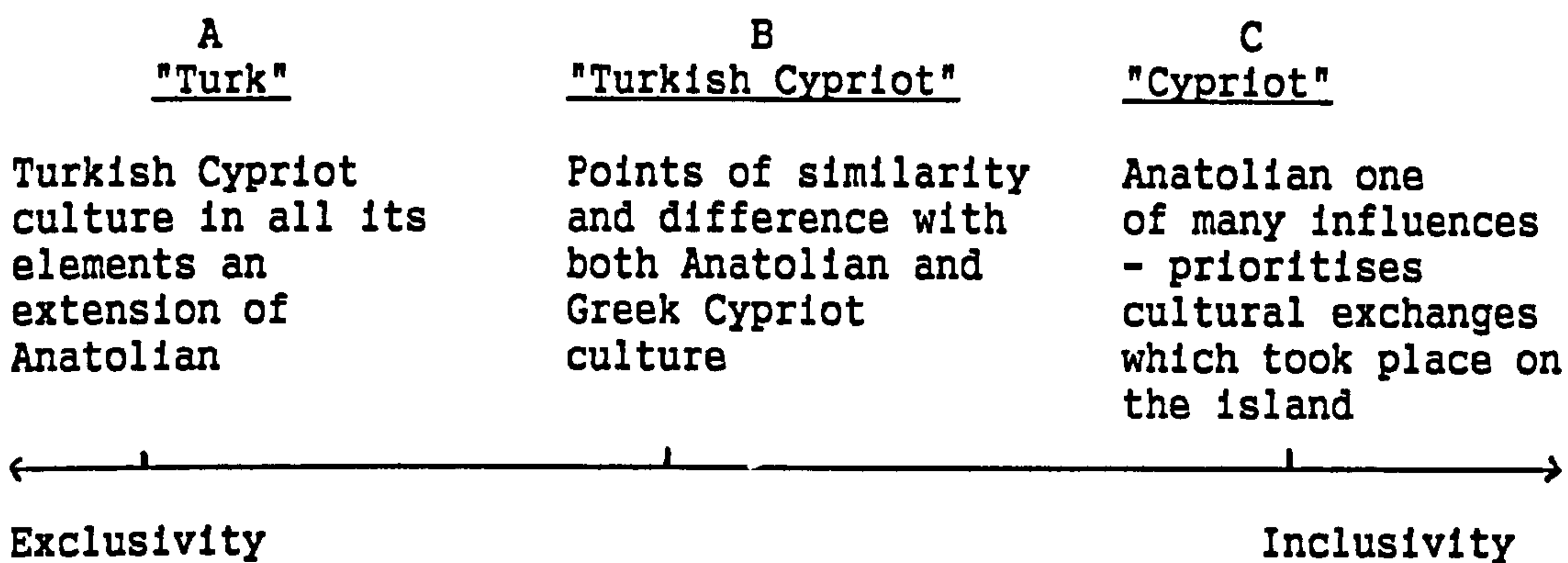
In Papadakis' study of Greek and Turkish Cypriot nationalism, he demonstrates how nationalist discourse appropriates elements of folk culture in order to establish "ownership" of "an authentic or unique national culture" (Papadakis 1993:201), and deny the status of independent actor to others whose culture is "really an amalgam as they have borrowed from 'us'" (ibid:200). However, claims to cultural identity can be used to back up different sorts of nationalism: on the one hand, it may be "a source of morale and a means of resistance in the face of domination"; on the other hand, it may take the form of an "aggressive and territorial nationalism" (Jones 1994:20).

In Cyprus, the issue of identity is central to the ways people envisage the nature of the Cyprus problem, and the forms its solution might take. With the exception of the Democrat Party, the name of all the parties contesting the 1993 general election in Northern Cyprus contained a reference to an "imagined community" (Anderson 1983) of Turkish Cypriots, but the type of community they imagine varies: for the parties of the right (Milli Mucadele Partisi [National Struggle Party] and Ulusal Birlik Partisi [National Unity Party]), it is "the nation"; two parties of the left and centre-left (Cumhuriyetçi Türk Partisi [Turkish Republican Party] and Toplumcu Kurtuluş Partisi [Communal Liberation Party]) refer to an ethnic community; whilst another party of the left (Yeni Kıbrıs Partisi [New Cyprus Party]) evokes a national Cypriot identity, in contrast to the Turkish-oriented nationalism of the right. Political stances on the Cyprus issue reflect the diversity of views on Turkish Cypriot identity. The majority of parties supported the resolution of the Turkish Cypriot General Assembly, taken just prior to the unilateral declaration of independence in 1983, that a solution to the Cyprus problem must protect the national and cultural identity and national rights of the Turkish Cypriot people, as one of two equal peoples in Cyprus (Dodd 1993:126). Public statements by political figures, however, show disagreements about how that 'people' is constituted. In the presidential campaign of 1990, Denktaş, a founder of the UBP who was running for re-election, "... emphasized that in Northern Cyprus they were Cypriot Turks, not Turkish Cypriots. 'If we are deceived into thinking we are Cypriots we shall boil in the Greek-Cypriot pot.'" (ibid:149). The programme of the newly-formed YKP, on the other hand, "...emphasized the sovereignty of Cyprus, the repatriation of recent immigrants from Turkey, the closure of the Northern Cyprus/Turkish Aid Committee, and the reduction of the Turkish Embassy staff in Lefkoşa. There was also no mention of the North Cypriot Turkish 'people',

only of a community, and insistence that Turks and Turkish Cypriots were different peoples. Denktaş described the programme as 'ungrateful to Turkey' (ibid 148).

Inasmuch as particular constructions of cultural identity form the basis for political action, it is possible to distinguish a variety of Turkish Cypriot "nationalisms", whose claims to authenticity are based on differing degrees of "exclusivity" and "inclusivity" which can be represented graphically as follows:

Parameters of Turkish Cypriot Cultural Identity



A "cultural" argument typical of position A is that much of the folkculture of the Greek Cypriots - particularly dances and food - is in fact Turkish in origin, but has been appropriated without acknowledgement and represented as "Cypriot". The thrust of this argument is both to deny the existence of such a thing as "Cypriot" culture which would deny agency and the right to self-determination of Turkish Cypriots as a separate "people", and to deplore the alleged Greek Cypriot "kültür politikası" [culture politics] of rendering Turkish Cypriots invisible by incorporating their distinctive cultural features into a unitary culture which projects a predominantly Greek Cypriot identity - which is also used in support of the argument for the territorial



integrity of the island. Position C, on the other hand, stresses the pluralistic and inclusive nature of Cypriot identity. For example, the foreword to the collection of HAS-DER symposium papers warns against a search for "Saf Kültür" [cultural purity] which harms, rather than helps, society; and it stresses the mutual cultural influences which have affected all the island's communities: "Yoz olmayan, güzel olan ve halkın içerisinde yaşayan, halkın benimsediği, sevdiği tüm değerler o halkın malıdır" [All the values which are beautiful, not degenerate and live within a people, which a people has taken to itself and loved, are the property of that people] (HAS-DER 1986:7).<sup>16</sup>

The dilemma of Turkish Cypriot identity is in many respects similar to that of Greek Cypriots (cf Papadakis 1993). Positioned between the two poles of Anatolian cultural tradition on the one side, and Cypriot on the other (which includes Greek, but also Turkish, Frankish, Venetian, Levantine and British elements), it is perhaps position B which comes closest to expressing a sense of a uniquely Turkish Cypriot cultural identity.<sup>17</sup> It is the precarious balance between similarity and difference which this position represents which, in the polarised context of the Cyprus issue, also makes it particularly vulnerable. Folkloricism, which monumentalises the "effervescence of performance" (Herzfeld 1991:5), also fixes identity, and can create the possibility for a contest of representations. This is implied by Papadakis when he observes that "... 'local food' may in certain contexts be treated as 'low culture', while in others Greek Cypriots may regard it with pride as 'typical Cypriot' in, for example, presenting it to tourists" (Papadakis 1993:198 n23). It is not merely the transmogrification from "low" to "high" culture which is important here, but the accompanying elevation to representational status. The failure to acknowledge the Turkish element in the Cypriot may be the result of ignorance by Greek Cypriots of the extent to

which such things are shared (ibid), and insignificant on a day-to-day level; but it becomes significant (not least as evidence of Greek Cypriot "bad faith")<sup>18</sup> when Turkish Cypriots are rendered invisible in what is represented as "typically Cypriot". Likewise, it has become important to many Turkish Cypriots that representations of "typical" Anatolian Turkish culture should not stand in for "Turkish Cypriot".

Until the early 1970s, Turkish Cypriot dance teams were performing dances from Anatolia, which teachers from mainland Turkey had started to teach in Turkish Cypriot schools towards the end of the 1950s. The impetus to create a repertoire of Turkish Cypriot dances actually came from participants at a folk festival in Turkey, in response to the Turkish Cypriot team performing dances from the Anatolian region of Antep. The Turkish Cypriot team started to rehearse six Turkish Cypriot dances, and gradually expanded their range so that there are now approximately 22 dances in the repertoire (Tanju Hastunç: personal communication).

Twenty years later, in the summer seasons of 1992 and 1993, the appearance in Girne harbour of a Kahraman-Maraş ice-cream seller created a stir.

Kahraman-Maraş ice-cream is a variety of ice-cream with a thick, stringy consistency, which is made by beating the mixture in tubs, using a long paddle. A speciality of Maraş in central Turkey, the ice-cream is characterised, not just by its taste and texture, but by the manner in which it is sold. The seller, dressed in traditional regional costume, periodically beats the mixture with the paddle in order to stop it from melting, ringing a string of bells above his head to advertise his presence to potential customers. When a customer comes, the seller places a scoop of ice-cream on the end of the paddle, places a cornet wafer on top, and proffers it to the customer; but the customer has to work for their ice-cream, as, with a series

of twists and twirls of the paddle and banging the bells above his head, the seller leaves the customer empty-handed or clutching an empty wafer. This is often an amusing performance, and very popular with tourists.

The ice-cream seller had been employed by the Turkish Cypriot owner of a cafe-bar on the harbour, and his pitch was under the awning just outside the bar. Many visitors to the harbour, both tourist and Turkish Cypriot, thought that his colourful presence enlivened the harbour, and offered something different from the restaurants and snackbars which sell mostly international cuisine, pizzas, toasted snacks etc. Others, however, voiced strong objections, along the lines of: "But Kahraman-Maraş ice-cream is Turkish, not Cypriot".

At first sight, this seems a bizarre objection: firstly, because Turkish folklore groups are frequently invited to perform in Northern Cyprus alongside Turkish Cypriot dance teams, and in fact one had appeared at a cultural event organised by the left-wing CTP; secondly, because the food and entertainment offered at most of the other establishments is also "not Cypriot". When I pointed this out to one objector, who himself had had plans to open a pizza restaurant on the harbour, his answer was that pizza is international, and as much a part of Turkish Cypriot culture as it is of any other western culture. A comment from another objector clarified the issues further, when he said that Turkish culture is "too close" to Turkish Cypriot. International popular culture can never be mistaken for Turkish Cypriot, and so it can be incorporated without threat. Representations of Turkish culture, on the other hand, have to be clearly labelled as such - as they are when Turkish folk dances are performed alongside Turkish Cypriot ones - in order to preserve a distinctive sense of Turkish Cypriot cultural identity.<sup>19</sup>

Ultimately, it was the ice-cream seller's prominence in the place which represents Northern Cyprus tourism on so many postcards, travel brochures,



guides and tourists' photographs to which people objected: an "authentic" representation of Turkey in what has become an icon of Turkish Cypriot tourism. Coincidentally, in the summer of 1993 several manufacturers of local ice-cream announced that they were closing their businesses because they could no longer compete with big Turkish companies selling ice-cream in Cyprus. Although the Kahraman-Maraş ice-cream seller had nothing to do with these companies, people made a symbolic connection between the two (eg: "You can't get Turkish Cypriot ice-cream now - all we've got is this stuff"); in effect, he became the symbolic focus of fears concerning mainland cultural and economic dominance.

What has changed since Turkish Cypriot dance teams were happy to perform Anatolian dances at international festivals? The most obvious answer is: the division of the island. I should like to suggest three reasons for a shift in Turkish Cypriot cultural consciousness since 1974.

The first factor to be considered is the internal momentum of the folklore movement. Having received a stimulus before 1974 as a result of the response from international folklorists, it is probable that the social and economic changes since then have lent urgency to folkloric research, in order to preserve regionally different traditions which might be lost with the displacement of Turkish Cypriot communities from the south and the rapid pace of urbanisation in the north. The declaration of a Turkish Cypriot state has also created a climate favourable to folkloric activity and research, as a means to create a sense of national awareness in a people which now has its own territorial borders.

Secondly, the political circumstances surrounding the establishment of the Turkish Cypriot state have introduced the need for forms of cultural representation as propaganda to counter Greek Cypriot "kültür politikası". Tourism and international folklore festivals provide a platform on which to

promote a Turkish Cypriot cultural identity which is consonant with the current division of the island; that is, an identity which is both separate from Greek Cypriot (ie Turkish), but also of the island (ie Cypriot).

Thirdly, the separation from Greek Cypriots and the closer proximity to Turkey have transformed the social relevance of cultural distinctions. The closeness between Turkish and Turkish Cypriot cultural identity, which is a source of distinctiveness from Greek Cypriots, has been reinforced by the presence of Turkish settlers and the dependence on Turkey for economic support and access to the rest of the world. In this social context, it is the boundary between Turkish and Turkish Cypriot cultural traditions which has greater relevance in asserting a distinctive Turkish Cypriot cultural identity.

#### ORIENTING THE TOURIST: GUIDE BOOKS AND TOUR GUIDES

Tourist perceptions of both the north and the south of Cyprus are to an extent mediated by the tourism guide books which are written and purchased in the tourists' own countries. The task of the guide book is to map the terrain for the traveller, conveying a coherent sense of place in which the traveller can orient him/herself. "Place" is the unifying feature of the narratives, whilst the narratives themselves construct the social relationships which give meaning to space. Thus "The Rough Guide to Cyprus" prefaces its "Historical Framework" with a note that it is "... heavily biased towards antiquity and events of this century, enabling a reader to grasp what they are most likely to see in a museum - and on the street" (Dubin 1993:259).

The division of the island has had the effect of undermining the coherence of narratives grounded in the spatial unity of "Cyprus". The writer of the guide book "Discover Cyprus and North Cyprus" articulates the problem as follows:

The existence of two de facto but not de jure countries on one small island puts the writer of guide books in a quandary. As the TRNC is now in the tourist market I feel it has a place in this book, but I am avoiding passing any personal opinion on the political issue. The Greeks call the 1974 incident an invasion; to the Turkish Cypriots it was a liberation, officially known as the Peace Operation, but I shall call it an intervention.

... As a compromise, throughout this book I use the word "Cyprus" or the term Greek Cyprus to refer to the internationally-accepted Republic of Cyprus, even though its effective rule is now confined to the south of the Green Line and, in a historical context only, to the entire island; the term "North Cyprus" and the abbreviation TRNC refer to the Turkish Republic of North Cyprus. (Palmer 1990:12)

The ground covered by guide books has, in fact, already been mapped, and writers constructing their own versions of place have to operate within these parameters. In the case of "Cyprus", the writer is presented with two fundamentally opposed and "totalising" maps (Bowman 1992), which not only create the problems of terminology and narrative coherence referred to by Palmer (above), but which also structure access to the island in a way which fragments the tourist's experience of place.

Travel writers have dealt with these problems of fragmentation in one of three ways, which all involve establishing a unifying discourse for their subject. The first takes a political position on the division of the island which mirrors the official "non-existence" of TRNC, and does not acknowledge the contentions surrounding the issue of place by engaging with the terminological subtleties. The "Insight" guide to Cyprus introduces its subject as follows:

Modern events have badly scarred Cyprus. Since the Turkish invasion of its northern territory in 1974, the island has been divided into two zones: Greek-Cypriot to the south and Turkish Cypriot to the north. This has caused bitterness and misery among many Greek Cypriots, but it has also instilled an iron will to survive and even prosper - a fact reflected in the booming economy of Southern Cyprus since partition (Insight 1994:5)

Although the "Insight" guide does not clarify its use of terminology, "Cyprus" is used to imply "the whole of the island", whilst coverage is restricted almost exclusively to the south of the island, with a 10-page chapter at the



back of the book listing a number of tours which can be made on day-long excursions to the north ("the Turkish-occupied part of the island" (ibid:147)), crossing at the Ledra Palace check-point. Coherence is maintained by subjugating both north and south to the narrative of one unifying political discourse. Access to the north is structured in consistence with, and at the same time limited by, this discourse.

A second approach is to adopt a discourse of "consumer choice", which acknowledges, but overrides, the issue of "legality", and treats each side as equivalents offering a qualitatively different kind of tourist destination. "The Rough Guide", for example, recommends the south for its racier nightlife, and the north for its uncrowded beaches, more relaxed pace, and lack of tourist development (Dubin 1993), whilst "Discover Cyprus and Northern Cyprus" enthuses about the friendly welcome awaiting the tourist on both sides of the Green Line (Palmer 1990). Both these guides alternate their treatment of north and south in the sections giving general information and social/cultural background: "The Rough Guide", which has a "street-wise" approach to the destinations it covers, offers a particularly detailed exploration of the political issues and personalities within a non-partisan framework. The space devoted to the places of north and south reflects territorial size rather than political status, giving the new Turkish names of places in the north, and, unlike the "Insight" guide, a glossary of Turkish as well as Greek expressions. However, guide books which compare north and south also comment on the greater poverty of the north, and the conspicuous Turkish military presence: the image conveyed of the north is that it is more "oriental" than southern Cyprus, more "European" than Turkey.

The third approach is to combine the discourse of "consumer choice" with a political stance which implicitly challenges the north's status of "illegality". Books devoted solely to Northern Cyprus (eg Goulding and

Goulding 1992; Darke 1993) extol the lack of development, the unspoilt charm, and the reminders of the British colonial past.

No one denies that when the island was divided in 1974, the Turks took the more beautiful and fertile region, but while holidaymakers jostle for beach space at Paphos and Limassol, it's a case of spot the tourist at Kyrenia and Famagusta. The Greek Cypriots are skilful political lobbyists and have since 1974 conducted an effective boycott of the north, presenting it as "occupied and inaccessible". They have done a good job, for only an initiated few have been to see for themselves....

The political status of the north is an emotive subject for both Greek and Turkish Cypriots, and no guide book would presume to try and analyse the rights and wrongs of the question ...The political situation has, ironically, worked in the tourist's favour, by making North Cyprus into a forgotten corner where the Mediterranean of 20 years ago can still be recaptured. (Darke 1993:ix-x).

These books prioritise the new Turkish names of places, giving the old names in appendices or gazeteers at the back of the book, and adopt a generally positive and uncritical approach to their subject. By adopting a discourse of place in conformity with the de facto division of the island, they avoid both the problems of integrating opposing maps, and the ambiguities of treating the island as if it were "one place".

These strategies for imposing unity on spatial narratives of Cyprus can be contrasted with Klawe's approach in "Zypern: Ein politisches Reisebuch" [Cyprus: A political travel book] (Klawe 1988). Although at the end of the book he gives practical information and tips about travel to and within both parts of Cyprus, the remainder of the book evokes a journey of the imagination which, eschewing any attempt to emulate the "real" time or space of the traveller, crosses and recrosses the border, to convey the paradox of unity and separation which underlies the "reality" of Cyprus. The contents of the book fall into two main sections: "Alltag, Politik, Kultur" [Everyday, Politics, Culture] gives an apparently haphazard mix of short articles on a variety of themes of contemporary life on both sides of the Green Line, the historical experiences of Greek and Turkish Cypriots, and international

political perspectives on Cyprus. The second section, "Reisen durch das Land" [Travelling through the country] opens with a geographical survey which treats the island as a whole, undifferentiated by political boundaries, and proceeds, as in the first section, to mingle articles covering different places in north and south, including Salamis (in the north) and Paphos (in the south) in a single chapter which compares and contrasts them as "Zwei alte Städte" [Two old towns]. The photographs illustrating the narrative similarly mix images from north and south, the captions to shots of Cypriots going about their daily activities usually giving no indication of where they were taken or whether it is Greek or Turkish Cypriots represented. Klawe's construction of Cyprus is of "Eine Insel - zwei Realitäten" [one island - two realities] (Klawe 1988:11) - a kind of "schizo-space" which is simultaneously homogenous and fragmented (cf Keith and Pile 1993:2).

Tour guides, like guide books, have the task of orienting tourists in the country; unlike guide books, they must perform in real time and space. Guide books take the reader through a series of mental leaps from one monument to the next, merely by starting a new paragraph and adding a new heading: the intervals between monuments are "dead" spaces (cf Smith and Katz 1993). Tour guides, on the other hand, move through these spaces with their groups: what is seen through the coach window, or in the streets between the museum and the historic mosque, also intrudes on the narrative and demands explanation. Tour guides construct the terrain for tourists through a combination of movement through it, and narrative which is also a dialogue with the members of the tour group, who have their own additional sources of information (including guide books) which they may use to confirm or challenge what the tour guide is telling them (Bowman 1992). Moreover, tour guides fulfill a multiplicity of other functions (Brice 1994; Cohen 1982) which are not readily apparent to the tourists in their charge. In the remainder of this chapter, I examine the



complexities of tour guiding, and how the tourists' experience of place is incorporated in the packaging of Northern Cyprus.

#### THE WORK OF THE TOUR GUIDE

Some tour guides work on a freelance basis, using guiding in the summer season to supplement income from their main work, or fitting it into school or university vacation. The majority, however, are employed full time by local travel agencies, or by foreign tour operators with an office in Northern Cyprus. Many of these have been working for years as unregistered guides - that is, they have not passed the Ministry of Tourism examination which entitles them to the "kokart" [professional membership card] issued by KITREB, the official association of tour guides in Northern Cyprus. Whilst in the past the official requirement to hold the kokart has not been enforced, and indeed the courses leading to the qualifying examination have only been held on an ad hoc and sporadic basis, the controls on tour guides have recently been tightened, as part of an effort to "professionalise" Turkish Cypriot tourism (see chapter five) and raise the standards of the profession. Unregistered tour guides have begun to face new restrictions, such as not being allowed into the baggage-handling area of the airport terminal without production of the kokart. As a result of such measures, the numbers attending the Ministry Tour Guiding Course, held over four weeks in the early summer of 1993, were unusually high, at about 140 participants.

This was the first occasion on which the course had been offered in English and German as well as Turkish, reflecting the increase in numbers of European tourists coming to Northern Cyprus in the past few years. The minimum criterion for attending the course was a high-school diploma or its equivalent. Participants, who included nationals from Britain, Germany and Scandinavia, as well as Turkey and Northern Cyprus, were required to sit

language proficiency examinations in English or German (but not Turkish) if they elected to take the course in those languages; most of the classes were divided into language groups, with some plenary sessions in Turkish (sometimes with English translation). When I attended the course as a participant observer, I was invited to attend the German group, as this was the smallest with only seven students. Although nearly as many German as British tourists now come to Northern Cyprus, the traditional and still existing links with Britain have meant that there are more opportunities for Turkish Cypriots to learn English than German, and tour guides who can speak German are at a premium. Of the seven participants, one was a German national resident in Northern Cyprus, five were of Turkish mainland origin, and only one was Turkish Cypriot. All of these had lived or studied long-term in Germany, and all had been working as tour guides for several years.

The skills and duties of the tour guide, set out in a number of lectures and in group discussions, were most clearly summarised in the plenary lecture given by the head of KITREB in the form of a professional code of ethics detailing four different sets of interests which the tour guide is to serve. These were defined as responsibility:

1. "Temsil ettiđi ũlkeye karřı" [towards the country you are representing];
2. "Hizmet ettiđi mũřteriye karřı" [towards the customer you are serving];
3. "Makul bir ũcret karřılıđına sizi calıřtıran acenteye karřı" [towards the agency which is employing you in return for a fair wage];
4. "Kendinize ve kokartına tařıdığınız Birliđinize karřı" [towards yourself and your association whose card you are bearing].

Balancing these overlapping and sometimes conflicting interests is a key part of the tour guide's work, and it is worth looking at them in a little detail.

1. Tour guides serve the national interest both in their contribution to tourism, which, it was reiterated throughout the course, is one of the main sources of national income and the locomotive sector of the economy, and in "tanitmak" [promoting and making known] the country. Giving tourists a good impression of the country so that they have a satisfying holiday experience will not only make them want to return and recommend Northern Cyprus to their friends, but increases Turkish Cypriot visibility and promotes the "cause" of Northern Cyprus abroad. In order to achieve this, tour guides must be able to "explain" the country, both by the use of historical narrative, and by the places which they show to tourists. The role of the tour guide, therefore, is both to present and represent the country to tourists.

2. Looking after the "customer" requires smooth organisation which ensures the comfort of tourists, both in their hotels and out on tours. It means anticipating the tastes and interests of tourists, and handling group dynamics so that both individual tourists and the group as a whole are kept happy. It can also mean protecting tourists from exploitation by overcharging or substandard service, and giving them value for money in terms of accurate and comprehensive information and a variety of positive holiday experiences.

3. Tour guides represent a company as well as the country, and their identification with the agency is often reinforced by wearing the company uniform, especially when meeting a group from the airport or visiting tourists in their hotels. The reputation of the agency and of the country as a tourism destination, however, often go hand in hand, as it is the agencies who are usually most active in promoting and selling Northern Cyprus abroad. Once the group has arrived in the country, tour guides can further increase the income to agencies by selling optional excursions to tourists, which they promote in special presentations given in the hotels.



4. Both points 3 and 4 remind the tour guide that "the labourer is worthy of his [or her] hire". The pay of most tour guides (with the exception of some paid by a few of the foreign companies) is very low at the minimum wage of about 100 pounds sterling per month, and tour guides rely on additional income, gained either from commission on selling tours, or from tips. The tour guide has a personal and professional right to earn a decent wage from their work, and must maintain personal and professional standards in the process.

There are obvious areas in which these interests are mutually reinforcing. For example, a tour guide who creates a good personal impression and who keeps the tour group happy is likely to leave tourists positively inclined towards the country and receive a substantial tip at the end of the tour. One of the most effective ways of doing this is to create "authentic experiences" for tourists. One guide related how she had presented a bottle of "zivaniya", a local spirit distilled in some villages, to a tourist who had expressed interest in the drink; others made a point of taking tourists to villages off the beaten track, where they could meet locals in the cafe, or to bakeries where they could buy village bread and local cheese and honey. Others had paid citrus farmers to allow tourists to pick oranges from the trees - an investment which procured the good will of the group. In other areas, guides were aware of potential conflicts of interest, for example, in selling tours which they felt to be substandard to tourists whose interests they were meant to represent, or in cases where tourists expressed hostility, for example to monuments of the 1974 war or the military presence. Similarly, allowing "backstage" glimpses to tourists opens up the danger of involving the tour guide in explanations of areas of ambiguity and "intimate" knowledge.

The guide's role as both bridge and gatekeeper is clearly illustrated by the procedures surrounding the arrival of tourists at the airport. The

function of the guide is to facilitate entry and the loading of luggage onto the tour bus, welcome the tourists and give them an initial orientation on the way to the hotel, where they see the them safely ensconced in their allocated rooms. In some cases, this may involve assisting tourists who are having problems with immigration formalities; but guides on the course were particularly warned to be aware of the regulations concerning single women under 40 from certain eastern European countries, who must have a special visa to enter the country (see chapter seven). In such cases, guides were told that their duty is to assist the immigration officials in preventing the spread of AIDS in the country.

A problem for tour guides supervising transfer from the airport is that the initial impression received at this threshold to the country is often not favourable. Tourists from Europe have often had a long journey, arriving late at night or the early hours of the morning; the airport is small and crowded, luggage trollies are few and temperamental, there is often a long wait to pass through immigration control, and there is a small but visible military presence in and around the terminal. In order to smooth this transition, tour guides must summon resources of personality, charm and efficiency, both to mollify disgruntled tourists, to achieve the cooperation of officials, and to interpret the experience to tourists in a way which will reassure them about the country they are entering. Presenting a "clean and smart appearance" is a way of establishing credibility not only with the tourists, but with any representatives of officialdom with whom guides might have to negotiate.

The work of the tour guide, therefore, consists in managing the demands of time, space, narrative and audience; handling the distinction between "public" and "intimate" knowledge; and combining the goals of maximising their own and the tour company's income with protecting the interests of the

tourists and "representing" the country. These elements come together in the course of constructing and interpreting Northern Cyprus for tourists.

#### HISTORY, PLACE AND NARRATIVE

In guiding tour groups about Northern Cyprus, tour guides are engaged in a process of mapping the terrain: orienting tourists by "uncovering" the history of social relationships which give meaning to space (Keith and Pile 1993). The combination of physical presence in a place with its simultaneous rendering as narrative provides two different types of authenticity: for tourists, a unique conjuncture of the history of textbooks with the "place where it happened", creating an imaginative experience of both the historic density of space and the immediacy of the past; and for tour guides, a means of authenticating their narrative with reference to the "evidence" of relics of the past (Evans-Pritchard 1993). In the context of the tour, however, there is a disjuncture between the chronological sequencing of narrative and its sequencing according to spatial priorities. The places which may be "next to each other" in terms of an historical ordering which links present and past in a series of "stopping points" on a continuous line of development are often geographically widely dispersed, or inaccessible on the other side of the Green Line. Conversely, narratives in which spatial proximity takes priority may result in a disconnected historical narrative in which no sense of "locality" emerges, with the "historic parts" merely being presented to the audience as "cultural artefacts" (Keith and Pile 1993:7).

In order to maintain a coherent sense of place, tour guides must move from narratives of the general to the particular and back again. In the tour guides' course, the general framework is presented through lectures and handouts which present readings of the history, archaeology, geology and demography of the island. The view reflected in these readings is of a



tradition of heterogeneity and regional identification (see chapter two). In keeping with this perspective, historical Greek influence on the island is portrayed as one of many significant cultural elements, with more attention being given to the modern political influence of Greek Cypriot nationalism. Amongst the historical source material distributed to students is Purcell's (1969) account of the enclaving of Turkish Cypriots, and a copy of the Akritas Plan (see chapter two).

Both tour guides and teachers explained to me that, although it was important to have this information available, the occasions on which it should be deployed were relatively rare, and that it would not form part of the standard tour guide narrative. The main reason for this reticence was that it was "political" rather than "historical" information, which tourists would construe as propaganda. Using tourism for overt propaganda purposes would be an abuse of hospitality, undermine the credibility of the tour guide, and spoil the tourists' enjoyment of their holiday (cf the discussion of the *topoi* "the enchanted island" and "paradise lost" in chapter two).

Political views which are presented as part of a general historical narrative are, therefore, suspect. In contrast, tour guides said that there are occasions, within the context of "the particular" (eg in response to questions which arise when tourists visit a particular place), when it is right for such information to emerge. On such occasions, tour guides may have recourse to accounts of personal experiences in a de-politicised way to counter the (potential) disbelief of the hearer, and the generalised narrative can be mobilised as a supporting authority.

An example of this process was provided by an exchange which took place during the course of a tour to the ruins of Vouni palace, located in a narrow strip of the territory of Northern Cyprus where its western and southern boundaries meet (see Appendix 2: map of Northern Cyprus). The remote, dramatic

setting of Vouni is as great an attraction to the general tourist as the ruins themselves: perched on a high cliff, they command breathtaking views of the sea, and the mountains which rise away to the south. A guide book to Northern Cyprus notes: "After the failed uprising against the Persians in 498 BC, the pro-Persian king of Marion, possibly a Phoenician, built the palace as a stronghold and vantage point to watch over the pro-Greek city of Soli" (Schmidt and Worley 1992). When showing tourists around the site, guides draw attention to the panorama, both to point out its beauty, and to illustrate an historical narrative concerning the strategic importance of the palace.

Realising the proximity of the site to the border, a German tourist who was accompanying a field trip from the tour guides' course asked who lived in the villages visible from the cliff top. A Turkish Cypriot guide (referred to hereafter as guide "A") answered that they were mostly militarily occupied, and that much bloody fighting had taken place in the area in 1974. Upon being asked who used to live in the villages, guide "A" replied that there had been Greek-speaking Moslems and Christians: the Moslems had eventually chosen to be Turks, and the Christians Greek, adding that under Ottoman rule, some would be Moslem to avoid paying taxes, and Christian to avoid military service - because of intermarriage between the two, there would usually be some from both religions in the family whom individuals could produce in support of whatever religious affiliation they were claiming (cf chapter two). Pondering on this information, the tourist (who had previously visited the border running through Lefkoşa and seen the "ghost town" of Maraş which is cordoned off from the old town of Mağusa) reflected that the Cypriot experience was similar to that of the divided Germans: her husband was from Leipzig in East Germany, and had fled to the West with only the clothes he stood up in. A second Turkish Cypriot guide ("B") responded that it was not really the same experience, because the Germans were one people, whereas the Cypriots

consisted of two separate peoples. The tourist asked if it would be possible for the two peoples to live together again. A third guide ("C", of mainland Turkish origin) replied: "We can't live together, we would be killing each other again within a few years". The tourist saw the logic of this: "Yes, look at Northern Ireland, and they have the same religion". Guide "A" concluded the discussion by saying that it was not a matter of religion, but of regional interests, adding: "Remember the famous maxim of British diplomacy: 'I have no friends, only interests'".

Several interesting points emerge from this exchange. Firstly, a number of different discourses - of natural beauty, of ancient and more modern history, and of politics - hinge on the location of Vouni, producing a narrative which aims at trying to "locate" Greek and Turkish Cypriots via their spatialised relations on the island and in the region. The convergence between the strategic role of Vouni in ancient history, and its modern position in the borderlands between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, means that all these different aspects of location are almost bound to emerge from the tour guide's performance, and to lead into areas with the potential for subverting the dominant narrative: for example, by conjuring up the image of recent "bloody fighting" which contrasts with the scenic beauty and tranquility, and by referring to intimate knowledge concerning the practice of intermarriage and ascribed (rather than "natural") national identity.

Secondly, the personal positions of the tour guide (established in private conversations I had with the individuals) determines to a great extent how each guide deals with the issues raised. It is significant that there was greater convergence between the views of guides "B" and "C" - a Cypriot and a Turkish guide - than between "A" and "B", who were both Cypriot. "B" was much younger than "A", and, unlike "A", most of her education and experience was from the period of division post 1974. "B"'s dominant memory of relations



with Greek Cypriots was of, at the age of 9, being shepherded by the UN, with other Turkish Cypriots from the outlying districts, into the walled city of Mağusa for their protection during the 1974 war. "But it wasn't for our protection - once we were all inside the walls, the Greeks started to bombard the city. They just wanted us all in one place so they could kill us all". "C" saw no contradiction in implicitly including himself as "we" in speaking authoritatively of the experiences of Turkish Cypriots in which he had not personally participated. This was not a conscious effort to misrepresent himself, but stemmed rather from an ethnic identification as a "Turk" with fellow "Turks" over their sufferings in the hands of the ancestral enemy, "the Greeks". Such "ethnic memories", formed outside the context of Cyprus, and largely in relation to the final breakdown when the "Mehmetciks" had to step in "to save fellow Turks", almost inevitably focus on polarisation and conflict rather than on the social relations formed in times of coexistence.<sup>20</sup> For example, another guide, who had moved to Cyprus from Turkey with his family, felt that he was entitled to express opinions about the island and have a voice in its future because he had done his military service in Cyprus from 1976 to 1978, "when things were still pretty hot here". Guide "A", on the other hand, had grown up in Cyprus before 1974, and presented the problem as one, not of intrinsic differences, but of regional interests. His account of the "linobambaki" closely mirrors that of the Cypriot historian Gürkhan, in a book whose expressed aim is to fill in a gap in the knowledge of, in particular, the younger generation, about the history of Turkish Cypriots in the 19th and early 20th centuries (Gürkhan 1986). It is worth noting that he did not directly contradict guides "B" and "C", nor did he bring his personal experiences into the discussion, but referred to other narratives - history, and British diplomatic policy - as authorities for the "unorthodox" views he was presenting, ending the discussion with his rather cryptic quote (about

interests not friends) without elaborating on its precise relevance to the Cypriot case.

Thirdly, the tourist attempted to "process" each new piece of information by reference to events within her own knowledge (of Northern Ireland) or experience (divided Germany), testing the understanding reached in this way against the reactions of those with "authentic" knowledge of the Cyprus case, to whose greater authority she deferred. The division of the island has particular resonance for German tourists, many of whom are fascinated by the border areas, and see in Lefkoşa another Berlin before the fall of the Berlin Wall. Tour guides may feel themselves compelled to challenge assumptions based on a misunderstanding about the shared nature of the experience of division, as filtered through the lens of the German experience, which can be perceived as tending towards the official Greek Cypriot view of the situation. This is, however, a delicate operation, if the goal of "representing the country" is to be achieved without alienating the guest and forfeiting good will.

#### TOUR ITINERARIES AS NARRATIVE AGENDA

Tourists' perceptions about the countries they visit reflect the prevalent preoccupations, ideas and cultural values of their home societies (Reimer 1990). Whilst the division of Cyprus may be of particular salience to German tourists, the investigation in Britain of the Polly Peck company and the spectacular flight of its chairman, Asil Nadir, to Northern Cyprus - widely reported in the British media - was of special interest to British tourists, and added a contemporary twist to the colonial associations Cyprus still holds for many visitors from Britain.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, European tourists are regarded as not being interested in "political" aspects of Cyprus, and guided tour itineraries steer them towards cultural/historical "heritage" (antique

sites, the Lusignan churches of Mağusa, the Ottoman heritage of Lefkoşa) and recreational activities (beaches, taverna and "Cypriot Nights", sea trips and so on). Standard parts of the itinerary for tourists from Turkey, in contrast, include visits to the monument at "Çıkartma Plajı" ["Landing Beach"], commemorating the landing of Turkish troops in 1974; the "Şehitler" [Martyr] villages of Sandallar and Muratağa, where mass graves are preserved as reminders of EOKA B atrocities; the Museum of Barbarism in Lefkoşa, graphically documenting human rights abuses against Turkish Cypriots (see Papadakis 1993); the "ghost town" of Maraş; the Green Line; and vantage points giving a view over the Greek Cypriot part of Lefkoşa. These attractions are seldom if ever included on the itineraries of tours for European tourists.

The common rationale behind the differences in itinerary is that European tourists are "not interested" in these modern monuments, and find reminders of conflict and war distasteful when they are on holiday. On the other hand, Turkish tourists are interested, because they commemorate recent and significant events in Turkish history. Some guides compared them to the war graves of Normandy, as objects of pilgrimage, rather than tourist attractions, and of primary interest only to those wishing to honour "their" fallen - adding that German tourists would have a particular aversion to being confronted with such reminders of war, whether in Europe or Cyprus. At the same time, monuments of the division of the island - the Green Line in Lefkoşa, Maraş, etc - are not included in German tour itineraries, even though German tourists may be predisposed to be interested in such attractions.

It appears that it is not so much European tourists' lack of interest in contemporary issues, as a lack of a shared understanding about meaning which leads tour guides to steer groups away from potentially controversial monuments and towards the safety of "heritage". The consensus amongst the guides I spoke to was that "history" stopped 50 years ago: anything which



happened within the last 50 years is "politics". Whilst both "heritage" and "political" sites have to be contextualised for tourists by narrative, the immediacy of recent monuments implicates living actors in the narrative, and can force tour guides into assuming collective responsibility for events: a role which is less contentious when guide and group share the basis for a common discourse about those events. As far as possible, then, itineraries are structured so as to avoid potential controversy which might sour both tourists' impressions of the country and their relations with the tour guide.

As the exchange which took place at Vouni demonstrates, however, "heritage" and "politics" cannot be so neatly compartmentalised, and the "location" of a place can invoke a variety of sometimes contradictory narratives which can lead into controversial topics. In some cases, tourists are not so willing to defer to the authority of the tour guide; and, if they feel it is warranted,<sup>22</sup> tour guides have a number of methods at their disposal to counter this disbelief. The methods deployed depend on the circumstances. If one tourist persistently challenges the guide's narratives, a guide may instigate a one-to-one dialogue in a more informal setting, over a drink or in private conversation on the bus-ride home, in which both participants can pursue the issues with a frankness uninhibited by the constraints of public "performance". When a substantial part of the group expresses interest in the issues raised, some guides said that they have used an "interview" format, inviting individuals to sit next to them in the bus on the way home, and discuss the topic over the P A system, so that the rest of the group can listen and add their opinion. In both methods, the guide strategically concedes some of their authority, replacing monologue with a discussion in which all parties listen to and learn from others. Guides who had used these methods believed that, even where they did not completely succeed in convincing individuals or the group, facilitating a space in which differences

could be aired, rather than seeking to impose a point of view, created greater understanding of the issues, and established a basis of mutual respect, which enabled the guide to continue to do their job. Such discussions also created a framework of discourse in which guides might "more safely" suggest that individuals or the group as a whole make an accompanied or unaccompanied visit to places such as the Museum of Barbarism or the Martyr Villages, as evidence which they can "see for themselves".

#### TIME, SPACE AND LOGISTICS

There is another aspect to itineraries, apart from their function of permitting tour guides to orchestrate narrative through a judicious selection of places visited: this is the logistical aspect, in which both commercial considerations and ensuring the comfort and entertainment of tourists play a part.

Tours are sold as blocks of time which the tour company undertakes to fill. The length of the tour is determined by the price charged, and in turn determines what can be seen and done in the time available. In a half-day tour of Girne, for example, there is time only to take in the harbour, the castle, possibly the folk museum; St Hilarion castle, in the mountains above Girne; and the abbey in the nearby village of Bellapais (see Appendix 3: plan of Girne; Appendix 2: map of Northern Cyprus). These attractions are "musts" which European tourists would expect to see if they are to get value for their money; similarly, the Girne tour for Turkish tourists would be expected to include the Landing Monument and adjacent open air museum of tanks and military equipment.

Tour guides have to get their groups around these sites as comfortably as possible in the time available: this entails not rushing the tourists; not exposing them to the uncomfortable midday heat; scheduling intervals for rest

and refreshments, and perhaps swimming on a full-day tour. The larger the group, the slower the progress, particularly if some members are elderly or infirm, since the group must proceed at the pace of the slowest. Guides know from experience which places tourists like to photograph, and try to reach them when the light is most favourable for a particular spot. On full-day tours, lunch is booked for the group at a restaurant, which must be reasonably priced and offer good quality, and with which the tour company or the guide may have a commission arrangement: the group must, therefore, be delivered to a particular restaurant by the scheduled time, and they must be back in their hotel in time for lunch or the evening meal. In addition, full-day tours, for example, from Mağusa to Girne, have a 60 mile journey before they reach their destination, and may cover much of the same ground on later trips, to Lefkoşa, or the Güzelyurt/Lefke region. This constitutes a "dead" interval, which guides must enliven with commentary which should be varied on all subsequent occasions: students on the tour guide course were advised not to spend long periods in silence, as clients must be given "value for money". Guides said that they use long journeys to give general information about Northern Cyprus, taking their cue from the passing landscape, or to prepare tourists with background information on the sites which constitute the main object of the tour at the journey's end. On one day, the general information may be historical, on another, about geography and geology, on a third, about agriculture and the economy, etc; but as well as providing information and establishing the narrative themes of the tour, these commentaries have the function of "marking time" (in both senses of the term), and, simultaneously, of marking space. The logistical aspects of tour guiding, therefore, are intrinsically linked to the construction of narratives and, ultimately, to the construction of Northern Cyprus for tourist audiences.



In order to illustrate these points, I end by examining a tour guide performance in one particular place: the castle in Girne. The example is taken from a field trip made by the tour guide course, with an experienced guide conducting the tour and indicating best practice en route.

"Girne castle: one of the best-preserved fortresses in the Levant; begun by the Byzantines, rebuilt by the Lusignans and massively reinforced by the Venetians; the object of many sieges but never taken by storm." (Northern Cyprus: Goulding and Goulding 1992)

Adjacent to and dominating the harbour, Girne castle is an obvious starting point for the Girne tour, and a number of groups converged on the castle at about 10 am. Skillfully avoiding bottlenecks, queues and collisions, our guide led us across the inner courtyard to the Shipwreck Museum, which the other groups, occupied in examining other parts of the castle, had not yet reached.

The museum houses the remains of a wooden boat and its cargo which sank off the coast of Girne some 2,300 years ago. Before entering the viewing gallery, we were shown around the exhibition in an ante room, where items of the cargo, wall panels documenting the raising and preservation of the wreck, and a replica of the ship are displayed. As one member of the group read aloud from a guide book, our teacher highlighted which pieces of information could be linked to the exhibits, adding touches - such as indicating the stamps on amphores amongst the cargo which indicate their provenance - which would impress tourists with knowledge of detail not included in the guide book. Warning against absolute statements which run the risk of contradiction (such as "this is the oldest shipwreck in the world"), our guide told us that the wreck had been raised by an American team who had been prevented from continuing their work after the cultural boycott was imposed in 1974: "The young man who wrote his doctoral work on the project was prevented from

publishing, or having any official contact with the Turkish Cypriot archaeologists who took over responsibility for the ship after 1974, although he is in private correspondence with them".

Leaving the museum, our guide indicated the best route around the castle for saving time, obtaining the best views, and getting elderly tourists around without having to clamber up and down precipitous steps. Pausing on the way up to the gateway at a point which gave a good view of the entrance to the castle, the Lusignan coat of arms above the gate, and the tomb of the admiral who led the Ottoman assault on the castle, we ascended to the roof via a broad ramp. From here it is possible to enjoy a magnificent panorama over the mountains. In describing this panorama, the guide combined geographical orientation with anticipation of the rest of the morning's programme: naming the highest peaks which could be seen stretching away into the distance, pointing out St Hilarion castle "which we shall be visiting later", describing the variety of the plant life and the beauty of the mountains in spring, and telling the group about "the Turkish tank which was lost in the mountains in 1974 and cannot be retrieved, it is still there". Bringing the focus down to the harbour at our feet, our guide pointed out which parts had been altered at different times, the changing levels of the water, as indicated by the blocks on the old carob warehouses which had been used for mooring boats, and the place where a chain used to be stretched across the mouth of the harbour for defence. Moving around to the land side of the castle, our guide made the point that the heavy fortifications on this side showed that the greatest threats were expected from inland rather than the sea, thus leading into an exposition of internal political division in the history of Cyprus. Pausing only to draw attention to the view of the village and abbey of Bellapais, which we would also be visiting later, our guide continued to lead us over the castle walls - pointing out the royal apartments and treasury, and the narrow

grilled entrances to the oubliettes "which give tourists a little frisson" - to a point where we could safely descend to the courtyard and leave the castle.

The tour had been efficient and purposeful, each stopping point carefully chosen in order to combine a variety of visual perspectives, points of interest, and narratives which shifted in time from the historical past to the near future of the rest of the days activities, and from the general to small points of detail - and even included a "de-politicised" reference to the cultural boycott and an advertisement for Northern Cyprus in spring. Girne Castle had been effectively used as the focal point for a coherent construction of place, integrating "authentic" touches and insider knowledge which would appeal to tourist audiences. Spotting one group which had halted on the castle wall to take in a restricted view of the courtyard, our guide commented "You will not waste time with things like that". Tour guides must make time and location work hard for them in order to achieve the maximum effect within the logistical constraints of the tour.

## CONCLUSIONS

The "politics of identity" have begun to receive academic interest, stimulated by the the influence of post modernist trends in anthropological and sociological theory (cf the collections edited by Nencel and Pels 1991; Keith and Pile 1993). Recognition of the strategic uses of constructed identities has drawn attention to the importance in identity politics of spatial metaphors (such as boundaries, maps, margins, location, terrain etc), and the social nature of space (Smith and Katz 1993). "Space" is not only a means for constructing identity by assuming a "position" on a "map" of social relations: it can also be used as a "repository" for an essentialised version



of identity which appears to ignore or devalue the social nature of space (Bondi 1993:98; Herzfeld 1991). In this chapter, I have attempted to reintegrate both aspects of space and identity, by examining the packaging of culture, which employs the concept of identity as essence, as a social activity which is rooted in and generates its own complex of social relationships and meanings.

The "commoditisation" critique treats packaged culture as "invented tradition", a phrase which, as Herzfeld points out, implies that there are other "authentic" traditions (Herzfeld 1991:13). In this chapter I have argued that "authenticity" is itself a construct: whilst it remains an important criterion of cultural representations, its meaning is not fixed, but has different significance, and is employed in different ways, according to context. I have suggested that folklore performances for tourists are largely a by-product of, and marginal to, their development for Turkish Cypriot audiences, and that this is reflected in the criteria of authenticity which underlie their staging. Tour guide performances, on the other hand, which are for exclusively tourist audiences, make conscious play of how tourists understand authenticity in the ways they package and represent Northern Cyprus.

The contest over Cyprus has been largely conducted in terms of a discourse of national and cultural identity, in which claims to the "ownership" of local history and culture are used to legitimate political and territorial claims. At the same time, "Turkish Cypriot" identity has become a contested field within Northern Cyprus, although the dangers of internal disunity have kept this contest largely a matter for intimate knowledge. In both cases, however, competing representations of culture have the force of social facts which feed back into the social relationships of the island. The production of folkculture and handicrafts is embedded in and reflects cultural

and political tensions concerning the "place" of Turkish Cypriots, but these relationships are masked by the staging of folklore performance and the marketing of handicrafts, as the case of Lefkara işi makes particularly clear. Tour guides, in contrast, are forced to engage with the social relationships structuring "place" by their job of linking movement through the landscape to narrative.

Bowman has argued, in the context of guided tours in Israel and the Occupied Territories, that the Palestinian voice is silenced: at the level of tour guide performance, by the dominance of Israeli narratives whose discourse is to a great extent shared by the tourists, so that they do not "hear" alternative Palestinian narratives; and, at the organisational level, by the methods of training and accrediting tour guides, which effectively exclude Palestinians from the profession (Bowman 1992). Unlike Palestinians, Turkish Cypriots have autonomous organisations which enable their tour guides to operate freely in Northern Cyprus; the problems of audibility and visibility they face are those of countering the discourse of "illegality", which has international currency, and which is most graphically expressed in the internationally enforced restrictions on tourists entering Northern Cyprus.

I have outlined some tour guide strategies for dealing with this dominant discourse and making a Turkish Cypriot voice "heard". Establishing a position of "authority", both on a personal and professional basis, is an important part of these strategies, and requires the tour guide to "read" and respond to the tastes and preoccupations of the group. Choice of itinerary enables the tour guide to set a narrative agenda; but ultimately, the place they construct is the product of a dialogue between the tour guide and their group, in which the personal position of the tour guide and the logistical aspects of time and space also play a part.

Tour guides' knowledge, therefore, has strategic uses concealed beneath the giving of information or explanations, and different sorts of knowledge are built into the routine of guiding for a variety of purposes, of which the tourist is not usually aware. The uses of knowledge can be summarised as follows:

- marking time and space: commentaries given over long and repeat journeys entertain tourists with information which gives variety to the landscape, and demonstrate that the tour guide is giving "value for money". They can also be used for establishing general narrative themes; creating a mood of anticipation; and, on the journey back to the hotel, discussing the issues which have arisen from the tour.
- supplementing other types of information: providing political, economic and social background, for example on institutions, industry and agriculture, both creates an awareness of Northern Cyprus as a "country", and provides a framework for tourists to "understand" what they see around them.
- disguised information: toning down the polemical or controversial (ie innately political) content of narratives by inserting them into another context. Examples of this from the tour of Girne castle are the references to the cultural and economic boycott contained in the commentary to the shipwreck museum, and to the Turkish tank lost in the mountains (as part of a narrative concerning the tallest mountains, their beauty in spring etc).
- establishing authority: the tour guide can establish authority by having facts and figures at their fingertips. This authority can be undermined by tourists who "know better", or who have guide books which



contradict the narratives of the tour guide. The guide book is both an ally and a threat to tour guides, who have a number of strategies to deal with it:

- "pre-knowledge" - by having a collection of the latest guide books the tour guide already knows what the tourist knows.
- "taze bilgiler" [fresh knowledge - ie alternative, up-to-date knowledge]. Guide books quickly become out of date, and being on the spot puts tour guides at an advantage. Maintaining a resource of "taze bilgiler" by keeping up to date with developments and changes is, according to a lecturer on the tour guide course, the guide's greatest asset, and has the added authenticity of "insider knowledge".
- "incorporating" the tourists' knowledge - which includes noting which guide books tourists are using and adding them to the tour guide's own collection.

I have argued that representations of identity which appear to be based on cultural and national "givens" are actually the outcome of social activity and debates about meaning. Nevertheless, as the product of these social relationships, they still present identity in an essentialised form. Paradoxically, the guided tour too, whilst addressing the social relationships of a spatially constructed identity, conceals the social relationships underlying the work of tour guides in which the "product" of their performances is embedded. In the following chapter I take up this theme to explore how social relationships construct the boundaries of identity.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1. According to Forster, one of tourism's effects on local culture is that it turns "folklore" into "fakelore". This is not a view he ascribes to local residents, but reflects Forster's own perspective as the outside researcher/tourist. Herzfeld, on the other hand, is referring to local perceptions of the historic conservation plan in Rethemnos, Crete, when he writes that "... the new authenticity is experienced as fakery of both fabric and motives" (Herzfeld 1991:11).
2. "Space" is used here both as a metaphor for conceptualising identity, and to refer to the physical landscape on which identity is inscribed. The two uses can overlap, so that physical landscapes also become metaphorical landscapes inasmuch as they function as spatial expressions of identity. Cf chapter two, and also the collection "Place and the Politics of Identity" edited by Keith and Pile (1993), especially the chapters by Smith and Katz: "Grounding Metaphor"; and Bondi: "Locating Identity Politics".
3. As Bondi points out in her examination of the significance of place in identity politics, narratives of identity which operate within a framework of the "integrity of the subject" tend to gloss over the internal fragmentation which the diversity of social relationships produces: representations of identity cannot wholly do without an element of "essentialism" (Bondi 1993:98).
4. "[Personal experience] ... invokes a kind of personal immunity in that to authenticate knowledge in terms of personal experience is to make one's ideas and one's being indistinguishable. Consequently, anyone who criticises knowledge generated in this way is liable to be accused of attacking the person from whom it originated" (Bondi 1993:95).

5. Papadakis demonstrates the relationship of origin myths in Cyprus to various phases of nationalism on the island. In the Greek Cypriot historiography of the "enosis" period, "... a lot of effort is made to establish the Greek 'beginnings' of Greek Cypriots while it is taken for granted that Turkish Cypriots must also be descendants of the 'Turkish soldiers and colonizers' that came to the island when it became a part of the Ottoman empire. There was little research interest on the issue of conversions from one side to the other, a point that became one of the main focuses of the following historiographical period" (Papadakis 1993:33). In this later period, characterised by preoccupation with the issues of "independence, conflict and quests for self-determination", Greek Cypriot historians shifted from the previous position, to the view "... that not only was the population that came to Cyprus from Turkey ... probably composed of 'Greek elements' ... but that the majority of the Turkish community of the island came to be composed of non-Moslems that converted to Islam" (ibid:39). This is a point of view which Gazioğlu specifically attacks and counters with his own evidence of the "Turkishness" of the settlers from Anatolia (Gazioğlu 1990:79).
6. The same position is adopted in the latest phase of Greek Cypriot historiography, which dwells on the "... divisive consequences of nationalism in a society characterised by coexistence on the grassroots peasant level" (Papadakis 1993:46). Greek Cypriot historians "... now tend to view Cyprus as an independent entity, both Greek and Turkish nationalisms as forces that infiltrated Cyprus from outside" (ibid:47). Just as the two preceding phases of historiography and the national identities they constructed were linked to the political objectives and preoccupations of their time, so the latest formulation is



characteristic of a response to the division of the island and the quest for reunification. The convergence between this view, promoting a vision of "Cypriotness" consonant with the Greek Cypriot goal of reunification, with Turkish Cypriot "oppositional" origin myths, makes the latter suspect amongst many Turkish Cypriots, who see it as sowing disunity and promoting Greek Cypriot ends - see the section on "Cultural politics and national identity", below.

7. Thus "Karaođlanođlu", a village near Girne renamed after the Turkish commander who died during the landing in 1974, is still commonly referred to as "Ay Yorgi"; and Ozanköy, another village close to Girne, is often referred to by its old Turkish Cypriot name of "Kazafana". Old names tend to be retained in popular usage when they are either easier to say than the new one (eg Ay Yorgi), or when they had a large Turkish Cypriot population before 1974, especially when the place name refers to a traditional occupation of the village or a quality or characteristic of its inhabitants. (On the meanings of place names, cf Beckingham's paper "The Turks of Cyprus", reproduced in Gaziođlu 1990:80-91.) There are also generational differences in the use of names, with the younger generation who grew up in Northern Cyprus after 1974 tending to use the new names, particularly of distant towns or places where they have no kin. Thus Morphou, which was predominantly Greek before 1974, is almost universally referred to by its new name of "Güzelyurt" rather than the old Turkish Cypriot "Omorfo". As with the introduction of Atatürk's language reform in Turkey, the use of old or new names can indicate a political stance on the part of the speaker (Toprak 1981): thus some Turkish Cypriots consciously use the old names in a spirit of opposition to "Turkification". One informant recounted a conversation he had had with an older man who had criticised him on

nationalist grounds for not using the new place names. Ironically, writers such as Gazioğlu adduce the old Turkish place names as evidence which establishes the long-standing Turkish presence on the island and its influence on local culture, and counters Greek Cypriot claims to the "Greekness" of the island.

8. Thus the Greek Cypriot President is recognised as the only Cypriot President, whilst the Turkish Cypriot President Denktaş is referred to as the Turkish Cypriot "leader". Such issues of protocol have frequently held up UN-brokered talks and soured relations before negotiations start.
9. On social relations as a sources of Turkish Cypriot identity, see chapter seven.
10. One such henna night was the subject of a programme on BRT, the Turkish Cypriot TV channel - evidence of the relative rarity of, and interest in, such events. Local Turkish Cypriots say that only London Cypriots can now afford the expense of a henna night, and argue that wedding celebrations have been condensed from several days into two hours in response to straitened economic circumstances. On the other hand, it is probable that the resources which were once put into the wedding are now diverted to acquiring expensive objects for the trousseau, reflecting the higher standard of living expected by newly-weds and a decline in the ritual significance of the wedding celebration: cf Tapper 1985.
11. Much of the information used in this section on traditional needlework, and in particular on Lefkara işi, is taken from Muharrem Faiz's study, published in 1993, "Kültür ve Yabancılaşma: Lefkara İşleri Üzerine Bir Araştırma" [Culture and Alienation: A Study of Lefkara Work].

12. As far as I am aware, it is only Turkish settlers who now weave carpets in Northern Cyprus.
13. A grass-like vegetable similar in taste to spinach, mullahiya is locally regarded as a "typically" Cypriot dish.
14. Faiz reports a case where four Turkish Cypriot women worked for months to make a Lefkara işi bed-spread ordered from the south by an English customer, for which they received 1,350 pounds sterling. When, several months later, the English customer visited the village where the bed-spread had been made, the women discovered that the price paid by the customer had been 3,200 pounds sterling.
15. Goddard (1989) also notes the relationship between "intimate knowledge" and shame, which she links to women's role as markers of the boundary between domestic and public knowledge. See further chapter seven.
16. Politically, position A tends towards an uncompromising line against Greek Cypriots on the issue of Cyprus, whilst position C is associated with a stance of rapprochement with Greek Cypriots and opposition to outside intervention, including that of Turkey. This position is perceived by many Turkish Cypriots as having dangerous implications, since it might lead to the return of Greek Cypriot refugees which would again pose a threat to personal security. Dodd (1993) argues that the left has fared best electorally at times when international talks on Cyprus have been in suspension and election campaigns could focus on internal issues. His analysis received confirmation from comments made to me during the 1993 election campaign, when many people said that they supported the left (in particular the CTP) on domestic issues, but were worried that they might be "too ready to make deals" with the Greek Cypriots. During the period of fieldwork public opinion seemed, on the whole, to favour a "moderate" position on the Cyprus issue,



rather than the extremes of left and right. The CTP counts a substantial number of Turkish settlers amongst its supporters, and softened its hard line on the repatriation of settlers. Similarly, the DP [Demokrat Partisi] was formed as a break-away from the ruling UBP because, according to President Denktaş, one of the founders of the UBP, it was following a right-wing nationalist line of intransigence on the Cyprus issue which made his position as negotiator impossible (Dodd 1993).

17. I have been present at conversations between Turkish and Turkish Cypriot women which have amicably pursued the question of cultural differences and similarities, focussed mainly on the issue of food: Turkish Cypriots prefer coffee, whereas Turks drink more tea, etc. Turkish Cypriot women were interested to learn that mainland Turks do not know "mullahiya" (see n13), and suggested that some differences - for example, in the making of "mahcün" (figs, walnuts etc preserved in syrup) - stemmed from Lusignan and Greek Cypriot influences on Turkish Cypriot cuisine, whilst the "Rum" do not "know" some of the dishes Turkish Cypriots share in common with Turks. On another occasion, I attended a village funeral and was told that, in this village, people wore black at funerals because previously they had lived in a "mixed" village and had adopted the tradition from their Greek co-villagers. In both contexts - the conversations amongst women and the funeral - cultural identity was a matter for interest and curiosity, rather than an expression of political nationalism.
18. The issue of bad faith arises because Turkish Cypriots say that they are being asked to believe that Greek Cypriots have "changed" and now want to live at peace and as equals with Turkish Cypriots, but they cannot believe in the good faith of these overtures as long as Greek

Cypriots do not acknowledge their role in the events of the 1960s and 70s, and continue to represent "Cypriot" as exclusively "Greek Cypriot".

19. This is characteristic of a "position B" view of Turkish Cypriot identity. In contrast, another informant had no objection to the presence of the Kahraman-Maraş ice-cream seller, because "it's Turkish, which is also a part of Turkish Cypriot culture".
20. The views of many older British residents and tourists, who did their national service at the height of the EOKA campaign in the 1950s, have a similar genesis and characteristics.
21. Northern Cyprus received a high profile in the British media when contingents of British journalists arrived, following Asil Nadir's flight in 1993 from the enquiries of the Serious Fraud Office into the activities of the Polly Peck conglomerate. In effect, Asil Nadir became a Turkish Cypriot tourist attraction. A travel feature in the Daily Express in the summer of 1993 headed "Drop in on Asil" included the village of Lapta, where the businessman has his home, and his hotel "Jasmine Court", amongst the places of interest for tourists to visit.
22. For example, when a tourist who persistently challenges the tour guide's narrative threatens to undermine the guide's credibility or the cohesiveness of the group.

## CHAPTER 7

### SEXUAL AND NATIONAL BOUNDARIES

The effects of tourism in destination areas have been largely examined in terms of how the "outside" impinges on the "inside". In some cases these are construed as two discrete and opposed categories generating a whole series of contrasts on the lines of local: foreign; 3rd world: industrial nations; traditional: modern (Doğan 1989). Other writers stress the continuity of pre-tourist contacts between the "outside" and the "inside" within tourism (Smith 1989b; Farrell 1979), or the reinforcement in another form of neo-imperialistic relations of power and dependency between tourist generating and tourist receiving regions (Nash 1989), which impose a "foreign mentality" on indigenous relations (Erisman 1983). "Identity" is implicitly treated as an inner core of "culture" which resists or gives way to externally induced changes in social and economic organisation.

Recent work provides a critique of such models of culture and the inside/outside dichotomy which underlie tourism studies. Eriksen, writing on the metaphor of "cultural islands" in anthropological theory and research, stresses the interpenetration of the global and the local. He suggests that, while the concept of cultural islands is a useful device for isolating bounded



units for research, the metaphor overplays the notion of fixed, isolated culture entities, such that, even where contacts with and influences from the outside have been recognised, they have been depicted as "extra-systemic links ... not forming part of the relevant social unit" (Eriksen 1993:134). Although some societies may be physically isolated, global economic systems and communications enable communities and groups within communities simultaneously to maintain local and supra-local identities, and boundaries are drawn wherever difference is socially relevant. This view is similar to the arguments made by Friedman in a critique of postmodernist trends in anthropological theory. He refers to culture as "the formation of boundaries of specificity" (Friedman 1991:103) which are created and embedded in social life. Thus social relations create identity, rather than vice versa; to see culture as an "essence" is to ignore the conjunctural nature of identity which forms itself in relation to others; to shift from "the social mechanisms of cultural production to the structures of the products themselves, turning the latter into the essence or even the determinants of practice in general" (ibid:113 n6). Goody too argues that culture cannot be divorced from its referents in social and economic relations: culture is not "encapsulated in small communities" (Goody 1992:29), but is internally and externally differentiated, with a variety of referents across permeable boundaries.

The relevance of constructions of gender and sexuality to issues of boundary and identity have long been recognised. Douglas argued in "Purity and Danger", first published in 1966, that beliefs about purity, impurity, pollution and contagion enacted on the human body reflect symbolically attempts to maintain social structure against threats from within and without: "... the symbolism of the body's boundaries is used ... to express danger to community boundaries" (Douglas 1984:122). As a category, women are positioned at the points of entry and exit of the structure, the weak points at the

margins, through their association with the body's orifices (in childbirth, sex and food preparation), and socially in the recruitment, retention, loss or reproduction of new members (marriage, childbirth). In their position at the boundary, women become a symbol of group identity and social relations. Goddard makes use of Douglas' insights in her study of the honour and shame complex amongst working class women in Naples. She concludes that controls discouraging women from taking waged factory work "phrased in terms of dangers to a woman's chastity in mind and/or body" (Goddard 1989:166) function to mark group identity, which for working-class Neapolitans is constructed at the boundaries marking the difference between Italy's north and south; national and local; state structures and informal structures.

Although there are obvious links between gender, sexuality and identity, the terms of their relationship are not fixed but are highly contextual (Caplan 1989; Loizos and Papataxiarchis 1991). With reference to modern Greece, Loizos and Papataxiarchis argue that discourses of gender and sexuality are increasingly being constructed outside the realm of the domestic. Tourism constitutes one such extra-domestic context, and has seen the emergence in Greece of a new form of interaction between the sexes known as "kamaki" ("harpooning"), a term describing the sexual encounters between Greek men and tourist women premised on a set of understandings about Greek male and foreign female sexuality which are different to locally dominant notions at the same time as they are deeply embedded in them. Castelberg-Koulma (1991) and Zinovieff (1991) have noted that the images of sexuality associated with female tourists have in some respects worked to marginalise local Greek women, who are represented both in postcards and in conversations amongst the male kamaki as backward, traditional and unattractive in contrast to the scantily-clad and available women from northern Europe. Castelberg-Koulma sees the phenomenon largely in terms of the roles available to Greek

women in tourist areas; Zinovieff explores how kamaki expresses the ambivalence of the men towards their own society and the affluent north of Europe. Within the activity of kamaki, the female tourist provides a new reference for ideas about identity, gender and sexuality which both stem from and have consequences for the social organisation of the community.

The issue of identity in tourism has generally been studied in terms of the host/guest relationship, but another group which has not received so much attention is migrant workers employed for shorter or longer periods in construction or in the tourism service sector. One exception is Lever's (1987) study of migrant workers in the Spanish resort of Lloret de Mar, which analyses the economic and political effects of seasonal tourism employment on the lives of the largely female migrant workforce and the rural hinterland from which it is drawn. In Northern Cyprus, most of the migrant workers are drawn from mainland Turkey, but, in the wake of the social and economic changes in eastern Europe, they have been joined by an increasing number of women, predominantly Russian and Rumanian, from the former Soviet and eastern bloc countries. On one level, the Russians and Rumanians constitute merely one among several groups entering Northern Cyprus as students, tourists, migrant workers etc; but on another level they have a particular status, reflected in the special regulations governing their entry into the country, which arises from their association with prostitution. Women from a variety of class and professional backgrounds travel to Turkey to trade in markets close to the Russian border or to engage in prostitution, and in mainland Turkey, the figure of the "Natasha", as Russian prostitutes are known, has entered popular culture (Hann and Hann 1992; Beller-Hann, forthcoming). The reputation they have acquired in Turkey has also coloured their reception in



Northern Cyprus, where they are employed in a range of jobs in tourism and entertainment, as waitresses, dancers, croupiers, and night-club hostesses.

In this chapter I explore the constructions of female sexuality underlying the employment of migrant workers and what they reveal about the way Turkish Cypriot identity is formed in relation to "outsider" groups. Although it would be possible, as Lever does, to approach the issues from the angle of economic class, the focus of this discussion is rather on the fluidity of cultural categories of "outsider" and "insider" which are embodied in social and economic relations with migrant female labour. The analysis combines the models of culture and boundary proposed by Eriksen, Friedman and Goody with the gender perspective of Douglas and Goddard. I start by looking at the relationship of informal categories of insider and outsider to the formal categories constituted at borders, and their implications for the gender division of migrant labour. Later sections explore changes in Turkish Cypriot life, in particular in the roles and expectations of women; how these are reflected in community standards of behaviour associated with "namus" (honour/reputation); and the challenges posed to the sense of being "medeni" (modern, civilised) which is an important aspect of Turkish Cypriot identity. The pattern of female tourism employment is discussed in terms of women's dual role as social actors and symbols of identity, and the issues are drawn together in a case study which examines how one particular group of women - Rumanian croupiers - are incorporated into the workplace and the neighbourhood where they live. I suggest that outsider groups who are seen as external sources of disorder provide a temporary solution to internal contradictions, but also highlight areas of unresolved ambiguity.

## NATURAL BOUNDARIES AND NATIONAL BORDERS

In terms of Eriksen's distinction between "literal" and "metaphorical" islands (Eriksen 1993), Cyprus can be classed as both an island and not an island. Whilst the 3,355 sq km of land surrounded by sea constitute an island in the literal sense, its position in the eastern Mediterranean and its long history of colonisations have drawn it over the millenia into regional and global systems which continue to be cultural, political and economic referents for the island's inhabitants. The partition of the island since 1974 has left it with de facto borders which, while not internationally recognised, reflect the divisive orientation of the two largest communities on the island towards a respective Greek and Turkish motherland which has bedevilled efforts to create a sense of Cypriot nationhood (Stavrinides 1975; Papadakis 1993).

The lack of recognition of the TRNC's borders has meant that Northern Cyprus' tourism is heavily dependent on the Turkish mainland as a source of finance and investment, as a gateway to the rest of the world, and as a tourist market. The majority of tourists from "third countries" are from the UK and Germany, with smaller numbers from Austria, Scandinavia, France and Italy. The two main markets - the Turkish and the British - have strong associations both with the past and present of the island, and symbolic importance for the issue of Turkish Cypriot identity. Many Turkish Cypriots study or work in Turkey, and there is a substantial Turkish Cypriot community in Britain centred in London. British rule in Cyprus coincided with a time of enormous upheaval on the Turkish mainland culminating in the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and Atatürk's modernising revolution which laid the foundation for modern Turkish national consciousness. Although the relationship to the "Anavatan" (motherland) and the symbol of Atatürk have been important referents for Turkish Cypriots throughout the twentieth century, British rule effectively split them from the developments on the



mainland before 1960, and incorporated them within British colonial structures. Turkish Cypriots refer to themselves under the generic heading of "Türk", but frequently make distinction between "Kıbrıslı Türk" (Cypriot Turk) and "Türkiyeli" (Turks from Turkey) (see chapter six). The bases of this distinction are their relationships with other Turkish Cypriots, which are characterised by dense, multi-stranded ties in a social environment where almost everybody is assumed to be related to or know almost everybody else; their shared history with Greek Cypriots; and their divergent historic development as a British crown colony. Cypriot Turks tend to regard themselves as more modern and European in their outlook than Anatolian Turks, particularly in matters of religion and the status of women, but some, particularly young Cypriots who have been brought up in London, identify with the urban culture of middle class metropolitan mainlanders.

#### GENDER DIVISION OF MIGRANT LABOUR

The formal regulation of borders creates categories of outsider and insider distinguishable by ease of entry and restrictions on length of stay and activities in the country. All migrant workers entering Northern Cyprus are required to obtain work permits and undergo health checks, including a test for the HIV virus. However, legislation enacted in 1992 introduced an additional requirement for single women under 40 years of age from certain central and eastern European countries, who have to obtain a visa and health certificate before entering Northern Cyprus. These regulations are aimed principally at Russian and Rumanian women, who are regarded as entering the country primarily for prostitution. In contrast, many of the male unskilled workers from Turkey enter as tourists with only an identity card, and work as "kaçak işçiler" - illegal, cheap agricultural and construction labourers,



living either in barrack accommodation or in the unfinished buildings on the sites where they work.

The town of Girne possesses the seaport nearest to the Turkish coast, and as the leading resort of Northern Cyprus is a centre for building work. The casual labourers from Turkey are, therefore, a common sight, and a recurring theme in everyday conversations of the locals. The opinions expressed by people from all walks of life and political persuasion are remarkably similar. It is said that "they come as tourists with 10,000TL (about 60p) in their pocket and work on building sites - they live like animals - they walk around, and when they see an open door they go in and take what they can find". This antipathy is an expression both of distaste and fear. The workers are overwhelmingly single men or have left their families in Turkey, and often come from the least developed areas in the east and Black Sea regions of Turkey. Because they live in all-male groups, and are regarded as not "medeni" (modern, civilised), their presence is perceived as threatening - it is frequently said that "they are not used to seeing women uncovered, in shorts and mini-skirts", which is how young women in Girne often dress, and their gaze is felt as unnerving. A highly publicised case of rape by illegal workers in the summer of 1993 gave further confirmation to these views.<sup>1</sup> Another common opinion is that they are "bad for tourism" and "give the wrong impression" of Cypriots to tourists, who do not realise that the workers are not Cypriot. Local people say that they create an atmosphere which is out of keeping with Girne and the more modern, relaxed attitudes of the Cypriots.

The presence of the illegal workers has given rise to the expression "sorma-gir hanı olduk" (lit. "we have become a 'don't-ask-come-in house'"). However, the tight controls on certain foreign women coming into the country suggest that this is not strictly true. In contrast to other groups, these

women are assumed not to be tourists, and are required to obtain their visa and health certificate before entering the country instead of after their arrival. These formalities are usually seen to by the employer, and permission to stay in the country is commonly dependent on the women remaining with that employer.

Although prostitution is illegal in Northern Cyprus, certain night clubs employ registered hostesses who perform the same function, and it is in such places that "Natashas" work. They are required to undergo weekly health checks at the state hospitals, and are generally allowed only to stay for a few months at a time. This time limit places restrictions on the individual women, rather than on the activity itself, as employers maintain a steady flow of new "Natashas" via Turkey every few months. A number of newspaper reports<sup>2</sup> about "Natashas" which appeared in the summer of 1993 reveal that they are also subject to strict surveillance by their employers whilst they are in the country, and that the women are seldom allowed out for shopping or to the beach unsupervised. These restrictions perform a dual function: the women are sexual commodities whose company must be paid for, and opportunities for non-monetary relationships would undermine their commercial value; at the same time, the controls conform to a generalised view that the dangerous sexuality of these women poses threats to health (HIV, venereal disease), public morality and the family.<sup>3</sup>

It appears that the arrival of the Russian and Rumanian women, who are referred to generally as "Natasha" irrespective of actual nationality, has marginalised the role of Turkish women as registered hostesses. According to newspaper reports, the number of Turkish hostesses is declining, although some work illegally as prostitutes, an offence for which they are liable to deportation. The participation of Turkish Cypriot women in prostitution is minimal, although in the past some did work in the "zig-zag", as the old-time



brothels were known. A couple of my women friends said that they had known of one or two local women in the past who had worked as hostesses, and they suggested that the newcomers had undercut local prostitutes; but another factor is the availability of women who constitute a clearer "outsider" group.<sup>4</sup>

The fact that restrictions on entry apply to all women from central and eastern Europe, and not just those coming to work as hostesses, appears to vindicate the often-heard view that "all these women are the same". Men in particular believe that "they are all here to earn money whatever way they can" and that even those working as croupiers and waitresses would be "open to offers". Yet some press articles give a different message. The main Turkish Cypriot daily paper, Kıbrıs, has regular colour centre spreads devoted to the entertainment and disco scene which often feature Russians and Rumanians, who in this context are never referred to as "Natasha". Bland articles on strippers, dancers, cabaret artistes and mannequins appearing in some of the big hotels and clubs convey tolerance and "modern" attitudes towards sex in certain sanctioned contexts. The same journalistic clichés - and particularly the "green-eyed blonde-haired" stereotype - appear in articles about Russians and Rumanians and about foreign tourists dancing the night away in discos with young locals of both sexes.<sup>5</sup> The disco scene is presented as a positive aspect of Northern Cyprus' touristic image, representing a cult of youthfulness and harmless fun. Seen within this range of contexts, the figure of the Russian/Rumanian becomes particularly ambiguous.

The attitude of women also reveals variations. In the town of Güzelyurt local women organised a petition to get rid of the Russian women working there. Their objections were mostly to the behaviour of the male customers, but the women themselves were blamed for the men's behaviour, for the threat



they posed to the family, and for diverting money away from the home. They were also thought to endanger men through AIDS and the transmission of sexual diseases. These objections applied to all Russian and Rumanian women, even those known not to be working as hostesses. On the other hand, some women identified with some of the foreigners' problems, having been the objects of similar stereotyping whilst students in Turkey. One woman recounted how local residents had campaigned to have the Cypriot women students' hostel closed down. "At the time we wore mini-skirts, we laughed and talked in the street. We were away from home, and some girls had boyfriends. We didn't behave like the Turkish women, they were much more traditional then ... some of the Cypriot boys warned us that Turkish students in the hostels gossiped about us, and that we should be careful how we behaved with them." The women had responded to their situation through self-imposed restrictions on their behaviour, which were collectively enforced on all the women living in the hostel. Women who did not conform were asked to leave. She commented: "I don't know now if we were right to do that. These things are very complex ("iç içe", ie one within the other), they turn women against each other - just like now, it's women who are saying 'send the Natashas back to Moscow'".

The complexities in the situation identified by this speaker reflect the multiplicity of boundaries and referents at work in Turkish Cypriot constructions of sexuality and gender. Turkish Cypriots consider themselves modern and progressive in comparison to mainland Turks (particularly as represented by the migrant Turkish workers); but attitudes towards the Russian and Rumanian women reveal an ambivalence towards female sexuality which highlights the tension between Turkish Cypriot progressiveness and conservatism. The burden of the resulting contradictions is born by women, both foreign and Turkish Cypriot.

## TURKISH CYPRIOT WOMEN AND CHANGE

The behaviour of outsiders is evaluated in terms of locally prevailing ideas about gender and sexuality, but these ideas are themselves undergoing transformations. Writing of Turkish Cypriots in London in the mid 1970s, Ladbury noted the importance to the community of the concept of "namus" (reputation or sexual honour/shame) (Ladbury 1979). Both a woman's marriage prospects and the reputation of her menfolk depended on avoiding situations which might give rise to gossip, and this entailed restrictions on women's employment and social contacts outside the home. Twenty years ago, very few Turkish Cypriot women worked in paid employment. The changes which have occurred within the space of one generation are clearly discernible in Girne in the contrast between the lives of women of middle-age and older and of their daughters and granddaughters. Most older women have never worked in paid employment, and if their husband is alive it is often still he who does most of the shopping. Today, young women generally expect to go out to work even after they have children, and in recent years the number of creches and private childminders in Girne has increased dramatically. The establishment of universities in Northern Cyprus within the last 10 years has made it easier for girls to go on to higher education, and it is also more common for Cypriot girls to study in Turkey than it was in the past.

Changes have also occurred in the areas of marriage and gendered patterns of socialising. Whereas previously to "gezme" [to be out and about, to wander around] was an activity restricted to youths and men, during the school holidays teenage girls are often seen out during the daytime and early evening, strolling with their friends in the neighbourhood, window shopping, or eating an ice-cream in the harbour. One of my neighbour's daughters even used to borrow her brother's motorbike during the day to take friends out for a spin. The discotheques which the tourists go to are also attended by young



Cypriots of both sexes, although girls are frequently in groups accompanied by a male relative or even a parent. It is widely recognised that many girls have boyfriends, either with or without their parents' knowledge, and, although it is no longer the practice on the morning after a wedding to show the blood-stained sheet as proof of virginity, according to a local doctor the "tamir" operation (repairing the hymen before marriage) is common - an indication both of the incidence of pre-marital sex, and of the continuing attachment to the idea of virginity, even if only symbolically. Although the involvement of parents and kin in arranging marriages is still important, it is increasingly common for parents to be required only to consent to a marriage which has been agreed upon independently by a couple. Neither divorce, nor remarriage after divorce, is unusual.

Twenty years ago, the common practice was to arrange marriages within the village, or even within the extended kin group. People today usually explain this former practice as a strategy for consolidating landholdings, or at least preventing their fragmentation. Another advantage was that future sons- and daughters-in-law were a known quantity. Migration, urbanisation, tourism and female employment have widened the sphere of contacts and changed the conditions favouring marriage with co-villagers and kin. In the early years following 1974 many marriages took place between Cypriot women and Turkish soldiers; the flow of students between Turkey and Northern Cyprus frequently results in Cypriots male and female taking a Turkish spouse; and Cypriot men who have worked or studied abroad sometimes come back with a foreign wife. Tourism has also increased the number of marriages between Cypriot men and foreign women who come either as tourists or to work in tourism.

The trend away from endogamous marriage is one feature of modern life which is considered by older women to have both positive and negative



consequences. Marriage within villages and extended kin groups resulted in dense social networks, with economic relationships underpinned by relations of kin and marriage - a familiar universe in which everyone is connected to everyone else. On the other hand, it is sometimes more negatively spoken of as "inbreeding", said to be a cause of the inherited disease thalassemia, common throughout the Mediterranean, which must now be screened through blood tests before marriage. Inbreeding is spoken of as a sign of backwardness, of village parochialism, and it is sometimes remarked disparagingly of rural Turks from the mainland that "they all marry their first cousins". Some people say that the breaking down of the old tight-knit communities after 1974 has resulted in more beautiful babies, a compliment which is often also paid to children who are "melez" (of mixed blood). On the other hand, a foreign daughter- or son-in-law may not be accepted so easily, and this can extend to opposing marriage to a mainland Turkish spouse. News of a Turkish Cypriot man's marriage to a non-Moslem is likely to be greeted with a "bir şey değil" ("never mind"), which expresses both tolerance and commiseration; "marrying out" by Turkish Cypriot women is, in general, strongly opposed, and a relatively rare occurrence.<sup>6</sup>

Young women, on the whole, tend to emphasise the things which have not changed. Women, whether married or single, are not as free as men to go out alone or in single-sex groups, and are not free to mix informally with tourists as men are. Young men are seldom at home during their waking hours, especially in the summer, and indeed avoid the domestic setting to such an extent that a youth calling at a friend's house does not even approach the front door but shouts from the street or sounds the car horn until his friend comes out;<sup>7</sup> whereas it is still very common for young women, even those studying in Turkey, to spend their vacation in the house except for family outings to the beach, to weddings or to visit relatives. Although husbands

and wives socialise together, and this is increasingly expected by young couples, for many men their social life is still focussed on the cafe, whilst women meet in each other's houses. Some women complain that their husbands will not allow them to work, or to do the type of work they want to do - in fact, men are legally entitled to forbid their wife to work and to determine the place of residence of the household, though I know of no cases where this legal right has been invoked.

It is clear that the roles and expectations of women have changed more than those of men, and the contradictions which this produces are keenly felt by many, particularly younger, women. In the next section I consider how these changes are reflected in the concept of namus.

#### SEXUAL HONOUR AND SHAME

In the classic collection of studies edited by Peristiany (1965) honour and shame are identified as the characteristic and enduring values of Mediterranean society: they are "two poles of an evaluation ... [reflecting] ... the social personality in the mirror of social ideals" (Peristiany 1965:9). At their centre lies the proper regulation of the behaviour and relationship of the sexes. A woman's honour turns on her reputation for purity, and female virginity is highly prized; a man's honour, on the other hand, is generally associated with his competitive behaviour in a variety of contexts outside the home, in which his own sexual prowess and his reputation for safeguarding and controlling the honour of his womenfolk also play a part.

More recently, several writers have questioned both the terms in which anthropologists have presented honour and shame codes (Wikan 1984; Goddard 1989) and their analytical use in comparative studies of the Mediterranean (Herzfeld 1980; Gilmore et al 1987). Herzfeld (1980) and Wikan (1984) warn against the dangers of linguistic reductionism which gives a spurious



impression of unity of meaning to regionally diverse codes, associating female honour exclusively with passivity and sexual shame, whilst male honour takes in "public" values such as social rank, honesty, and the "experience distant" values related to national prestige. Wikan argues that honour and shame do not, in fact, form the twin poles of social evaluation; rather, it is the "experience near" concept of shame which is the predominant concern of both men and women in many parts of the Mediterranean and Middle East.

In addressing moral evaluations of behaviour in the Turkish Cypriot context, I translate the term "namus" as reputation or sexual honour; but its meaning can only fully emerge when set against the situations for which it is employed, and the usage of other related terminology. Specifically, men and women's moral evaluations are usually made in the course of same-sex gatherings, and the social contexts in which they are formed also differ. In what follows, the discussion of namus focuses on the issue of Russian and Rumanian women, and I start by considering some male views, before going on to look at female perspectives.<sup>8</sup>

#### Male perspectives on namus

Men discuss the namus of other men largely in terms of their honesty and trustworthiness. To call a man namuslu [honourable] implies respect; conversely, a man who is namussuz [dishonourable] in his dealings shows lack of respect to his fellows, and accordingly forfeits respect himself. This may be applied to attitudes to work and life in general, as well as to acts of dishonesty: young men who do not show proper application and seriousness in their work and who brush off attempts by their seniors to put them right may be termed namussuz.

The namus of women is evaluated by men in terms of their sexual conduct. A male definition of a namuslu girl is one who is not interested in boys or



sex. But evaluating the sexual reputation of non-related women in all-male company simultaneously involves an evaluation of the namus of the men of her family, with whom the responsibility for female reputation ultimately lies. A woman may be considered namuslu even if her father or husband are thought of as namussuz; but a man whose womenfolk are said to be namussuz is considered at best weak and at worst culpable himself.<sup>9</sup> Namus, for a man, therefore, also implies a type of strength, demonstrated in his control over the sexual conduct of the women for whom he is responsible and in his defence of their reputation from the speculations or advances of other men. The role of men as the guardians of female namus has to be seen in the context of contrasting views on male and female sexuality. If the namuslu woman is ideally not interested in sex, conventionally men are very interested, and it is thought normal for men to demonstrate their interest at every opportunity.

Sexual interest in local women can be expected to lead to conflict with other men, unless it is the precursor to engagement and marriage. Such risks, however, are not present with regard to foreign women; equally, foreign women unconstrained by male and family control are expected to welcome the attentions of men. Although there is no equivalent to the kamaki phenomenon found in Greece, there is competition for young foreign women, especially tourists, which can lead to numerous short- or longer-term liaisons. However, whilst foreign women are imagined to be sexually available, Russian and Rumanian women are identified unequivocally with prostitution, and embody the antithesis to the namuslu woman, for whereas women whose sexual reputation is tarnished are referred to as "horospu" [prostitute] even where they are not accused of actual sexual promiscuity, Russian and Rumanian women are regarded as literal horospu; similarly, the association between prostitution and disease, particularly AIDS, makes literal the association between immorality and women who are "pis" [(morally) dirty]. Russian and Rumanian women are

considered both attractive and dangerous. Men exchange knowing jokes about "Natashas", telling friends that they have "got a Natasha for them" or that they plan to get rich by "employing four or five Natashas". "Natashas" represent sexual opportunity without the risks of conflict with other men, and thus function in jokes and conversations as a metaphor for the sexual drive which binds men together, unconstrained by potentially divisive considerations of namus. On the other hand, actually spending time and money on "Natashas" is not regarded so positively, and one shopkeeper refused credit to a man who, he said, spent all his money on "Natashas".

#### Female perspectives on namus

As with the Sohari women described by Wikan (1984), the judgements of Turkish Cypriot women are formed mostly within and in relation to the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood is traditionally an important arena for women outside the immediate home and family, and relationships between women are the social cement of the neighbourhood. Companionable conversation whilst slicing beans on the verandah or over coffee both enliven the day and circulate information about family and neighbours. Gifts of particular food delicacies or garden produce establish relations of reciprocity and demonstrate domestic skills and competence. Visits during illness or to give condolences bind the neighbourhood together and provide support in times of need. Women's neighbourly relationships create networks fulfilling a number of functions - Ladbury comments on their role in re-establishing some community cohesion after 1974 (Ladbury 1979) - and amongst them is the circulation of information which is an important means of regulating behaviour and evaluating reputation.<sup>10</sup>

Although discussions about individuals almost invariably include an evaluation of their moral worth, I have never heard the term namus used



spontaneously by women (in contrast I often heard it used by men). Somebody may be described as "iyi bir kadın" [A good woman]; other terms used are "temiz" [clean], "pis" [dirty], "terbiyeli" [decent, well-bred], "terbiyesiz" [indecent, ill-bred], "yaramaz" [no good] and "ayıp" [shameful, disgraceful]. Women told me that namus refers explicitly to sexual conduct, and they considered it an old-fashioned term whose use is probably more current in the village than in a town such as Girne. The alternative designations refer to general aspects of character rather than exclusively to sexual behaviour: a young woman who is terbiyeli is respectful to her elders, greets her neighbours, attends her neighbours' mevlits, and so on. The infrequency with which namus is mentioned suggests both that sexual behaviour is seen as one aspect of character among many, rather than the overriding concern, and that ideas about sexual propriety have changed. Whilst it is accepted that there should be limits to girlfriend/boyfriend relationships (for example, holding hands and showing signs of affection in public should be restricted to couples who are engaged or "sözlu" - "promised" to each other) many women of all ages express tolerance in matters of sexual behaviour. In the opinion of some women this is merely a sign of changing times: customs have changed, young people these days are more "açık göz" [have their eyes wide open, are sharp] than in the past, and they have to cope with a world from which many of the old certainties have disappeared. Divorce is a common occurrence, and is more likely to be seen as a sign of a woman's unhappiness than as an indication that she is namussuz. Women told me that many marriages between Turkish Cypriot women and Turkish soldiers after 1974 ended in divorce when the woman was badly treated or abandoned by her husband, or discovered that he had another wife in Turkey, and such cases are viewed with sympathy. A woman who leaves a "good husband" (ie one who treats her well, has a good job, gives her plenty of money etc) for another man is less



likely to be viewed sympathetically; on the other hand, the steamy foreign soap operas which appear on television and are avidly watched by many women provide another standard for judging behaviour - the forces of passion, circumstance and sexual attraction are understood, though they may not be condoned.

Knowledge about foreign women who do not share the language, religion or cultural background of Turkish Cypriots is constructed from a combination of stereotype, observation, and information gleaned from the media and from the experiences and anecdotes of others. A common idea about European women is that virginity is not important to them, and this often leads to the assumption that they will not make faithful wives. But if a foreign woman behaves in a way which is terbiyeli reservations about her attitude to virginity will be dismissed unless they are reactivated by some subsequent impropriety. Terbiyeli behaviour by a foreigner includes showing respect, taking an interest in her neighbours, but also making an effort to learn the language and demonstrating a liking for Turkish Cypriot food. In cases where foreign women are not able to demonstrate that they are terbiyeli, their morality is in question.

Women's moral judgements reveal different priorities and a different range of referents from those of men. Russian and Rumanian women may be known from the neighbourhood as well as from the comments and opinions of newspapers and the men of the family, and women apply the standards of the neighbourhood to supplement the "knowledge" gleaned from other sources. In other words, women judge Russians and Rumanians as neighbours as well as in terms of their sexual reputation. I return to the case of Russian and Rumanian neighbours in a later section. In the next section I consider moral evaluations of women's employment in tourism.

## TOURISM: A WOMAN'S WORK?

When asked "What kind of jobs can women do?", Turkish Cypriot women's first response was usually "Anything". When this question was qualified along the lines of "Are there any jobs which are considered less suitable for women?", a distinction was generally made between professional and white collar work (more suitable), and less skilled work involving a degree of intimacy with clients (less suitable). Pharmacist, doctor, teacher, civil servant and bank employee were regularly listed as good jobs for women; objections were raised to nursing,<sup>11</sup> and some types of shop work when the shop is not family-owned.<sup>12</sup> Whereas women might be considered able to do "any job" in the sense that they can aim as high as men, these answers suggest that the job options of women without college or professional qualifications are limited by notions of respectability.

These considerations also apply in the field of tourism which, on the face of it, offers a wide range of employment opportunities for women. One woman who was in charge of housekeeping at a prestigious hotel said that she had faced opposition from her family when she had started working in hotels 20 years previously, because tourism was not considered respectable work for women; however, they had "turned a blind eye", because she had wanted to do the work, merely stipulating that her elder brother collect her from work every day. Today, it is particular jobs within tourism which sometimes raise family objections. The state hotel and tourism school offers all-round training in hotel and catering, mostly to graduates of "ortaokul" (middle school, ie non-high school graduates), which for women includes housekeeping, bar work and waitressing. For those women who do not have the language skills for reception work, family pressure is liable to ensure that their final choice of job lies in housekeeping and cleaning rather than bar or waitress work. One married woman who had been brought up in London returned to Cyprus



with her husband and ran a family cafe in a sea-side location. She commented that it was unusual in Cyprus for women to wait on customers at table: she considered the fact that she did so a sign of her difference - having been brought up in London, she didn't care what people think. Some women who have chosen bar work encounter initial resistance from home, but have persisted in their choice because they get considerable satisfaction from meeting the demands of competence and skill which their job requires. For married women, the objections of husbands are harder to overcome. Two women with language skills who were dissatisfied with their current office jobs had met opposition from husbands when they had suggested working as a hotel receptionist or tour guide. Sometimes the reasons for this resistance are not articulated, but expressed only as "There's no need for you to work". In other cases, the shift work - working at nights, unsteady or unsocial hours which are incompatible with family responsibilities and particularly childcare - or the difficulty of the work involved ("Do you think it's easy to be a tour guide?") are given as reasons.

Some comments reveal more specific concerns underlying these objections. A young woman from Turkey working as a secretary in a travel agency expressed the opinion that some jobs, such as airhostesses, waitresses and tour guides, are considered "ayıp" (shameful) because "people read things into the jobs and make assumptions about what the women do in their private lives". Cypriot women working in hotels also felt that women doing service and bar work are looked at askance, but disagreed that they were regarded as "ayıp": "People think it is men's work rather than women's work"; "It's because of the culture; Cypriots are very conservative"; "They're not used to seeing women doing these jobs".

Another perspective was given by a male tour guide who felt that a woman who was a good guide could not be a good wife. He argued that responsibility



for a tour group makes various heavy demands on a guide: keeping the group happy and together, dealing with awkward tourists, striking the right balance between sociability and professional distance, fending off sexual advances and coping with the many practical problems which can beset a group. In his opinion, a woman cannot switch off from these problems and brings them "into the bed" with her. According to a female tour guide, herself divorced, the qualities required of the tour guide are not compatible with the conventional woman's role in Turkish Cypriot society: women are not brought up to impose their personality on a mixed group, to be assertive or to make themselves heard. This view is really the obverse of the male tour guide's opinion: a woman who is a conventional "good wife" cannot be a good tour guide.

The issues surrounding women's work in tourism can be understood in terms of Douglas' analysis of body symbolism and social or community boundaries. Jobs which involve regular and prolonged contact with tourists, the provisioning of food, drink etc fall into the category of those "dangerous" activities which occur at the margin and which pose a particular threat when supplied by women. It is noticeable that the most effective resistance to women's employment comes from the husband. Traditional ideas about sexual honour and shame, encapsulated in the concept of namus, make men the ultimate guardians of their womenfolk's reputation - the impugning of a woman's honour simultaneously harms that of the men of the family. Ladbury makes the point that for a married woman tied to children and the home "... her circumstances are themselves a control over her, and the possibility of her losing shame is much reduced" (Ladbury 1979:147). In Cyprus 20 years on, some of the controls on single women have been relaxed, but a woman's domestic commitments provide an argument which can be forcefully deployed by men in order to avoid a situation which may have repercussions for their reputation.

There is a demand from the tourism industry for female labour, and also a demand from women for jobs in tourism, particularly as it is seen as the most dynamic sector of the economy with the most promising future. Various accommodations are possible between the sometimes conflicting requirements of job and reputation. In family-run hotels and guesthouses, female participation in the business occurs within the protection of the family environment; in travel agencies, women's work generally keeps them in the office doing ticketing or making telephone contacts, whilst men's work combines the traditional male pastime of "gezmeK" (to be out and about) with making the necessary outside contacts, collecting and delivering tickets etc. In large hotels, the day shift on reception is generally reserved for female staff. However, another strategy is the avoidance of some particularly problematic areas of work. Female tour guides are generally foreign, single or divorced; the only tourism businesses in Girne managed entirely by women are run by foreign women; and jobs in the entertainment field, whether as croupiers, waitresses in a taverna, singers, dancers or cabaret artistes, are performed by foreigners (although some Turkish Cypriot entertainers work in Turkey). Employment in the tourism sector in Girne, therefore, reveals a clear division of labour among women as well as between women and men.

#### RUMANIAN CROUPIERS

Several Turkish Cypriot business men have started to take advantage of the new economic opportunities offered by the opening up of former eastern bloc countries, and one line which has been developed is gambling. By law, Turkish Cypriots are not permitted to gamble in casinos in Northern Cyprus, and trips are organised to a casino in Moscow owned by Turkish Cypriot partners. A flow has also begun in the opposite direction of young women, mostly in their early twenties, to work in casinos in Northern Cyprus catering mainly to Turkish



tourists. Rumanian women are recruited in Bucharest through newspaper adverts or by friends and acquaintances who have themselves worked in the casinos. No previous experience is required, as training is given before starting work, and applicants are hired by the casinos' representatives on the basis of their appearance.

Rumanian women do not require a visa to enter Turkey, and make the journey to Istanbul by bus; from here they take the plane to Northern Cyprus. The women work on a one-year contract which specifies the casino for which they are working; work permits and permission to stay are agreed with the employer rather than the employee, so changing employer means that paperwork and permissions have to be obtained anew. Women are employed as dealers, chippers (handing out the chips for roulette) and inspectors (double checking the work of chippers and dealers on each table). Wages vary according to whether or not accommodation is provided from 100-200 pounds sterling per month plus tips, which are shared from a common pool on the basis of points allocated to particular jobs and which can amount to an extra 50% on top of the basic - an average local wage. Not stated in the contract is the requirement that the women obtain permission from their manager to be allowed to see certain people outside work. Relationships with men working at the casino are not permitted, and male friends from outside the casino are also supposed to be vetted. The explanation given for this is that women may be distracted (or show partiality) if a boyfriend comes into the casino while they are working, but another reason given is that the man may be married or have a bad reputation. A Turkish croupier working with Rumanians offered a slightly different interpretation: she said that the men working in the casinos all wanted to go out with the Rumanians - the rule on out of work contacts with colleagues is intended to preempt rivalry amongst the men; furthermore, "some people say that the girls are for sale ..." - hence the



restrictions on their contacts are to protect the reputation of the casino as much as that of the women.

The Rumanian women, on the other hand, have different attitudes to these restrictions. One saw the rules as a type of protection. She found the relations between the sexes very different from what she was used to in Rumania, and observed that what she would consider normal friendliness with a man would be misconstrued in Cyprus. She said that she had to be very serious at work so that men would not make the wrong assumptions about her, especially because of the reputation of Rumanian women: "Too many Rumanian girls come to do dirty things, especially in Turkey. People think all Rumanian girls are the same". The high visibility of Rumanian women in Girne means that it is hard to get away with flouting the rules about contacts outside work. One woman who was seen on the beach with a male colleague had her bonus points reduced, whilst the man was dismissed.

The women are doubly dependent on their employer, both for work and for permission to stay in Northern Cyprus. The organised recruitment and protection of the women by the casinos means that some formalities are waived, for example the requirement to have blood and health tests done before entering the country. A Rumanian travelling independently would have to show visa and health certificates before embarking on the plane in Istanbul, and in one case a woman returning from a holiday in Rumania who still had a current valid visa was required to take fresh tests and renew her health certificate in Istanbul at a cost of about 100 pounds sterling. The element of arbitrariness in the application of some of the rules means that the women are particularly vulnerable, and simultaneously increases the power of employers. A woman whose paperwork is not in order can be deported by ferry from Girne without notice and left without money in the southern Turkish port of Taşucu, unless her employer intervenes.

The pay and conditions of Rumanian (and Turkish) croupiers compares unfavourably with those of the qualified British croupiers who previously dominated the profession, and who were earning 100 pounds sterling per week five years ago (for working the tables and training other croupiers). The British women were not subject to the controls and restrictions on their social life as the Rumanians, and according to one who had worked as a croupier, "there would have been a strike if they'd tried to do that to us". Failing that, a British croupier who was dissatisfied with her job could leave and get another contract anywhere in the world without much difficulty. The situation of the Rumanians is very different. Motives for coming to Northern Cyprus to work combined the desire to travel and see the world with the priority of escaping the conditions of unemployment and poverty in Rumania. One of the croupiers said that she had earned as much in the previous month as she would have earned in a year in her former job as a waitress in Rumania. This young woman was sending home remittances to pay for her sister's education, and saving for a house in Rumania. Women also report that they enjoy the fresh air, scenery and climate of Cyprus, and enthused about their work, taking great pleasure in describing the intricacies of their job, the dexterity and mental agility required, and the challenge of playing against the customers: "You might not like it [the job], but I really enjoy it"; "I especially enjoy working on the roulette, it is really beautiful". Their employment, therefore, offers satisfactions on many levels, but even if this were not so, their options would be limited. Although there are nine casinos in and around Girne, the pay and conditions do not vary substantially, and in any case not all of them can sustain year-round business. Moreover, entry into other countries is not easy with a Rumanian passport, so the opportunities to find work elsewhere are limited.



From the point of view of casino owners, female croupiers make a casino more attractive, and foreign women add an extra touch of glamour, but in the case of Rumanian women, this is double-edged, because they are also seen as endangering the reputation and smooth-running of the casino. The potential dangers of this outsider group are contained by incorporating them within a framework of control which echoes the moral and gender norms of the community, and which can be applied effectively because of the vulnerability of the group.

#### RUMANIAN NEIGHBOURS

The comings and goings of a group of female croupiers living in an apartment block in a residential road were watched with interest by the neighbours. Every evening the young women would walk in a large group down the road to work, conspicuous in their uniforms of white blouse and black mini-skirt, laughing and talking together and paying no attention to the neighbours watching from their gardens and verandahs. The neighbours assumed that they were Russian and/or Rumanian because they "looked different" and because they did not recognise their language, although it was also remarked upon with surprise that there was a Turkish woman among them.

The opinions expressed about the women reflected the information gleaned from newspapers about "Natashas". An elderly male neighbour indicated a woman entering the local shop and observed: "She's Rumanian", adding, "They're dangerous, you know. [Why are they dangerous?] They're dangerous to young men's health - you know - every night they're out with a different one."

Several things suggested that the women were "yaramaz" [no good] apart from the "Natasha" association: the fact that they were in Cyprus without their family ("families don't send their daughters off to work alone in foreign countries"), the knowledge that the women were working in casinos, and



their failure to acknowledge their neighbours. The Turkish woman, on the other hand, would greet the neighbours with a respectful "iyi akşamlar ablacığım" [good evening, older sister], and stop to exchange comments on the garden. Her anomalous position caused some puzzlement; on the one hand, her association with the other women suggested that she was "terbiyesiz" [not decent], but this was contradicted by her good manners, and she was the only one of the women who was known by name. Apart from this, some things also suggested that the women were "pis" [dirty, meant in a moral sense]. It was widely known where the women were living; cars of men started to cruise the neighbourhood, and sometimes men would follow the women home from work in the early hours of the morning. There were diverging opinions about the men who were cruising the neighbourhood. Some women were sure that the men were illegal workers and condemned them as "pis". One older woman, however, referred to them as "bizim delikanlılar" [our young men] who were being led astray by the women. In her opinion, the men were only following their nature. "Imagine you are a man, single. Of course you look at women, and try and talk to them. If you are a terbiyeli [decent] woman, you look away, you don't talk back, or you just return their 'merhaba' [hello]. But if you say, [in English] 'hello, you are very nice', and invite them to your house, of course the young man will go".

Ladbury observes of the concept of namus that it indicates the existence of a community standard without defining it (Ladbury 1979). The changes in ideas about gender, sexuality and the lives of women do not mean that there is no longer a community standard, but it does seem that the parameters have widened. It is perhaps significant in this context that Turkish Cypriot women discussing objections to certain type of female employment in tourism specifically rejected terminology recalling "traditional" notions of namus (eg "ayıp", meaning shameful), and chose instead to phrase the discussion in

instrumental terms. Attitudes towards outsiders are, therefore, revealing; the process of trying to understand the outsider in terms of community standards highlights what those standards are and makes manifest the boundary between the community and the other.

The views expressed in the neighbourhood about the croupiers indicate the boundaries of tolerance of community standards. However, as neighbours, in particular women, became more accustomed to the presence of the croupiers in the street, the initially harsh judgements were softened. Concern was expressed for the safety of the girls walking home from work late at night. The difficult economic situation in Russia and Rumania was discussed with the comment "Napsın, çalışmalılar" [what can they do, they have to work]. As a group, however, Russian and Rumanian women exceed the bounds of acceptable female behaviour; in so doing, they show where the boundaries lie.

## CONCLUSIONS

The community standards embodied in concepts of honour and shame help to define outsiders in relation to insiders, "us" in relation to "them"; but they are also a way of incorporating the "outside". Peristiany writes of honour and shame in a Cypriot highland village:

Duties and one's own relative position are well defined in kinship relations and in those which may be assimilated to them, friendship, host-guest, and, in some contexts, community and nation. Outside these situations the Pitsillos is hard put to know how to act unless he can convert the unknown relation into a known one, the anonymous into the personal, the general to the particular. (Peristiany 1965: 188-189)

Peristiany's focus is on the male-mediated honour which creates the bridge between family and the extra-familial spheres of community and neighbourhood. In this chapter, his perspective has been widened by including in the picture the neighbourhood and women's input into the moral economy of the community. According to Pitt-Rivers (1977) strangers cannot be morally incorporated into



a host community because of their quality of being "unknown" - the rules of hospitality permit the normal rules of honour to be suspended. The material presented in this chapter, in contrast, demonstrates how "knowledge" about groups of outsiders is generated in line with existing moral categories, enabling them to be incorporated both practically and morally into the community framework; and it highlights the implications for how people think of "us" and "them".

Ideas about sexual danger express concerns about boundaries and indicate the perceived source of the threat. HIV can be seen as symbolic of the sexual danger of outsiders; at the same time, the local incidence of thalassaemia is a reminder of the dangers of marrying too closely within the community. These diseases carried in the blood can be seen as embodying the conflicting pressures between the outside and the inside. In the foregoing discussion I have suggested that, although Russian and Rumanian women are seen as a source of disorder and danger, they actually have a more complex role in helping to define community boundaries at a time of change in gender roles and expectations. In this they play a similar role to illegal Turkish workers, who represent the antithesis of medeni values. But at the same time they highlight the unresolved contradictions of women's position. The two aspects of female sexuality symbolised by Russians and Rumanians - deviant and unambiguously dangerous on the one hand, modern, attractive and ambiguous on the other - are present in constructions of gender and sexuality which also apply to Cypriot women. Russian and Rumanian women are an embodiment of the outsider within, a role which is illustrated by the way in which they are incorporated into "traditional" structures of authority and control - unlike mainland Turkish workers, who remain outside those structures.<sup>13</sup> In this sense, their situation is emblematic of women's position at the boundary,



where they function as symbolic markers both of medeni values and their limits.

But as tourism employees and as neighbours, women also function as social actors. The increasing participation of Turkish Cypriot women in tourism employment represents a relaxation in "traditional" restrictions in response to changes in the social and economic environment, but continues to be circumscribed in ways which reflect boundary concerns, and local women's crucial position as "insiders" at the margin. Russian and Rumanian women, on the other hand, are constituted both as "outsiders" and as a sexual/sexualised category by the formal border controls regulating their entry, and by the manner in which they are inserted into the tourism workforce, where they perform those jobs which it is not socially and culturally acceptable for Turkish Cypriot women to perform. Although in their neighbourhood roles they are seen as more than a sexual category, as neighbours they fall short of the mark and remain at the margins of community acceptability.

The arguments presented here offer an alternative perspective on the categories of inside and outside and the concept of culture as they usually appear in the tourism literature. Discussions of boundary strategies in tourism usually focus on how the relationship between insider/residents and outsider/tourists is managed, and its implications for cultural authenticity and change. Such analyses are implicitly rooted in and determined by the "cultural islands" model criticised by Eriksen, who also notes that "the idea of the world as a 'mosaic of cultures' ... [is] still a common metaphor in travel literature" (Eriksen 1993:142). But the cultural "products" marketed in tourism have referents in the social and economic relations which are formed across as well as within boundaries. As Goody contends, "the cultural is the social viewed from another perspective, not a distinct analytic entity" (Goody 1992:30); culture can only be theorised in terms of "particular

clusters of ways and products of thinking and acting" (ibid:30), rather than in terms of bounded communities. Tourism forms one such cluster in which boundaries are redrawn, categories rethought, and identities created.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

1. The victim was a foreign woman working in Northern Cyprus. Cf front-page articles in Kıbrıs 14/7/93 "Girne'nin bir köyünde tecavüz" [Rape in a Girne village]; 15/7/93 "Girne'de bir kadına tecavüz etmişlerdi: Tecavüzcüler tutuklandı" [Alleged to have raped a woman in Girne: rapists arrested] (with photos of the arrested men).
2. The issue of "Natashas" was taken up by the left-oriented opposition paper Yenidüzen, which implicitly accused the government of colluding in the admission and regulation of women engaged in an illegal activity (ie prostitution); cf 13/7/93 "Rus Romen Türk" [Russian Rumanian Turkish]. The paper's attack also reflected broader concerns about immigration policy and particularly the uncontrolled entry of Turkish workers who, in the belief of the journalist concerned, form the majority of the "Natashas'" clients (personal communication). Later articles (eg 19/8/93 "Nataşalar karşısında suçluyuz" [We are guilty in respect of the Natashas] and 31/8/93 "Nataşalar'la dobra dobra" [Face to face with the Natashas]) highlighted the plight of the Natashas, suggesting that the women are themselves victims and scapegoats. The 19/8/93 article, written by a woman, argued that the guilt for the situation was shared by the people and conditions who pushed the women into prostitution, those who use them for their pleasure, the authorities who license them, and "all of us who allow people to be



used as property for pleasure". "İşte o sessiz kalanlar yani bizler de suçluyuz Nataşalar karşısında" [So those who remain silent - that is, us - are also guilty in respect of the Natashas].

3. Cf articles in Kıbrıs: 10/3/93 "Zührevi hastalıklarda hortalama tehlikesi" [VD epidemic danger]; 3/8/93 "Nataşa için hırsızlık" [Stealing for Natasha].
4. Informants also said that the local women they had known who had worked as hostesses were marked out as social outcasts before they started because of their background and lifestyle.
5. Cf two articles appearing in Kıbrıs during summer 1993: "Ah şu gençler!" [Oh those youngsters!] about young locals, London Cypriots and tourists at a disco; and "Ah şu Rus kızları!" [Oh those Russian girls!] about Russian cabaret artistes appearing in local hotels.
6. Although not strictly "marrying out" (in the sense of taking a non-Moslem husband), a famous exception to the general pattern is provided by the practice, earlier this century, of marrying Turkish Cypriot girls from poor families to Arabs from Palestine and Syria. Cf Haşmet Gürkhan's article "Araplara Satılan Türk Kızları" [The Turkish Girls who were Sold to Arabs] (Gürkhan 1986:155-171).
7. Loizos also observed that Greek Cypriot men in the village of Argaki made a lot of noise when approaching a house at night, and suggests that this was to avert the suspicion that they were up to no good (Loizos 1981:29).
8. I heard the term "şeref" - honour in its "experience distant" (Wikan

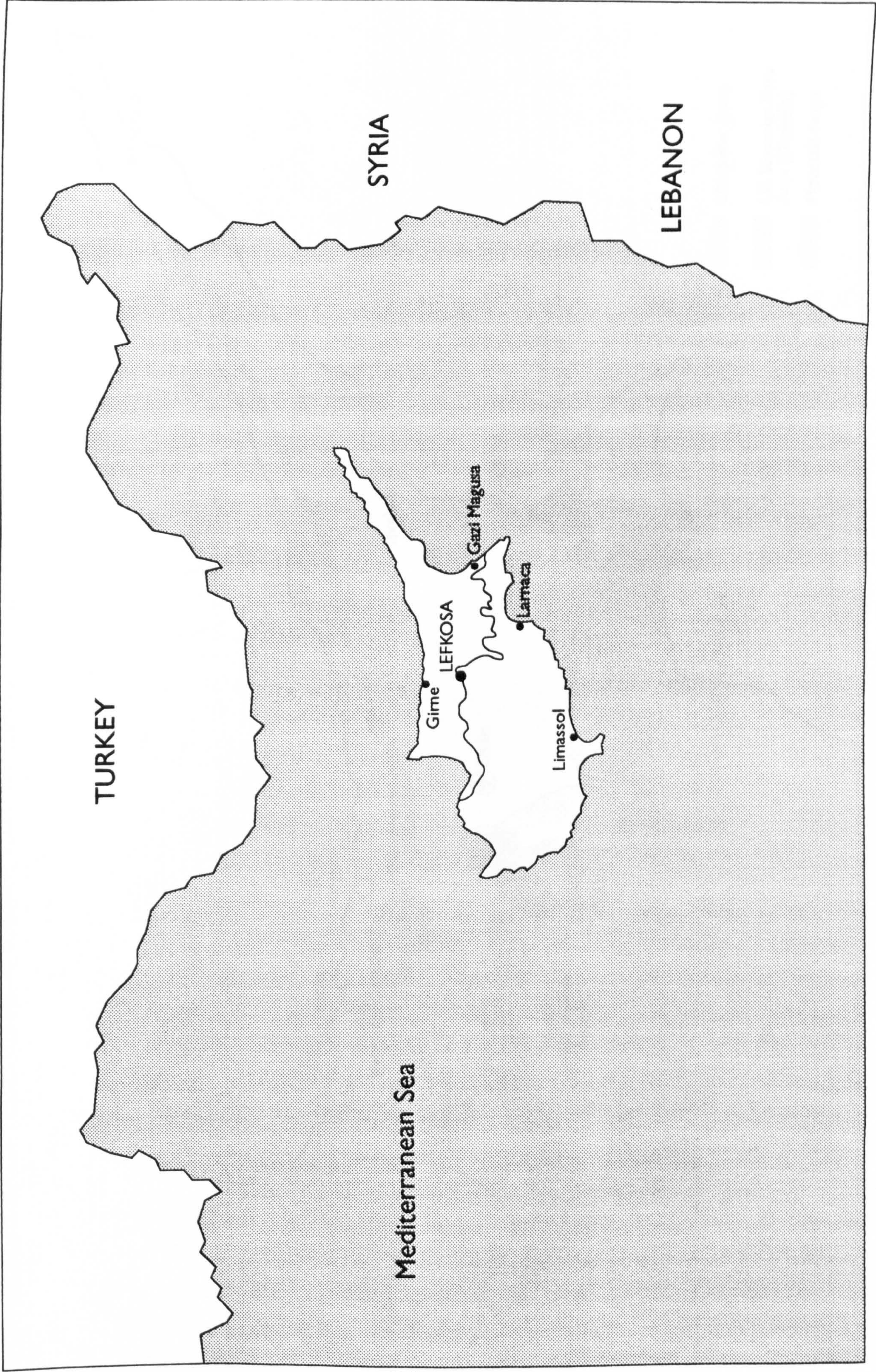


1984) aspect - used only once during fieldwork, and that by a woman explaining why she had fallen out with her son's mother-in-law. The other woman had accused her of "menfaat" [self-interest] in an incident involving her son, and my informant had never visited her since because, she told me "Şerefim var" [I have my honour (in the sense of dignity)].

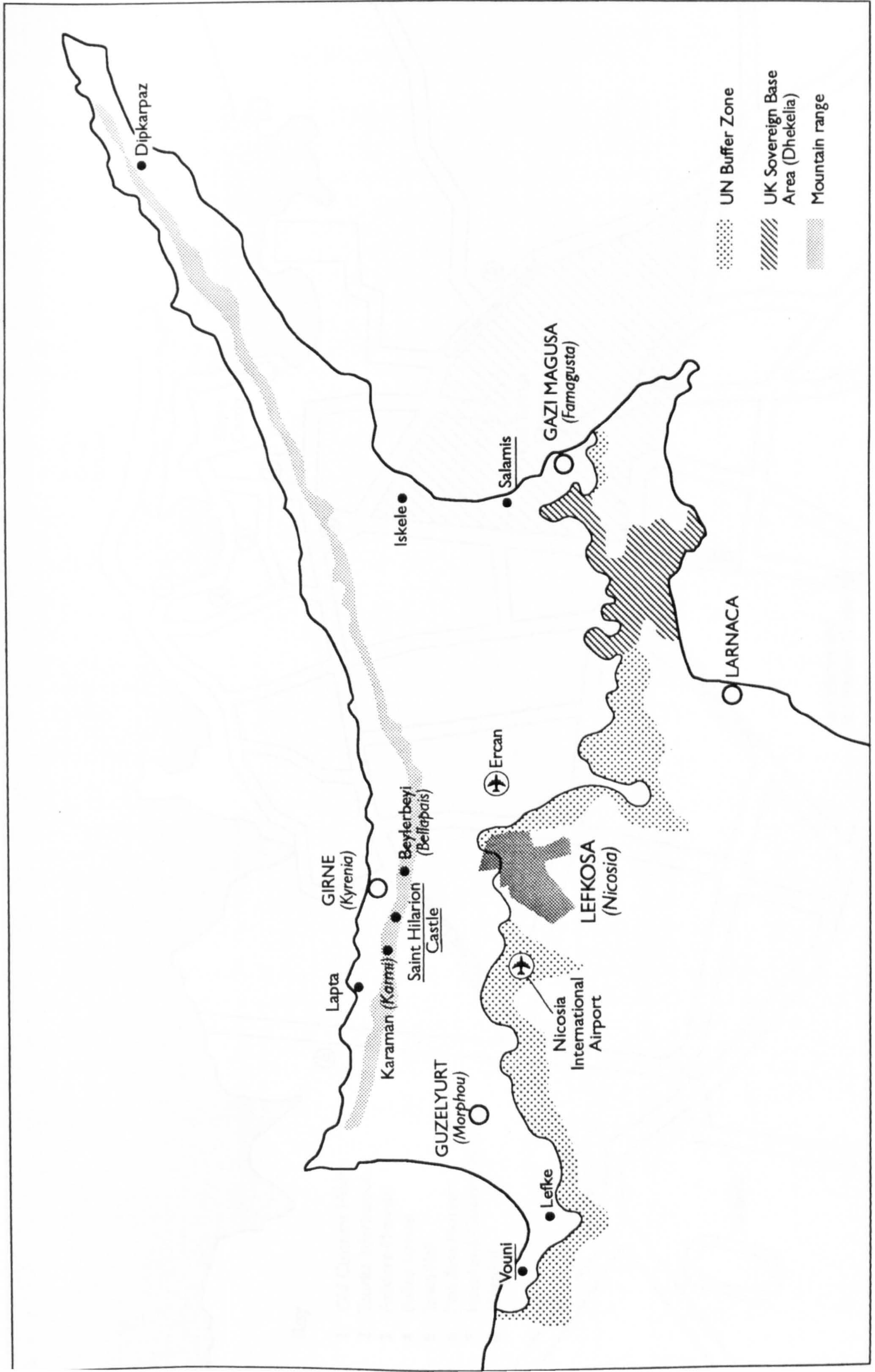
9. Such men are often referred to as "boynuzlu" [horned, cuckold] or "pesevenk" [pimp] even when there is no suggestion of adultery or it is a daughter, rather than a wife, who is "at fault".
10. The neighbourhood is not such an important focus for many women who go out to work. However, the continuing custom of building a house or flat for a married son or daughter adjoining or above the parental home means that women are drawn into the ambit of neighbourhood relations through their mother or mother-in-law, even when they do not personally have close relationships with neighbours; and many women who have moved away retain close links with their mother's neighbourhood, often eating there after work and leaving the children in their grandmother's care during the day. Moreover, as a general rule, all the women of the neighbourhood participate in such life-crisis rituals as mevlit (all-female ceremonies held in the home) on the death of a neighbour, or weddings, engagements and circumcision celebrations. Whether or not they try to distance themselves, the character, qualities and behaviour of individual women cannot altogether escape the judgement of the neighbourhood.

11. Loizos notes a similar aversion to nursing amongst Greek Cypriots:  
"Certain jobs were looked down on by all, such as nursing, which involved work among strangers, and coming into intimate physical contact with strangers; the 'service' element carried no honour - quite the reverse" (Loizos 1981:29).
12. An objection raised towards working in shops was that "you get all sorts coming in".
13. The commonly expressed opinion was that they "live like animals" ie outside "human" society.



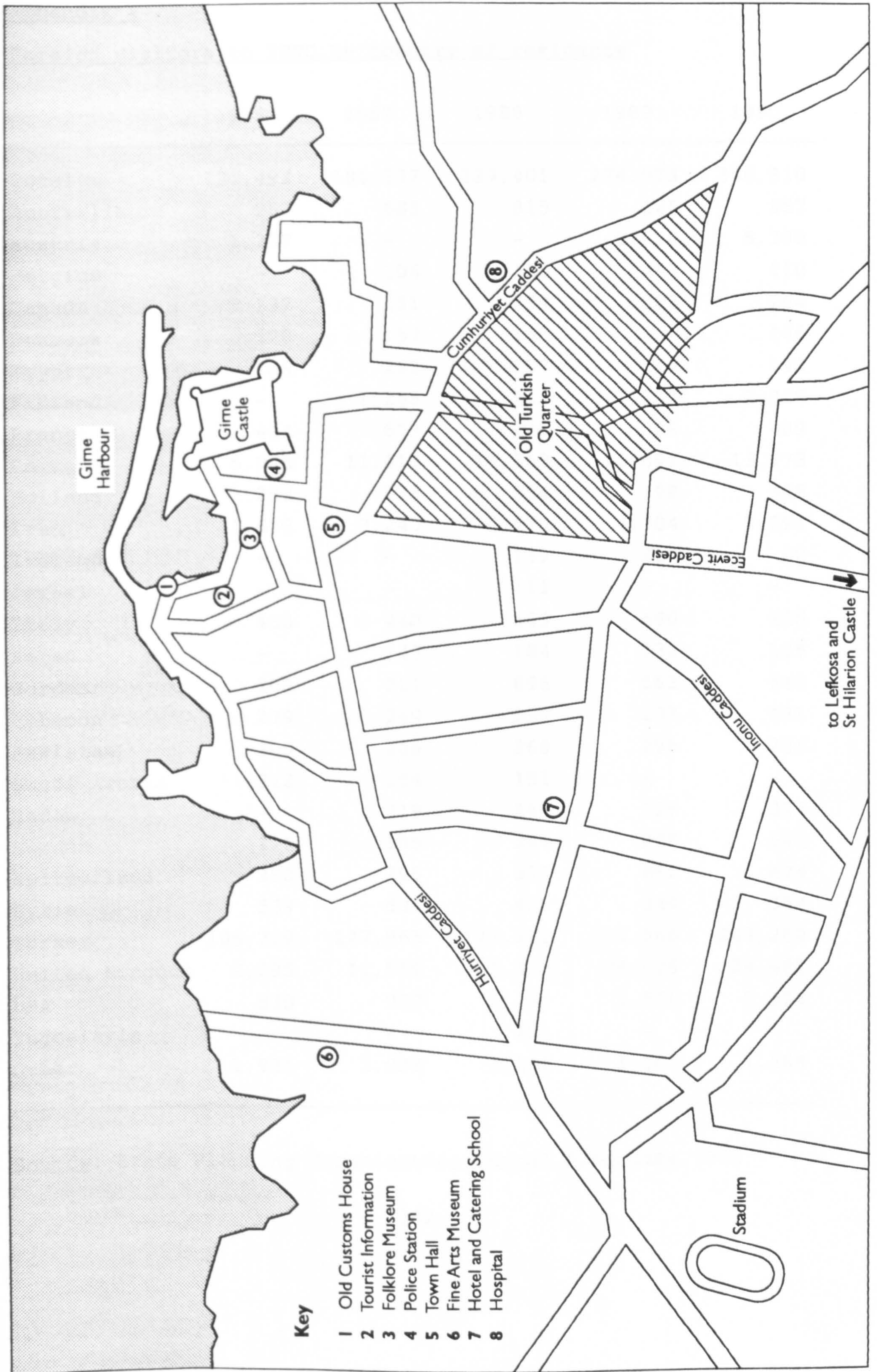






**APPENDIX 2: NORTHERN CYPRUS** (showing places mentioned in the text)





**Key**

- 1 Old Customs House
- 2 Tourist Information
- 3 Folklore Museum
- 4 Police Station
- 5 Town Hall
- 6 Fine Arts Museum
- 7 Hotel and Catering School
- 8 Hospital



Appendix 4Foreign visitors to TRNC by country of residence

	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Total	131,492	184,337	229,401	274,073	300,810
Australia	257	685	815	685	957
Austria	1,237	-	-	3,650	5,396
Belgium	-	106	155	247	110
Canada	137	151	239	227	204
Denmark	120	157	185	-	166
Egypt	188	262	197	214	143
Finland	-	1,268	1,315	1,397	2,015
France	444	607	725	588	489
Germany	6,946	11,010	14,563	15,897	13,973
Holland	252	278	554	599	348
Iran	1,639	3,240	4,470	4,704	2,094
Ireland	-	-	119	217	60
Israel	-	-	111	-	-
Italy	488	440	683	690	936
Japan	-	143	104	132	135
Jordan	200	201	696	663	648
Lebenon	279	249	239	232	181
Pakistan	305	206	268	296	284
Saudi Arabia	312	104	151	-	-
Sudan	-	219	244	226	324
Sweden	113	105	344	288	543
Switzerland	250	396	376	862	674
Syria	539	531	489	349	368
Turkey	105,729	147,965	173,351	214,566	243,269
United Kingdom	9,295	11,558	21,373	24,026	24,482
USA	830	920	1,421	1,631	1,604
Yugoslavia	-	-	222	-	-
Other	1,931	2,028	3,332	1,687	1,368

Source: State Planning Organisation Annual Programme 1992

Appendix 5

Percentage distribution of GDP by sector

Sectors	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992*
Agriculture	12.1	12.1	10.9	9.2	8.9	11.9
Industry	11.4	11.7	14.0	13.7	14.3	13.8
Construction	8.1	7.7	7.7	7.3	8.3	8.1
Trade	18.7	18.1	18.5	19.2	18.4	18.5
Wholesale & retail	16.7	15.8	16.4	16.9	16.4	16.5
Hotels & restaurants	2.0	2.3	2.1	2.3	2.0	2.0
Transport & communications	10.9	11.6	11.6	11.4	10.4	10.0
Financial institutions	4.4	4.4	4.4	4.5	5.0	4.8
Ownership of dwellings	6.3	6.0	5.7	5.5	5.9	5.7
Professional services	3.6	3.6	3.6	3.7	4.1	4.1
Public services	21.2	20.0	18.8	18.4	19.9	18.9
Import duties	3.3	4.8	4.8	7.1	4.8	4.2
GDP	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: State Planning Organisation (Third Five Year Plan 1993-1997)

\* Figures given for 1992 are estimated percentages



Appendix 6Sectoral Employment and Population

Sectors	1982		1990	
	No. employed	%EAP*	No. employed	%EAP*
Agriculture	21,208	37.3	19,094	26.7
Industry	(5,700)	(10.0)	(8,034)	(11.3)
Manufacturing	4,813	8.5	6,845	9.6
Electricity & water	887	1.6	1,189	1.7
Construction	3,567	6.3	7,451	10.4
Trade & tourism	(5,060)	(8.9)	(6,942)	(9.7)
Wholesale & retail	4,220	7.4	5,172	7.2
Hotels & restaurants	840	1.5	1,770	2.5
Transport & communication	3,338	5.9	5,728	8.0
Financial institutions	1,250	2.2	1,968	2.8
Professional & other services	4,168	7.3	6,329	8.8
Public services (inc. state economic enterprises and municipalities)	12,500	22.0	15,979	22.3
Total EAP*	56,791	100.0	71,525	100.0
Unemployed	1,421		849	
Total population	153,239		171,469	

Source: State Planning Organisation (taken from Olgun 1993:274)

\*EAP: economically active population

Public services (state economic enterprises) includes tourism employees in state-sector hotels

Appendix 7

Accommodation establishments by regions: 1992

	Hotels	Guesthouses	Hotel-Apt and other	Total
<hr/>				
<u>Girne region</u>				
No. of units	20	10	27	57
No. of beds	1860	226	2272	4358
<u>G. Maqusa region</u>				
No. of units	10	3	8	21
No. of beds	1728	78	544	2350
<u>Lefkosa region</u>				
No. of units	3	5	-	8
No. of beds	226	153	-	379
<u>Total</u>				
No. of units	33	18	35	86
No. of beds	3814	457	2816	7087

Source: Tourism Planning Office, Tourism Statistics 1992



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