Women of Deryneia, in Cyprus and Melbourne: Ethnographic and Historical Perspectives on Social Change, Transnationalism and Women's Agency

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Table of Contents

List of Maps

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter Four

Chapter Six

Chapter Seven

Abbreviations

ABS Australia Bureau of Statistics

AG Australian Government

AKEL Progressive Party of Working People (commonly known as the Cyprus Communist party)

ASIO Australian Security Intelligence Organisation

AUSCON Austrian Contingent of the UN Peace-keeping force in Cyprus

CBB *The Cyprus Blue Book*

CG *Cyprus Gazette*

CCG Cyprus Colonial Government

CO Great Britain Colonial Office

CSRC Cyprus Social Research Centre

EEC European Economic Community

EOKA National Organization of Cypriot Fighters

EU European Union

RC Republic of Cyprus

GOC Greek Orthodox Community (in Australia)

SA1 State Archives of the Republic of Cyprus

SLC *The Statute Laws of Cyprus*

NAA National Archives of Australia

TNA The National Archives of the UK

TNA: PRO The National Archives of the UK: Public Record Office

UN United Nations

UNFICYP United Nations Peace keeping Force in Cyprus

UNS United Nations Security Council

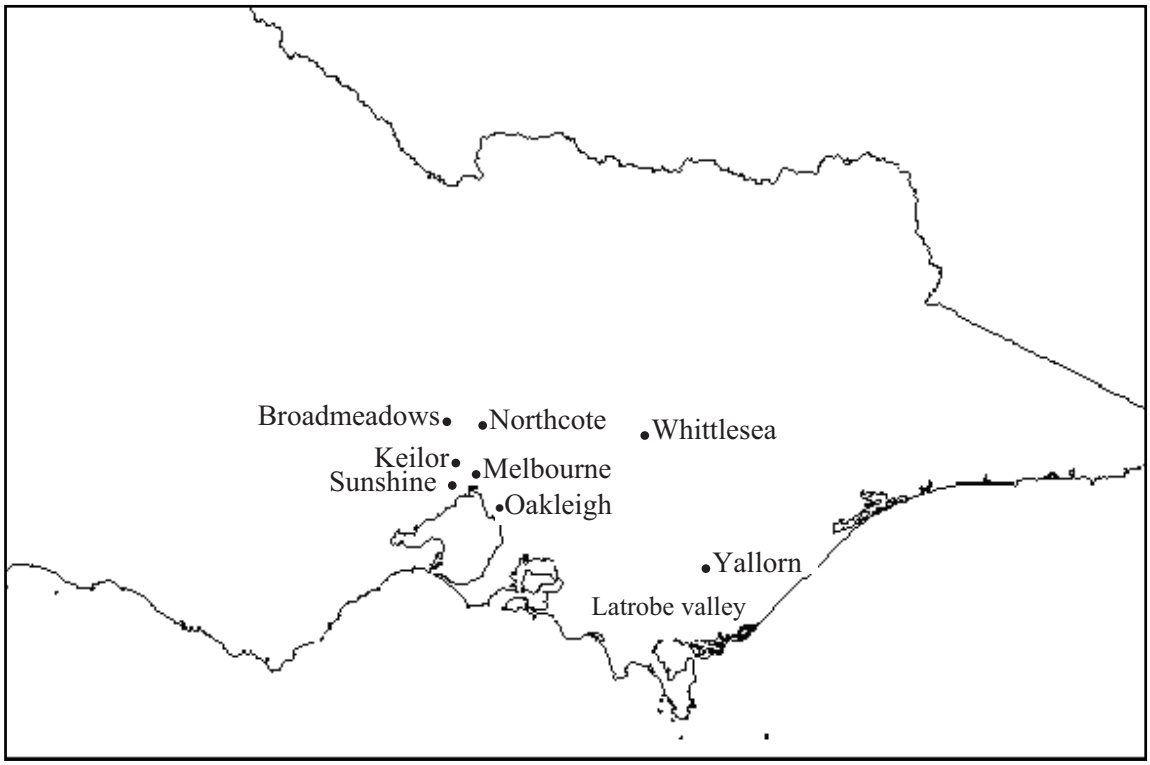
VEAC Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission

Glossary

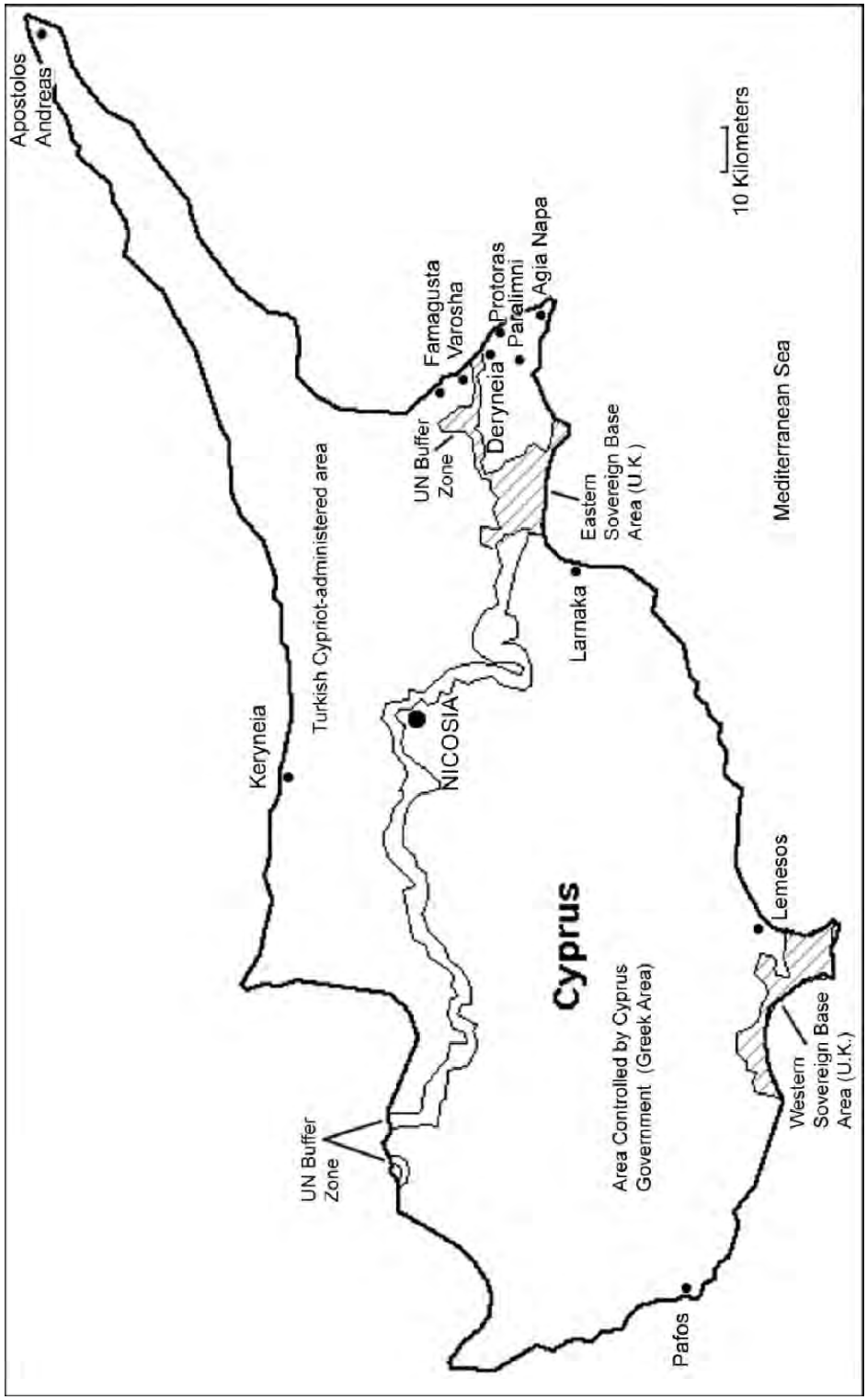
ambelopoulia	pickled small birds
anari	a soft curd (like a ricotta cheese)
avgolemono	chicken broth with rice, egg and lemon
avgotes	eggs inset with buns used at Easter
donums	a land measurement
dosame logo	we gave [our] word denotes betrothal
dropi/ entropi	shame
enosis	union with Greece
filotimo	honour
flaounes	short-crust pastries with cheese, sultanas & egg
gliko	a rich syrupy sweet of preserved fruit
halloumi	a type of cheese made of goat or sheep milk
horiates/ horiataioi	peasants
horiatissa	peasant woman
houartas	big spender
iconostasio	icon stand
kafeneio/ kafeneia	coffeehouse/ coffeehouses
kali yinaika	a good woman
kalos anthropos	a good man
kapnisman	smoking (purification ritual)
kapnistirin	censer
kipriako sistima	Cypriot system
Kokkinohoria	Red Soil Villages
kolliva	boiled wheat mixed with dried fruit, pomegranate & nuts
koumera/ koumbaros	matron of honour/ best man
kouniada [sing.]/ *kouniades* [pl.]	sister-in-law (spouse's sister)
livani	incense
mandili	scarf
mati	eye
matiasma	evil eye
mavri	black
mnimosino	memorial service

mouktaris	village headman
Nekri Zoni	the Dead Zone or No man's land
nouna	godmother
Panayia	Virgin Mary (Mother Mary) or All Holy One
panera	basket
papadia	priest's wife
papas	priest
parthenia	virginity
perivoli	market garden
proikosimfono	marriage contract
i prokia/ ta proikia	dowry/ trousseau
prosfora	bread blessed by a priest (apart from the sacrament)
proxenia	bringing-about or matchmaking
proxenitria/ proxenitis	female/ male matchmakers
saloni	drawing room denotes best sitting room
simbethera/ simbetheros [sing.]	in-law (feminine)/ in-law (masculine)
simbetheroi	in-laws
sinifissa	sister-in-law (husband's brother's wife)
stefanoman	crowning (with wedding garlands)
timi	women's honour
trahanas	cracked wheat, milk and yogurt
xeni [sing.]/ *xenes* [pl.]	foreigner, stranger or outsider (feminine)
xenos [sing.]/ *xenoi* [pl.]	foreigner, stranger or outsider (masculine)
zosimon	ritual tying/ untying scarf or sash

Map 1: Australia



Map 2: Victoria


Apostolos Andreas
Keryneia
Turkish Cypriot-administered area
UN Buffer Zone
NICOSIA
Famagusta
Varosha
UN Buffer Zone
Deryneia
Protoras
Paralimni
Agia Napa
Eastern Sovereign Base Area (U.K.)
Larnaka
Cyprus
Area Controlled by Cyprus Government (Greek Area)
Lemesos
Western Sovereign Base Area (U.K.)
Pafos
Mediterranean Sea
10 Kilometers

Map 3: Cyprus

Abstract

This dissertation is a comparative analysis of contemporary Greek Cypriot women in Australia and Cyprus. It is an ethnographic and historical study of Greek Cypriot women living in the two locations, who are linked by a shared historical background, kinship and cultural identity. The women all have a connection to the village of Deryneia, situated on the United Nations controlled buffer zone, in the south east of Cyprus. Ethnographic fieldwork was conducted in Deryneia and Melbourne between 2001 and 2003.

In recent decades the dynamic relationship between migrants and their 'homeland' has been a topic of much interest in transnational research. Many studies primarily focus on those who have left their homeland and maintain links with it. Whilst this has been an important development in migration studies, all too often the place of origin as a site of ongoing social change has been overlooked. While transnational ties are important to Cypriots in the homeland and the diaspora, their experiences are always mediated through their local and historical context.

This comparative analysis centres on what it means to be *kali yinaika* (a 'good' woman). It provides a means of understanding social change and the transformation of practices amongst two groups of Cypriot women who share similar gendered identities. Ideas about what it is to be *kali yinaika* are fluid and yet often appear to be static. Women contribute both independently and in interactions with men to ideas of what it is to be *kali yinaika* in their communities. Ideas about what constitutes this are intersected by social markers such as age, ethnicity, class, education level, and exposure to unorthodox values.

The analysis of contemporary Greek Cypriot women is framed by the general history of women in Cyprus and Australia. By focusing on their education, work, marriage, and religious practices this dissertation explores how women are instrumental in producing gendered and cultural identities. The research contributes to a greater understanding of Greek Cypriot women in Melbourne and women in Deryneia and allows for an insight into the migration experience, the history of these communities, identity construction, transnational ties and most importantly women's agency. This is the first anthropological study of Greek Cypriot women in Melbourne, Australia and of women in the village of Deryneia.

Acknowledgments

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I would like to dedicate this research to my deceased father Peter Dawson, my departed friend Bessie Ierodiaconou and my *pappou* George Ierodiaconou who inspired this research.

Statement of Authorship

Except where reference is made in the text of this thesis, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma.

No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgement in the main text of the thesis.

This thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

All research reported in this thesis was approved by La Trobe University Human Ethics Committee, Research Ethics and Integrity, B/524/ANTHSOC/01/PhD/UQPR

Ann-Maree Dawson

Introduction

In the late 1940s my mother's parents decided to leave their village of Deryneia, Cyprus (Map 1), in search of better prospects after failing to sell their crop of vegetables. Like many impoverished Cypriot farmers they migrated to Melbourne, Australia (Map 2, Map 3), the first country that accepted their application. My late grandfather, who left for Australia first, told me that he had had no option but to leave because the 'English bastards' had denied him a livelihood. With her husband in Australia, my grandmother, like many other Cypriot women at the time, remained in Cyprus for another two years with her three small children until they were also granted resident visas for Australia. She made only a subsistence living, working in the fields and bartering her crop for essential goods and services, while also caring for her children. Today she still remembers her chronic back pain from harvesting potatoes and other hardships, and says it was 'just what we had to do to survive.'

It seemed curious to me that emigrants like my grandparents left their homeland to escape British colonial rule only to enter another British colony. For my grandparents, however, there was no contradiction in this. They had heard many stories about how one could make money in Australia and that it was a country of boundless opportunities. Even so, they both had every intention of returning to their homeland, but like many other migrants they only ever returned to visit, decades later.[1]

Throughout my youth my grandparents portrayed Cyprus as a paradise of golden beaches and an abundance of fresh fruit and vegetables. On their return visits, they collected vegetable seeds and smuggled them into Australia; as my grandmother declared: 'You can't get real vegetables in Australia like in Cyprus.'

[1] 'Homeland' is an ambiguous concept, which I discuss in depth in Chapter Three.

My mother, the eldest of five siblings, was only five years old when she came to Melbourne. In 1969 she married my father, an Australian-born Irish Catholic. She met much opposition from her parents, as they expected her to marry a Cypriot and had previously tried to arrange her marriage to an Australian Greek Cypriot.[2] Despite this initial hostility, during my childhood we attended many Greek Cypriot functions, such as baptisms, weddings, community dances and picnics. But my connection with Greek Cypriots (as was the case for most of my Australian informants) was primarily based on kinship ties.

My choice of ethnographic site was therefore obviously influenced by my part-Cypriot heritage. This meant that in the field, I was treated as both outsider and insider at various times. This background also shaped my interactions with informants and the themes explored in this dissertation. In particular, I was puzzled as to why my mother had such a difficult time growing up as a Cypriot woman in Australia.[3] Was her experience similar to other Australian Cypriot women, or indeed for women in Cyprus? Questions like these guided my research and led me to focus on Cypriot women, in Melbourne and Deryneia.

The experiences of women in my 'Cypriot family,' in Australia and Cyprus, and those of my mother's Cypriot friends, were influential and have been instrumental in my understanding of the dynamics of gender. For example, I wanted to understand why my mother's Cypriot friend Maria was the subject of frequent gossip at Cypriot functions in Melbourne that my family attended when I was growing up. Maria, who was married to a Cypriot, had lived in the same street as my mother throughout their

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[2] She was married in a Catholic church, to the horror of her parents and extended family. My paternal grandmother was also upset that her son was marrying an 'undesirable, non-white.'

[3] My mother claims that her parents were very strict and in order to go out with friends she would have to concoct elaborate lies or be escorted by her brothers. One of her younger sisters, however, said that unlike my mother, she had no such problems.

childhood, and my mother was also her daughter's *nouna* (godmother), a bond which created a close relationship.[4]

Cypriot women often discussed the way Maria dressed and danced. She usually wore sexy dresses that partly revealed her breasts and my grandmother often remarked that this was disgusting. My mother's aunts claimed that she danced too provocatively and even worse, often partook in male-only dances. These comments suggested that there were certain ways of being 'Cypriot,' and in particular, ways of being 'a good Cypriot woman.' Was this the same in the homeland? It was only when I conducted my ethnographic research that I understood the crucial importance of the concept of *kali yinaika* (a good woman), against which women like Maria were judged.

Ideas about what makes *kali yinaika* relate to women's sexuality and inform the way women behave. It is a cultural idea that can determine a woman's acceptance in her community. Although this idea features in almost every aspect of Cypriot women's lives, how different women and men interpret what it is to become *kali yinaika* can vary. This dissertation compares the experiences of women in Melbourne and the homeland in order to determine the meaning of what it is to become *kali yinaika*.[5]

Cypriot Women

> The men are, as a rule, tall and handsome, but the women very rarely so, and, after the age of sixteen or thereabouts, it is impossible to say what age they are. A woman who looks at least fifty is probably only half that age (Stewart 1908: 119).

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[4] Maria was one of a few second generation Australian Cypriots I knew who had lived in Cyprus. Her family had moved back there in the late 1980s. However, they returned to Australia again after three years, as Maria said that she was treated as an 'outsider' in her husband's village, which made her very lonely there.

[5] Maria Strintzos (1984: 2) has studied second generation Australian Greek school girls and argues that according to the codes of honour daughters are expected to be 'good Greek girls.' In Australia she shows how Australian Greeks girls are classified as either 'good' or 'bad,' the former are expected to demonstrate deference and respect for parents, and display chastity and domesticity.

Basil Stewart's 1908 observations of Cypriot women exemplify some of the tropes used by travel writers and other foreigners during British colonial rule (1878-1960) in Cyprus. These narratives were part of a long tradition that viewed Cypriot women as 'unseemly,' and 'backwards,' and saw Cypriot men as more 'refined' and 'modern.' For centuries, conflicting representations of Cypriot women's appearance and behaviour have coexisted (see Given 2002). Modest Cypriot women were supposed to aspire to be like the mythical goddess of love, Aphrodite, known for her beauty and exuberant sexuality, and whose birthplace is said to be Cyprus. While writers like Stewart made a few references to Cypriot women, the main colonial writings on Cyprus, its people and history, often read as though women did not exist.

Almost 100 years after Stewart's book, we still find that Greek Cypriot women are often excluded from the literature on Cypriots, or at best appear incidentally. A recent article by historian Anastasios Tamis (2005a) on the establishment of Cypriot communities in the diaspora is a case in point. Although his article is insightful, his historical construction of the 'Cypriot diaspora' portrays women as insignificant to their communities' development. With only a reference to their philanthropic work (stereotypical of women's involvement in communities) and a few references to Greek Cypriot women writers and one visual artist, the reader could be forgiven for thinking that the development of diasporic communities rested on its 'pioneering' men, while women contributed little.

My research is about some of these forgotten women. This study focuses on women from the village of Deryneia, on the east coast of southern Cyprus, and diasporic Cypriots who live in Melbourne, Australia, but have connections with Deryneia.[6] This account of women's agency, their status and roles analyses in particular

[6] I do not look at Turkish Cypriots or any other ethnic group in Cyprus, as my informants were all Greek Cypriot, and the village Deryneia, in which I did some of my fieldwork, had no Turkish Cypriot residents. When I use the term Cypriot, I am using it as shorthand to refer to Greek Cypriots.

the manner in which Cypriot women negotiate their cultural practices in these locations. I compare Cypriot women's lives in Melbourne and Deryneia in the early 21st century in order to present insights into the transformation of social practices of two groups of women who share similar cultural identities. My study is concerned with the broader questions of how migration affects women and the extent to which transnational ties influence their lives in both the diaspora and the homeland. Before discussing the main theoretical and methodological concerns of the study, I provide a brief overview of the literature on Cyprus and its diaspora, with particular focus on those scholars who have influenced my research.

Literature on Cyprus: Anthropological and Sociological Readings

The first anthropologists who worked on Mediterranean communities were preoccupied with ideologies of honour and shame (Gilmore 1987; Peristiany 1966). One of the first ethnographic works undertaken in Cyprus was by John Peristiany in the 1950s. He argued that honour and shame beliefs were 'social evaluations' at the heart of Cypriot society, and they determined a person's acceptance in the community (Peristiany 1966: 9). His observations of the honour system shaped the theoretical and methodological approaches of anthropologists that followed him into the region.

For Peristiany, the honour system is primarily about competition among men. In short, a family's honour is the prime responsibility of the male head. It is a man's duty within his immediate family to ensure that women's honour is protected. Although Peristiany does not deny the effect of women's role within this system, he privileges sexual modesty as the focus for evaluations of women's honour. Peristiany neglects the status games played among women and the ways in which they acquire status within the honour system. This study redresses this omission and demonstrates that women's actions are essential for the functioning of the honour system, among women and more

broadly. Women as social actors also contest and subvert the rigid prescriptions of this essentially patriarchal discourse (see Chapters Six and Seven).

While Peristiany failed to accord real significance to women's role in the honour system, he does demonstrate how these beliefs and practices restrict and influence the social behaviour of individuals in their communities. Honour and shame beliefs were not only moral codes but also social ones.

Sociologist Floya Anthias distinguishes between two types of honour: women's *timi* (honour) and men's *filotimo* (honour).[7] Anthias (1992: 82) argues that in Cyprus, women's honour 'denotes sexual innocence, obedience and domesticity,' while men's honour reflects ideas about masculinity and is associated with their role as economic providers for the family. She asserts that in public men are expected to dominate their wives (Anthias 1992: 82-83). In order not to bring *dropi* (shame) to themselves and their family, women and men are expected to uphold these codes.

Michael Herzfeld (1980) noted that these discourses must be contextualised in time and in their local settings. Herzfeld's observations raise interesting questions for my study, especially about the meaning of honour and shame discourses in the context of migration histories and the influence of transnational connections on these discourses. Through exploring the lives of Greek Cypriot women in two locations, I highlight how these codes are expressed and manifested in the homeland and in the country of migration.

During the 1970s an increasing number of social scientists undertook research in Cyprus. The three most prominent studies were Peter Loizos' (1975) ethnography in the village of Argaki (alias Kalo);[8] a study by Markides, Nikita and Rangou (1978) in the

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[7] However, Dubisch (1995) found, in Greece, instances in which *filotimo* also applies to women.

[8] In his first ethnography, he used the pseudonym Kalo but revealed the name of the village in his second ethnography, when it came under Turkish rule in 1974 and his informants became refugees.

village Lysi, and Michael Attalides' (1981) study in the capital city Nicosia. These examined the effects of modernity and growing urbanisation, and demonstrated how the modernisation of agriculture and education greatly impacted on the population.

Markides *et al.* (1978) argues that as a result of modernisation, Cyprus moved from being a 'traditional' to a 'modern' society, and this, they conclude, led to the abandonment or modification of particular traditions. In their study, the process of modernity is analysed within a binary opposition between traditional and modern. However, more recent studies demonstrate the limitations of such rigid conceptualisation (see Argyrou 1996; Christou 2006), especially in the light of women's cultural practices.

The work by Markides *et al.* is nevertheless invaluable in documenting social change, and particularly pertinent is their insight into rituals performed by women (such as those surrounding childbirth) that are no longer practiced in Cyprus. Lysi, a village now in the north of Cyprus, under Turkish rule, can be used with other ethnographies to compare regional variations.

Attalides' (1981) ethnographic work heralded a new direction for research in Cyprus. One of the main consequences of his work was that it revealed the short-comings of previous studies that had overlooked the connections between people in urban and rural communities. Especially important were the extensions of kinship and village networks into urban areas, and the complex associations in terms of social and business interdependencies. In essence, he demonstrated the problems associated with making clear demarcations between urban and rural communities.[9]

However, both Markides *et al.* and Attalides' studies also largely overlooked Cypriot women's subjectivity and failed to consider them as social agents. Neither study

[9] For Greece, Margaret Kenna (1993) has shown the complexity of the urban and rural divide, and the continuing influence that internal migrants have on their place of origin and vice versa. Her work highlights how these ties influence social change.

questioned the construction of gender, nor how this affects women's lives, nor the interconnections between gender and class construction.

Loizos' ethnographies, most notably *The Greek gift: politics in a Cypriot village* (1975) and *The heart grows bitter: a chronicle of Cypriot war refugees* (1981), are arguably the most influential anthropological works still shaping research on Cyprus. His first ethnography focuses on the intersection of daily life and political structures in the village of Argaki, and documents pivotal moments in Argaki's history before the 1974 Cyprus war.[10] His second ethnography follows his informants' paths as refugees after Argaki came under Turkish rule. He eloquently captures the experiences of refugees in the immediate years following 1974 and the reconstruction of their identities as a consequence of their refugee status.[11]

While his first ethnography has a more conventional ethnographic format, Loizos' second study, written before 1981, was at the forefront of developing a new genre of 'experimental ethnography.' His ethnography employs elements of self-reflexivity and dialogic writing, and most interesting is his incorporation of extracts from the personal diary of a young woman informant who recorded events during the 1974 war. Loizos' methodology however, largely fails to engage with anthropological theory (he does state that the book is intended for a general readership).[12] Overall, Loizos' works have been particularly inspiring for developing new forms of writing ethnography, and most importantly he foregrounds the value and centrality of oral history.

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[10] As a result of the 1974 war Cyprus was divided into north Cyprus (Turkish Cypriot) and south Cyprus (Greek Cypriot), separated by the Green Line or buffer zone, which is patrolled by the United Nations.

[11] Loizos' (2008) latest ethnography *Iron in the soul: displacement, livelihood and health in Cyprus*, is a retrospective study of refugees from the village Argaki. He examines political change since 1974 and the effect this has had on his informants, including the 2003 opening of the border and the failure of the Annan Plan. He explores the impact of long-term displacement, including the alarming health problems that developed among refugees. For other accounts of Greek Cypriot refugees, see Constantinou (2005), Hadjiyanni (2001) and Zetter (1994, 1998).

[12] Most of his theoretical discourse on war and refugee identity appears in an Appendix.

Loizos' earlier study is almost devoid of analysis of gender construction; his second addresses this to some extent, though the performance of gender, and in particular women's agency, are not central. Nevertheless, both of Loizos' ethnographies document aspects of social change in Cypriot society that have been valuable for my discussion of identity politics.

Vassos Argyrou's (1996) ethnography has been especially helpful. He examines changing marriage rituals since the 1930s.[13] His sociological framework draws on Bourdieu's (1984) theories in *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste* and considers marriage rituals as expressive of class relations, often symbolically representing class struggles and resistance. Argyrou argues that nowadays the bourgeoisie strive to have modern, Westernised weddings as a strategy to legitimate power. They compete not only with other classes but also within their own class (Argyrou 1996: 12). Contrary to this and in an effort symbolically to resist modernity and the urban bourgeoisie, villagers and the urban working class strive to have more 'traditional weddings' and often claim to have 'the authority of an "authentic," local tradition' (Argyrou 1996: 12).

However, one important shortcoming in Argyrou's research is his reductive use of the term 'villager'. By referring to villagers as one category, he often ignores the very different socio-economic circumstances among individuals in rural areas. I found that rural and peri-urban populations are not exempt from class stratification and this is certainly the case in the village of Deryneia. Indeed, Loizos' early ethnography also demonstrated this, while Attalides' (1981) work highlights the necessity of avoiding a clear dichotomy between villager and urbanite.

Argyrou's insight into the interplay between class and ritual is most valuable and I draw on his work throughout this thesis. However, my examination of gender

[13] His fieldwork was conducted in Nicosia and Pafos (on the west coast of Cyprus).

dynamics in wedding rituals gives an alternative reading of this interplay, and as I suggest, provides a more complex framework in which to view gender, ritual and class construction (see Chapter Four). I also analyse Argyrou's theorisations of modernity and ritual in the light of claims that informants make about tradition. I argue that class strategies are intimately connected with constructions of gender and ethnic identity.

A recent anthropological publication edited by Papadakis, Peristianis and Welz, *Divided Cyprus: modernity, history, and an island in conflict* (2006), includes contributions by various social scientists working in Cyprus and its diaspora. Most of the papers were delivered at a conference I attended in late 2001 in Nicosia to honour Peter Loizos' contributions to the field.[14] Most of the papers focus on various aspects of the political division of the island and the consequences of that division.[15]

Social scientists working in Cyprus have been unable to avoid the divided reality of the island since its partition in 1974.[16] However, prior to 1974 and increasingly since the 1990s, several scholars have shifted focus to other areas of Cypriot society which are just as urgent and important to the everyday lives of Cypriots in Cyprus and its diaspora.[17] My work contributes to this growing field and aims to provide deeper

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[14] The conference 'Anthropological Perspectives on Cyprus: A Critical Appraisal,' was held at the University of Cyprus and Intercollege, Nicosia.

[15] It is interesting to note that other conference papers, in particular that by anthropologist Susan Pattie on Armenian Cypriots, were not included. This may reflect the degree to which anthropological studies are centred on the ethno-political question, at the expense of some other important aspects of Cypriot life.

[16] See for example the works of anthropologist Rebecca Bryant (2001b), Peter Loizos (1981, 2002, 2008), Paul Sant Cassia (1999, 2005) and sociologists Yiannis Papadakis (1993, 1994) and Maria Roussou (1987). Most of these scholars have also looked at other aspects of Cypriot society, although in the main their works address the political situation. For example, Bryant's (2001a, 2004) work focuses on education and nationalism in the Greek and Turkish communities. Sant Cassia's (2005) more recent work examines the 'missing people' and their families. The 'missing people' refers to those whose fate has been unknown since the 1974 war.

[17] See, for example, Argyrou, who looks at magic (1993), weddings (1996), and environmental issues (1997); Sant Cassia's analysis of marriage strategies (1982) and banditry (1993); and Gisela Welz (1999) who studies tourism. There is also a growing body of scholarly work on other ethnic groups in Cyprus. However, this falls outside the purview of this dissertation. See for example Pattie's (1991, 1997) work on Armenian Cypriots and Yael Navaro-Yashin's work on Turkish Cypriots (2003, 2006).

understanding of a diasporic and homeland community, and Deryneian women in particular.

Deryneia has been a border village since 1974 (see Chapter One), so it is impossible to ignore partition, and for refugees in the diaspora, memories of their homeland are often cast in terms of loss. I found that when directly faced with questions about their ethnic and cultural identities, issues of partition were more likely to surface (see Chapter Three). However, without being prompted by such questions most women in Deryneia and Melbourne were preoccupied with daily events, rather than with the Cyprus issue. It is these daily preoccupations on which I focus throughout this dissertation.

Theorising Gender in the Greek World

Anthropologists working in the Mediterranean area have routinely challenged androcentric ethnographies (see Danforth 1983; Friedl 1986; Kenna 2001a; Loizos & Papataxiarchis 1991; Pavlides & Hesser 1986; Rogers 1975).[18] Several scholars researching Greek women have demonstrated that women have 'informal power' in their societies, most notably in the 'domestic sphere' (see Tsolidis 1995). Juliet du Boulay (1974, 1986) argues that women's 'informal power' is complementary to men's 'formal power' in the 'public domain.' Du Boulay challenged prior ethnographic accounts that assume that Greek women had no status or power in their communities. Other ethnographies of this kind are too often premised on the idea that society can be neatly divided into private and public worlds. Renée Hirschon's (1989) work on Asia Minor Greeks shows that this distinction is reductive, and that men and women are

[18] My research has been influenced by ethnographies about women in Greece and in the Greek diaspora. While Greek Cypriots and Greeks share many cultural and religious practices, they also differ markedly. Thus, it is important to treat each separately in order to acknowledge that the history of Cyprus is very different to that of Greece, as is the history of their diaspora.

involved in both spheres. Hirschon further asserts that Western feminist discourses serve to devalue the domestic sphere and in so doing fail to observe how women obtain power in this domain. In this dissertation, I explore the dynamics of gender and the relations of power within these spaces, but also argue that public and private spaces are contested sites. Even within the home, women are often on public display (see Chapter Six).

Since the 1980s anthropologists have revealed the shortfalls of studies that concentrate on women without questioning androcentric methodology and theory (see Ardener 1985; Cowan 1990, 1996; Walter 1995). More recent scholarship demonstrates that gender cannot be based on the 'assumption of absolute difference' between men and women:

> Gender manifests itself in a society in a range of social processes and outcomes and involves social relations of subordination and inequality … the difference of gender is embedded in a range of social relations, including economic, political and juridical that produce differentiated outcomes along with the other constituent elements of the positioning of individuals (such as class, ethnicity and racism) (Anthias 1998: 524).

The social and cultural construction of gender can be contextualised in different and often contradictory ways within a society (see Cowan 1990). In this thesis, I point to the varying constructions of gender in Melbourne and Deryneia, and try to understand why there are such differences.

During my research in Melbourne and Deryneia, issues of gender presented theoretical challenges. The early scholarship of anthropologists working in the Greek world provide important insights into women's lives, and anthropologists such as du Boulay (1974, 1986), Friedl (1962), Salamone and Stanton (1986) and others demonstrate women's central role and power in the home, arguing that that there is reciprocity between women and men. However, the complementary relations between the sexes that these writers propose underplay the power relations in which women are

often inserted. For example, the life histories I collected in Deryneia and Melbourne make it evident that despite their power, many women simply do not have the same opportunities as men and have experienced oppression from a variety of sources (see Chapters Five and Six). Thus, while I found that women are strong and independent, their choices are severely limited by community pressures and family expectations.

While women have agency, they are still dominated and restricted by certain structures that limit this agency (Cowan 1996: 65; Vassiliadou 2005: 178). Often this is attributed to patriarchy, a concept that Sylvia Walby (1990) notes has long been problematic, and who suggests that a less reductive and more fluid concept is required. Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994: 3) argues that patriarchy is

> A fluid and shifting set of social relations where men oppress women, in which different men exercise varying degrees of power and control, and in which women collaborate and resist in diverse ways.

Anthias (2000: 16) proposes that a better term than patriarchy may be 'gendered social relations.' This, she says, avoids reducing patriarchy to a self-contained system. This more expansive terminology enables an analysis of the way women participate in these structures, and consciously (and subconsciously) adopt strategies that can be oppressive to other women and men. As prominent researchers, including Anthias (1992), Bottomley (1984a) and Yuval-Davis (1997), point out, not all women experience the same types of oppression, and they all suggest a theoretical framework that considers the intersection of factors such as gender, class and ethnicity. Since then, many other variables have been acknowledged and in this study I also take into account variables such as age and marital status, among others.

Conceptualising transnational 'gendered social relations,' is a challenge that has not been adequately addressed in the wider literature. For example, many of the experiences of elderly women in Deryneia and Melbourne were similar – shown in the way they define key concepts such as honour and shame. Indeed, some women in

different parts of the world share similar experiences (Cowan 1996). Henrietta Moore (1988: 198) urges the anthropologist to be vigilant when considering similarities of specific cases and not assume that similarities are always present. So, while I found that the experiences of Cypriot women in Australia are similar to women in Cyprus, their experiences have also been very different. This dissertation seeks to explore this in these two locations. Social change and the transformation of women's work, education, marriage and religious practices thus become key focal points in this dual exploration.

However, we cannot focus attention solely on women without consideration of men; after all they share houses, lives, communities and histories with women. When I first arrived in Deryneia in 2001, at several social gatherings I was seated, by the female host, with the men, while women prepared and served the food and then sat themselves at the other end of the table. It was not until I began to partake in women's activities that this changed and I entered what seemed to be 'women's spaces.' The degree of division between the sexes was circumstantial and in many cases there was no clear separation. My study also included interviews with men in Deryneia and Melbourne, including those considered of high status in their communities, such as priests and men on church councils. This enabled me to explore what Judith Butler (1990) calls the 'performativity' of gender.

Herzfeld's study of Crete, which largely focused on his male informants, demonstrates the importance of the dimension of gender performativity. He found that:

> there is less focus on 'being a good man' than on 'being *good at* being a man' - a stance that stresses *performative excellence*, the ability to foreground manhood by means of deeds that strikingly speak for themselves (Herzfeld 1985: 16).

Herzfeld calls this the 'poetics of manhood.' Jill Dubisch (1995: 208) has criticised Herzfeld for suggesting that a 'poetics of womanhood' is 'simply a "subversion" of a male ideology' and as a 'reaction against male dominance, a reaction based on silence.'

She argues that there are a number of ways in which women's performativity also demonstrates the discourses of 'being good at being a woman' (Dubisch 1995: 209). I also argue that gender performativity is vital to the discourses surrounding *kali yinaika*.

Locating Greek Cypriot Women

When I began my research in 2000, with the exception of Anthias (1992), very little had been published on Greek Cypriot women from a social science perspective.[19] Since 2000, a growing body of work has emerged from sociologists, but it is still in its infancy.[20] This work has been especially helpful and contributed to my reflections and research.

In 1975 scholars of the Cyprus Social Research Centre (CSRC) published a study of the lives of Greek Cypriot women. They found that women were discriminated against at every level of society, in education, the workplace and the family home. This study led to a collaborative project, headed by Lia Mylona, which included two social scientists, a market researcher and two psychologists (Mylona *et al.* 1986). The general focus was on aspects of Greek Cypriot women's lives and many of their findings were derived from a questionnaire. This methodological limitation is evident in the type of questions asked and the conclusions drawn from the answers. For example, such questions as: 'Do the problems of a woman decrease with marriage?' lack rigour and fail to clarify the sort of problems experienced by women (Mylona *et al.* 1986: 138). The findings revealed that Cypriot women were at a more 'advanced stage' than the researchers had thought (Mylona *et al.* 1986: 3). However, what is meant by this is not

[19] A notable exception has been a number of scholars examining women's participation in the workforce. For example, Antoniades and Papayiannis (2001), Balswick (1978), House (1985), Shekeris (1999) and Stavrou (1997) all collate important statistical data on the effects of discriminatory legislation on women.

[20] For scholarly works on gender and nationalism in Cyprus see Agathangelou (2000) and Vassiliadou (2002). For insight into women's bi-communal relationships see Cockburn (2004) and Hadjipavlou (2004).

specified and implies that while women are aware of their right to be independent, they are also passive in their actions. The study provides some insight into women's lives during the 1970s, but fails to account for the impact of gender dynamics on people's lives. Moreover, the results must be interpreted with caution, for as Vassiliadou's (1999) ethnographic research shows, what Cypriot women say can be vastly different from what they do, which highlights the problems that researchers encounter when solely relying on questionnaires. Indeed, this is the case for both women and men in any culture. Anthropologist Margaret Kenna (1992a: 148) also points out that we need to acknowledge that informants' silences on certain matters can also give us great insights. A questionnaire prevents a researcher from reflecting on such silent moments.

Myria Vassiliadou's (1997, 1999, 2002, 2005) work contributes greatly to the ever-growing research on Greek Cypriot women and gender theory. Her fieldwork in Nicosia amongst middle-class urban women explores their attitudes and beliefs about the church, marriage, motherhood, sexuality and feminism. She argues that women's beliefs are not always reflected in their practices and demonstrates that while women have agency it is restricted by patriarchal structures (Vassiliadou 1999).

Vassiliadou demonstrates that some Cypriot women of privileged class positions also enter into processes of domination (see Vassiliadou 2005). Especially pertinent is the employment of foreign women workers as domestic maids or sex workers (Vassiliadou 2005; see also Agathangelou 2000, 2004). Vassiliadou (2005) argues that Greek Cypriot women are involved in constructing these women as 'others' in order to bolster their own social status.

The pioneering works of Anthias are the most extensive body of research on Greek Cypriot women. She has written on diasporic British Greek Cypriots, gender, ethnicity, class and nationalism, and more recently she has focused on

transnationalism.[21] Much of my ethnography is indebted to her ground-breaking work on Cypriots and her contribution to sociological and feminist theory in general.

Anthias' (1992) study of British Cypriots demonstrates the methodological importance of gender, ethnicity and class in the identity formation of migrant groups. She found that in Britain the high concentration of Cypriots employed in Cypriot-owned companies was a result of not only ethnicity but also class factors. The success of these businesses was in part a consequence of 'traditional' Cypriot gender roles and the perception of Cypriot women as a supply of cheap labour. Furthermore, Anthias notes that the concentration of Cypriot women in these companies did not lead to greater economic freedom for women, nor to any significant changes within gender relations.

Anthias believes that substantive studies among migrant groups must examine the history of their origins, for this helps us to understand the processes of adaptation that occur in the diaspora. Equally, it highlights the manner in which the construction of ethnicity and gender are determined by discourses that migrants bring from their homeland. She shows that certain traditions predate migration even though today they are rarely found in Cyprus, except possibly in some remote areas. She asserts that 'facets of culture have not evolved naturally as they have in Cyprus but have stayed in a kind of "time warp"' (Anthias 1992: 137). For example, she found that traditional views of women's sexuality persist in Britain although such views are rarely found in urban Cyprus in 1990.[22]

This does not mean that all migrants cling to traditional understandings of gender. Between the 1940s to the 1960s, many Cypriots left Cyprus to escape poverty, however, for some women it was also an attempt 'to escape from traditional female

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[21] One of the most important contributions of Anthias' work is her insights into gender and nationalism. In effect she argues that discourses of nationalism serve to justify the subordination of women (Anthias 1989).

[22] Anthias' fieldwork was undertaken between 1980 and 1982, and 1988 and 1990.

roles and follow alternative forms of womanhood' (Laliotou 2004: 169). How successful women were at this is discussed throughout this dissertation.

Drawing on Anthias' work, I demonstrate that while gender ideologies seem identical in the diaspora, their symbolic uses are reformulated in the specific diasporic context. In Chapter Two, my examination of the history of Melbourne Cypriots shows how for some, holding on to certain traditions can be a strategy for the exercise of 'power' and more generally to gain status within diasporic Cypriot communities. For instance, the maintenance of a distinct dialect becomes a strategy for intra-ethnic differentiation within the diaspora.

Most scholarly works on diasporic Greek Cypriot communities concentrate on Cypriots living in England.[23] As far as I am aware, there is no published anthropological research on Australian Greek Cypriots, or particularly on women. Several literary, historical and political articles have been published on Greek Cypriots in Australia and a few scholars have briefly incorporated them in their works on Greek Australians.[24]

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[23] For example, Anthias (1992), Burrell (2006), Constantindes (1977), Cylwik (2002), Georgiou (1991), Josephides (1988), Oakley (1987), Panayi (1993), Panayiotopoulos (1996), Phellas (2002) and Roussou (1991).

[24] Demographer Charles Price (1975, 1988, 2001) refers to Australian Cypriots in some of his work and gives a brief overview of the community's development. This small body of work has been helpful in documenting the history of Cypriots in Australia. Political scientist Michális Michael's (1991, 1998, 1999) work focuses on the political involvement of Australia with the Cyprus issue. Also Theophanous' and Michael's (1993) article looks at the role Greek Cypriots have played in pressuring the Australian government to play an active role in the Cyprus issue. Neo-Hellenist, Maria Herodotou (1993), has a brief article on Cypriot women's participation in the Melbourne community, and a few articles that concentrate on Greek Cypriot writers and poets in Australia and Cyprus (Herodotou 1999, 2002). Also see Nickas and Dounis' (1994) collection of Greek Australian women writers in which Australian Cypriot women writers are included. Tamis (1994, 1997, 2000; Tamis & Gavaki 2002) makes brief references to Cypriot Australians in his study of Australian Greek migrants. However, his history of the Cypriot communities in Australia is very general and lacks substantive analysis or any discussion of Greek Cypriot women's participation. His brief discussion of the Greek Cypriot Church, Apostolos Andreas, in Melbourne was, however, a useful comparative tool for my own analysis of this church. Georgina Tsolidis and Alex Kostogriz (2008), in their article on 'after hours' Greek language schools include interviews with some younger Australian Cypriots. Dhora Moustrides' (1999, 2000) articles examine Greek Cypriot dance as well as traditional dress with some reference to gender issues. Historian Tina Kalivas (2005, 2007b) has also written on Melbourne Greek Cypriot food practices and their memories of food culture. There are a few non-anthropological unpublished MA theses on Greek Cypriots in Australia. These have generally been on the history of the Greek Cypriot communities. This includes Savvas Papasavvas' (1997), MA dissertation, *The Immigration and settlement of Cypriot Greeks in Australia,* and Anastasia Andreou's (2002) MA dissertation *The Post-world war II Cypriot immigration to Australia.* Andreou refers to another MA thesis by P. Anastasopoulos (1992) *the Cypriot community of Melbourne,* but I was unable to locate this. Con Allimonos' (2002) PhD dissertation on Australian Greek brotherhoods also mentions

Australian Immigrants

Gillian Bottomley is one of the few anthropologists who has written on Greek women and Australian Greeks. Although she includes some reference to Cypriots in her first ethnography (1979), her research focuses on Australian Greek experiences. Her insights on issues of gender and migration have been pertinent for my research. Her most important methodological point is that an understanding of the migrant experience must account for the connections with the homeland (Bottomley 1992). She acknowledges that migrants can consider 'home' to be both in the diaspora and country of origin. As Birgitte Sørensen (1997: 149) argues, past histories are a part of personal identity and constitute the 'lived experience.' Bottomley (1992: 14) further states that a greater insight into Australian Greeks requires a comparative framework that includes the homeland in order to grasp 'some of the intersections of gender relations and cultural practices.'

More recently, Loretta Baldassar (2001, 2007: 279) has noted that the tendency in diasporic and transnational studies is to focus more on migrants in the host countries rather than on those who remain in the homeland. Her work on Italian migrants in Australia, and transnational care-giving networks among them and their Italian kin, reveals the nexus between the homeland and the host country. This has yielded a greater understanding of migration, identity construction and transnational ties (see Baldassar 2001; Baldassar & Pesman 2005; Harney & Baldassar 2007). Baldassar rightly proposes the conceptualisation of 'migrancy:'

Greek Cypriot brotherhoods in Australia. The most recent PhD dissertation is Tina Kalivas' (2007a) *Recipes for Cypriot tradition: Greek-Cypriot immigrants' domestic food cultures in Melbourne*, which explores Cypriot food culture in Melbourne. Published research on other ethnic Cypriots, such as Turkish Cypriots in Australia is almost non-existent, with only a few references to their communities (see Price 2001; Tamis 2005a). Also see Serkan Hüssein (2007) whose book, although not academic, gives some insight into the Turkish Cypriot community. It includes several interviews with Turkish Cypriots about their migration experience and life in Australia.

> as a set of processes that extend beyond settlement to incorporate the continuing connections between the home and host countries over time, including those of the subsequent generations (Baldassar 2007: 294).

I also adopt Baldassar's schema by looking at more than one generation in Australia and Cyprus.

Transnationalism

In Australia, the identity of many Melbourne Cypriots is not only shaped by their commitment to Cyprus but also influenced by the homeland's commitment to them. Financial investments by Greek Cypriot Australians in Cyprus and their involvement in homeland politics and religious affairs impact on local histories in both countries. A history of the Deryneian (Chapter One) and Melbourne Cypriot communities (Chapter Two) is vital for understanding the connections among and between these communities, but also their disjunctures. Additionally, it is the trans-historical context of both communities which provides the understanding of cultural flows, especially the transformation of gendered identities.

Cypriot women were instrumental in the maintenance of transnational ties, particularly kin relations. In what Micaela Di Leonardo (1987: 442) calls 'kin work,' women maintain global networks via letters, telephone calls, occasional holidays and more recently live video calls. How prevalent these ties are, and the extent to which they impact on women's everyday lives in Cyprus and Australia, are issues I address in this dissertation.

Transnationalism as a field of inquiry is relatively recent and epistemological understandings of the field are becoming ever more complex (see Basch *et al*. 1994; Kennedy & Roudometof 2002; Portes 2001). Questions of what constitutes a transnational community are indeed murky (Portes *et al*. 1999: 219; Smith & Guarnizo

1998). A working definition of transnationalism provided by Basch *et al.* (1994: 7) identifies a process whereby immigrants maintain 'multi-stranded social relations' with their country of origin and the new place of settlement, through social, religious, political and economic relations. Transnationalism involves multiple ties across nation-states (Vertovec 1999: 447). These include informal ties such as contacts maintained by kin, and more formal ones such as business and institutional links.

According to Fouron and Glick Schiller, transnationalism involves systematic and ongoing engagement across borders. They claim that immigrants who try 'to re-create the old, through foods, music and storytelling' cannot be considered transnationals (Fouron & Glick Schiller 2002: 171). In other words, transnationalism goes beyond the culture of nostalgia. While Fouron and Glick Schiller make an important distinction between transnationals and diasporic communities, they do not consider that there are different degrees of transnationalism.

Helen Lee (2004: 236) uses the term 'indirect transnationalism' to account for the indirect ties that people maintain with the homeland. These were particularly evident in the early years of settlement amongst Melbourne Greek Cypriots. For example, donations at church services were collected to bring priests from Cyprus, or sent to the homeland to help relieve problems there. Indirect transnationalism, I argue, is irrevocably part of migrancy as many migrants cannot avoid the transnational spaces that their families occupy (also see Menjivar 2002).

While transnationalism requires an 'interconnectedness across borders' (Levitt & Waters 2002: 6) I argue that this interconnectedness is shaped by time and space. The ties between Cypriots in the diaspora and homeland are regulated by flows and disjunctures, and these ties change according to individual and group histories. For example, I point to how transnational ties became more salient at certain moments; this was especially so during the 1974 war (see Chapters One and Three).

There have been few studies of transnational ties between Cyprus and its diaspora, and among these Madeleine Demetriou's 2003 article is one of the few that gives insights into such connections.[25] My work contributes to this field; however, unlike Demetriou, I do not focus on international organisations such as the World Federation of Overseas Cypriots, or the ties between the Cypriot government and the diaspora. Rather, I address what Smith and Guarnizo (1998) call 'transnationalism from below,' that is, the informal ties between the diaspora and the homeland.

Interestingly, Levitt *et al*. (2003: 571) have noted that it is difficult to capture aspects of transnational lives as they 'tend to be more subjective, involving imagination, invention, and emotions that are deeply felt but not overtly expressed.' The emotional link of people to place (often seen in the second generation's attachment to their parents' homeland) is often ignored; it is something I explore when looking at how people perform their cultural and gendered identities.[26] Diane Wolf (2002: 258), who studies second generation Filipinos in America, argues that emotional ties to the homeland create what she terms 'emotional transnationalism.' While the emotional dimension is important to transnational ties, as I demonstrate in Chapters Three and Six, I disagree with Wolf that these ties on their own could be considered transnationalism. The emotional dimension is integral to other active ties (see for example Baldassar 2008; Skrbiš 2008).

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[25] Demetriou focuses on the World Federation of Overseas Cypriots and the International Coordinating Committee of Justice for Cyprus. A central aim for both organisations is to promote internationally the Greek Cypriot cause, and rally for political support within the Cypriot diaspora. Tamis' (2005a) article also focuses on the Cypriot diaspora, and provides a brief historical overview of Cypriot communities around the globe, and their ties to the homeland. However, it is merely descriptive, not analytical.

[26] Throughout this dissertation I use the term first, second and third generation to refer to Cypriots living in Australia. Helen Lee (2008: 7), among others, has shown that such terms are never straightforward (see also Rumbaut 2002: 49; Skrbiš *et al*. 2007). For example, there are those who came to Australia as children and could be referred to as one and half generation, but as Lee observes, such distinctions never mirror the complexity of people's lives. For simplicity, I refer to the first generation as those who immigrated to Australia as adults, while the second generation refers to those who came to Australia as young children or are the children of immigrants, and the third generation refers to their offspring.

A Comparative Approach

In order to comprehend the social ties and life experiences of Greek Cypriots in both Australia and Cyprus, I adopted the methodological tool of a 'multi-sited ethnography' (Marcus 1995). This involves the ethnographer's presence in a variety of locales. In my study, this is limited largely to fieldwork in Melbourne and Deryneia. Kenna's research (1992a, 1992b, 1993) on the Greek island of Anafi and among Anafiot migrants in Athens reveals the importance of multi-sited research. Her work demonstrates that ties migrants maintain to their place of origin and vice versa greatly affect social change. Her initial fieldwork was undertaken in the 1960s and she has continued to return to Greece and work among those who migrated from the island to live in Athens. She gives us rich insight into the changes that have taken place on the island, including the growth of tourism and the role that migrants have played in it (see Kenna 1993). Her work also foregrounds the importance of longitudinal ethnographic studies.

The multi-sited method highlights the interconnectedness of people, while at the same time allowing for cultural diversity across the 'global ecumene' (Hannerz 1996: 62). As Ulf Hannerz (1996: 27) argues, the local is not necessarily isolated or always intrinsically local. Particular localities such as Deryneia or Melbourne do not operate in a vacuum, for cultural and gendered identities are influenced at a local and global level. Rather than conceptualising the field as a particular place in a particular locale, it can be viewed 'as the field of relations which are significant to people involved in the study' (Olwig & Hastrup 1997: 8; also see Tsolidis 2008: 273). I concentrate on the types of cultural sites that are important to Cypriots, particularly women, such as the church, the community and the family home, transnationally.

I use a comparative approach in order to present a more substantial understanding of women's lives in Australia and Cyprus, providing insights into the history of particular socio-cultural practices and the transformations that have taken

place. It is also a means to examine the processes of culture and gender construction in the homeland and the diaspora. Amongst Melbourne Cypriots I demonstrate that the construction of gender and cultural identities is inextricability tied to imagined concepts of homeland (see Chapter Three). The comparative method enables the identification of reconstructions that occur as a result of migration (Bottomley 1992: 19) and highlights hybrid identities. Moreover, this method is a useful way to reveal the extent to which transnational ties influence people.

Exploring the lives of Cypriot women in both Melbourne and Deryneia, I bring forth an understanding of the processes of cultural identity formation. Stuart Hall suggests that we think of cultural identity as 'a "production," which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation' (Hall 1990: 222). Cultural identity is not only about the past, but also about how we view ourselves in the present and the future, and in differing locales.[27] I argue that the cultural identity of Cypriots reflects an ongoing interpretation of past and contemporary events. In other words, cultural identity is not fixed to an essentialist past. I demonstrate that an understanding of what it is to 'perform' or 'become' a Cypriot woman must also take cognisance of the historical and continuing experience of the local and the global Cypriot community.

Methodology

My research was based on participant observation among Melbourne Greek Cypriots and Deryneians in Cyprus over a period of three years (2001-2003). My fieldwork

[27] There has been some confusion over the concepts of cultural identity and ethnicity. As Anthias (2001: 629) argues 'Ethnicity cannot be confined to questions of culture and identity, since it is evident that culture and identity need not take an ethnic form.' Cultural identity is often about the way we see ourselves whereas ethnicities can be imposed from the 'outside' just as it may be from the 'inside' (see Eriksen 1993). For example, state policies and other external forces can impose an ethnic identity on a group as in the case of when colonial rulers divided up countries into particular ethnic nations (see Gomes 1994, for example).

began in Melbourne at the beginning of 2001 and mid-way through that year I went to Cyprus. I left in 2002, a few days after Greek Orthodox Easter and returned to Melbourne, where I continued fieldwork for the remaining year. In Cyprus I spent most of my time in Deryneia but made frequent visits to the large town Larnaka and to Nicosia, where several younger Deryneians resided. In 2003, I returned to Cyprus for a short research visit at a time when Cyprus was experiencing significant political change, specifically, the opening of the border by the Turkish authorities, allowing for restricted visits by Greek Cypriots to north Cyprus (see Chapter One and Chapter Three).

The collating of the life histories of informants included the collection of data on their economic circumstances, work patterns, education and family histories. I indicate my informants' ages at the time of my fieldwork in parentheses after their name and Appendix One provides brief bio-data on my main informants. Pseudonyms are used to protect informants' privacy.

My research involved attending many gatherings, some of which were community-based activities such as Sunday church services, weddings, baptisms and saints days, as well as local festivals and public events. However, most of my time was spent with women in their homes. In Deryneia, women informants (particularly older women and women with small children who either worked part-time or in the home) frequently met women friends or kin, for coffee or to cook, and on most days I joined these informal meetings in their homes. My study focused on 26 households in Deryneia and 18 in Melbourne. I observed the activities and cultural practices of women ranging from young adults to the elderly. These sample groups also enabled me to tap into other networks of kin and affines.

The selection of informants in Melbourne and Deryneia was largely determined by their kinship affiliations.[28] Kinship patterns of both groups provided a cartography of the type and frequency of contact informants had with each other. In Melbourne, kinship was a major determinant of residential patterns after settlement in Australia. This close-knit community also influenced their participation or not in particular Cypriot associations. For example, many elderly informants in Melbourne have had either direct or indirect connections to the Greek Cypriot Orthodox church, Apostolos Andreas (St Andrew), in the Melbourne suburb of Sunshine (see Chapter Two).

Different Ethnographic Sites: Deryneia and Melbourne

It is important to highlight some of the differences in my fieldwork methods employed in Deryneia and Melbourne, as this influenced the research findings. Living in the peri-urban village of Deryneia made it easier for me to see informants frequently. It became routine to be part of their daily activities, share meals and discussions. Even personal tasks such as shopping for groceries were invariably linked with my informants. This close association generated more spontaneous and informal discussions or activities. In Deryneia, unlike in Melbourne, it was easy to visit my informants' work places. This was especially so with those working as agriculturalists in their own *perivoli* (market garden).[29] It was also the case among the owners of small businesses such as clothing, jewellery and tourist stores.

My residence close to the centre of Deryneia also meant that I was abreast of village activities and other events. For example, the toll of the church bell alerted me to

[28] In Melbourne not all first generation informants came from Deryneia, as I interviewed some women and men who were married to Deryneians. This was also the case in Deryneia.

[29] I had planned to conduct fieldwork in Deryneia for a year and later extended this by a few months, so as to experience the Greek Orthodox Easter festival. This also necessitated a change of residence to a shed, located on an informant's *perivoli* on the outskirts of Deryneia. This was an invaluable experience as contact with my agriculturalist informants became daily.

important activities at the church. I also witnessed occasional skirmishes in the gated barracks of the United Nations (UN) controlled buffer zone, located only a few streets from my flat. In one instance, the loud political protestations of a group of young Cypriots (not from Deryneia) at the barracks were deafening.

In Melbourne, many Cypriots do not live close to each other, as they had typically done during early settlement in the 1950s and 1960s. Changing residential and work patterns mean that many are scattered across the urban and outer-urban areas of Melbourne, with some now living interstate. This means that many did not meet on a regular basis and were more likely to gather only at formal functions. Unlike in Deryneia, daily contact with Melbourne informants was virtually impossible. Thus my contact with informants was generally more formal. This was routinely confined to church activities or pre-arranged interviews, or large extended family gatherings. The fact that many Melbourne informants are not involved in any Cypriot organisation also had obvious disadvantages.

Translation and Communication

In both Melbourne and Deryneia my research included many informal interviews. This allowed informants to candidly raise issues relevant to their lives, and also serendipitously alerted me to issues I had not considered. With the consent of informants, interviews were recorded and later transcribed into English.[30] Interviews were conducted in English or Greek, depending on the informant's preference. Throughout the dissertation, after substantial quotations, if the interview was conducted

[30] All transliterations are my own. There were some informants who preferred not to be recorded. In these cases, I took notes during and after the interview. Indeed, some informants felt much discomfort and were more forthcoming after the recorder was turned off. This was particularly the case when they were discussing private or sensitive issues. There were also situations where audio recording was not possible, especially in public spaces such as market gardens.

in Greek then this is indicated in parenthesis; those not so flagged were conducted in English. Brief quotations in the main text are not signposted, largely to avoid clutter.

In Melbourne, translation was more complex. For example, several first generation informants in Melbourne often spoke a mixture of Greek, English, a Cypriot dialect and a specific of Cypriot-Greek-English that has developed in Australia. It was not straight forward in Deryneia either, as a number of informants spoke a combination of Modern Greek and a Cypriot dialect.[31]

Prior to fieldwork, I studied Greek and where possible practised this with kin. However, as I discovered eventually, most of my kin do not speak formal Greek.[32] Indeed, many elderly Melbourne informants with little or no formal education spoke a Cypriot dialect dating largely from the time they left Cyprus mid-last century. Since settlement, this dialect has been fortified by a hybrid of Australian-English, Greek and a distinctive Melbourne Greek. My formal Greek classes were in Modern Greek but in both field sites I found that many informants preferred to speak their own Cypriot dialect. In Deryneia, some elderly women often corrected me using Cypriot lexicon. Although on many occasions I had language difficulties, in the main informants were very patient with me.

Archival Research and Oral Histories

Primary documents and secondary sources in Greek that were essential to my work, I have translated, particularly several early historical documents. However, translations of

[31] Most Cypriots (Muslim and Christian) once 'spoke *jibréïka,* a predominantly Greek language ("dialect")' (Herzfeld 1997a: 128). For an analysis of Cypriot linguistics, see McEntee-Atalianis and Pouloukas (2001), Papapavlou (1998), Roussou (2000) and Sciriha (1996). For details on regional dialects within Cyprus, see Arvaniti (2006), Tsiplakou (2006) and Vassiliou (1995, 2002).

[32] See also Loizos' (1981) account of entering the field ill-equipped without fluency in Greek.

primary sources in Turkish, although vital for any social history, are beyond the scope of this study and are certainly a field for post-doctoral research.

My discussion of Cypriot women's lives in Deryneia and Melbourne makes use of scholarly and archival documents held in Australia, Britain and Cyprus, in addition to municipal church records and primary documents in the care of individual informants.[33] These were an invaluable adjunct to my observations and interviews. Of the two groups that were the focus of my research, a far greater amount has been published on women in Cyprus. As yet there has been no anthropological research undertaken in Australia on Greek Cypriot women, so this dissertation constitutes the first study of its kind.

However, I have not privileged written documentation over oral history (see Clifford 1992; Vansina 1985). Oral histories and social memory enable the researcher to obtain stories that are not yet recorded and in the case of women's accounts, may even contest more formal records. Vassiliadou (2002: 460) has noted that the history of Cyprus has to a large extent relied on 'patriarchal historical interpretations and processes.' In short, women's voices have largely been ignored. Kenna's (2001a: 8) research on Greek women exiles on the island Anafi also highlights that even when women have been included in historical accounts (such as memoirs written by men) these need to be read with caution.

The privileging of western discourses has long been discussed in anthropology in general and numerous anthropologists have suggested adopting new ways of writing ethnography by experimenting with different writing genres (see Clifford 1988; Clifford & Marcus 1986; Dubisch 1995; Kumar 1992; Visweswaran 1994). While I have adopted several methods, including the dialogical and biographical, I cannot claim to speak for my informants and am well aware of the power inherent in editing and translating their words. Moreover, my work cannot be separated from my transnational

[33] This included collecting data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics, the National Archives of Australia, the National Archives of the UK and the State Archives of the Republic of Cyprus.

status, gender, class, ethnicity and age. My research on Greek Cypriots can only be a contribution to an inter-textual field.

Kenna's fieldwork in Greece shows that the ethnographer's status and personal history greatly affect what anthropologists learn from their informants. She demonstrates that over decades of returning to Greece for further research, her reflections on her initial fieldwork, as well as her continued contact with informants, have allowed her to consider 'possible misinterpretations' or come to new understandings of her fieldwork conclusions (Kenna 1992a: 146). In 2003, when I returned to Deryneia (although only two years after my first field trip), I also found that some of my initial conclusions were incorrect.

Early Reconnaissance Trips and the 'Field'

My first visit to Cyprus was at the age of 10 in 1980.[34] With my family, I stayed for three months in the village of Deryneia. This was six years after the 1974 war, as a result of which Deryneia had become a border village and was still recovering from the devastation. Many of my mother's kin had become refugees. At the time Deryneia was a relatively poor village; most of the roads were dirt tracks and the houses were largely the old-style stone and mud constructions (see Figure 1).

The house my family stayed in was located on the Deryneian border, overlooking an area that locals refer to as the dead zone or no man's land (see Chapter One). At the rear of the house were cyclone wire fences and in the distance the deserted beaches of Famagusta.

My grandmother's parents, although in their nineties, were still working on their small *perivoli*. Their two-room house had been my grandmother's natal home and in her childhood housed 13 people. The first room housed my great-grandmother's loom,

[34] I went there with my mother who was seven months pregnant, my father, three brothers and my maternal grandparents.

which took up most of the space, and their bed was crammed into one corner (see Figure 2). On the wall hung many photographs of the family, including the 10 children and extended kin, many of whom they had never met as they lived in Australia, Britain, Canada or the USA. My extended family was a part of the large Cypriot diaspora scattered across almost every continent. The second room, a kitchen, was also used as a chicken coop. Most days my great-grandmother baked bread outside in a traditional clay oven and later the bread was shared amongst kin (see Figure 3).

After having taken an intermission from my undergraduate studies, I returned to Cyprus 14 years later on a working holiday. I had imagined nostalgically the idyllic paradise I visited in my youth, but I was in for a shock. Deryneia was no longer a 'poor' village. The old-style houses were being quickly replaced with large, modern concrete constructions. The coastlines of nearby beaches were now dotted with tourist hotels and resorts.

My third trip to Cyprus was in 2001, as a postgraduate student trained in anthropology.[35] I recalled my 'nostalgic othering' and with horror realised that I was part of a discourse that Edward Said (1978) analysed in *Orientalism*. I had constructed Cyprus as a single entity, unchanging and timeless, an idyllic paradise.

Ethnographic Reflections: A 'Half-Native' Female Ethnographer

On a hot, humid summer evening, not long after my arrival in Deryneia in 2001, I had gone to bed exhausted from the day's events, when I heard a man calling my name in a loud voice outside the window.

[35] My partner joined me during fieldwork in Cyprus. His observations of the community and of men in particular were most valuable.

Figure 1 A Deryneian house, 1980
(Photograph by author's mother)

Figure 2 My great-grandmother and her loom, 1980
(Photograph by author's mother)

Figure 3 Baking bread in the outside oven, 1980
(Photograph by author's mother)

By the time I was dressed, Katelou (63) and her husband Athamos (65) had arrived at the front door of my flat. It was 10.30 pm and they had come to take my partner and me for a meal. I was to acclimatise fast to this new cultural practice. More confusing was that many people who had visited or telephoned, after the initial exchange of names, assumed that I instinctively knew who they were and how we were connected. I soon learned that even the most remote connection to kin meant we were 'related.'

Throughout the period of my fieldwork in Deryneia 'kin' dropped by my flat unannounced. From the beginning I had told informants that my task was research. However, as a partial 'insider' it was not always easy carrying out research as I was also expected to maintain kinship obligations.

My informants and kin often gave advice about people to avoid. In one case, some elderly kinswomen had advised me to avoid a certain woman in the village as she had a 'poor reputation.' Eventually, I interviewed the woman. However, as I discovered, my activities were closely monitored and informants often knew where I had been and with whom I had spent time.

My introduction to Deryneia in 2001 was as an 'outsider' but also one who was related to 'insiders.' My name, poor language skills and my questions often placed me as an 'outsider.' Often, the questions I asked were perceived as pointless and many informants assumed that I should have already known the answer. On many occasions in Deryneia and Melbourne, informants said, 'You know, it is our custom, our system' or 'Doesn't your grandmother or mother do this?' In most cases, informants in both locations were patient and made generous allowances for my misunderstandings and transgressions of custom. For them, it was easily explained by my being an outsider.

Writing on Cypriot Women

It is my contention that any understanding of Cypriot women in Deryneia and Melbourne must be contextualised within the wider social and economic history of Cyprus and Australia. To explore the lives of elderly women in Melbourne, it was important to examine their background. For example, my Australian informant Georgina spent the first 35 years of her life in Cyprus. These years were crucial to her understanding of gender and the formation of her general world-view.

Chapter One provides an overview of the economic, social and political history of Deryneia, with particular focus on women. I begin with British colonial rule during the late nineteenth century, as this period heralded the first significant migration from Cyprus. My re-reading of Deryneian history through an anthropological perspective foregrounds the instrumentality of women. Moreover, I demonstrate throughout the dissertation that the ways in which gender is understood and performed cannot be separated from the local histories of informants.

Chapter Two is a socio-economic history of Greek Cypriot settlement in Melbourne. In particular, it is a case study of those Cypriots with connections to Deryneia. However, in this chapter I also look at aspects of Cypriot migration related to all Greek Cypriots, particularly specific government policies directed at Cypriot immigration. I also provide a substantive account of the church of Apostolos Andreas including my informants' roles in the establishment of this church in the 1950s. This was a key event and process for many of them, and as I argue, was an essential factor in the formation of diasporic gender and ethnic identities. Unlike Tamis' (1997, 2005b) account of Apostolos Andreas and the resulting schisms among the church hierarchy, my focus is on the grass-roots activism of men and women. The histories presented in Chapters One and Two also provide insight into the socio-economic changes that have shaped the lives of women in Melbourne and Deryneia.

Chapters Three to Seven give an ethnographic account of women's lives and how they perform their cultural and gendered identities. In Chapter Three I consider what it is to perform cultural identity in two different locations. I examine the way in which identities are closely tied to local social and political contexts, and how these influence cultural ideas about what it is to be *kali yinaika* (a good woman). In the first section, I examine the construction of a village identity and show how ideas about what constitutes *kali yinaika* can be important for acceptance in the Deryneian community. I also consider the role that village identity plays in the diaspora. Pertinent to my discussion is how ideas about womanhood and manhood are crucial to the adoption of 'traditional' or 'modern' identities. I consider how other important factors, such as Deryneia's close proximity to the border and the increasing employment of foreign workers, have affected local identities.

In the latter section of Chapter Three, I turn to the performance of cultural and gendered identities of Cypriots in Australia, in particular how imaginings of homeland are interpreted and expressed, and how these differ between generations of Australian Cypriots. I show how the second generation's ideas of the homeland are shaped by their parents' experiences of 'home', but equally that their experience of the Cypriot community in Melbourne can also greatly affect them. I look at the extent to which transnational ties affect Melbourne Cypriots and end the chapter with a moving example of transnational ties through land ownership, to explore how gender, class, ethnicity and kinship ties are significant to the construction of cultural identity.

Chapter Four explores marriage practices and their importance for understanding social change. I look at the transformation of arranged marriages since the 1950s and the shift from bride-wealth to dowry. I consider how betrothal and arranged marriage practices have changed in Deryneia and Melbourne over the last few decades. I also examine some of the key wedding rituals performed outside the church and demonstrate

how these are crucial to the performance of gender. Throughout the chapter I highlight how marriage practices are intricately tied to the organising principle of *kali yinaika*.

Chapter Five focuses on Greek Cypriot women's education; Chapter Six looks at their work practices over the last 40 years, and investigates how these changes affect women's identities. My intention in these chapters is to examine the extent to which gender relations in both homeland and diaspora have changed as a result of new work and education practices.

Chapter Seven investigates women's religious practices and beliefs. I focus on the roles that religion and ritual play in the construction of gendered and cultural identities in Melbourne and Deryneia. In particular, I examine the transformation of religious rituals and highlight what these tell us about Cypriot gender relations. Finally, I reveal the differing experiences of women as a result of their social class, generation or place of residence.

These ethnographic chapters seek to explore the processes of modernity and the dialectics of 'gendered social relations.' All chapters raise questions about women's agency and the extent to which gendered social relations have been transformed since the colonial era. Chiefly, I compare women in Melbourne and Deryneia. This is the first time that Cypriot women's lives in these two locations have been compared and it is my intention to offer here critical insight into the concept of *kali yinaika*, which has hitherto lacked dynamism.

Chapter One

Deryneia in History

The village of Deryneia is situated two kilometres inland on the eastern coast of Cyprus at approximately 80 metres above sea level. In recent decades it has become renowned for its prime view of the Turkish-occupied city of Famagusta.[1] Before the 1974 war, which led to the division of Cyprus into North and South Cyprus; Famagusta, a port city with pristine beaches was a popular tourist destination.[2]

Before 1974, the Famagusta province consisted of 97 villages including Deryneia. After the war, Famagusta city and much of its province was cut off from southern Cyprus. Sections of the city and its southern coastline (often referred to as a ghost town) were cordoned off from both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot populations by the Turkish army (see Figures 4a, 4b).[3] Today from Deryneia you can see many abandoned houses and hotels in Famagusta. Several hotels that were under construction in 1974 (see Figures 5a, 5b), still have cranes attached to them.

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[1] There are various English transliterations of the place name Deryneia. I use the spelling used by the local municipality of Deryneia and in the Republic of Cyprus censuses since 1992. However, the Cypriot government has not been consistent with this spelling in other official documents and at times uses Deryneia, Dherinia or Dherynia. The 1960 census used Dherinia, as does the UN. However, in 1987 at the Fifth Conference of the United Nations for the Standardisation of Geographical Names (in Montreal), the Republic of Cyprus submitted *A Complete Gazetteer of Cyprus* (Christodoulou & Konstantinidis 1987: 322, 342), which uses Deryneia. Except in the cases of Famagusta and Nicosia, all towns/villages I mention use the spelling used in the Gazetteer. See Papadakis (1998b) on the ethnic politicalisation of place names in Cyprus. For example, Famagusta is referred to as Gazimagusa or Magusa by Turkish Cypriots and Ammochostos by Greek Cypriots.

[2] The Greek Cypriots usually refer to the events of 1974 as the 'invasion,' while the Turkish Cypriots refer to them as the 'peace intervention' or 'peace operation.' The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) is recognised only by Turkey.

[3] Swedish journalist Jan-Olof Bengtsson coined the phrase 'ghost town' after visiting a UN battalion in Famagusta port and seeing the deserted hotels on the foreshore (Coordinating Group of Famagusta 1988: 9). The poet Charalambides metaphorically refers to the ghost town, as a *Regina* (Queen [in Latin]) (Herodotou 2002: 8). According to Vassiliadou, during Byzantine rule (AD 965-1191) women found strength in legends such as that of Regina who was said to be a powerful woman. 'Regina was the utopian … The one to exist only in legends but never in reality. The ultimate dream … She was a "complete woman" but also had the period's perceived masculine traits that allowed her to be anything she wanted' (Vassiliadou 1997: 105).

Figure 4a Famagusta beach exclusion zone and deserted hotels, 2003 (Photograph by author)

Figure 4b View from Deryneia of Famagusta hotels and deserted houses, 2001 (Photograph by author)

Figure 5a Famagusta deserted hotel, 2003
(Photograph by author)

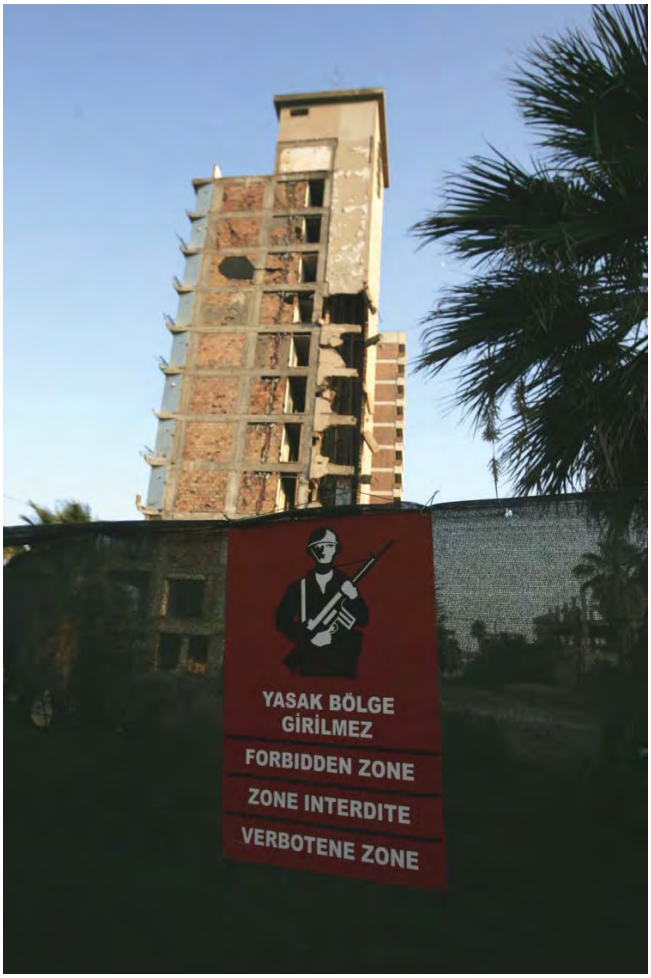

Figure 5b Famagusta exclusion zone, 2003
(Photograph by author)

After the war, Deryneia became a border village with a predominately Greek population.[4] It was partitioned from Famagusta by the imposition of the UN-controlled buffer zone (see Figures 6a, 6b).[5]

In this chapter I give a brief history of Cyprus, specifically Deryneia, in order to highlight some of the pivotal moments that have influenced my informants' lives. My focus is on British rule (1878-1960), as for many of my informants, this was a crucial period in their lives and for many Australian Cypriots this was the regime that motivated them to leave Cyprus. Since my leaving the field in 2002, Cyprus has undergone further changes, but this chapter focuses on Deryneia up until the early 2000s.

The island's two main ethnic groups are Greek and Turkish Cypriot.[6] Scholars date the Greek presence in Cyprus to the Mycenaeans in 1400 BC, though the Byzantine era (AD 300-1192) is considered the most influential period of Greek enculturation. Turkish Cypriot heritage was firmly established during Ottoman rule (AD 1571-1878) when substantial numbers of Turks settled in Cyprus.[7]

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[4] Pre-1946 censuses indicated that Deryneia was ethnically Greek. The 1946 census does not record ethnicity but evidence suggests two Muslims were living in Deryneia. Pre-1956 censuses show the Turkish population was more urbanised than the Greek and this might explain why Deryneia was predominately a Greek village. For example, in 1956 out of 78,122 people living in rural areas of Famagusta, 12,064 were Turks compared with 66,019 Greeks (Republic of Cyprus (RC) 1961: 23). In 1956 there was only one Turk residing in Deryneia and the 1960 census records only five.

[5] The 180 km long buffer zone is the area between the cease fire lines of the Turkish Cypriot army and the Greek Cypriot army, patrolled by the UNFICYP (United Nations Peacekeeping Force In Cyprus). It is also referred to as *Nekri Zoni* (no man's land or the Dead Zone). The cease-fire line is also known as the Attila Line or Green line. Goodwin (1985: 629) suggests that it became the Green line after a green pencil was drawn on a map at the British army barracks to indicate the cease-fire line.

[6] In 2001 the population of the south was almost 800,000.

[7] Since antiquity, Cyprus has been viewed as a great territorial prize for imperial powers wishing to control the eastern Mediterranean, and as a consequence throughout its history Cyprus has had numerous rulers. It has been the vassal of the Mycenaeans, Assyrians, Egyptians, Persians, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs, Lusignans, Venetians, Turks and British.

Figure 6a Deryneia, UN-controlled zone, 2002
(Photograph by author)

Figure 6b Deryneia, Dead Zone, 2002
(Photograph by author)

In 1878 the Ottoman Empire gave Cyprus as vassalage to the British for a yearly tribute and in 1923 Britain annexed the island.[8] It gained independence from Britain in 1960 and became the Republic of Cyprus. In 1960 the population consisted of approximately 80 per cent Greek Cypriots and 18 per cent Turkish Cypriots; the remainder included Maronites, Armenians, Latins and others (RC 1962).[9]

The Origins of Deryneia

Deryneia is often referred to as one of the Red Soil Villages (*Kokkinohoria*), a term used to denote the district and its rich farming soil (see Figures 7a, 7b).[10] Archaeological records reveal that on the outskirts of Deryneia lay an ancient settlement dating back to the Neolithic Age (Keshishian 1985: 26). Jack Goodwin, in *An Historical Toponymy of Cyprus*, suggests that the village was originally named Yerenia, after an ancient kingdom in Greece and possibly was Byzantine (Goodwin 1985: 518).[11] During Lusignan (1192-1489) and Venetian (1489-1571) dominions, Deryneia was a feudal estate (Goodwin 1985: 1736).

Local informants give differing accounts of Deryneia's origins; most claim that the original inhabitants came from an area between Deryneia and the Famagusta coast.[12]

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[8] In June 1878, Britain became administrator of the island and paid tribute to the Ottoman Empire. Until 1902 the tribute payment was more than half of Cyprus' tax revenue (Apostolides 1987: 618). In 1927 it was abolished (Anthias 1992: 36).

[9] Since 1974 the Republic of Cyprus has not provided demographic statistics for North Cyprus. Since then, mainland Turks have settled in North Cyprus and the Republic of Cyprus claims that the north has brought in more Turks from the mainland than it acknowledges.

[10] The soil is a deep red colour due to the high metal oxide content. It is known as *Terra rosa*.

[11] Goodwin's two-volume book is based on the uncompleted research of Costas Pilavakis, who died in 1981. Goodwin incorporates archival data and interviews with elder male villagers. I was unable to verify Goodwin's claim for the original name of Deryneia.

[12] The Deryneia municipality also supports this version and states that the village name is derived from Therimio. This was respectively changed to Drinio, Drinia and then Deryneia (Deryneia Municipality n.d.b).

Figure 7a Deryneia, market garden, 2001
(Photograph by author)

Figure 7b Deryneia, hot house, 2001
(Photograph by author)

This idea refers to the ancient settlement of Therimio which lies one kilometre east of the village and has one of the oldest churches in the area, Agia Marina (St Marina), built during the Byzantine era.[13] Many claim that pirates attacked Therimio, forcing the residents to move inland, where they established Deryneia.[14]

The first church in Deryneia dates back to the 15th or 16th century and village documents of 1675 establish that there was a priest and an organised parish community, although probably small (Platis 1995: 5). The first reliable population statistics were compiled in the early 1800s (see Table 1), and until the late 1930s the population grew slowly. In the 1940s Deryneia's population steadily increased, although this was followed by a decline in the 1950s due to increased emigration. However, in the 1960s, numbers grew significantly, largely as a result of urbanisation in the area.[15] The most striking growth occurred after 1974, when a large influx of Greek Cypriot refugees from north Cyprus arrived, many of whom still live in Deryneia.

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[13] Since 1974 this area has been located in the buffer zone. During the 1974 war it was burnt down and later rebuilt by the Deryneian municipality and AUSCON (Goodwin 1985: 1773). It is now visited by pilgrims once a year under UN escort.

[14] There are various travel accounts of pirates in the area, for example it is noted by the early 18th century travel writer Vasyl Bars'kyj (1730) (cited in Wallace & Orphanides 1996: 24).

[15] In 1960 Deryneia was ranked the 17th largest village in Cyprus and in 1982 it was the 14th (Goodwin 1985: 1766). The latter figure did not include villages in North Cyprus.

Table 1: Population of Deryneia 1800-2004

Year	Population	Source
1800	150	Platis (1995: 5)
1850	300-350	Platis (1995: 5)
1881	454	Great Britain Colonial Office (hereafter CO), 1884 (first census taken by the British administration)
1901	569	CCG (Cyprus Colonial Government) 1901
1902	580	Platis (1995: 5)[16]
1921	785	CO 1922b
1931	943	CCG 1932
1946	1,593	CCG 1949
1956	1,377	CCG 1956b
1960	2,741	RC 1962 [17]
1982	3,345	RC 1985
1992	4,165	RC 1993
2001	4,954	RC 2004a
2004	6,500	Deryneia Municipality (n.d.b) [18]

In the two decades after WWII the local economy of Famagusta prospered, largely as a result of the growing tourist industry. Albert Meyer and Simos Vassiliou (1962: 12) found that this was also linked to emigrant remittances and until 1955 this and tourism contributed 10 million dollars annually to the economy. As a result some people in the region bought agricultural land north of Deryneia to build their homes and soon after, the village of Kato Deryneia (lower) was established. According to Goodwin (1985: 518), by 1974 housing development was encroaching on agrarian land. Houses replaced fruit trees, particularly the vast orange groves. In 1974 Kato Deryneia had

[16] This figure was obtained from the records of the village *mouktaris* (village headman). Each village had a *mouktaris* and his duties included assisting government officials, and the registration of births and deaths. Traditionally, the *mouktaris* collated demographic statistics using baptism records, as Cypriots were not issued with birth certificates. These were gathered from the church registrar. However, these statistics were not always accurate, as not all were baptised at the local church.

[17] The 1960 census was also the last to include statistics for the whole island and until 1982 only smaller censuses were conducted as a result of inter-communal fighting and the 1974 war.

[18] This included 600 Greek Cypriot refugees most of whom lived in refugee hostels on the outskirts of Deryneia, and 1,000 refugees from Kato Deryneia which, since 1974, has lain in the occupied and buffer zones (Deryneia Municipality n.d.b).

approximately 800 inhabitants (Platis 1995: 6);[19] Peter Hocknell (2001: 288) believes that had the events of 1974 not occurred, it would now be a suburb of Famagusta. Hocknell's assertions may have been realised, as the growing population of Kato Deryneia, and the extensive tourist development on the Famagusta coastline at that time, resulted in people building houses ever nearer to Deryneia.[20] Many Deryneians also assert that the tourist boom led to high rents and exorbitant land prices in Famagusta city, forcing people to move away from the urban centre.

Famagusta[21]

Located strategically between Europe and Asia, the port of Famagusta has historically been an important military post and commercial centre (Keshishian 1985: 31).[22] Stories passed down through generations suggest that before Ottoman rule, Deryneian farmers sold produce at the Famagusta harbour for export. In Famagusta city, villagers were also said to have bartered for essential supplies and exchanged their produce during large religious festivals.

In mid-1570, the Ottomans invaded Cyprus, but it took a year of heavy fighting for Famagusta to succumb (Drummond 1754 cited in Cobham 1908: 271; Hill 1952).[23]

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[19] Panagiotes Platis is a local researcher. His book *Deryneia and its Roots* (1995, 2005 in Greek) is primarily based on interviews. His first edition lacks citations and a bibliography, but his second acknowledges that his information was gathered from the Deryneian primary school archives, the Deryneian cultural association and church minutes, as well as the accounts of the priest and older residents.

[20] Historian Keshishian (1985: 122) states that by the 1970s, rural areas close to Famagusta city were becoming urbanised. A prosperous economy and improved infrastructure in the province, such as roads, electricity, and an increase of secondary schools meant that people no longer had to move into the city (Keshishian 1985: 122).

[21] Cyprus was administratively divided into the six districts of Famagusta, Keryneia, Larnaka, Lemesos, Pafos and Nicosia.

[22] Under the Venetians (1489-1571 AD), a fortification was built and Famagusta became an important military post.

[23] See Foglietta Uberto (1903) on women's role in the fighting.

Oral histories suggest that the build-up of Ottoman troops through the region prevented farmers from sowing crops and selling their produce at the Famagusta port.[24]

The beginning of Ottoman rule held much promise with the restoration of economic and religious rights previously denied under the Lusignans and Venetians. Most important was the handing back of power to the Greek Orthodox church (Loizos 2001: 15; Maier 1968: 118; Melamid 1956).[25] The latter gained much support from the population as under Lusignan rule, Greek Cypriots were forced to convert to Roman Catholicism. However, support for the new rulers was short-lived. The Cypriot economy was slowly impoverished as the Ottomans invested little in infrastructure (Hill 1952). Living standards declined and excessive taxes on agricultural lands forced many to emigrate. Agriculture also suffered as a result of natural disasters (famines, droughts, plagues, earthquakes and locusts).[26]

In 1573 the Ottomans prohibited Christians and Greek Cypriots from residing within, and in many cases even entering, the walled city of Famagusta.[27] This led to the resettlement of many Greek Cypriots south of Famagusta in Varosha, which was to become the economic hub of the region, the place where Deryneians bought and sold goods.[28] Without access to the harbour, Greeks were forced to find alternate routes to

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[24] Historical sources support villagers' accounts. See Ludwig Ross (in Cobham 1910). Also Calepio (in Cobham 1908: 122-162) reported that Ottoman troops set up camp at the hill of Saint Marina. Cyprianos, an Archimandrite of the Church of Cyprus (in Cobham 1908: 345), also mentions that war prevented crop planting in the area.

[25] The Venetians were known for their repressive military rule. They also imposed heavy taxes on the population, which led to a decline in agriculture in the Famagusta region. As a consequence many traders stopped using Famagusta harbour and moved to Larnaka (Keshishan 1985: 38).

[26] In 1668 traveller Van Bruyn reported locust plagues throughout rural Famagusta (in Cobham 1908: 241). In 1845 Ludwig Ross also reported that the east half of the island was plagued with locust (in Cobham 1910: 11).

[27] See for example, Heyman (1758, in Cobham 1908: 249). In 1845, Ludwig Ross reported that in some villages near Famagusta city, villagers pretended to follow Islam but secretly baptised their children as Greek Orthodox (in Cobham 1910: 106). This was possibly a strategy to gain access to the Famagusta city and avoid the higher taxes levied on the Greek population.

[28] In 1974 Varosha was annexed and came under control of Turkish troops. An agreement with the UN has meant that it remains uninhabited. Local Greek Cypriots claim that Turks agreed not to inhabit this area so that in the future they can use it as a bargaining tool in political negotiations.

export and import products. The closest harbour with suitable infrastructure was Larnaka and this soon replaced Famagusta in importance for the Greek population.

During British rule, Famagusta regained its status as the main port of Cyprus, although Varosha continued to be a major commercial area and also became the colonial administrative centre for the Famagusta region. In his first report to the British administration in 1879, the commissioner of Famagusta, Captain James Inglis, noted that commerce in the province was controlled by Greek merchants from Varosha, who bought directly from the villagers of the district and exported their produce (Inglis 1880: 89). The main cash crops for export were cereals such as wheat, barley and oats. In Varosha and surrounding villages (including Deryneia) there were also orange, lemon and pomegranate orchards. Pomegranates were exported in large quantities to eastern Mediterranean countries (Inglis 1880: 77). There were also substantial market gardens of potatoes, melons, onions and other vegetables, which largely supplied the local population.

Most villages in the region were poor and according to Inglis it was rare for villagers to eat meat. Disease was rampant, particularly in the summer months, but Deryneia was an exception thanks to its cooler inland climate. In the summer of 1879, English administrators set up an encampment north of the village in order to escape the searing heat of Famagusta city (Inglis 1880: 78).

British Rule (1878-1960) [29]

British rule brought massive changes to the economic, political and social structure of the country. Within three years most of the major towns had roads that led to the capital

[29] In 1882 the Colonial government established a constitution for Cyprus. A legislative council was set up with twelve elected members, three representatives of the Muslim community (Turkish Cypriots) and nine from the Christian community (Greek Cypriots). Another six seats were filled by appointed British civil servants, and a high commissioner who was given a casting vote. See Maier (1968) and Panteli (1984) for an analysis of the council's operation.

(Attalides 1981: 50).[30] However, there was no road link between Varosha and Larnaka. In 1886 the commissioner of Famagusta, Arthur Young, informed the British administration that roads were urgently needed in the region. In his request, Young added, 'I mean roads over which a cart can travel in all weathers' (Young 1887a: 62). During the winter months, carts could not pass on the road and as a consequence supplies from Larnaka were brought to Varosha by sea. Villagers were forced to pay boat operators exorbitant freight charges which inflated prices. In 1896 the British administration introduced the Village Roads Law to ensure swift progress in road construction. All villagers were obliged to work six days annually, on roads or other public projects (Luke & Jardine 1920: 177).[31]

Improvements to the road system benefited Varsoha more than Deryneia. For example, in 1903 Varosha and Nicosia were linked by a good road, but only a dirt track connected this road to Deryneia (Bellamy 1903: 6). Many older Deryneians recalled that improvements to major roads in the area meant that travelling time to the fields was substantially reduced. This particularly benefited farmers whose fields abutted the Famagusta foreshore. The expansion of road networks eventually led to a rapid expansion of urban infrastructure and population. Between 1921 and 1940 the urban population of Cyprus increased at twice the rate of the rural population (Attalides 1981: 52).

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[30] On their arrival they found little infrastructure and only one road on which carts could travel from Larnaka to Nicosia (Baker 1879; Rye & Grosser 1917: 51). The British saw the expansion of roads as essential to their rule. High Commissioner Sir Garnet Wolseley wrote to authorities in England (dated 29 September 1878) that 'To make this country a valuable possession, in fact, if we are to show that we are fit to govern it, we must make roads through it next year' (CO 1879a: 1).

[31] Until this time the British authorities paid locals to build roads. However, Sir Wolseley, in the letter mentioned above, accused locals of being lazy and taking money without completing the work; he proposed that the government either introduce a new law or reintroduce the Ottoman road laws (CO 1879a: 1). In reply, the Marquis of Salisbury (25 October 1878) stated that he could introduce either law but warned that he must fine those that do not comply rather than use other forms of punishment 'otherwise we shall be charged with setting up slavery' (CO 1879a: 1).

British Taxes

The colonial government continued the Ottoman system of collecting tithes, with the administration taking a share of each villager's household produce (Baker 1879: Appendix). However, under the Tithe Law of 1881, the chief British administrator of Cyprus, Major-General Robert Biddulph, ordered that the payment of tithes on all crops and other produce was now to be in cash rather than kind (SLC 1923: 244).[32] The colonial government relied solely on the island's revenue for its budget and to pay the tribute owing to the Ottomans. Therefore additional taxes were imposed on the population, over and above tithing.[33]

Older Deryneians recall that colonial taxes were excessive and many farmers had to borrow from money-lenders to pay, particularly when crops failed. David Bocci (1881), chief engineer of the Famagusta region, reported that even with a good harvest, farmers' profits were spent largely to pay off debts from previous bad years (TNA: PRO, CO 883/2/2).[34] In 1886, Commissioner Young reported that most villagers in the region were in debt and 'the large interests charged by usurers, who are chiefly merchants, have kept them in debt' (Young 1887a: 62). Young also found that to prevent starvation, villagers often ate the dried corn kernels meant for sowing the next year's crop. To replace the corn seed, farmers borrowed more money, thus leaving them in an endless cycle of debt to money-lenders who benefited further by charging exorbitant interest on loans.

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[32] The Statute Laws of Cyprus (SLC).

[33] The tribute, however, never went to the Ottomans but directly to the British treasury (Anthias 1992: 36).

[34] National Archives of the UK: Public Record Office, hereafter TNA: PRO.

Lack of modern machinery, fertilisers and poor irrigation resulted in crop failure and poor quality crops. Droughts and plagues compounded the problem.[35] In 1886 Deryneian farmers were in a state of impoverishment as the harvests of wheat, barley and vetches were one-third of the previous year's crops (Young 1887b: 25). Young requested government assistance to provide corn seed to farmers and relieve village taxes. High Commissioner Bulwer did advance some seed stock to Deryneia, with the proviso that seed loans be repaid at the end of the harvest (CO 1887: 32). However, the produce could only be sold after all taxes were paid (Hill 1952: 444).

In this period, most villagers were in some form of debt and as a result forced to hand over their crop to creditors. This also meant they had no control over the market prices. My informant Despina (aged 71) recalled:

> When the English were here we could not sell our vegetables, as they used to take them for nothing and send them to England. We did not have anyone representing us and there was no open market where we could sell our produce freely. If we couldn't pay the taxes, the English would just take our crops [trans. from Greek].

In fact, during 1919-1920 the British administration imposed a fixed price on wheat, barley and oats (CO 1920: 3), and in the 1940s took complete control of the selling of cereals such as wheat and barley. Villagers reported that they were only permitted to sell crops to government storage centres, which undervalued the produce. Farmers also incurred additional expenses such as tolls placed on goods brought into Famagusta city for sale there or for export. In his 1935 report Sir Ralph Oakden (1935: 53), the financial commissioner of Cyprus, stated that the toll paid by the merchant 'ultimately falls on the villager, as it is covered by a decreased price offered for his product.' Colonial taxation and official corruption meant that it was impossible for Deryneians to save or invest in agricultural improvements such as new machinery.

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[35] In 1882 the commissioner of Famagusta reported locust plagues in the region (CO 1882: 123) and Sir Henry Bulwer wrote of drought during 1888 (CO 1889: 112).

Deryneians claimed that excessive taxes and restrictive regulations were unnecessary. Especially onerous was the tax on salt.[36] Under the 1889 Salt Law a person caught harvesting salt without a permit could be imprisoned for up to 12 months (SLC 1923: 253). Furthermore, salt was taxed at an exorbitant rate and the colonial government deliberately limited supply in order to boost prices (Panteli 1984: 144).[37] In Deryneia there was much resentment over the salt tax, particularly among women, who used it in cooking and as a preservative for meat, which was only eaten on special occasions.[38] Salt was also an essential ingredient in the production of *halloumi* (goat or sheep's cheese) which many women sold at market.[39] Of all the taxes, this was the one most mentioned by Cypriot informants who had migrated to Melbourne in the mid-1900s. Many cited it to demonstrate how oppressive life had been under British rule.

As early as 1888 Deryneians voiced their protest against excessive taxation, when they joined other villages in the Famagusta province in a public meeting in Varosha. A resolution was signed and given to the commissioner of Famagusta demanding that the colonial government improve living standards and end the curtailment of their rights (CO 1888: 97). Their first demand was that more power be given to Cypriot members of the legislative council. The second resolution was designed to ameliorate the plight of farmers and proposed less taxation, financial relief for agriculturalists and government investment in the development of agriculture. The third resolution called for the repeal of police laws, and the regulation of civil and penal

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[36] See the *Cyprus Blue Book* (CBB) for taxes levied on the population. The CBB was an annual government gazetteer which published all export and import figures, government revenue and spending, taxes, laws and matters dealing with British administration in Cyprus.

[37] As a result, the theft of salt from colonial storage centres was said to have been a major problem (Hill 1952; Panteli 1984). The Famagusta courts registered that of 405 convictions to the end of 1931, 368 were for salt theft (Panteli 1984: 144).

[38] The colonial government's 1930 taxation report acknowledged that salt prices were too high and that the salt tax fell heavily on the rural population. The report stated that salt was an essential ingredient for the 'food of the poor classes' (CCG 1930: 9).

[39] Sir Samuel Baker (1879) noted that *halloumi* was considered a valuable item for trade and export.

procedures.[40] Their final demand was that the government establish an agricultural savings bank in order to reduce reliance on money-lenders. However, few of their demands were met.

Local farmers also tried to pool their resources by establishing co-operative societies. The first co-operative bank was set up in Deryneia in 1917 and provided low-interest small loans (Platis 1995: 72). However, it was forced to close in 1925 after the colonial government banned it from trading.[41]

By the late 1920s approximately 25 per cent of the population of Cyprus was living on or below subsistence level, whilst the standard of living of the remaining population was not much higher than those in poverty (Surridge 1930: 35). In his report to the colonial government on rural life in Cyprus, colonial administrator Brewster Surridge found that the standard of living of a labourer and a 'peasant proprietor' was much the same (Surridge 1930: 33).[42] Some informants disagreed with this account, claiming a great disparity between 'poor' and 'rich' villagers which aggravated the class divide.

Those without land were considered the poorest. Paraskevi (73), who immigrated to Australia in the early 1960s, remembered:

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[40] For Greek Cypriots the third resolution was intended to address the disproportionate number of Turkish police officers. For example, in 1879 of the 65 police officers in the Famagusta region, 8 were Greek and 57 were Turkish (Biddulph 1880: 101). It is interesting to note that in the 1900-1 financial year the British administration's greatest expenditure was on police. It spent £25,638 compared to £618 spent on rural medical aid (CBB 1900-1: 59).

[41] In 1927 the Deryneia co-operative credit society 'Homonia' was set up and for years it unsuccessfully sought government subsidies. In 1932, with increasingly more farmers unable to pay off their debts, the government finally gave it some assistance (CBB 1932: 394). Nevertheless, two years later it was forced to close and guarantors lost their assets.

[42] Surridge's findings are based on an inquiry into the 'peasantry in Cyprus.' Governor Sir Ronald Storrs stipulated that a survey be administered under the supervision of each district commissioner. The survey was conducted by a number of 'Government officials, retired officials, lawyers, and merchants,' who distributed a questionnaire to villages (Surridge 1930: 7). Surridge (1930: 7) recognised that many questions were intrusive and stated: 'Nor can the villagers themselves be blamed for failing to respond to the extensive and seemingly intrusive cross-examination to which they were subjected.' Though the survey gives a good indication of life in the late 1920s, it is likely that the plight of villagers was even more desperate and clearly much of the information is derived from village men, ignoring the plight of women.

> The plot adjacent to my family's small vegetable garden was empty for many years. We rented the plot in the 1940s but for many years the owners did not cultivate. They were so financially comfortable that they didn't need to plant anything.

Paraskevi's recollections were echoed by several informants who reported that villagers with uncultivated land were often the wealthiest in the village. In fact, land left uncropped for more than a year was taxed by the colonial authorities, as a way to increase production and tax revenue (Jenness 1962: 123).

Between the 1920s and 1940s many farmers went bankrupt.[43] In Deryneia, several lost their land and were forced to sell household items and livestock to service debts.[44] Many lost their land and homes after failing to repay loans, while women from the poorest families were particularly disadvantaged as without a dowry, their marriage prospects were diminished (discussed further in Chapter Four). In the 1940s Androulla's parents lost their house and she recalls the public humiliation they experienced when her father's name was posted on a public notice outside the local church for failing to pay his taxes.[45] Their house was expropriated by a money-lender but some 10 years later Androulla bought the house back and included it as part of her dowry. It is unknown how many Deryneians left the village as a result of bankruptcies, but locals suggest that many moved to major towns or overseas in search of work.[46]

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[43] Between 1920 and 1926 there were 16,559 forced land sales (Apostolides 1987: 618).

[44] Surridge (1930: 36) states that it was impossible to determine how many people were in debt in the 1920s, as villagers were very secretive and unwilling to answer such questions. He found that in half the villages of the Famagusta district most people refused to answer questions on debt.

[45] Under the Tax Collection Law 1932, tax collectors could issue warrants to villagers who had not paid their taxes within 10 days of the due date. Warrants were listed in the government gazette and public notices placed on the main church or mosque door in the village (SLC 1932, no.70).

[46] In 1932 of 16,194 people living in Famagusta town, only 7,028 were born there; 5,157 came from other villages in the Famagusta district and the rest came from other parts of Cyprus or abroad (CO 1933: 8).

The Struggle against Colonial Rule

Economic hardship heightened anti-colonial sentiment. In 1931 mass demonstrations by Greek Cypriots demanded tax reform. On 21 October 1931, violent conflict escalated and protesters burned down the governor's house in Nicosia. Several days later the police station in Famagusta was attacked, whereupon the police opened fire, killing one civilian and wounding several others (Panteli 1984: 142). The government responded by deploying troops from Egypt to control the social unrest (*The Times* 26 October 1931a: 11).

Governor Storrs reported that on 24 October 1931, a public meeting held in Varosha attracted a crowd of approximately 8,000 people and led to mayhem. In his correspondence to the British government he noted that the rebellion in Varosha was 'complicated by the incursion of villagers into the town. Agitators were busy in the district urging them to come in' (Storrs 1932: 17). Unrest in the Famagusta region deepened and on 26 October several forest plantations were torched, four local police stations ransacked and three salt stores looted (Storrs 1932: 28). Moreover, telegraph wires were cut, for which several people were arrested (*The Times* 27 October 1931: 10). Two days later an armed force from Nicosia was brought in and villages close to Varosha, including Deryneia, were patrolled and placed under curfew (Storrs 1932: 28).

The colonial administration retaliated, convicting leaders of the anti-British movement and exiling many, including several priests and bishops.[47] The administration also took control of the church and in 1937 usurped the right to govern all church affairs, whereby all elected archbishops had to be approved by the colonial government (CCG 1956a: 6). Elder Deryneians reported that interference in religious matters was

[47] Information taken from various newspapers (see *The Times,* 26 October 1931b: 11; 10 November 1931: 14). Also see Panteli (1995: 46). The bishop of Keryneia was sent to Malta and ten other protestors were deported to England (see Alastos 1955: 355 and Holland 1998: 4).

greeted with much dissent, a few recalling that it was not the first time that the British had meddled in church affairs.[48]

After the 1931 rebellion more restrictions were imposed on the population. Education was placed under colonial control (discussed in more detail in Chapter Five), political parties were banned, the legislative council was abolished and the constitution suspended (CBB 1931). All printed materials were censored, and the flying of the Greek and Turkish flags banned (CG 1931: 1043).[49] Greek flags were removed from all buildings in the Famagusta area (TNA: PRO CO 67/244/8). The government introduced the Village Authorities Law (1931), giving the governor power to appoint and dismiss the *mouktaris* (village head), who previously had been elected by villagers (CG 1931: 1045). In Deryneia the *mouktaris* was dismissed after refusing to give evidence against Deryneians involved in the rebellion (Platis 1995: 76). Police were also given the right to search domestic and public premises, as well as to search people on the street (Alastos 1955: 357). After 1931, public gatherings of more than five people required a permit (SLC 1932, no.54). Furthermore, the imposition of the Indemnity Law of 1932 exempted government personnel from litigation during the unrest (SLC 1932, no.71).

In Deryneia, wedding processions and street celebrations were banned and several people reported that a permit was required for wedding parties held at home. During wedding celebrations, some blackened windows to avoid detection by the authorities, particularly as nightly curfews were enforced.[50] One regulation that Deryneians frequently complained about was the ban on ringing church and school

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[48] The most cited incident occurred in 1879 when the commissioner of Famagusta ordered the beards and hair of two priests to be cut off after they were imprisoned. The first was imprisoned for cutting down trees on his property without a permit and the second for not signing a debt summons (CO 1879b).

[49] Newspapers were censored and the colonial authorities could prohibit the circulation of newspapers that were 'contrary to religion, morality, order or good government' (CO 1933: 51).

[50] Under the Assemblies, Meetings and Processions Law 1932, the commissioner had the right to prohibit any assembly even in the cases of a 'marriage or funeral procession which in his opinion is likely to be conducted in a seditious or disorderly manner' (SLC 1932, no. 54).

bells.[51] For Deryneian women the church bell heralded news of community activities, such as church services or deaths.

During World War II the state of emergency was extended throughout the region. Many informants viewed this as a response to war in the region, but also as a convenient way for the colonial government to legitimate absolute power and deny them political and civil rights.[52] Under the Emergency Powers Act 1939, the ban on public assemblies of more than five people was again instituted, which included a prohibition on dance and musical events (CCG 1940: 356-58). Censorship laws were introduced and all media publications, including local language newspapers were heavily monitored. Furthermore, the government declared that no statement could be voiced if it caused 'disaffection to His Majesty or to the government … raise discontent amongst His Majesty's subjects or inhabitants of the colony' (CCG 1940: 358).

The Economy and Deryneian Farmers

The 1930s world-wide economic recession increased rural indebtedness and many Deryneians experienced great hardships. In 1936 the commissioner of Famagusta reported that every week increasing numbers of farmers were dispossessed of their land (TNA: PRO CO 67/271/13, 15). He found that after losing land some villagers in the province went abroad, while most migrated to the major towns in search of work and a few worked as labourers on other farmers' plots. The commissioner granted some of the most destitute farmers assistance by providing seed stock for planting, on the proviso that they work on road infrastructure (TNA: PRO CO 67/271/13, 15).

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[51] Under this law no bell could be rung without the written consent of the commissioner (CG 1931, no.18).

[52] In 1943 the colonial authorities complained that they were receiving too many petitions from the population: 'Every government control order has indeed been met with a spontaneous unspoken conspiracy of non-co-operation in which the majority of the public participates. This attitude is a distinct feature in the Cyprus scene' (TNA: PRO CO 852/510/1, 4).

By the late 1930s the economy started to recover. The export of citrus fruit and pomegranates from Deryneia, largely to Egypt, had increased substantially (Platis 1995: 12).[53] In 1937, Famagusta province was also the largest potato supplier to local and export markets.[54] Many Deryneians took to growing potatoes as a cash crop because it involved lower overheads, cheap labour was available and family labour could be used (discussed in Chapter Six). Potatoes were also a biannual crop and could be grown on smaller plots of land, which in the 1930s was necessary as a result of land sub-division.[55]

During the 1940s and 1950s, land fragmentation affected the Famagusta region as the population increased exponentially.[56] Land fragmentation was largely a result of dowry/bride-wealth and land inheritance practices which meant that all off-spring were given a portion of their parents' land and/or houses or other items on the land. Land holdings were often scattered over a 15 kilometre radius. Land subdivision also resulted from wealthy landowners splitting their holdings into small plots to lease to villagers (Lanitis 1944: 10). Several Deryneians claimed that the church was the largest land owner in the region leasing small holdings to farmers.

A 1946 colonial government report by the Land Utilization Committee concluded that land fragmentation made it extremely difficult for farmers to survive solely on agriculture (CCG 1946). They found that maintaining small plots incurred greater cultivation costs, particularly when holdings were not located close to one another. Shortages of water also meant that farmers had to invest in alternate water

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[53] In 1943 Cyprus exported 11,350 pomegranates and in 1946, 24,825; by 1947 this had fallen to 4,435.

[54] The largest export markets were Palestine and Egypt (CBB 1937: 323). According to my informants, the most fertile irrigated fields were those close to the sea. The introduction of windmills in the 1940s contributed to rising salinity and degradation of the fields (Platis 1995: 9).

[55] According to Christodoulou (1959: 152) in the 1940s the rapid growth of potato production in the red district was a result of new engine pumps and boreholes which allowed irrigation. In 1946, 10 per cent of the regions' crops were potatoes (Christodoulou 1959: 152).

[56] Between 1946 and 1960 the urban population had increased by 77.8 per cent, while in rural areas it increased by 10 per cent (RC 1971: 3).

sources such as artesian bores, but for many Deryneians this was not economically feasible since their small holdings were located in various locations.

To address the problems of land fragmentation the government introduced the Immovable Property Law (1946). This prohibited dual ownership and set minimum plot sizes. However, the colonial government's attempts were largely unsuccessful. By 1960, land subdivision meant that few could derive their entire income from farming (Attalides 1981). In 1960, while the average size land holding was 46.6 *donums*,[57] by 1985 it was 28.3 (RC 1987: 19). Even at the time of my fieldwork, dual land ownership and the granting of immovable property continued. For example, as part of her dowry, Evaggelia (34) was given half an olive grove on her brother's land, which was previously given to him as bride-wealth by his parents.[58] In another example, two sisters inherited equal shares of a land plot, while their brother inherited an orchard on the same land. In both cases, ownership of immovable property was a verbal agreement.

A few months prior to Britain's declaration of war in 1939, the colonial government severely restricted the export of fruit and vegetables and the restrictions continued throughout the war, leaving many farmers in a state of economic despair. The ban on citrus exports (the largest export market was the UK) was particularly devastating to farmers in the Famagusta region, as five per cent of crops were abandoned and twenty per cent were left in a poor state (CBB 1937: 318; Christodoulou 1959: 166).[59] In May 1939 the export of potatoes was also prohibited (CCG 1940: 149). The effect was that crops near completion were left to rot. Georgina's family (she immigrated to Australia in 1949) had planted their entire field with potatoes:

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[57] One *donum* = 1, 600 square yards and 3,025 *donums* = 1 acre (Keshishian 1985: 15).

[58] Bride-wealth is here used to mean property, or money, which a groom brings (often supplied by his parents) to a marriage. This is different from the conventional anthropological definition which is that bride-wealth is given by the groom (or parents and relatives) to the bride's family in exchange for rights over the bride.

[59] In February 1940 citrus growers in the Famagusta region petitioned the colonial government for financial assistance and deferment of debt (TNA: PRO CO 852/317/3).

> We put so many potatoes in, but when they were ready to harvest there was no market. We had to bury the potatoes beneath the soil so as to wait for the market. After a few weeks I returned to the Famagusta market, but it was a waste of time. All day there and I didn't sell any, because the British were not letting us export them. We couldn't sell them because everyone had potatoes in the district, so who were we going to sell ours to?

Georgina's family, like many other others, was compelled to take high-interest loans to get them through the season and even years after the war many farmers were still servicing these loans.[60]

Older Deryneians remembered the 1940s and 1950s as one of the bleakest times of their lives.[61] Most worked on the family farm but often this was not enough to sustain the family and several members sought work beyond the region or migrated to Varosha.[62] A number of landless families, who were reliant on seasonal agricultural work, were also forced to look for work elsewhere. Often female members of these families were sent to work as maids in major towns, many of whom were exploited by their employers. Some Deryneian men like the brother of Anthi (73) also joined the British Army to escape poverty.[63]

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[60] In 1945, the Cyprus governor wrote 'chronic indebtedness and the stranglehold of the moneylender were a millstone round the farmer's neck' (Panteli 1984: 197). Even in cases where a farmer's crop was successful, the debt from previous years rolled over and 'gave the merchant the right to buy produce at an exchange rate that he could fix' (Anthias 1992: 34).

[61] In 1946 about 55 per cent of Cyprus' population were farmers and the industrial sector was quite small (Anthias 1992: 36). High levels of under/unemployment characterised the plight of the rural population throughout Cyprus and 'underemployment ranges as high as 30% of rural labour force' (Meyer and Vassiliou 1962: 36). In 1949 wages fell severely 'due to decline in the export demand for agricultural products, reduced purchasing power in the pockets of the villagers and the emergence of unemployment for the first time on any scale since the early days of the war' (CO 1950: 10).

[62] From 1946 to 1956 the number of inhabitants in Famagusta had increased by 68.1 per cent, the highest rate of any city in Cyprus (CO 1959: 67).

[63] According to Kelling (1990: 57) 37,000 Cypriot men, approximately one man in every ten, served in the British forces. In a memorandum, the secretary of state for war (22 January 1939) stated that to allow Cypriots to serve in the Imperial Army was a good strategy to gain 'pro-British patriotism among the population of Cyprus' (NAA: A5954, 1711/6).

In Deryneia, few could remember having the benefit of machinery such as tractors until the late 1950s.[64] In the *Kokkinohoria* mules were the common beast of burden used to draw carts, ploughs and water wheels (CCG 1949). Yiannis (78), now living in Australia, recalled:

> There was no machinery, everything we did was by hand. When we grew wheat and hops we were bending down in the field all day with our cutting instruments. Then we had to dry the crop. My family had two mules. I would stand behind them as they took the cart. All day I followed the animals around and around to grind the wheat. Today it's all machinery ... It was very tiring work. That's why we came here [Australia]. We were looking for a better life.

In the 1950s, agricultural practices were still far from efficient. Oral accounts indicate that farming had changed little from when the British first arrived.[65] Even in the late 1950s, villagers reported that most agriculturalists hired tractors from more affluent farmers in the region. In some cases, the tractor was hired out on the proviso that the owners also operate it and receive payment for doing so.

Another major problem faced by agriculturalists in Deryneia was the lack of water.[66] In the 1940s and 1950s, Androulla (88) claimed, Deryneian farmers illegally dug wells, often resulting in fines and in seizure of land when the fee was left unpaid.[67] Others claimed that the colonial authority acquisitioned agricultural land for its water,

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[64] In 1950 Cyprus imported 97 tractors, compared with 465 in 1959 (RC 1961: 153).

[65] In 1935 the first ox-drawn harvester was seen in Deryneia and in 1949 the first tractor, but it was not until 1954 that the first combine harvesters appeared in the village (Platis 1995: 104). In 1953 less than 15 per cent of cultivated land was worked mechanically (Georgiades 1953: 19).

[66] Today, excessive pumping and drilling has become a major problem in the Famagusta region, and in coastal areas near Deryneia, sea water has seeped into bores.

[67] According to the Wells Act, no well or bore hole could be dug without a permit (CO 1958: 30). As early as 1935 Sir Ralph Oakden found that it was cheaper to sink a bore hole in the orange grove areas of Famagusta than it was to do so in other regions. Unlike other provinces, shallow drilling there was sufficient and therefore there was no need for expensive steel and iron casting or the use of government-owned heavy machines. In Famagusta, the price to sink a bore hole was under £10 compared with £50-55 in other areas (Oakden 1935: 135-137). Loizos (1975: 178) estimates that in the 1950s it could cost £3,000 for the drilling and installation of a pump, and that it took about five years to recover the expense, after the owner sold the water to adjacent fields. He also argues that fines for illegal digging imposed by the courts were modest. Possibly this could be a regional difference.

forcing some to consider emigrating.[68] Dimitris (82) reported that land was taken from him by the colonial government and compensation was inadequate.

> I finally got enough money to put a mill on my land to get spring water. After I prepared the ground for crops I got a letter from the English telling me not to do anything else on my land because it now belonged to the English. What was I to do with no land, my father-in-law had 10 children and he couldn't help me. I had no option but to leave. The British stole my land, so I couldn't grow vegetables anymore. In 1946, I think it was, I got a letter from the British government, it was from the Queen saying I could no longer use my land because it now belonged to the English government. They gave us a couple of peanuts! I think it was 200 pounds or something but this land maybe costs today, maybe 100,000 bucks. I had no choice – the British just said 'that's ours, get out!' What was I to do with three children and a wife? (Dimitris)

Dimitris was unsure under which law his land was taken and had no documentation that I could look at, but it is probable that it was taken under the Irrigation Law of 1931, by which cultivable land could be rezoned for public use.[69] Under this law the governor had the power to issue a notice of requisition to the owner and determine compensation (SLC 1931: 8).

Emigration

The hardships faced by Deryneians contributed to large-scale emigration in the late 1940s, which continued until the late 1970s.[70] Although the majority who left prior to 1974 were not forced, many felt that emigration was their only option. Most went to

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[68] Under the Irrigation Law (1931) the colonial authorities were entitled to the compulsory acquisition of privately-owned water (CO 1958: 31).

[69] In 1939 under the Land Acquisition Laws records show that a number of villagers lost parts of their properties in order to have the main street in Deryneia widened (CCG 1940: 270). Others had land taken for no specified reason. For example, a Deryneian family with a two-bedroom house had their yard and part of one room expropriated for no reason that was stated (CCG 1940: 516).

[70] Emigration statistics were not collected by the colonial government on a systematic basis; however colonial documents indicate that until the 1940s emigration was low. The exceptions were 1919 and 1920, when large numbers went overseas (particularly to Egypt) in search of work but often returned to Cyprus destitute (CO 1922a). The colonial government concluded that as a consequence 'villagers themselves have become more wary before venturing far from their native shores' (CO 1922a: 6). In 1926 the colonial authorities also reported that a high number of Cypriots migrated to Greece and Egypt, with some heading to Australia (CO 1928: 43).

wealthy places such as Britain, North America, Canada and Australia, where demand for industrial labour and proletarian wages were high. Their choice of country was also influenced by chain migration – they followed others. Post WWII developments in countries like Australia provided enticing opportunities for rural Cypriots determined to escape the hardships of life under British rule.

Between the 1940s and the 1970s, the majority of Cypriots emigrated to Britain, followed by Australia (Department of Statistics and Research 1983: 9). The only exception was in 1951 when more came to Australia (CO 1952: 14).[71] Most who left Cyprus in the 1950s were Greek Cypriots aged between 15 and 35 years, who were either agricultural workers, unskilled labourers or their dependents (CO 1958: 16).

The Nationalist Struggle

The growing political instability that accompanied the emergence of the nationalist movement also helped accelerate emigration during the 1950s.[72] The Greek Cypriot nationalist movement as expressed in the idea of *enosis* (political union with Greece) has been discussed extensively by scholars. Nevertheless, I provide a brief overview of its development here in order to situate its effect on the lives of Deryneians.

There are two contrasting theories of how Greek Cypriot nationalism developed. Some argue that *enosis* arose as a direct result of British colonialism, whilst others say

[71] I am unsure why this was the case, but possibly a downturn of the Australian economy after 1951 curtailed Cypriot emigration. For example, Bruer and Power (1993: 108) argue that in 1952 there was increasing public pressure to cut immigration into Australia because of the economic downturn. It is also probable that a number of Cypriots emigrated from Egypt in 1951 as a result of growing Egyptian nationalism. The Egyptian revolution that followed the British attack of Egypt in January 1952 resulted in the expulsion of Greeks in Egypt (see Reuter 1952: 4-5).

[72] Nicos Peristianis (2006) identifies two variants of nationalism in Cyprus, ethnic and territorial/civic nationalism. The first refers to the Greek Cypriot goal for *enosis* and the Hellenocentrism of Cyprus, and the later aimed to unite all Cypriots, regardless of ethnicity and is what Peristianis calls 'cyprocentrism,' which first took root in the 1920s under the communist party.

the desire for *enosis* was present prior to British rule.[73] Adamantia Pollis (1973: 588) suggests that the idea of *enosis* arose during the Greek war of independence with the Ottoman Empire after 1821. It was premised on 'the panhellenic ideology which involved the dream that the Byzantine empire would again be recreated' (Anthias 1992: 41). Rebecca Bryant (2004) demonstrates that its development as a nationalist movement took force during British colonial rule. Many Greek Cypriots rallied around *enosis* and for many it became a guiding principle during the anti-colonial struggle, though the British showed little interest in handing Cyprus over to Greece.[74]

In April 1955, EOKA (National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters), headed by General Grivas, launched an armed guerrilla struggle against the colonial regime that lasted until 1959. Its goal was *enosis*, which fuelled tensions between the Turkish and Greek populations.[75] In response to *enosis,* but also as a result of the growing economic disparities between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot bourgeoisie, Turkish nationalism grew in the form of a demand for *taksim* (the partition of Cyprus) (Anthias 1992; Attalides 1979).[76]

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[73] Historian Andrekos Varnava (2007) argues that Greek Cypriots were not Hellenised when the British first came to Cyprus. However, there is some indication that the British authorities in the late 1800s were concerned about Hellenic Greeks in Cyprus. For example, High Commissioner Wolseley wrote to authorities in England in 1879 suggesting the introduction of legislation to prohibit the sale of land to foreigners (CO 1879c: 7). Wolseley (dated 15 January 1879) states 'its object is to prevent Greeks from Greece purchasing land here,' and he adds 'I avoid in every possible way giving any employment in the Government service to Hellenic Greeks' (CO 1879c: 7).

[74] On 1 December 1911, the Greek members of the legislative council issued a memorandum to the British government asking for *enosis* and thereby demanding independence. It stated, 'the people of the island think that they are now politically mature and able to manage their own affairs' (Greek Members of Legislative Council of Cyprus 1912: 10). In 1881 Major-General Biddulph, in correspondence to England, reported rumours circulating the island with the news that Cyprus was offered to Greece. He wrote that this 'is causing great excitement and concern among the natives of the island, who say that it will be their ruin' (Biddulph 12 April 1881: 105). In 1915 the British offered Cyprus to Greece in return for troops, but this was quickly rejected by Greece and the offer was never remade (Spyriadakis 1962: 18).

[75] For a detailed analysis of *enosis* see Alastos (1955), Anthias (1992), Attalides (1979), Georghallides (1985), Hill (1972) and Loizos (2001). Also see Bryant (2004) who argues that Turkish and Greek Cypriot nationalisms grew out of modernist ideas on the island.

[76] By the late 1950s the colonial government viewed *enosis* as a direct threat to colonial rule and actively encouraged Turkey to support Turkish Cypriots in their opposition (Loizos 2001: 156).

Many farmers who suffered most under British rule supported *enosis*, albeit under the guidance of the church leadership rather than the military leadership of General Grivas. Indeed, some elderly Deryneian women said that support for *enosis* was guided by Archbishop Makarios, the leader of the Church of Cyprus.[77]

Local informants also firmly believed that *enosis* was a sure way to gain independence from Britain. A large majority of Greek Cypriots, including the clergy, farmers, the bourgeoisie and the Cypriot Communist Party AKEL (Progressive Party of Working People), united in the struggle against the colonial government (Attalides 1979; Panayiotopoulos 1999).[78] As AKEL supporter Soulla (83) stated, 'At the time it didn't matter if you supported EOKA or not, because we all agreed the English were just taking everything from us.' Andoni (77) added:

> Of course we supported *enosis*! It was for freedom, to kick the British out. They had taxed our crops, taken our farms and our livelihood. We said that we wanted to unite Cyprus with Greece. It was always at the back of our minds. We'd been told about it for years and years. It had been planted into our brains.

Sotos, who was not even born at the time, remarked:

> Prior to 1974 my family supported EOKA in their call for *enosis* as we thought, why shouldn't we become a part of Greece, as we are Greek. We would be like Crete and become another island of Greece. We believed that under Greece we would have more power and protection [trans. from Greek].

Despite the desire to end colonial rule, some Deryneians were apprehensive about the possible outcome of *enosis* and the tactics of EOKA. Many were reluctant to express opposition to *enosis*, fearing reprisal from EOKA supporters. Eleni (68) recalled that

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[77] By the 1940s the church had adopted the *enosis* ideology, as a way of regaining the political power taken from it by the colonial administration. In 1950, the church rallied support through a plebiscite for enosis, which was signed by almost 96 per cent of the Greek population (Alastos 1960: 35 and 43).

[78] While AKEL had united with the church to support *enosis*, it nevertheless 'still opposed the leadership of the church in the anti-colonial struggle' (Attalides 1979: 109). Local women who were AKEL supporters at that time still held Makarios in high esteem and never criticised him, unlike a number of my male AKEL informants.

'EOKA was working very secretly and everybody was too scared to speak out against them.' Yiannis complained:

> You could be sitting at home and someone arrives from the organisation (EOKA) and tells you to deliver this parcel or pick something up. You could not refuse because if you did the next day you're probably be killed [trans. from Greek].[79]

Despite the different responses to the activities of EOKA among my informants, most had at one time supported *enosis*. The protest against British imperialism and the repressive colonial laws that followed EOKA's guerrilla warfare consolidated nationalist sentiments.

The colonial governments' response to the EOKA insurgency was swift and affected the entire population regardless of their political affiliations. In May 1955 the governor implemented emergency laws. Curfews and other measures were imposed sporadically in particular villages and sometimes on entire municipalities, and these remained in place until 1958.[80] Deryneia, much like the surrounding Famagusta region, was heavily patrolled by colonial troops and the region was cordoned off with barbed wire barricades. Patrol stations were set up on all outward bound roads and cars entering and leaving Famagusta city and the surrounding villages were searched for explosives (*Cyprus Mail* 5 July 1955: 5). On 2 September 1955 a group of Greek Cypriot males attacked British soldiers travelling by car near Deryneia (Reuter 1955a: 5). Local

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[79] For EOKA politics and guerrilla tactics, see Alastos (1960), Foley and Scobie (1975), Grivas (1964) and Loizos (2001).

[80] See issues 1955-58 of CG. For example, on 10 June 1958, between 6.30 pm and 4.30 am, no motor vehicles without a permit issued by the governor could travel on any road in the colony (*Statute laws subsidiary laws* 1958: 432). On 14 July 1958, the commissioner of Famagusta ordered that no person could be outdoors from 4.30 am on the 14 July until 4.30am on the 17 July. This applied to all villages in the Famagusta district (*Statute laws subsidiary laws* 1958: 662).

On 24 July 1958, the commissioner of Famagusta issued the *Famagusta District (control of Bicycles) (no.1) Order*. Under this order no man or boy could travel by bicycle on any road in the municipal area of Famagusta without a written permit. On 28 July 1958, this was amended to include a ban on girls and women riding bicycles. A further amendment was made to exempt any person under 10 years old or over 27 years old, as long as they could prove their age (*Statute laws subsidiary laws* 1958: 631-32). This law was aimed primarily at militant youth; in May 1958 more than 700 youths were arrested (Foley & Scobie 1975: 135).

informants claimed that the incident sparked greater surveillance in the area.[81] Lefteris, who emigrated to Australia in the mid-1970s, recalled that a number of villagers were jailed for breaking the curfew law, whilst others said the colonial government retaliated by raiding Greek villages throughout the Famagusta region. Men and women, and all village churches, also underwent spot searches (see *Cyprus Mail* 16 September 1955: 1).[82] According to the report, women were searched by Turkish women, reflecting the colonial authorities' divide-and-rule strategy. The searching of churches fuelled animosity, which was further heightened when the colonial government accused church leaders (including Archbishop Makarios) of recruiting local priests to incite the youth to activism (CCG 1956a).[83]

On 26 November 1955, the colonial government declared a state of emergency.[84] Informants recalled the censorship of newspapers and radio.[85] In Deryneia, nightly curfews confined residents to their homes and breaches were harshly dealt with. Eleni recalled the fear she felt when her husband breached the curfew so as to obtain permission from the colonial authorities for them to travel to Varosha hospital as Eleni was in labour.[86] In Deryneia, Paraskevi (73) remembered the English

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[81] In early September 1955, British commandos were deployed to curb the unrest (Smith 1955: 12).

[82] Under the 1955 emergency laws, failure to comply with the curfew was met with a jail term of one year, or a fine up to £100 or both (CG 5 May 1955). In 1955 a special court was established to process civil and criminal offences committed during the state of emergency. By 1958, 6,095 had been convicted, including 354 juveniles. Over half of these convictions were for those who breached the curfew (CO 1959: 64).

[83] In September 1958, British troops searched the cars of the bishop of Pafos and Archbishop Makarios (Reuter 1958: 10).

[84] Informants recalled that by the end of 1955, violence and discontent was heightened in the region after the deputy mayor of Famagusta, a communist, was arrested. He was among a number of communist party members arrested after the AKEL was banned and the communist newspaper headquarters of *Neos Democratis* was placed under armed watch and banned from distributing the paper (Reuter 1955b: 9).

[85] In 1955, the colonial government jammed radio broadcasts from Athens (*Cyprus Bulletin* 31 January 1956: 1).

[86] Their anxieties were heightened when a Greek woman was shot dead by British troops in Famagusta after her taxi driver failed to stop on their orders (Reuter 1955b: 9).

indiscriminately rounding up village men and interrogating them in order to identify supporters of EOKA. Eleni further said:

> The English called a curfew because of the unrest. Those whom they believed were members of EOKA were killed. For the rest of us, we were not allowed to go outside in the evenings. EOKA wanted to get rid of the English and of course the English were angry with us. They were just killing the Cypriots [trans. from Greek].

At the end of 1958, Deryneians claimed that homes and buildings in the area were also seized when the occupants were accused of terrorist activities by the authorities.[87]

The lead-up to independence saw increasing violence in the Famagusta area. In one incident reported by Reuters on 3 October 1958, two English women in Varosha were attacked and another killed (TNA: PRO CO 926/908).[88] Colonial authorities retaliated by rounding up youths and installing road blocks throughout the region.[89] On 4 November 1958, the secretary of state for the colonies reported that one thousand people were arrested and many tried to escape, which led to the killing of two Greek Cypriots (TNA: PRO CO 926/908). It is not known how many people were killed seriously wounded or incarcerated between 1950 and 1958, but estimates are in the hundreds.[90]

During the 1950s a Greek Cypriot delegation travelled to London to lobby the colonial government for independence and to support *enosis*. Greek Cypriots also

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[87] Buildings could be seized under the Commissioner's order for any suspected act of terrorism. A number of buildings and houses in the region particularly in Varosha were seized under this law. For example, on 15 April 1958, the commissioner of Famagusta declared that the Heraeon Cinema in Varosha was being used by terrorists and so he ordered the forfeiture and demolition of the building, under powers given to him by the Emergency Powers Regulations (*Statute Laws Subsidiary Laws 1958*: supplement no.3: 2630).

[88] The colonial authorities claimed that the gunman was an EOKA insurgent, while the Greeks alleged he was the lover of one of the British women. See *The Times* 4 October 1958: 6 and TNA: PRO CO/926/908 for contrasting views.

[89] Reuter's News Agency (13 April 1959) reported that after the British woman's death (the wife of a British sergeant), men were rounded up in the area (TNA: PRO CO/926/908). This is also reiterated in a letter (4 November 1958) to Britain from the secretary of state for colonies, ordering all youth in the area be rounded up (TNA: PRO CO/926/908).

[90] Panteli (1984: 281) says that between 1955 and 1956 there were 133 killed. This included 43 colonial armed forces and police, 7 British civilians and 84 Cypriots.

lodged a formal request with the UN for intervention. In late September 1955, a 24-hour, island-wide strike was held to protest against the UN decision not to intervene in Cyprus. Greek retail shops, offices and factories were closed and the colonial government responded by imposing further curfews (*The Cyprus Mail* 30 September 1955: 1). Turkish Cypriots also sent a delegation to London but, unlike the Greek Cypriots, their request was for the British to remain in Cyprus, as they feared for their safety and the ramifications of *enosis*.[91] However, by the end of the 1950s, Turkish Cypriot activists also demanded the end of colonial rule, staging large demonstrations (NAA: A1838, 152/11/51/1 Part 3).

The unsuccessful attempt by several Greek Cypriot delegations to lobby the UN and Britain forced political groups to adopt alternate strategies. Deryneians said that one method was the (illegal) distribution of anti-British pamphlets to villages throughout Cyprus, especially during 1958. These pamphlets mobilised mass support and the writers were shielded from prosecution. However, despite this unified anti-British sentiment, the various political groups were divided on how best to achieve their end.[92]

Independence and Ethnic Division

In 1959, Britain acquiesced to demands from Greece and Turkey to grant Cyprus independence, with the proviso that two British military bases remain on the island.[93] In 1960, a written constitution, established under the Zurich agreement, ruled out both union and partition for Cyprus, and stipulated that Greek, Turkish and British troops

[91] See for example, *The Times* 27 August 1955: 5.

[92] Many of the pamphlets produced by various political groups during the emergency of 1957-8 are held in the State Archives of the Republic of Cyprus (SA1: 1958). For example, one pamphlet distributed by EOKA (23 February 1958) called on all Cypriots to unite and take up arms against the colonial authorities, while another, distributed by the Body of National Guards, called for Greek Cypriot men and women to fight the Turks (2 July 1958).

[93] Today, the presence of these military bases (at Dhekelia and Akrotiri) is a source of great anxiety for many informants. Many feared that Cyprus could be drawn into external conflict in the region. This was especially so during the Gulf War and more recently, since the events of 11 September 2001.

remain on the island.[94] Under a power-sharing agreement, the Greek Cypriots were given the presidency and the Turkish Cypriots the vice-presidency. Archbishop Makarios, head of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus, was appointed president, and Greek Cypriots held 70 per cent of all positions in the civil service and the House of Representatives. This arrangement was fiercely contested by many Greek Cypriots who maintained that a disproportionate number of seats (30 per cent) had been allocated to Turkish Cypriots (18 per cent of the population). This eventually led to intercommunal fighting.[95]

The outbreak of inter-communal violence forced many Turkish Cypriots into ethnic enclaves.[96] In 1963, the constitution was revoked and in 1964 Cyprus was unofficially partitioned.[97] The UN reported that by 1964 over 25,000 Turkish Cypriots had fled their homes and 94 villages were partially or fully evacuated (UN Security Council (UNS) 1964).

The Famagusta region, much like the rest of Cyprus, witnessed violent conflicts between the two communities and by 1965 many Turkish Cypriots were confined to the

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[94] In 1959 in Zurich the foreign ministers of Greece and Turkey reached an agreement to grant Cyprus independence. The Zurich agreement was officially endorsed in London in the presence of the UK, Greece, Turkey, and leaders of the Greek and Turkish Cypriots (Henderson 1968: 24).

[95] Turkish Cypriots were deeply suspicious of Makarios' ideological support for *enosis*, and the possible denial of their civil and political rights. In 1963 after the budget put forth by Makarios was blocked by Turkish Cypriot representatives, Makarios sought to amend the constitution, declaring it unworkable; this resulted in an island-wide inter-communal riot (Rendel 1967: 9).

[96] These enclaves were mostly villages where large numbers of Turkish Cypriots lived or Turkish areas of towns, including the Turkish quarters of Famagusta and Larnaka (UNS 1964). Many fled their houses and Greek Cypriots later destroyed their homes and belongings (see Scott 1998). On 23 December 1963, Reuters News Agency reported shooting in the streets of Nicosia with violent clashes between Turkish and Greek Cypriots which led to the death of a Turkish Cypriot. On the same day, two Turkish Cypriot school boys were shot and injured by a Greek (*The Times* 23 December 1963: 6). The following day, a British soldier was shot by Turkish guards after he tried to escort a Greek family out of the Turkish quarters of Larnaka. This incident led to violent clashes between Greek and Turkish Cypriots throughout the Famagusta region (*The Times* 24 December 1963: 6).

[97] In December 1963, the small group of Turkish Cypriot civil servants employed by the Republic were retrenched. Many retreated to the UN enclaves and joined the many dispossessed Turkish farmers. Prior to partition, approximately two per cent of all agricultural land was owned by Turkish Cypriots and the majority were either farmers or employed in agricultural industries (Stavrinides 1976: 80). The retreat into the UN enclaves thus left many Turkish Cypriots dispossessed and impoverished.

Turkish quarters of the old city of Famagusta.[98] Inter-communal violence in Deryneia was minimal but area-wide conflicts led to mass emigration and several of my informants fled Cyprus. This conflict still affects collective memories today in Melbourne and Deryneia.

Two years after partition, the majority of Turkish Cypriots lived in UN-protected enclaves as refugees. This resulted in great economic disparities between Greek and Turkish Cypriots.[99] Zenon Stavrinides argues that this created a structural inequality and the legacy of independence was that

> almost all financial and technical assistance from foreign countries and international bodies went to help the development of Greek industries, which in turn gave employment and so purchasing power, to Greek people (Stavrinides 1976: 73).

Post-colonial Cyprus prospered, particularly the large urban centres such as Famagusta.[100] The accumulation of wealth by Greek Cypriots led to a burgeoning of the middle and upper classes. With much surplus capital, these classes educated their children abroad, guaranteeing them senior government positions upon their return (Stavrinides 1976). Even lower middle class Greek Cypriots benefited as many sent their children to universities in Greece (discussed in Chapter Five). The Turkish Cypriot community did not fare so well (see Stavrinides 1976).

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[98] See for example *The Times* 6 November 1965: 7. Other incidents in Famagusta included the killing of a Turkish Cypriot by a Greek policeman (*The Times* 7 May 1964: 13). A week later the commander of the UN Peace Force called an urgent meeting in Famagusta with Makarios, the Famagusta police chief, and various other Turkish and Greek officials, after violence in the region had escalated in response to the killing of two Greek army officers and a Greek Cypriot policeman (*The Times* 16 May 1964: 7). This led to the abduction of more than 32 Turkish Cypriots (a number of whom were employed as police at the British army base in Dhekelia) (*The Times* 14 May 1964: 12 and 18 May 1964: 7). On 18 May 1964 the number of Turkish Cypriots reported kidnapped or missing stood at 77 (*The Times* 18 May 1964: 7).

[99] These enclaves were patrolled by the UNFICYP and were politically and economically marginalised (Rendel 1967: 9). Turkish Cypriots received no assistance for building and infrastructure or other needed amenities, and conditions in the camps were dire (see Patrick 1976 and Scott 1998). Turkish Cypriots relied on exports from Turkey and relief agencies (UNS 1964).

[100] Between 1960 and 1974 agricultural production had more than tripled, providing 50 per cent of Cyprus' total exports (Philippides & Papayiannis 1983: 1).

During the late 1960s the Makarios government was at loggerheads with the ruling military *junta* in Greece (Loizos 1975, 1981; Joseph 2005). Makarios was unwilling to cede Cyprus' political independence to Greece.[101] The growing hostility between Makarios and the military *junta* eventually led to an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow him in 1970. Eleni recalled:

> In 1960 the English left. They made an agreement, stopped the curfew and our people got into government. Makarios was in and when he was president everything was very good and we were all getting on better, until EOKA B caused more troubles [trans. from Greek].[102]

By 1974, EOKA B, with the backing of the military *junta*, succeeded in ousting Makarios briefly. This instigated the Turkish military intervention in Cyprus.

My informants gave diverse and often conflicting accounts of the causes of the 1974 war.[103] Sotos (37) for example, an EOKA supporter, insisted: 'When Makarios rejected *enosis* he made a wrong decision. I don't think it was his fault, he just went on a wrong track.' Others blamed Greece for allowing unmonitored Turkish planes to fly over Cyprus. Zena (58) remarked: 'The Turkish invasion was not solely the fault of the Turkish Cypriots. They, like the Greek Cypriots, were pawns.' Takis (49), on the other hand, viewed American complicity as the determining factor.[104] He said:

> The invasion was not the Greeks' fault because the Greek army [from Greece] was under CIA command. The CIA made the Greeks back away from the Turks and retreat from Cyprus. If it wasn't for the CIA the Greeks would have come to our defence [trans. from Greek].

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[101] By the early 1960s it became increasingly clear that many Greek Cypriots no longer wanted *enosis*. For example, soon after independence, the bourgeoisie rejected *enosis* as their economic position had radically improved. The Cypriot economy saw 'an influx of wealth from abroad, and since, in spite of considerable development, it also resulted in enormous increases in consumption, the mercantile bourgeoisie of Cyprus achieved enormous windfall profits' (Attalides 1979: 76). Moreover, their rejection of *enosis* was based on the fear that union with Greece would place their interests into the hands of mainland Greeks.

[102] EOKA B was a smaller group of the original EOKA. EOKA B was also financed by the army in Greece who were their 'partners in insurgency' (Loizos 1981: 57).

[103] The Cyprus conflict has been analysed by hundreds of academics from a range of disciplines (see Joseph 1997; Loizos 1981). For an overview, see *Cyprus Conflict: an educational web site* (n.d.).

[104] For the role of America in Cyprus see Joseph (1997).

Eirini (66) also blamed the Americans. She claimed that an alliance between the USA and Turkey was largely because of US military bases in Turkey. Spiros (83), who immigrated to Australia, concurred:

> Prior to the invasion America had wanted to set up a military base in Cyprus but the government did not agree, and as a consequence the Americans did nothing when the Turks invaded. The issue of the bases continues today and that is why up until this day America will do nothing to help Cyprus [trans. from Greek].

Many informants also believed that Britain should have been held accountable. Christos (45) proclaimed:

> The British took our land and divided the people, but now we do not speak about this but keep it to ourselves. We feel it in our hearts but we cannot openly say what we think. Once a tourist said to me, how lucky we were to have England as an ally and how it had helped the Cypriots. I was offended that they had no idea of the problems England created for Cyprus [trans. from Greek].

Like Christos, many blamed the war on British colonialism and Turkish aggression. Others felt it was more to do with American complicity, the Greek *junta* and EOKA B. Very few however (especially women) were critical of Makarios.

1974: Undeclared War and the Partition of Cyprus

Although tensions had escalated between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities, for many Deryneians the war came as a shock. Locals remember waking up to the sound of air raid sirens, while others recalled the constant radio broadcasts of announcements that Turkey had invaded Cyprus. Anthi recounted:

> On Saturday 20 July the war started and we were informed on the radio that Turkish troops were approaching Keryneia. We were all crying because our parents had told us that the Turks had once before taken over Cyprus, and that they had tormented us and raped our women. They had done very bad things to us before and we thought the same thing was going to happen again.

> The old men began building walls around the church to protect it. We had to leave our house and went to our farm which was away from the fighting. We stayed there for a night, but the Turks kept advancing, and so we headed for the English base which we knew was the only safe place [trans. from Greek].

Kalliopi's family house was on the outskirts of Deryneia and she recalled:

> It was early morning and we could hear things and we went outside and saw soldiers in trucks passing by. Immediately we turned on our new radio and heard that Cyprus had been invaded. We didn't know what to do, all the men were called to the army and my oldest brothers went too. I was left with my mother and younger brothers. All the men had left and the women in our neighbourhood gathered and decided we should head towards the English base.
>
> It was a Saturday night and we slept under the trees. We stayed for three days and then we heard that the fighting had stopped and so everyone returned to their homes. That was the first invasion on 20 July. The second invasion happened on the 14 of August. It was early in the morning and we opened our front door to see hundreds of cars heading out of Famagusta towards Deryneia. We left again but we didn't take anything as we thought we would return like the last time. But that was the last time we ever saw our house again. The Turks had said that they only wanted some areas in the far north and we thought Famagusta would be safe [trans. from Greek].[105]

Stella (47) said:

> It was during summer on the day of the *Panayia* [15 August] and we left Deryneia as we could hear the planes bombing Deryneia and Varosha. Then they were flying over us too. We were scared and stayed at a farm outside of Deryneia. My grandmother had made *avgolemono* [a chicken broth with rice, egg and lemon] as if it was Easter and we took all our food and stayed at the farm [trans. from Greek].[106]

Despina (71) remembered:

> In the near distance people could hear gun fire and bombs going off. My son was in the army and once I heard the sirens I got such a fright, I just went into shock. I said to everyone let's go, they are going to drop a bomb on our

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[105] See the 15 August report by journalist Paul Martin (1974a) on the exit of refugees from Famagusta. He reports bombing by advancing tanks and air strikes which concentrated on the beach front and in southern parts of Famagusta.

[106] *Avgolemono* is traditionally eaten after the resurrection ritual of the Easter ceremony to mark the end of 40 days fasting. Stella's recollection here points to the comforting qualities many associate with the soup, especially the power to cure illness and alleviate emotional traumas. The soup is associated with family, and many of my Australian women informants told me that whenever they missed kin in Cyprus they would make this soup. I observed that in Deryneia the soup was not consumed as often as it is in Melbourne.

> house. We went down to the fig trees and sat under them. About three days passed and the Turks then came closer and eventually they entered Deryneia [trans. from Greek].

Sotos was ten years old at the time and recounted his experience:

> In the morning my friend and I had gone fishing on Famagusta beach. We thought it was strange that there was no one else on the beach. My friend suggested that perhaps everyone was still sleeping, but I thought that was not likely. Anyway we returned to the village and it was extremely quiet. We decided to pass by the church for some water and that's when we saw many villagers building walls around the church [trans. from Greek].

In late October 1974, the UN reported that Turkish troops had occupied parts of Deryneia (UNS 1974).[107] Anthi lost her farm and her livelihood, but was among the more fortunate who later purchased land from a family member. Kalliopi (49) and her family lost land and home and became refugees. Mitchos' family lost agricultural land and his brother was one of the many Greek Cypriot males captured by Turkish forces but later released.[108] Reports abounded of women being raped, and according to Maria Roussou (1987: 32) 400 Greek women were killed and 152 went missing.[109] Today, thousands of Cypriots are still classified as missing persons.[110]

In 1974 approximately 180,000 Greek Cypriot refugees fled to South Cyprus and approximately 47,000 Turkish Cypriots crossed into the North (Meleagrou &

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[107] Turkish Cypriots also lost homes, land and livelihood. Many were killed and tortured by Greek Cypriots. See *The Times* 21 August 1974 for reports of Turkish Cypriot mass graves.

[108] Paul Martin (1974b: 1) reported that many Greek Cypriot men aged 16 to 65 were taken to prisoner of war camps and many were shipped to Turkey.

[109] See report by Martin (1974b: 1) for testimonies of rape victims, and *The Times* 21 August 1974. Also see the work of Maria Roussou (1987) and Anna Agathangelou (2000) for accounts of women raped during the war. Anthias examines how raped victims and their families were publicly shamed. She argues that the introduction of legal abortion in 1974 served a more gendered nationalist discourse in which women became symbols of ethnic purity, rather than to ease the violence perpetrated against them (Anthias 1989: 158).

[110] See Sant Cassia's (1999, 2005) anthropological insights into the missing persons. Roussou (1987) also looks at the plight of women whose husbands are classified as missing since the war, and their status as 'false widows', which has left them with little rights.

Yesilada 1993: 80; Mirbagheri 1998).[111] Greek, Turkish and other Cypriots were displaced from ancestral land and homes. All of my informants had relatives and friends who had become refugees.

It is estimated that 70 per cent of Deryneia, including the village of Kato Deryneia, came under Turkish control. According to the Deryneian municipality archive, 75 per cent of this land was agricultural and 33 per cent residential. Barbed wire fencing throughout Deryneia demarcated the dividing line between north and south Cyprus. In 2001, while looking from her balcony over the ghost-town of Famagusta, Anthi said:

> We used to grow oranges just outside Deryneia. You can see our land from here. We had mandarins, grapefruit and lots of other fruit trees. We had a house. It was beautiful. Everything is now gone … On the day our home was taken by the Turks we were lucky that a shepherd had warned my husband that the troops were approaching because we were going to return to get what we could … We went through a lot! We suffered a lot [trans. from Greek].

According to informants, Deryneia, like other villages across Cyprus, was faced with the aftermath of war and partition, and the urgency of accommodating hundreds of refugees. Many in the Famagusta province had fled to the Greek-controlled sections of Deryneia.[112] Displacement of Turkish Cypriots towards the north and Greek Cypriots to the south articulated the permanent nature of the unofficial partition of pre-1974. In the first few years, many lived in tents and makeshift sheds (NAA: A1838, 1634/17/2

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[111] Figures for Greek and Turkish Cypriot refugees vary depending on the source and when the estimates were made. In September 1974 the Australian Department of Foreign affairs reported that there were 225,000 refugees. This included 164,000 Greeks and 34,000 Turks in the south, 20,000 Greeks and 8,000 Turks in the north, with 1,188 Greek Cypriot men reported to be in Turkish prisoner of war camps (NAA: A1838, 1634/17/2 PART 1).

[112] Goodwin also confirms that after 1974 Deryneia was overcrowded with refugees. He notes that a temporary refugee camp was set up in Paralimni (adjoining Deryneia) until 1976 (Goodwin 1985: 1306). Between 1976 and 1977, a 95-unit housing estate was built on the outskirts of Deryneia to house refugees (Goodwin 1985: 517). From 1975 to 1986 the government built approximately 10,500 houses on private land and 11,000 on state land for refugees (Meleagrou & Yesilada 1993: 81).

PART 1).[113] Some were given refuge by family or friends; others were given temporary accommodation in spare rooms. Kalliopi (49) recalls:

> We found refuge at a friend's house in Xylofagou but we only stayed for a short time, as they had many relatives [who were refugees] arriving. My mother said we would sleep outside and we did for about a week. Then we moved into a house with four other families. This belonged to a widow and she had a few spare rooms. My mother did not know her but she invited us to stay … I will never forget the day a friend and I wanted to bathe as we had not washed for weeks … We knocked on all these big houses because we were sure they would have a bath. But people made excuses and said no … All these rich people with big houses and not one would let us use their bath [trans. from Greek].

Anna's family stayed in a run-down house in Deryneia owned by relatives in Melbourne, while Talia's family was housed in her sister-in-law's farm shed.

The majority of refugees who settled in Deryneia had originally lived in Kato Deryneia; others had previously lived on its outskirts, or in Varosha and surrounding villages. A number also had natal kinship ties in Deryneia, including Charalambos (54), who was born in Deryneia, but moved to his wife's village after marriage; he re-established himself in the village with the assistance of relatives.

Several Deryneians received financial assistance from relatives in the diaspora, while others were provided with fares to resettle in Australia and other countries (discussed in Chapter Two). In September 1974, the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs was particularly concerned about the increasing number of Australian Cypriots sending their relatives air tickets without first obtaining entry documents to Australia (NAA: A1838, 1634/17/2 PART 1). Tasoulla, aged 17 at the time, recalled her cousins in Melbourne urging her and her family to come to Australia. Many parents also feared further conflict and encouraged their eldest children to study abroad under the guardianship of relatives. Kalliopi, a 20 year-old at the time, was fortunate that her godfather in England sponsored her. He settled her in a college and paid her fare. Most

[113] The photographs of Andreas G. Coutas poignantly document this period. These as well as hundreds of other photographs are housed in the Republic of Cyprus, Press and Information Office Archives in Nicosia.

informants living in Cyprus who had relatives abroad were offered assistance from them.

Many Deryneians whose land and or home came under Turkish occupation, or was within the buffer zone, had little choice but to leave the village. Some left for major towns such as Larnaka and Lemesos in search of employment, while many emigrated to countries willing to take refugees or temporary guest workers.[114] Most Cypriot refugees emigrated to Australia and in fact it was the highest period of Cypriot emigration to Australia (Department of Statistics and Research 1984: 53).

The government in the south was prompt in responding to the immediate and long-term refugee problem (see Loizos 2008: 43). Its initial goal was emergency relief of food, medicine and clothing. In 1976, financial incentives for refugee farmers were introduced. The government also rescinded farmers' pre-war debts to agricultural banks and co-operative societies, and allocated Turkish or unused land to farmers and provided loans for seed (Loizos 2002: 93). Some refugees were also able to re-establish businesses with the financial help of family.

Soon after the war, Cyprus also received international aid from non-government organisations. Kalliopi recalled:

> After the war the Red Cross came to Cyprus and I went to help them. Things got a little better then. They helped us a lot! They gave us clothes and bread. We used to line up in queues just to get a loaf of bread. I couldn't say we starved because we didn't. We were lucky [trans. from Greek].

The Australian Cypriot diaspora also played a key role in raising funds and the Australian government contributed funds to the Red Cross (discussed further in Chapter Two).

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[114] In 2001 some informants who had been made refugees were living in Turkish-Cypriot houses in Larnaka that had been vacated after 1974. For details of government refugee housing assistance schemes (including government estates, self-housing initiatives and Turkish re-habitation housing), see Hadjiyanni (2002: 13).

Deryneia: a Border Village

The visibility of the border is a constant reminder to Deryneians of the 1974 war. From certain vantage points around the village, prior occupants can see their houses and or their land in the Turkish-controlled area or buffer zone. A number of unofficial observatories have been set up. For a small fee, binoculars and telescopes are provided for tourists to view the 'ghost town' of Famagusta. Makeshift cafes with politically charged pamphlets promoting the Greek Cypriot point of view are now typical. Most of these businesses are run by women.

More recently, several public monuments and memorial sites have been erected in the village. The Occupied Famagusta Cultural Centre which opened in 1998 was established to commemorate the devastation of war. This large complex has been built very near the line that divides Deryneia from the north. The cultural centre's main function is to celebrate Greek Cypriot patriotism. For most of the year, it hosts foreign delegates sent by government or international institutions and reports on the Cyprus situation. The centre also is a venue for cultural activities and events, one of which is the annual concert held for the people of Deryneia and Famagusta, in remembrance of the hardships of war. In 2001 this was attended by refugees from around Cyprus and abroad. In 2002 an art exhibition at the centre displayed paintings by school children from the occupied village of Keryneia.[115]

Since the mid-1970s, Deryneia's border has been the focal point of protests by Greek Cypriots and a site of violent clashes. On 20 April 1975, thousands of Greek Cypriot women refugees, including overseas supporters, held the first of many demonstrations against Turkish occupation. The women's goal was to hand a petition to

[115] Although these children were not born in Keryneia, they take their parents' refugee status. For accounts of Greek Cypriot refugees and issues of identity, see the works of Loizos (1981, 2001, 2002, 2008) and Zetter (1994, 1998). For personal narratives of Turkish and Greek Cypriots and the effects of displacement as well as bi-communal relations since 1974, see Hadjipavlou-Trigeorgis (1998). For an insight into discourses of a 'refugee consciousness' among the children of Greek Cypriot refugees who were born after 1974, but nevertheless adopt their parents' refugee status, see Hadjiyanni (2002). For an insight into refugees, identity and their ideas about 'home' see Constantinou (2005).

the Turkish army demanding the right for women to return to their homes in the north. The demonstration received international coverage after the UN Peace Force permitted one hundred foreign women and two Greek Cypriot refugee women, to cross the Greek Cypriot checkpoint and enter the buffer zone in order to approach the Turkish army (*The Times* 21 April 1975: 6). The army refused to accept the petition. These marches became known as the Women Walk Home and were also held in 1987 and 1989 (Cockburn 2004: 171).

In August 1996, the UN checkpoint in Deryneia again became the focus of international media attention after violent clashes between Greek and Turkish Cypriot demonstrators led to the death of two young men. On 11 August one of the young men was beaten to death and a few days later, his cousin was shot while trying to scale a flag pole near the Turkish cease-fire line.[116]

Since 1974, the Republic of Cyprus has refused to recognise the borderland (Hocknell 2001: 288). In 1974 the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs acknowledged the Republic of Cyprus' stance when it wrote to an Australian member of parliament (MP):

> we would be in some trouble with the authorities if we engaged in a large movement of people from a village where the Cypriot government particularly wishes people to stay (NAA: A1838, 1634/17/2 PART 2).

This was after the MP had asked for the Australian government to consider the request of an Australian Cypriot to give all Greeks from his natal village (located on the Green Line) permission to emigrate to Australia.[117] Indeed, Hocknell (2001) found that since 1974 the government has encouraged people to resettle on the de facto border. This practice has continued and in 2001-2002 the Deryneia municipality offered young

[116] There have also been numerous minor incidents offshore from Deryneia with reports of Turkish forces firing warning shots at Greek Cypriot fishing and tourist boats that have crossed the maritime line (UNS 2000).

[117] The Australian authorities did, however, ask the UNHCR to investigate the village.

couples (regardless of their incomes) low, long-term interest loans of 20,000 Cypriot pounds to resettle in border areas (Deryneia Municipality n.d.a).[118]

The Social and Economic Implications for Deryneia of a Divided Cyprus

The economic devastation in the wake of the division was felt by the entire population. Industrial activity was reduced by 50 per cent (Stavrou 1992: 68). In September 1974 Australian representatives in Cyprus reported that 90,000 workers were unemployed (NAA: A1838, 1634/17/2 PART 1). The majority of Deryneians had owned their own house and many also had surplus land, but this changed after 1974 and those with farms or market gardens or houses located in the buffer zone or in areas under Turkish control no longer could access them.[119]

The war not only brought economic and political upheaval but also polarised society. Pavlos' family lost their poultry farm and he remembers that this was particularly devastating for his father. Pavlos was 13 years old and recalled his father's humiliation after Pavlos visited him at the *kafeneio* (coffee-house) to ask for some money; his father, having spent his last coins, was too ashamed to face his son.

The loss of land and family dwellings also affected existing land inheritance and dowry practices, which were integrally linked to identity construction (discussed in Chapter Four). Christos recalled: 'After the Turkish invasion many people lost their homes and farms, so they set about rebuilding. But it was especially difficult for families with girls.' Unmarried daughters were particularly affected as they no longer had land or the means to obtain a house which they were expected to provide under the

[118] At the time of my fieldwork, one Cypriot pound was approximately AUD 3.00.

[119] The 1946 census showed that 82.2 per cent of the rural population owned their house, while 6.8 per cent rented the dwelling they lived in and the remaining 11 per cent lived in a dwelling without paying rent, most likely owned by a relative (Christodoulou 1959: 66).

dowry system. This placed further pressures on families and created greater class divisions.

Prior to 1974, most Deryneians were engaged in farming or animal husbandry. However, after the war, animal husbandry was confined to a few farms and the loss of land meant that farmers had to adjust to lighter agriculture; many changed the type of farming they engaged in (Deryneia Municipality 2001).[120] Many Deryneians were unable to rely solely on agriculture for an income, thus turning to part-time farming.[121] In 1977, 54 per cent of all agriculture workers also had employment off the farm (Ansell *et al.* 1984: ii). But by 1985, only 160 out of 488 agricultural land holders in Deryneia stated that agriculture was their main occupation (RC 1987: 201).[122] Others had no choice but to find alternative employment after losing land.[123]

With Famagusta under Turkish rule, Deryneian farmers no longer had access to Varosha market or to the Famagusta port where they sold their produce to merchants for export.[124] Hence, they sought alternative markets, many travelling to Nicosia, Larnaka and Lemesos, which meant higher freight costs and loss of profit. With Varosha no longer accessible, Deryneians also had to travel long distances to the closest town,

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[120] Some agricultural activity has continued in the buffer zone since 1974 under the watch of the UN. A section of my informant Takis' farm is located in the buffer zone and he now has unrestricted access to it. According to Takis, after the war, the UN tried to prevent him from entering the sealed-off areas of his property but he cut through parts of the wire fence and eventually they gave up trying to stop him accessing his orange grove.

[121] In 1975, agricultural products made up 49 per cent of the total domestic exports, while in 1980 they were only 34 per cent (Ansell *et al.* 1984: 15).

[122] Censuses show that within two decades of 1974, the greatest decline of people whose main occupation was agriculture was in Famagusta (out of the six main administrative provinces). In 1977, while 54 per cent of landholders in Deryneia, Paralimni and Agia Napa declared agriculture as their main occupation, in 1994 it was only 34 per cent (Philippides 1996: 10).

[123] After 1974 it is estimated that 75 per cent of citrus growing areas came under Turkish control (Kyle 1984). In 1973 oranges were one of the principal agricultural products of Cyprus and it is estimated that the island produced 190,000 tons of oranges (predominantly in the Famagusta region); in 1976 only 35,500 tons were produced in the south (RC 1979).

[124] In 1974 it was estimated that Famagusta port handled 83 per cent of the total general cargo of the island (including export and import trade) (Coordinating Group for Famagusta 1988: 8).

Larnaka, for major shopping and other services, such as medical specialists.[125] This was especially hard on the elderly, who had to rely on family members to drive them to major towns because public transport was limited.[126] However, many said that by the late 1990s the situation had improved and in 2001 Deryneia had several specialist shops, its own hospital (which was being rebuilt in 2002) and large supermarkets in the area. Deryneia also has an industrial zone with various factories, most of which supply building materials.[127] There are also several dealers in farm equipment.[128]

Rebuilding Southern Cyprus

The success of government initiatives and major economic restructuring after the war fuelled economic growth and by the 1980s Cyprus was prospering. Under the Emergency Economic Action Plan (1975-1976) the government boosted the development of export manufacturing industries, and helped to establish and fund factories (Department of Statistics and Research 1993: 141; Loizos 2002: 95). This saw a rise in industries such as clothing and footwear (House 1985: 7). According to some Deryneians the government also reduced import tariffs, allowing raw materials and

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[125] The road from Famagusta to Nicosia was no longer accessible from Deryneia after 1974, and in order to travel to the capital, Deryneians had to take a long route, travelling first to the outskirts of Larnaka. Since 1974 Nicosia has been a divided capital. See the works of anthropologist Yiannis Papadakis (1993, 1998a, 1998b, and Hocknell *et al.* 1998) who has written extensively on divided Nicosia. He has conducted research in the Greek and Turkish sections, and also in the mixed village of Pyla, which lies in the Dead Zone. His works look at the construction of place, history and nationalism.

[126] Even in 2001 it was difficult to travel on public transport to Nicosia and typically commuters had to make reservations with a private mini-van which operated during limited times.

[127] Plans to build the industrial estate in Deryneia were announced in July 1977 (Goodwin 1985: 518). This was part of the government's incentive to rebuild businesses after the 1974 war.

[128] In 1994 Deryneia established its own municipality, under the Municipalities' Law 111 of 1985 (Deryneia Municipality n.d.b). Under this law a community could set up its own municipality after a village referendum and on condition that it had the funds and resources, or a population that exceeded 5,000. Deryneia had previously been under the Famagusta municipality which, after 1974, relocated to the south. Its main responsibility is the collection of taxes for infrastructural development in Deryneia. The first mayor elected was an AKEL member and a woman, of which many elder informants were extremely proud. Shortly after its establishment, the municipal council of Deryneia set up the Refugees Committee. One of its aims was to maintain contact with refugees living in and outside Deryneia, many of whom had come from Kato Deryneia (a number now live in the refugee housing estates of Deryneia).

machinery to enter Cyprus duty-free. In the mid-1980s Deryneia's first and only clothing factory opened, employing around 60 women. Fabrics were imported from abroad, while garments were manufactured in Deryneia and then exported to England. However, this industry did not prosper for long. Katerina (34), who worked at the factory, which was owned by her uncle in England, recalled:

> In the late 1980s our wages started to increase but other countries were making clothes at a cheaper cost. The factory was no longer able to compete internationally. We were not the only ones; throughout Cyprus factories were closing, as it was no longer worth the expense. Companies started sending their materials to countries like Syria, where they were making cheaper clothes [trans. from Greek].

According to Katerina's father, the 1988 trade agreement with the European Economic Community, which resulted in the removal of tariffs that had previously protected manufacturers from foreign competition, was detrimental to the industry. In the early 1990s the Deryneian clothing factory became one of many factories forced to close because of cheaper labour and lower overheads in neighbouring countries.

During the decade prior to 1974 the Famagusta region had become a popular tourist destination and several Deryneians worked in the industry. Meyer and Vassiliou (1962: 61) found that in the 1960s, diasporic Cypriots played a major part in tourism growth as many returned to Cyprus for holidays. However, tourism was brought to a sudden halt by the advent of war. The Republic of Cyprus reported that '65% of tourist beds and 87% of tourist units under construction' came under Turkish control (RC 2000).

Despite this, during the 1980s tourism in coastal areas near Deryneia grew rapidly and hotels were erected along the coast from Agia Napa to the Protaras area (see Map 3). This brought a building boom which was partially facilitated by the lack of building regulations in the area (Markides & Joseph 2001: 52). Those Deryneians with land in the area benefited as land prices rose. Several Deryneians set up restaurants, bars

and other tourist-related businesses, while others found employment in allied service industries. In particular, many women turned from agricultural labour to the tourist service industries and in the early 2000s most Deryneians were employed in some aspect of tourism (discussed further in Chapter Five).

In the early 1990s the government also implemented schemes to revitalise and increase tourism in rural areas, and in 1991 the Cyprus Agrotourism Programme was introduced (Kazepi 2001: 193). Under this scheme the government funded the restoration of an old mud house in Deryneia and it now functions as a 'folk' museum.

In 1998 an estimated 2.2 million tourists visited the Republic, mostly from Europe, with the majority from the UK (RC 2000). In 1999 it was estimated that half of South Cyprus' export income was derived from tourism (Markides & Joseph 2001: 52). However, at the time of my fieldwork, overdevelopment and a fall in tourist numbers as a result of the events of 11 September 2001, and the conflicts in Afghanistan, Iraq and Palestine saw many businesses struggling. Tourism in Cyprus has always been susceptible to instabilities in the region, as was the case during the 1990 Gulf War. In 2001 many informants with businesses in the tourist areas were seeking alternative income sources. Deryneians employed in tourist service industries were also affected and many experienced reductions in pay and working hours.

During the 1990s Cyprus was a relatively prosperous country, largely as a result of tourism, the employment of cheap foreign labour and the rise of offshore companies who not only used Cyprus as a tax haven but also invested in real estate.[129] In 1996, the Cyprus Stock Exchange was opened, attracting primarily middle class and small investors. In Deryneia, amongst my informants who had invested in the market, most

[129] The civil war in Lebanon saw many companies move from there to Cyprus (Panteli 1995: 6). As far as I know, none of my informants benefited from these companies. Russian and other Eastern European citizens in particular, invested in real estate and offshore accounts. Between 1975 and 2000 the government issued 33,000 permits to offshore enterprises (RC 2000: 68).

were in the 30-50 age group and from the middle class. However in 2000, the Cyprus stock exchange crashed and a number of them lost their life savings.

In 2001-2002, Deryneia's economy was still largely based on agriculture. However, since the 1990s the introduction of new agricultural methods, in particular hydroponics and the use of greenhouses, has been beneficial to output and profits (see Figures 8a, 8b, 8c). Farmers now grew vegetables (including tomatoes and cucumbers) and fruit, and there was an increasing trend towards growing flowers. The most popular crop was strawberries; an estimated 60 per cent of strawberry production in Cyprus came from Deryneia (Deryneia Municipality n.d.b). Several informants grew strawberries during winter, while in summer they worked in the tourist industry.

The Road Ahead

Since 1974, negotiations for a solution to the division of Cyprus between Turkish and Greek Cypriot leaders have been ongoing (although there have been periods when negotiation stopped). Numerous proposals have been put forth by both governments and other interested parties, but none to date have been fully accepted by both sides.[130] The difficulty of finding a solution was reflected in conversations I had with informants. Evaggelia (34) stated:

> The Turks have been demonised by our parents and I like everyone else grew up fearing them, but now I think that they are probably just like us, that is like the Greek Cypriots [trans. from Greek].

[130] See Michael (1998) on negotiations and proposals from 1974 to 1994.

Figure 8a Hydroponics system, 2003
(Photograph by author)

Figure 8b Hydroponic lettuce, 2003
(Photograph by author)

Figure 8c Hydroponic tomatoes, 2003
(Photograph by author)

Katerina (34) said that at school, children were taught about the 'invasion' which she believed had many negative consequences.[131] She recalled her young children returning from school and announcing that all Turkish people were 'evil':

> I had to explain to my children, because they did not understand, that not all Turkish people are bad and not all Turkish Cypriots. There are good and bad! Just like there are good and bad Greeks! It is not good if our children learn to hate other [trans. from Greek].

Katerina's sentiments echo one of the underlying obstacles to the peace process, that of ethnic nationalism, which has largely been disseminated through the education system (discussed in more detail in Chapter Four).[132] Indeed, Kyriacos Markides and Joseph Joseph (2001) argue that 'radical educational reforms' must be implemented if the people of Cyprus are to live peacefully together.[133]

For a few Cypriots the *enosis* solution still had some currency. During 2001, at the annual commemorative concert held at the Deryneian Cultural Centre, a group of young men climbed onto the centre's roof chanting their support for *enosis*. Although many present disagreed with their protestations and viewed *enosis* as a non-viable solution, a number suggested that the border be dismantled but that each community remain segregated, with its own government. Support for this apartheid was reiterated by Pavlos (41):

> The Turks should live in one section, perhaps Keryneia and the Greeks in another. But there is no way we could join parliaments because the Turks

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[131] See Spyros Spyrou (2000, 2002, 2006) for insight into the role education has played in the construction of identity among Greek Cypriot children.

[132] South Cyprus is replete with symbols of Greek ethnic nationalism. Most churches, government offices and schools hoist the flags of both Greece and the Republic of Cyprus. For an insight into Greek nationalism in Cyprus; see Mavratsas (1997), Peristianis (2006), Pollis (1973) and Stamatakis (1991). North Cyprus likewise displays symbols of Turkish nationalism. The most overt example is the billboard-size Turkish flag painted on the mountainside beyond the Turkish patrolled zone; this can be seen in the south on the drive into Nicosia from Larnaka. For insights into Turkish nationalism, see Ramm (2006) and Papadakis (1994, 1995, 1998a).

[133] For insight into women's role in facilitating interaction between Turkish and Greek Cypriots groups, see Agathangelou (2003), Cockburn (2004), Hadjipavlou (2004), Loizou (2003) and Vassiliadou (2002). These writers discuss the bi-communal women's group Hands Across the Divide (HAD), in which communication across the border was started via the internet.

> would say they want to be the leader and the Greeks would say the same. The only way is if there are two separate governments, but we still trade and live together [trans. from Greek].

Others were more ambivalent about a solution and suggested that things remain as they are. Marilena (25) echoed what some other women also felt: 'I don't think Famagusta will be given back, after so long they still have not fixed the problem and I don't believe they will.' Kleoniki (35) added, 'All people do is talk about it and now 28 years on, nothing is done, it is just all politics but nothing ever happens!'

At the time of my fieldwork, formal negotiations between the north and south were in process, under UN mediation. Three times a week the respective leaders of North and South Cyprus, Denktash and Clerides, met to discuss a workable solution. This desire was largely a result of Cyprus' application to enter the European Union.[134] The EU has advocated a united solution and accession to the EU has been framed around the abolition of the ethnic division of the island. Many informants were optimistic that unification would occur prior to EU recognition. Several, however, worried that joining the EU may be economically and culturally devastating. Athamos, a communist said:

> Under the EU we will become one. We will lose our identity. Our culture and our language will disappear. English will take over. This will also be disastrous for small businesses with the big companies taking them over [trans. from Greek].

Others were more reserved about the prospect of unification, but still hopeful that it would initiate social and legal reforms. As Kleoniki remarked:

> The laws in Cyprus are unjust particularly for women and if we join the EU then things will have to change. But if they change things too quickly it may cause more problems. Everything needs to be done gradually [trans. from Greek].

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[134] In 1990 the Republic of Cyprus applied for EU membership. On 16 April 2003 the Republic of Cyprus formally signed the treaty of accession to the EU.

Like Kleoniki (who left school after two years of high school), women aged in their 20s, 30s and 40s often saw joining the EU as an opportunity for equal rights.

Anthias (1989) and Vassiliadou (2002) suggest that the 'Cyprus Problem' has been an obstacle for women seeking to break down patriarchal structures.[135] They argue that Cypriot women adopted nationalist ideologies, believing that the island's division was the greatest determinant of their oppression rather than the patriarchal family. I found that this was changing among some women informants who, although not overly optimistic that joining the EU would lead to a solution, were nevertheless hopeful that it would bring greater gender equality. For these women, accession to the EU had offered them an avenue of hope.

In 2002, the fifth Annan Plan was introduced, which was largely a revision of prior plans proposing the reunification of Cyprus through the creation of two separate states.[136] Under this plan, Deryneians believed Varosha and areas lying in the buffer zone near Deryneia would be handed back to Greek Cypriots. In 2003, to the surprise of many, the Green Line was opened by North Cyprus, allowing restricted travel throughout the whole island and offering greater hope of unification. On 24 April 2004, a referendum for the Annan Plan was held simultaneously in the north and south, which resulted in 76 per cent of Greek Cypriots voting against the plan, and 65 per cent of Turkish Cypriots in favour of it. As a consequence, the Republic of Cyprus became an EU member on 1 May 2004, but not as a united country.

What is most interesting about the results of the referendum is that the majority of Deryneians, nearly 58 per cent, voted in favour of the Annan Plan (Hazou 2004: 1). In fact, it was the only Greek village to do so. There are a number of possible reasons

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[135] It is also referred to as the 'Cyprus issue'. On 26 September 2007 Reuters reported that Cyprus education ministry rejected a high school text book, because it referred to the division and failed peace talks as the 'Cyprus issue' rather than the 'Cyprus problem' (Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2007). Yet on 26 September 2007, the Cyprus president, Tassos Papadopoulos in an address to the UN also made reference to the 'Cyprus issue' and 'Cyprus problem' (Embassy of the Republic of Cyprus Washington, DC 2007).

[136] For an analysis of the plan, see Kyle (2004) and also see Coufoudakis (2004).

for this; the first is vested interests – many Deryneians have land and property in the buffer zone and the uninhabited ghost-town of Famagusta, and therefore unlike other Greek Cypriots, they believed that reclaiming old properties would not be difficult. Second, many Deryneians had land in the occupied areas of the Famagusta foreshore and several believed that the opening of Famagusta would lead to swift tourist development, which would be economically beneficial to them.

Summary

In this chapter, I have isolated some of the pivotal moments in the history of Deryneia in order to demonstrate how women's connection to place has affected their everyday lives. This history has also been influential in shaping the way Cypriots in both Deryneia and Melbourne construct their cultural and gendered identities. Moreover, it provides a background for understanding women's cultural practices. Above all, discussion has sought to convey the socio-economic changes in Deryneia since British rule, which have been mostly detrimental to how women live their lives.

I have also demonstrated that economic, social and political instabilities were the main reasons many Cypriots felt compelled to leave Cyprus from the 1940s through to the mid-1970s. As I show in the following chapter, this history not only contextualises the experiences of many Cypriot emigrants but has also influenced the Greek Cypriot community in Melbourne.

Chapter Two

A Diasporic Community: Greek Cypriots in Melbourne

> It was very hard when I left Cyprus for the first time. It was Christmas day and we went to Larnaka to board the ship for Australia. The church bells rang and we all went in. But when the ship arrived we had to get on it straight away … Having to say goodbye to my parents was very difficult. My parents didn't want me to leave. They said, 'Stay here and then your husband will come back.' But with three children it was very hard to stay by myself. Everyone was saying, 'Don't stay long.' I told my family that in a couple of years I'd come back. That is what I believed … My daughter and I were sick throughout the journey. It took us almost two months to get to Australia (Georgina, aged 79).

> We didn't have much money, we were poor. It was hard to leave my family. My parents cried when I left, I'd never seen my father cry. Yes, it was the first time I saw him cry! It was a bit hard, but we didn't have any alternative, we had to leave Cyprus (Andrew, aged 75).

Before Christmas 1949, Georgina, her children and brother Andrew left Cyprus for Australia.[1] Georgina insisted she had no option but to leave Deryneia. Her husband Dimitris had left for Australia in search of employment two years earlier. While he was away she had maintained their agricultural plot but after failing to sell the crop at market became reliant on subsistence farming. By the second year she was struggling to manage alone, so with her three small children, she moved in with her parents and younger siblings. Like Georgina, many married women stayed in Cyprus for several years while their husbands established themselves abroad. The men sent whatever money they could, but often this was too little and many women reported never receiving a shilling.

More than two decades after she arrived in Australia, Georgina was joined by her sister Talia (69) and brother Lefteris (67) and their families. All fled Cyprus after losing everything in the 1974 war, and came to Australia as refugees. Talia, her husband

[1] Andrew is the anglicised version of Andreas. He prefers to be called Andrew.

and their seven children lived for nine months with Georgina's family, while Lefteris and his wife stayed for more than a year with Andrew's family.

Like most first generation Greek Cypriots in Australia, Georgina and her siblings had for decades held on to the belief that one day they would return to their homeland permanently. Talia believed that she would return and reclaim her house in Kato Deryneia.[2] Unlike Talia, many migrants today however, do not envisage returning permanently to Cyprus.

Georgina and her siblings, like most of my Melbourne informants, maintain contact with kin in Cyprus and keep abreast of events there. Talia has satellite television and watches news from Cyprus daily. Georgina relies on Talia and church network groups in Melbourne for news of Cyprus, and frequently listens to Greek radio. Talia visits Cyprus almost every two years and Lefteris every four years, and Andrew visited in 2007, ten years after his last trip; Georgina, now a widow, has not returned since the early 1990s, largely because of age and poor health.

In this chapter I present a brief overview of Greek Cypriot settlement in Melbourne. This history has been fundamental in shaping the experiences of Cypriots in the community. I begin with an overview of Australian immigration policies and their effects on Cypriots, then turn to the Cypriot community of Melbourne, focusing on the church community of Apostolos Andreas because at one time or another most Melbourne Cypriots have had some contact with the community of this church. For first generation informants this community has been crucial for the maintenance of cultural practices and the manner in which they have constructed their Cypriot identities. Even second and third generation informants who do not attend church have been unable to avoid the ties their families have with this congregation.

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[2] Even after the defeat of the referendum for the unification of Cyprus in 2004, she continued to hope that she would return 'home.'

Throughout the chapter I consider the effects of immigration policies and the history of the Apostolos Andreas community on Cypriot women. This enables a more insightful examination of how gender and cultural identities are performed by Melbourne Cypriots.

Finally, through a brief history of Cypriot settlement and the Cypriot community of Apostolos Andreas, I also demonstrate how Cypriots maintained indirect and direct ties to the homeland. However, as I suggest in the latter part of the chapter, the church is just one of several means by which Cypriots in Melbourne have fostered ties with Cyprus.

Cypriot Settlement in Australia

Before the 1950s, Cypriots constituted only a small fraction of Australia's population (see Table 2). Charles Price (1988: 532) says that the earliest Greek Cypriots came to Australia during the gold rush of the 1850s and a small number followed, enticed by word sent home from those already there. He notes that not long after the British arrived in Cyprus (1878), news about Australia circulated and some Cypriots left for Australia by taking work on Australia-bound British ships (Price 1988: 532).[3]

In the early 20th century few Cypriots travelled to Australia, as immigration policies, in particular the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901, known as the White Australia policy, restricted immigration from Asia, the Middle East, the Pacific Islands and southern Europe. It was a racist policy, premised on racist ideas in which skin colour was a determining factor, and was aimed at excluding those the government

[3] However, in 1911 there were only 26 Cypriots recorded in the Australian census.

considered 'undesirable,' a category inclusive of Cypriots, particularly as they were considered Ottoman subjects before 1914.[4]

Table 2: Cyprus-born Population of Australia

Year	Cyprus-born	Source
1871	3	Price (1984: 2)
1881	10	Price (1984: 2)
1911	26	Australian Government (AG) (1914)
1921	40	AG (1925)
1933	502	AG (1936)
1947	681	AG (1952)
1954	5773	AG (1962)
1961	8576	AG (1968)
1971	13,267	AG (1972)
1976	22,216	AG (1979)
1981	23,332	AG (1983)
1991	22,031	AG (1991)
1996*	20,652	AG (1997)
2001^	19,482	AG (2003)

* The 1996 Australian census shows that there were 42,789 Cypriots in Australia, and 22,135 are recorded as second generation. Tamis (2005b: 63) estimates that including Australian-born descendents of Cypriots there are approximately 70,000 Greek Cypriots in Australia.

^ The 2001 census recorded 19,486 second generation Australian Cypriots.

The 1901 immigration law was denounced around the world, particularly by Asian states.[5] Disapproval also came from shipping agents whose profits relied on ferrying migrants to Australia and as a consequence they became advocates for some potential immigrants. In 1916, for example, a migration agent in Nicosia (acting as a representative of shipping companies) wrote to the Australian government requesting that the 1901 law, which aimed to restrict 'Asiatics and other coloured persons', not apply to Cypriots as they are 'all of White Race and should make energetic, hard-working and sober Australian citizens' (NAA: A1/15, 1916/27825).

[4] According to a memorandum by the Department of the Interior, Cypriots became British subjects after the Cyprus Annexation Order was passed in late 1914 (NAA: A981 CYP2, 1940). Until then they were Ottoman subjects. However, Achilles Emilianides claims that under Ottoman rule, Cypriots were not given full Ottoman nationality and were thus in effect stateless persons. Cypriots did not have Ottoman passports but travelled on documents that said they were 'Natives of Cyprus' (Emilianides 1953: 622).

[5] Many files in the National Archives of Australia (NAA) demonstrate this; see, for example, NAA: A4144, 82/1945; NAA: A5954, 2122/2.

Although after 1914 Cypriots were considered British subjects and travelled on British passports (until independence in 1960), they were not treated the same as other Commonwealth citizens.[6] Cyprus' geographical position caused uncertainty among Australian government officials as to how to classify Cypriots, and they were often referred to as Asian or southern European, both of which were considered 'undesirable.'[7] The confusion about how to classify Cypriots was possibly one of the reasons that immigration policies regarding Cypriots had been full of obvious contradictions.

In her unpublished thesis on Cypriot communities in Australia, Anastasia Andreou argues that because Cypriots were British subjects it was easier for them to immigrate to Australia (Andreou 2002: 80). But she assumes that all British subjects were treated equally, which government documents clearly indicate was not the case – .Cypriots were not given the same treatment as other British subjects.[8] Correspondence between the Australian government and its overseas immigration representatives during the 1940s and 1950s highlights that although Cypriots were British subjects, 'they are racially akin to Southern Europeans' and thus should be treated as 'European aliens'

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[6] The year following Cypriot independence, there was some confusion among Australian officials as to whether Cypriots remained British subjects or whether they obtained, for the first time, Cypriot citizenship (NAA: A432, 1960/3171). Some of the confusion lay in the question of whether Cyprus would enter the Commonwealth. According to the Australian Department of External Affairs, Cypriots residing overseas in Commonwealth countries would become UK citizens. However, this issue was never clear-cut as I discovered through some informants. In one case, an informant came to Australia from Cyprus as a four year-old boy in 1949 as a British subject and in 1999, after losing all his identification documents, discovered that he was not an Australian citizen but a Cypriot one. This is rather ironic considering he was one of a few of my Cyprus-born informants who had never wanted to revisit Cyprus.

[7] See, for example, NAA: A1838/2, 152/10/1 Part 1. In this series there is a memorandum, Circular Memorandum no. C2, A.H. Body for Acting Secretary, 8 January 1953, which classified Cypriots as 'Southern Europeans.' Also see the 1954, 1961, 1966, 1971 Australian censuses and AG (1991) where Cypriots were classified as Asian. Although so classified, they were considered to have British nationality. For example, the 1966 census stated that under the Nationality of Citizenship Act 1948-66, regulation 5A of the Citizenship Regulation, British nationality included a country within the Commonwealth of Nations, such as the Republic of Cyprus, Sierra Leone and Jamaica.

[8] John Goldlust (1966: 10) also notes that unlike citizens of Eire and South Africa who were regarded as British, 'Cypriots were processed as "aliens"'. 'Alien' was a term that often had derogatory connotations and according to Goldlust (1996: vi) referred to people the government did not consider members of the community. However, generally, Cypriots had little trouble becoming Australian citizens once in the country.

(NAA: PP6/1, 1950/H/2546 and NAA: A1838, 1531/82). A number of case histories also indicate that being a British subject did not guarantee easy passage to Australia, as I demonstrate later in the chapter.

The White Australia policy was abolished in 1973, under a new Labor Party government; until this time government policies on immigration continued to be ethnocentric and assimilationalist. An early 1950s circular by the Department of Immigration explicitly demonstrates this:

> As a means of curtailing the entry of the less desirable types … it has been decided that as a general rule non-British Europeans and Cypriots over the age of sixteen years seeking to enter Australia for residence shall be required to pass a literacy test … Failure to pass the test shall entail rejection for admission as a general rule. Where the head of the family fails to pass the test any members of his family … should normally be rejected (NAA: C3939/2, 1955/25/75049).

The literacy test changed every month, it could be in any European language, not necessarily English and this depended on the discretion of customs officers (Dimitreas 1998: 142; NAA: A1559, 1901/17; Pope & Shergold 1985).

During the 1920s and throughout the 1930s, the Australian government's immigration policies restricted entry for peoples of non-Anglo Celtic background and favoured English-speaking immigrants. Immigration restrictions were also specifically aimed at reducing the intake of southern Europeans (Freeman & Jupp 1992: 4), including Cypriots. This was possibly in response to the restrictive immigration policy introduced in the USA in 1921 due to a decline in available employment (COa 1922: 6). The Australian government, fearing that the US restrictions would led to an increase of 'undesirable' immigrants into Australia, sought to curb those arriving from southern Europe. At the end of 1928 the Australian prime minister's office requested a restriction on Cypriot immigration:

> As these people are of Greek race and cannot speak English … it has been found necessary … to place a limit on the number of Greeks admitted to this country (NAA: A458, W156/1/279).

The government directed that their authorities in Cyprus avoid issuing passports to Cypriots unless applicants had relatives in Australia and also had already obtained landing permits (NAA: A458, W156/1/279).[9] Those without permits were requested to have at least £40 on arrival in Australia (NAA: A458, W156/1/279).[10] The strict conditions and expensive entry fee guaranteed fewer arrivals and by 1933 there were only 502 Cypriots living in Australia.[11] With the exception of Australia's indigenous communities, before World War Two, only a small portion of the Australian population was non-British (Collins 1988).

Post-War Immigration

After WWII Australian immigration policies underwent a radical transformation. The government decided that for the country to prosper it must expand its manufacturing industry, which required substantial numbers of low-skilled and unskilled workers (Castles *et al*. 1992: 24). James Jupp (1988: 102) also argues that Australian defences were vulnerable and, fearing an invasion from Asia, the state sought to increase its migrant intake under the popular slogan 'populate or perish.' The government now favoured a mass migration scheme, although immigration policies were still designed to maintain the British heritage of Australia (Jupp 1991a, 1991b).[12] A preference for British migrants was indicated in 1945 when the government proclaimed that for every 'foreign' migrant arriving in Australia it would take another 10 British ones (Ongley &

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[9] These Landing Permits were applied for in Australia, typically by a relative on behalf of the emigrant (NAA: A458, W156/1/279).

[10] Surridge's (1930: 33-34) survey of rural life in Cyprus during the late 1920s indicated that for those with land, that is the 'peasant proprietor' and his family, annual living expenses were approximately £59 and taking this away from annual income the farmer was left with very little.

[11] In contrast to Australia, by the early 1930s in Britain there were 10,000 Cypriots, the majority of whom were men (Anthias 1992: 6).

[12] See Peters (2001) for further background on why Australia embarked on a mass migration scheme.

Pearson 1995). British migrants and some from northern Europe, unlike other migrant groups, were given assisted passage and were also permitted to bring their families with them (Castles 1992: 9). Additionally, the government helped British immigrants to find accommodation and employment (Lewin & Mc Phee 1984). However, unable to meet its population targets, the government turned to eastern Europe with the conviction that such migrants would assimilate into Australian society more easily than others.[13] It was not until the early 1950s that the government looked reluctantly to southern Europe to fulfil its immigration quota, as the number of eastern European arrivals had declined (Castles 1992: 9; Collins 1988).[14]

By 1952 the Australian government had given assisted passage to a number of non-British immigrants, including a large number of eastern Europe refugees and later, Greeks and Italians (Goldlust 1996: 14).[15] The government, however, still unsupportive of Cypriot immigration, instructed migration officers outside Australia to dissuade them from applying to immigrate (NAA: A1838, 1531/82). In 1952 immigration officers were also informed that Cypriots not nominated by an Australian resident should have

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[13] There are numerous files in the Australian national archives that demonstrate the government's attitude on this; see, for example, NAA: A989, 1944/43/554/2/1 PART 2.

[14] From 1947 to 1951 only 11.5 per cent of immigrants came from southern Europe whereas between 1951 and 1961 this rose to 33.1 per cent (Storer 1985: 7). The slight increase during the late 1940s (see Table 2) could have been a result of contact Cypriots had with Australians. On 5 May 1941 the Australian armed forces landed at Famagusta port in Cyprus and stayed for three and a half months (Merrillees 1992: 369-373). According to Robert Merrillees (1992), the troops were greeted enthusiastically by Cypriots and blessed by the Greek bishop. Accounts by Australian troops suggest that they had more friendly relations with the general Cypriot population than did the British troops on the island (Merrillees 1992). Moreover, in 1941 at the battle of Thermopylae in Greece, Australians, New Zealanders and the Cyprus Regiment fought together to try to stop a German attack (Kelling 1990: 25). This may have increased interest in Australia. According to an informant, whose deceased Cypriot father served with Australian troops, this was the reason his father chose to emigrate to Australia, rather than another country.

[15] Between 1947 and 1952, 170,000 displaced persons from Europe had settled in Australia (Ongley & Pearson 1995: 771). According to Yiannis Dimitreas (1998: 157), between 1945 and 1974, 34 per cent of Greeks and Cypriots came on Assisted Passage Schemes. Dimitreas also notes that during this period, 85 per cent of British migrants and 60 per cent of Germans, Yugoslavians, Maltese and eastern Europeans were given assisted passage. However, it is likely that the majority of Cypriots to whom Dimitreas refers received assistance when they came from Britain, or were Turkish Cypriots who came under the Australia/Turkey Assisted Passage Scheme of 1967. Peters also found that in the late 1940s Cypriots were denied assisted passage, as were immigrants from 'communist countries, and countries in Asia Minor and North Africa' (Peters 2001: 20).

their applications rejected unless they had exceptional qualifications that would be useful to Australia (NAA: A1838, 1531/82). This decision allowed for individual immigration officers to determine who was granted or refused entry to Australia. Thus, immigration laws were not always consistently applied to Cypriots and often relied on the discretion of bureaucratic officials.

The Australian government's informal restrictions on Cypriots during the 1950s were possibly a response to political unrest in Cyprus and growing concern about *enosis.* The government was also anxious about the influence of the Cypriot communist party, AKEL, and its influence on the diaspora.[16] A memorandum by the Department of Immigration in 1952 clearly stated that Cypriots were not to be given the same treatment as other immigrants because 'over the last two years or more, some very undesirable migrants have arrived from Cyprus' (NAA: A1838, 1531/82). Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) files reveal that individual Australian Cypriots and Australian Cypriot organisations were under surveillance at the time, and in Melbourne, Cypriots were accused of sending money to support AKEL (NAA: A6122, 1141). In all likelihood, the general fear of communism at the time heightened the government's suspicion of Cypriots and led to their unwillingness to allow large numbers to enter the country (also see Andreou 2002: 87).[17]

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[16] See, for example, newspaper articles collected by the Department of External Affairs during this period (NAA: A1838, 181/8). Also see ASIO files (NAA: A6122, 1141) on the Communist Party of Australia and its links to AKEL. This file contains references to Australian Greek Cypriots under government surveillance because of their contact with AKEL. Also see Lefty Freeman's memoir (2001). He was born in Greece and after immigrating to Australia became involved in the Committee for Cyprian Self-Determination. His involvement in this group led to surveillance by ASIO and ASIO files reveal that every trip he made abroad was subject to surveillance.

[17] In the 1960s the Australian government was also concerned about Cyprus' links to Russia. In 1964, in particular, several telegraphs from Australian overseas embassies (including the Athens and Moscow offices) kept the Australian government updated on contact between Russia and Cyprus (NAA: A1945, 173/1/21).

The First Wave of Cypriots

The majority of Cypriots who emigrated during the 1940s-1960s were men. Most of the male informants for this study came by unassisted passage. It was difficult for Cypriots to acquire the funds to emigrate and many arrived in Australia in great debt. Those who were married typically left their families in Cyprus until they had saved enough money and could prove to the Australian government that they had a suitable dwelling and income.[18] Most men were sponsored by Cypriot friends in Australia. Some informants obtained sponsorship from distant acquaintances they had known only vaguely in Cyprus. Others, like Dimitris (82), paid large fees to migration agents in Cyprus and Greece to find Cypriots in Australia willing to vouch for them.[19] Some also paid travel agencies in Cyprus to find them sponsors (NAA: MT15718, ZV2144).[20] In the late 1940s these agencies wrote to various Australian government departments seeking assistance to find employers willing to sponsor Cypriots (NAA: MT15718, ZV2144). However, according to the Department of Immigration, they usually failed because of the acute housing shortage and the fact that employers had to guarantee emigrants employment for 12 months (NAA: MT15718, ZV2144).[21]

Some Cypriots obtained assisted passage to Australia when they emigrated from Britain. Spiros (83) moved to England and lived there for a number of years before

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[18] See, for example, a letter dated 26 July 1948 addressed to the Cyprian Brotherhood in Melbourne from the secretary of the Department of Immigration, Mr Heyes, outlining that married men cannot bring their families to Australia without proof of housing for them (NAA: A434, 1950/3/4007).

[19] The government was aware that overseas migration agents were charging potential emigrants exorbitant fees to find them sponsors in Australia (see NAA: A446, 1962/65578). Correspondence between the Australian immigration secretary, Heyes, to Greek ministry officials highlighted that agents in Greece were illegally overcharging people to find sponsors (NAA: A446, 1962/65578). Heyes also made suggestions that some admissions officials in Australia were involved in the scam, but found that as emigrants were unwilling to testify, the government could not prosecute those involved (NAA: A446, 1962/65578).

[20] The Australiasian [sic] Transport Agency, which had an agent in Cyprus, reported that they had 10,000 Cypriots wishing to emigrate (NAA: MT15718, ZV2144).

[21] The Country Roads Board in Melbourne planned to sponsor Cypriots, but withdrew their application after finding that they would be responsible for them for a year (NAA: MT15718, ZV2144).

going to Australia with his British bride in the mid-1950s. As he had served in the Imperial Army during WWII, he was eligible for assisted passage.[22] Spiros' brother Andoni (77) also lived in England for several years and claimed he was given £10 for his passage to Australia in 1953, as were all English migrants. Australians refer to them colloquially as 'ten pound Poms.'

Regardless of the Australian government's unfavourable attitude to Cypriot immigration, by 1954 the number of Cypriots in Australia had increased exponentially (see Table 2). However, it is unclear from census data (Census 1933, 1954, 1961) how many of these were Greek Cypriot, as language was not recorded.[23] Nevertheless, Price (1988: 532) found that substantial numbers of Turkish Cypriots did not emigrate to Australia until after Cypriot independence. He estimates that in 1954 there were only 350 Turkish Cypriots in Australia (Price 1988: 532).

In the 1960s, intercommunal conflict in Cyprus accelerated the numbers of Turkish Cypriots emigrating to Australia. The Australian government considered briefly a mass assisted passage scheme for Turkish Cypriots, after an article in the *Washington Post* (19 September 1964) suggested that this could be a solution to the ethnic violence in Cyprus. Nevertheless, it was quickly ruled out for fear of political fallout likely to result among Australian Greeks (NAA: A1838, 152/10/7).[24] However, as violence between the two communities escalated in Cyprus, the Australian government gave a number of Turkish Cypriots assisted passage under the Australia/Turkey Assisted

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[22] In 1948 in a letter from the Secretary of the Department of Immigration Mr Heyes, to the Melbourne Cypriot Brotherhood 'Zenon,' Heyes stated that in certain cases ex-Servicemen who are eligible for admission may be granted assisted passages (NAA: A434, 150/3/4007).

[23] It is also unknown whether any of these Cypriots belonged to other ethnic groups besides Greek and Turkish.

[24] One proposal was that Turkish Cypriots be given land and capital in Australia. However, a memorandum by the Department of Immigration (17 November 1964) stated that the Australian government would not consider group migration of Turkish Cypriots, as it would cause unfavourable reaction in Cyprus, Greece and Australia among the large Greek community (NAA: A1838, 152/10/7).

Passage Scheme of 1967.[25] The decision to allow some Turkish Cypriots to emigrate under this scheme was not publicised, presumably out of concern for Greek Australian reactions.

In the early 1960s Cypriot emigration to Australia continued to grow steadily. Tamis (2005a: 191) maintains that after Cypriot independence there was a mass exodus (about one-third of the population) from Cyprus and he attributes this to the controversial 1960 constitution and the uncertainty it created. By 1966 there were 10,703 Cypriots in Australia.[26] However, in the mid-1960s, the Australian government allowed unassisted passage for Cypriots but changed the conditions under which they could be sponsored – only those nominated by a close relative who guaranteed accommodation were to be considered.[27] In the 1960s Yiannis travelled to Australia with the help of his brother, who had emigrated in 1949 and guaranteed his accommodation. Like other Cypriot migrants, he underwent health tests and police checks before leaving Cyprus (NAA: A1838, 152/10/7). It is also likely that the conditions under which Cypriots came to Australia was tightened in the mid-1960s as a result of immigration reductions imposed in Britain in 1962; the fear was that migrants would venture to Australia instead.

Many informants chose Australia because family, friends or people from their village were already there; in other words, Cypriot immigration was largely chain

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[25] Several records in the Australian archives document the arrival of individual Turkish Cypriots who came under these circumstances (for example, see NAA: A2478 UNYELI K).

[26] By 1966 Britain had 100,000 Cypriots (Anthias 1992: 6). However, Maria Roussou (1997: 224) says that the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act was passed in Britain drastically reduced immigrant intake and by 1966 fewer than 200 Cypriots were allowed into the UK annually. Also see Constantinides (1977).

[27] NAA: A1838, 152/10/7. There was some confusion as to what constituted a relative and on 30 October 1964, Secretary Heydon of the Department of Immigration amended the 'Handbook for Instruction on Admission of European Alien, Cypriots and Maltese' stating that to be nominated by a relative in Australia, the latter had to be closer than a cousin (NAA: C3939, N1963/75159). According to Jupp (1966: 16), in 1965 'Maltese, Cypriots and British citizens from former colonies, got some form of assistance' to migrate. In 1965, Australia made an agreement with Malta to provide assisted passages (AG 1996). However, I could not find records to indicate that there was an agreement with the Cyprus government for Cypriots to come to Australia by assisted passage.

migration. Others went to Australia rather than another country for political reasons. Yiannis maintained that he did not go to the USA because he had heard that political censorship was prevalent and 'You had to be careful of what you said, or they'd label you a communist.' Dimitris' decision was also partly political, as he insisted, 'I was upset at what the British were doing in Cyprus, so I left, but I refused to go to England.' A few were also enticed by advertisements portraying Australia as a country where one could make lots of money.[28] While people chose Australia for many reasons, in most cases, my informants went to the first country that granted them a permit.

Immigration and Gender

From the 1940s until the 1970s, Australian immigration policies were not only racist but also androcentric.[29] This was reflected in the disproportionate numbers of male and female Cypriot-born living in Australia (see Table 3 and 4). During this period, the majority of women came to Australia as wives, mothers or daughters of male labourers (Martin 1984). Women were not specifically recruited as 'unskilled' labourers so Cypriot women relied on men to sponsor them and in the majority of cases these were male kin. During times of economic uncertainty, immigration officials decreased intakes out of concern for possible public backlashes, nevertheless, they increased the quota of 'dependents' (Bruer & Power 1993: 108). The Australian government's immigration policies were premised on patriarchal notions of traditional womanhood, which saw migrant women as potential mothers, but never as potential earners.[30]

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[28] See Peters (2001) for further details on Australian government advertisements and propaganda used to entice immigrants to Australia.

[29] For insight into specific immigration policies and the gender inequality embedded in these policies, see Fincher *et al.* (1994a, 1994b).

[30] This was highlighted in 1974 in the case of a Cypriot woman who had lived in Australia during the early 1960s and wanted to return to Australia with her Australian-born children, but the Australian government deemed that as her husband was a prisoner of war in Turkey they would need extra guarantees and a 'sponsor assuring their maintenance' (NAA: A1838, 1634/17/2 PART 2).

Table 3: Gender Distribution of Cyprus-born residents in Australia

Year	Total Cyprus-born women in Australia	Total Cyprus-born men in Australia
1947	137	544
1954	1,519	4,254
1961	3,508	5,068
1971	5,942	7,325
1976	10,361	11,269

*All figures derive from the Commonwealth of Australia Census 1947, 1954, 1961, 1976.

Table 4: Gender Distribution of Cyprus-born residents in the State of Victoria

Year	Total Cyprus-born women in Victoria	Total Cyprus-born men in Victoria
1933	15	78
1947	39	130
1954	636	1,760
1961	1,572	2,116
1971	2,538	3,003
1976	4,578	4,858

*All figures derive from the Commonwealth of Australia Census 1933, 1947, 1954, 1961, 1976.

In the early 1950s, married Cypriot women were not considered ideal migrants and thus were not encouraged to emigrate. Secretary Heyes found that rejection of wives by Australian officials was often on the grounds that they were 'undesirable' and unlikely to 'assimilate' into Australia because of their 'poor appearance, colouring, illiteracy or apparent lack of intelligence' (NAA: A446, 1962/65578). Several married women in my study said that their initial applications to immigrate to Australia had been denied by selection officers, although these decisions were eventually overturned. Indeed, in 1953 Heyes advised Australian selection officials in Athens (who processed Cypriot immigration applications) to show more leniency to women and children nominated by their husbands in Australia (NAA: A446, 1962/65578).[31]

[31] Correspondence between the Australian government and the Australian embassy in Athens shows that the Athens office was responsible for Cypriot immigration to Australia and often, Australian officials based in Athens were sent to Cyprus on short visits to carry out their work (NAA: A1838, 152/10/1 PART 4). Until 1982 the Australian ambassador in Athens was responsible for consular matters in Cyprus.

Most of my married informants who emigrated prior to 1974 did so some years after their husbands.[32] Although all had tried to come as a family, they were prevented by the immigration laws of the time. Georgina's remarks illustrate well the situation that many women faced:

> We left Cyprus because we couldn't sell our crops. The English were taking them for nothing, so my husband decided to go to Australia. He had heard about it at the British base where he was working … We tried to come together but we couldn't find accommodation in Australia, or someone to sponsor all of us, so what could we do? He had to come by himself … He left me with three children. He came in 1948 and I arrived in 1950. When he left, I went to work with my father on his land. I also had a little bit of a crop, just some tomatoes, beans and zucchini which my parents took to the market and sold what they could, and would give me a little bit money to feed the kids. By the time my husband got a job and sent me some money, it was a long time. It was a very difficult time!

Among most of my informants, the women played an active role in the decision to go to Australia. Georgina's parents suggested that she stay in Cyprus, thus forcing her husband to return, but she decided against this. While most women affirmed that it was their husband's idea, the majority had concurred, believing their stay was temporary.

In Deryneia I also found that some women had vetoed their husband's decision to emigrate. Georgina's sister-in-law, Chrystalla (75) is one example. In the early 1950s, her husband suggested they go to Australia, where three of his brothers lived but, 'I refused to leave. I wanted to stay in Cyprus.' Similarly, Despoulla's husband proposed they emigrate, but she would not leave her mother. Athamos (65) considered the move in the 1960s but declared: 'My wife [Katelou] was not interested as she did not want to be a *xeni* (foreigner) in another country.'

Different immigration rules applied to unmarried Cypriot women and in the 1960s through to the mid-1970s I found several cases of unmarried women who migrated to Australia without sponsorship by close relatives. Under the immigration laws of the time, unmarried women between the ages of 18 and 35 years were accepted

[32] The 1960 Cyprus census found that in the Famagusta district wives outnumbered husbands by 2,423 as a result of husbands emigrating (RC 1962: 3).

without sponsorship, as were fiancés or fiancées of Australian residents (NAA: C3939, N1963/75159).[33] For example, Cathy's mother-in-law came to Australia after a family in Australia known to her employer in Cyprus provided her with a fare. Cathy (50) said:

> My mother-in-law was illiterate and 28 years old and working for a surgeon as a maid. It was when the government wanted arranged weddings and they organised boat loads of single ladies. They would be sponsored by a family who would obviously marry them off to another Greek Cypriot.[34]

Sofia (78) also came as an unmarried woman in the 1960s and recalled her fear: 'It was my first time out of Cyprus, my first time on a ship, my first time travelling by myself!' In short, 'women's age was an important eligibility criterion because it affected their capacity to bear children' (Fincher *et al.* 1994b: 23). From 1959 single Cypriot women were even exempt from the literacy test (NAA: C3939, N1955/25/75049). Possibly the government believed that these women would marry and come to rely on their husbands financially, and thus did not see their poor language skills as a barrier to employment.

There were also a few cases of single Cypriot men emigrating to Australia solely on the basis of female kin. This was the case of Andrew, whose sister Georgina, had pleaded with him to escort her and her children to Australia. He did so with every intention of returning to Cyprus, but ended up settling in Australia because, according to Georgina, she convinced him there were more opportunities there than in Cyprus.

Cypriot Settlement in Melbourne

Before 1974 the majority of Cypriots arriving in Australia were small farmers or agricultural labourers, many of whom were forced to emigrate by volatile political and

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[33] Unmarried men aged 18-45 years could immigrate (Fincher *et al.* 1994b: 25).

[34] Until 1961 the government of Greece discouraged unmarried women from emigrating (Dimitreas 1998). However, after 1961 the Australian and Greek governments agreed to unrestricted numbers of single Greek women entering Australia (Tamis 2005b: 51). Ships with single Greek women who migrated to Australia and the USA became known as the 'bride ships' (see Tsolidis 2001: 195). However, such an arrangement was not made with the Cypriot government.

economic circumstances. With poor if any English the majority of Cypriots found unskilled work in factories or in the building industry. This was typical of most non-English speaking migrants who, during the first years of settlement, were 'concentrated in the worst paid, hardest, most monotonous, dangerous and dirtiest jobs' (Collins 1988: 14). Several informants recalled that in the late 1940s and 1950s a large proportion of Greek Cypriot men found employment in regional Victoria. Many new arrivals went out to the La Trobe Valley, where massive electricity generators were being established by the state government. Many Greek Cypriots worked at the Yallourn power station, which employed migrants for timber cutting, coal mining and building (Toumbourou 1990). Dimitris and Alekos (83), who travelled from Cyprus to Australia together, illustrate a common experience of many of these men.

Dimitris and Alekos

Dimitris had spent most of his life in Cyprus working as an agriculturalist. In the mid-1940s his potato crop failed to sell so he sought temporary work at the British military base then under construction. After its completion he was left unemployed. Alekos, one of the poorest in the village, was landless and worked as a seasonal agricultural labourer. Both men felt they had no option but to leave Cyprus and in 1948 after several years of rejections, they finally had their applications for Australia accepted, after listing their occupations as carpenters, a skill Australia needed.

Alekos remembered the day they arrived at Port Melbourne and their surprise at being greeted by some old Cypriot men, whom neither of them knew. Dimitris mentioned that these men often went to the docks to see if any Cypriots were arriving. He said:

> The Cypriots gave us food and accommodation and a week later they set us up in a job in the countryside, working for SEC [State Electricity Commission]. First week and work and I can't believe myself, 16 pounds! I don't make that in Cyprus in one year!

Alekos and Dimitris worked as carpenters at Yallourn for a number of years, until they had saved enough to buy a small piece of land together, and during their spare time they built a bungalow on it with scraps they collected from work. This was done in the evening usually and with the help of other newly-arrived immigrants. Eventually they saved enough money to buy a cheap plot of land in Sunshine, which then was on the outskirts of Melbourne (see Map 2). Without sufficient funds to build a house, they transported the bungalow from rural Victoria to Sunshine.[35] After finding employment in one of the many factories in the industrial areas around Sunshine, they were able to send for their families in Deryneia, having met the Australian government's criterion of providing accommodation for family members.[36]

The experience of men in the first years of settlement often depended on the actions of female kin, even if most of them remained in Cyprus. Androulla (88) for example demonstrates this.

Androulla

Androulla's husband Tassos came to Australia in 1952 and she followed with their children in 1954. Tassos first arrived in Sydney but after four months had failed to find work. On hearing of her husband's predicament, Androulla informed the wife of the priest in Deryneia that he was struggling. The priest, urged by his wife, sent Tassos money for a fare to Melbourne where the priest's son was living. Androulla recounted:

> With the assistance of some Deryneians, my husband found work in Melbourne and lived in a bungalow in Sunshine. It was at the back of another Deryneian family's house. Then he was able to bring me and my children, as he could show the government he had employment and accommodation for us [trans. from Greek].

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[35] At that time, a block of land on the outskirts of Sunshine, which was surrounded by open fields, cost only ca. £35 (Mc Goldrick 1989: 205). Sunshine is now a western suburb of Melbourne.

[36] A number of my male informants worked at the Massey Ferguson factory producing farm machinery.

Like Androulla, most wives who remained in Cyprus supported family members there, and this enabled male kin in Australia to save money.

Assimilation

In the 1950-1960s, Australian government policies were aimed at the cultural assimilation of all immigrants.[37] The assimilation policy was premised on the idea that people would shed their customs, eventually lose their language and embrace the Australian 'way of life' and become 'good Australian citizens.' Such policies often reflected the general community's attitudes to migrants. Migrants were expected to adopt 'white' Anglo culture, as Georgina's story highlights.[38]

Georgina

In 1954, Georgina gave birth to her first Australian-born child. As a new migrant, her experience in the hospital was extremely alienating and particularly frightening as it was also her first time in a hospital. Her previous children were born at home in Deryneia with the help of a midwife.

In Australia, Georgina found it strange that hospital staff insisted that she name her daughter in front of them and register for a birth certificate, rather than officially name her child at baptism. She explained that her Cyprus-born children were never issued with birth certificates, because in the early 1950s in Cyprus, baptism records

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[37] In the mid-1960s there was a growing awareness that non-English-speaking migrants were not assimilating and were also at a considerable disadvantage (Castles *et al.* 1992). Non-English-speaking migrants had difficulties accessing government and community services, and were disadvantaged in both the education system and the workforce (see Salagaras 1997).

[38] 'Migrant' and 'ethnic' are highly debated terms. Many Australians of Anglo-Celtic background do not consider they have an ethnicity and successive governments have also taken this view. Such discourses have also excluded formal recognition of the indigenous people of the country. Moreover, as Fincher *et al*. (1994b: 158) argues, migration policies in Australia reflect that a migrant was not only a racialised category but also a gendered one. The term migrant is also problematic – when does one stop being considered a migrant?

served as records of birth.[39] What infuriated her was that the hospital staff refused to accept her daughter's name as Eftihia (Effie), suggesting that Elizabeth was a more appropriate 'Australian name.' Georgina, however, repeatedly insisted that her child be named Eftihia, after her mother-in-law.

As was the case for most newly-arrived Greek Cypriot women, Georgina spoke little English and could write neither English nor Greek, so when the nurses asked her to spell her child's name she was unable to do so. The nurses demanded she choose another name. Her second choice Evalou (after her mother) was once again declared 'not Australian' and they suggested that her child take a name that was phonetically similar, but 'Australian.' Eventually Georgina gave in to the pressure and gave her daughter an anglicised name. While she was distressed and upset by the nurses, she was more disappointed that she had not named her child according to Cypriot tradition, and this, she felt, was an insult to her mother-in-law in Cyprus.[40]

For Greek Cypriots the naming practice was a part of their self-identity and their social identity as expressed through kinship ties. The naming of a child was typically determined by kinship, sex and gender and position in the natal line. It is customary for the first son to be named after his paternal grandfather, the first daughter after her paternal grandmother, the second son after his maternal grandfather and the second

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[39] During my fieldwork I asked the Deryneian *mouktaris* to help me find records of my mother's birth, as she does not possess a birth certificate. He could only find a record of my mother's oldest brother and not that of my mother or her younger brother, both of whom were born in Deryneia. This was because both were baptised in the late 1940s at Apostolos Andreas monastery, in the far north-east of Cyprus. My grandparents and my mother's godparents had travelled for two days from Deryneia to reach the monastery where my mother was baptised. The record of her baptism is possibly held in the north of Cyprus, although government officials in the Republic told me that these documents were probably destroyed during the 1974 war.

[40] Two years later, Georgina gave birth to her youngest child and named her after her mother-in-law. She had asked her husband's friend (one of the few Cypriots they knew who could write English) to write the name, in Roman script, on a piece of paper. In the last month of her pregnancy, Georgina carried the paper everywhere in anticipation of her hospital visit.

daughter after her maternal grandmother. A child may also be given the name of either grandparent, although a gender specific suffix is appended to the name.[41]

Georgina's story affirms the necessity of situating the transformation of social practices in the historically specific context of Australian Cypriot immigration. Most first generation respondents did observe traditional naming practices but these were often anglicised.[42] Assimilation necessitated the anglicisation of names, often imposed by the wider Anglo-Celtic community and sanctioned by state institutions such as hospitals.[43] In some cases, Cypriots chose to have their names anglicised. This was the case of second generation Melani (48), a teacher who, after years of listening to her students and colleagues struggle to pronounce her surname, decided to change it by deed poll. The fact that she changed it to her father's first name meant that her parents were not overly insulted, particularly as in Cyprus single women are often referred to by their father's Christian name. [44]

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[41] However, I found that naming practices were not as rigid as Deryneians claimed. Also, in urban centres of Cyprus the increasing incidence of women selecting names other than family patronym is noteworthy. For an insight into regional variations, see Herzfeld (1982), Just (1988a), Kenna (2001b), Stewart (1991) and Sutton (1997).

[42] For example, Yiannis became John, Andros became Andrew and Eftihia became Effie. My hyphenated name was a source of much confusion among Deryneians as typically most use only one name and most informants called me either Anna or Maria. My maternal aunt in Deryneia explained this anomaly to others by noting that I had been named after both my maternal and paternal grandmothers. This is not so, but despite my protestations, she couched her explanation in the terms of the naming tradition and the fact that Maree was closely associated with the name Maria (my maternal grandmother) was proof enough that her explanation was reasonable.

[43] Informants in Deryneia and Melbourne also reported that the Greek Orthodox Church would not allow children to be given foreign or non-Christian names.

[44] In Australia the naming tradition practised among the second generation also depends on whether they have entered into a mixed marriage. Cypriots who marry other Cypriots tend to uphold the tradition and in some cases modify it. Generally, second and third generation Cypriots in mixed marriages do not maintain the naming practice. However, I did find some cases where the first son was named after his paternal grandfather.

Multiculturalism

In the 1970s, Australia's immigration policy changed from assimilation to multiculturalism.[45] Migrant advocacy groups began to organise into lobby groups and as a result the government became increasingly aware of the 'migrant's voice' and the 'migrant vote' (Castles *et al.* 1992: 121; Jupp 1988). However, as Jupp (1993) argues, the power of an 'ethnic lobby' to influence policy in Australia has often been overstated. Under multicultural policies, ethnic communities were acknowledged so long as they co-existed non-antagonistically with the dominant culture. Although there were several enlightened programs introduced under multiculturalism, aimed at addressing the disadvantages migrants faced, overall, multiculturalist policies have allowed for merely token recognition of different cultural performativities in Australia.[46]

In the mid-1970s, the immigration of Cypriots to Australia reached its peak, when approximately 6,000 refugees fled Cyprus as a result of the 1974 war. In the state of Victoria, Cypriot arrivals made up almost 35 per cent of the migrant intake (Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission [VEAC] 1986: 1). In 1976 there were 22,216 Cypriots living in Australia.[47] Many refugees, like Talia, migrated to Australia because kin were based there and able to offer support.

During the mid-1970s Australian Greek Cypriots lobbied federal and state governments as well as various members of parliament for assistance for Cypriot refugees (NAA: A1838, 152/2/3/1 PART 1). The type of assistance sought was most

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[45] For greater insight into multiculturalism, see Bottomley (1993), Bottomley and de Lepervanche (1984), Castles *et al.* (1992), Collins (1988) and Papastergiadis (1995).

[46] Programs for English as a second language were introduced at public schools to address the disadvantages that children of non-English speaking backgrounds were encountering (Castles *et al.* 1992: 121).

[47] The Department of Statistics and Research (Cyprus) (1984) records that in 1976, 5,647 Cypriots left Cyprus and the largest single group, 2,612, went to Australia; likewise in 1977, the largest number of Cypriots leaving Cyprus went to Australia.

often to grant them residence in Australia. Requests were also made for immediate support to those in Cyprus. This political pressure had some impact and the Australian government initially contributed AUD50,000 to the Red Cross for the support of Cypriot refugees (NAA: A1838, 1634/17/2 PART 1).[48] However, the government ruled out permitting large numbers of refugees to enter Australia, after concluding that it was not viable given Australia's poor economic position. A Department of Foreign Affairs official, Hugh Gilchrist, concluded:

> If a very large number of Cypriots were accepted, the probable low level of skills and standard of English of most of them, coupled with the unemployment situation in Australia, could … lead to many of them living in migrant hostels, out of work and receiving unemployment benefits (NAA: A1838, 1634/17/2 PART 1).[49]

The Australian government's decision was also made after evaluating the Cypriot government's view of such a move. In a confidential memorandum to government ministers, Gilchrist declared that the Cyprus government did not want large numbers of Greek Cypriot refugees leaving Cyprus because they postulated, incorrectly, that refugees would soon return to their homes in north Cyprus (NAA: A1838, 1634/17/2 PART 1). Moreover, he stated that the Cypriot government asserted that any significant movement of Greek Cypriots to Australia would be inconsistent with their aim, and so suggested 'acceptance of the status quo' (NAA: A1838, 1634/17/2 PART 1).[50] The Australian government was more likely to allow those refugees who already had family in Australia to immigrate, because they could 'provide accommodation and

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[48] In October 1974 the Australian government worried that the Greek and Greek Cypriot communities in Australia did not believe they were doing enough to support Cypriot refugees, and thus suggested that a Greek Cypriot lawyer with Australian citizenship be sent to Cyprus with its immigration selection officers for a month, so that on his return he could report to the Cypriot communities Australia's efforts and the difficulties regarding Cypriot immigration (NAA: A1838, 1634/17/2 PART 2).

[49] In 1974, Gilchrist was the first assistant secretary of the consular and legal division of the Department of Foreign Affairs. He had previously held the post of ambassador to Greece.

[50] Gilchrist also said that the Turkish government did not want Turkish Cypriots leaving Cyprus for the same reasons (NAA: A1838, 1634/17/2 PART 1).

support' (NAA: A1838, 1634/17/2 PART 1). Several Australian Cypriots wrote to the Australian government asking permission for relatives in Cyprus to immigrate, guaranteeing accommodation and employment for kin and even offering to pay their fares. However, familial links did not guarantee entrance to Australia (see NAA: A1838, 1634/17/2 PART 1).[51]

After July 1975, a small number of Cypriots were granted permission to immigrate according to three main criteria, that of displaced persons, family reunion sponsorship or unmarried women (NAA: A1838, 1634/17/2 PART 2). Enquiries for young refugee women to immigrate (most with relatives in Australia) dramatically increased at the end of 1974, in response to a media report that Australia would take '2,000 virgins' from Cyprus (NAA: A1838, 1634/17/2 PART 2). From 1975 to March 1976 the government reported that that it had allowed 3,000 Cypriots per annum to emigrate (approximately three times the annual quota) without applying the usual occupation criteria. Those entering came on humanitarian grounds and were required to undergo bio-medical checks, including x-rays (NAA: A1838, 1634/17/2 PART 2).[52]

The decision was a result of pressure from the Australian Cypriot community, which was made clear in a confidential report by the Immigration Department that stated that in March 1976 the Australian government planned to halt Cypriots coming on humanitarian grounds. Although the immigration minister agreed, he expressed 'concern about possible unfavourable reaction among the Cypriot community in Australia.' Instead, he suggested they approach the Cypriot government with the

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[51] This was the case of a Greek Cypriot family who had lived in Australia in the 1960s but returned to Cyprus in the early 1970s with their Australian-born children and failed to get Australian assistance (NAA: A1838, 1634/17/2 PART 1). In 1974 the husband became a prisoner of war and was taken to the Andani camp in Turkey. His Australian family requested that the Australian government ask Turkey to release him and then bring him to Australia. However, the Australian government denied their request because the man was not an Australian citizen, although his children were (NAA: A1838, 1634/17/2 PART 1).

[52] By the end of 1974 the government stopped taking Cypriots on skills criteria as they could not verify qualifications due to the political situation and because Cypriot 'authorities are not keen to lose skilled men' (NAA: A1838, 1634/17/2 PART 2).

proposal, knowing that it would agree and thus the Australian government would avoid any domestic criticism over the move (NAA: A1838, 1634/17/2 PART 2). The Australian government was, however, accommodating of Cypriots visiting Australia during the 1974 conflict. They were granted extensions on their stays, allowing in total 15-month permits in Australia (NAA: A1838, 1634/17/2 PART 1). Furthermore, those without relatives or financial support were able to seek employment during their stay in Australia.

There were also a number of Australian Cypriots in Cyprus at the time of the war. Cathy and her brother were in Deryneia and her relatives rushed to get them out of the country by boat, concerned that her brother would be conscripted, as male participation in the army was compulsory. In 1974 Cyprus did not recognise dual nationality or:

> accept that a person of Cypriot origin can divest his nationality. Therefore, while in Cyprus … irrespective of adopted nationality [he] could, in situations of emergency, be prevented from leaving the country' (NAA: A1838, 1634/17/2 PART 2).

Several of my male informants who came to Australia as children in the 1950s and 1960s reported that before visiting Cyprus in the 1970s-1980s they had to obtain a letter from the Australian government declaring that they were Australian citizens so as not to be conscripted.[53] In short, during the war, young women were encouraged to leave and young men to return to Cyprus.

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[53] The Australian Department of Foreign Affairs reported in October 1974 that irrespective of a man's birth place, if his parents were Cypriot-born and he had resided in Cyprus between 16 August 1955 and 1960 for up to one year, he was liable for military service (NAA: A1838, 1634/17/2 PART 2). An Australian Cypriot lawyer sent to Cyprus by the Australian government to report on the situation to Cypriots in Australia actually had his passport stamped 'Bearer is travelling on official business at the request of the Minister for Labor and Immigration' so as not to be conscripted in the Cypriot army (NAA: A1838, 1634/17/2 PART 2).

Post-1974 Immigration

During the 1980s Cypriot emigration to Australia declined and by the early 2000s it was relatively small. The better economic situation in Cyprus meant that by the early 1980s the number of Cypriots emigrating overall had markedly declined, though Australia still received the largest numbers.[54] Since the 1980s most Cypriots granted residency in Australia have come as business immigrants or on family reunion schemes.[55] Generally, those who came to Australia in this period were more educated and this has impacted on a number of Cypriot associations and their internal politics.

Some who came in the 1980s returned to Cyprus after some years. This was the case of two couples whom Connie (54) knew. The first arrived in Australia during the early 1980s for in vitro fertilisation (IVF) treatment, and returned to Cyprus after 10 years. The second couple came in the 1990s to have their children schooled in Australia but have since returned.

It is difficult to ascertain the exact numbers of Cypriots migrating to Australia as both the Australian and Cyprus government records are inconsistent. The Cypriot statistics often show smaller numbers emigrating to Australia, probably because a number of Cypriots did not directly emigrate from Cyprus but came from Egypt, England or other countries.[56] For example, in the mid-1950s Loukia (66) left Cyprus for England when she was 18 years old. After three years working in London in clothing

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[54] For example, the Cyprus government records indicated that in 1980, 525 Cypriots emigrated and the largest number went to Australia. In 1981, 192 Cypriots emigrated and 104 of these are recorded to have emigrated to Australia (Department of Statistics and Research (Cyprus) 1984: 53). It is also interesting to note that the number of Cypriots returning to Cyprus has not been large compared with the number of migrants from Greece who return to their homeland (St John-Jones 1983: 103). This, I would suggest, is in part a result of the political situation on the island and the continuing uncertainty it entails.

[55] In Victoria during the 1980s the majority came under the category of family reunion (VEAC 1986: 7).

[56] Demographer St John-Jones has found inconsistencies between Cypriot statistical records on emigrants and statistics collected by Australia, Britain, Canada and the USA. He argues that in most cases Cyprus underestimated those leaving the country. For example, from mid-1961 to mid-1966 Australian records indicate that 2,853 Cypriots immigrated into Australia, whereas Cypriot records indicate 2,052; likewise, from mid-1966 to mid-1971 Australian records show 4,631 compared with Cyprus records of 2,903. In 1970 Australian records show 1,212 immigrants whereas Cyprus records 782 Cypriots as emigrating to Australia (St John-Jones 1983: 95-96).

factories, she migrated to Melbourne where her brothers had settled. Although she wanted to stay in England, her brothers thought it more appropriate that a single woman live with her family, and after they paid for her fare to Australia, she felt compelled to leave. There were also Cypriots leaving Cyprus who put Australia as their destination but did not end up settling for long. This was the case with a few Cypriots I meet in Deryneia who had migrated to Australia in the early 1950s, but only stayed a few years and eventually settled in England, as Commonwealth citizens.

It is even more difficult to obtain reliable statistics for Cypriots in Australia that include second and third generation Cypriots. For example, the 1996 census classified Cypriots as those who had one or both parents born in Cyprus.[57] This fails to account for those who identify as Cypriot but whose parents were born in Australia but are of Cypriot ancestry.

Patterns of Settlement

Informants told me that from the 1940s to the 1970s, the majority of Melbourne's Cypriots lived in the working class, western suburbs of Melbourne, while a small portion lived in the northern suburbs (also working class at that time). Accurate statistics are difficult to verify, as the censuses of this period recorded the ethnic profile of Victorian suburbs under broad, general categories and Cypriots were often categorised as 'other Asians.' For example, the 1954 census records did not include Cypriots in the breakdown of where ethnic groups resided. It indicated that there were only 103 Greeks living in Sunshine, yet it records that there were 909 people living there who were of Greek Orthodox religion (AG 1962). It is most likely that many of

[57] Lee (2003: 257) identified many limitations in the Australian census statistics when trying to establish accurate numbers of particular migrant groups, in her case Tongans in Melbourne. Many of the points she makes also apply to Greek Cypriots. As she states, 'Information on "ethnicity" is limited, and most censuses have asked for details of citizenship, country of birth, and parents' birthplace, but not self-identification'.

those people were Greek Cypriot. As Price (1988: 53) shows, while the settlement of Cypriots in Australia was in most cases similar to settlement of migrants from Greece, in terms of location, in Melbourne this was not the case.[58]

In the 1980s and 1990s most Cypriots in Melbourne lived in Sunshine (VEAC 1986; RMIT 1996). However, by the early 2000s while a large portion of first generation Cypriots continued to live there, many had moved to surrounding suburbs.[59] On the whole, second generation Cypriots have experienced social mobility, often moving to more affluent suburbs.

Life in Melbourne for Women During Early Settlement

For many Cypriots, arrival in Australia was difficult and isolating. During the 1950s the disproportionate number of men increased stress on women in the community. Most of my married informants initially shared their houses not only with their husbands and children, but also with a number of other men. This took considerable adjusting to as in Cyprus, residential patterns were usually nuclear, with sometimes widowed parents residing with a married child (typically the oldest daughter) and their family, but usually in an detached room in the rear courtyard.

Paraskevi (73), like many migrant women, had to share her two-bedroom house with four of her husband's brothers and it was not until some years later that these men became financially secure and set up their own homes. She recounted with embarrassment that her children slept under their kitchen table because of lack of space. Georgina also shared her home with several men, some of whom were married but lived

[58] The majority of Cypriots lived 'in the outer working-class suburbs of Sunshine, Broadmeadows, Keilor and Whittlesea rather than in such long-established Greek areas of Northcote, Oakleigh and Richmond' (Price 1988: 533).

[59] The 1996 census records the greatest number of Cyprus born living in Sunshine and surrounding areas. Approximately one-fifth of Cyprus-born lived in the City of Brimbank of which Sunshine is a suburb (RMIT 1996).

in her house until they could afford to bring their families from Cyprus. Later, some of their wives also lived in her home and she found it particularly difficult living with her British sister-in-law whom, she claimed, did not understand 'Cypriot culture.' These women were responsible not only for their own families, but also had to clean and cook for all the occupants of the house. It was the unpaid labour of these women that contributed to the success of many Cypriot men in Australia.

Adjusting to living with extended kin, and in a number of cases non-kin, was emotionally draining and often led to tensions within the household. A number of married women recalled how uncomfortable and powerless they felt moving into another woman's house, which in some cases led to conflicts between women. Sharing houses also had long-term implications, as it created life-long obligations both in terms of kinship and patron–client relations. These complex relationships also affected the second generation, as is reflected in the following story.

Androulla and Georgina

Georgina and her husband provided accommodation for Androulla and her family when they first arrived in Melbourne, which left Androulla feeling indebted to Georgina's family. Her obligation to Georgina was also one that was first formed in Deryneia when she worked for Georgina's father as an agricultural labourer, after her family became landless. Indeed, Georgina mentioned to me on a number of occasions how generous her father had been to Androulla.

Some decades after her arrival in Australia, Androulla told Georgina that her daughter wanted to ask Georgina's son to be her child's godfather, a role considered very important to Cypriots. In response Georgina made it known to Androulla through women's networks that her son would not be interested. Accepting this would place her son in an obligatory relationship, one Georgina clearly did not want, as it would alter

her position of status over Androulla. While this incident did not destroy their friendship it points to a relationship which has always relied on status distinctions and obligations. In this case, patron–client relations formed in the homeland carried meaning in the new country. Nevertheless, it was not always an unequal relationship and over the decades in Australia the families have formed strong bonds.

On the whole, women informants who came in the 1940s-1960s claimed that when they first arrived in Australia they lived in appallingly cramped conditions. Georgina arrived with her children in winter and they lived in a bungalow (shed) where rugs were used to cover the window frames (without glass) and door, as they had no money.

The majority of women who emigrated pre-1974 had little if any schooling and most could not read Greek or speak English (discussed in more detail in Chapter Five). By contrast, their husbands often knew enough English to get by and many had the advantage of living in Australia for years before their wife's arrival, which often forced women to rely on their husbands for day-to-day decisions and routines such as shopping.

Greek and Greek Cypriot Associations

Due to isolation and associated difficulties, many immigrants turned to Greek and Cypriot organisations for some support and cultural familiarity. Before the mid-1950s there were only a few Greek and Greek Cypriot associations in Melbourne and only one Greek Orthodox Church, Evangelismos, in East Melbourne. In this period many Greek Cypriots identified with the Greek community because of the community associations

already established. They were incorporated into this community as a result of close socio-political ties, shared religion, language and a similar migration experience.[60]

During this period Cypriot identity was over-determined by an imagined Greek homogeneity. The term Greek was used to bring Greek-speaking people together and differences of class or region/country were largely overlooked. For many Cypriots taking on this identity was a survival strategy, a means of resistance in a society that treated them as outsiders.[61] Such an identification would not have been possible if Cypriots had not accepted a degree of similarity with Hellenic culture.

There were a number of Cypriot organisations and informal arenas that played a role in many Cypriots' lives. In 1932 the Cypriot Brotherhood 'Zenon' was the first Greek Cypriot association formed in Melbourne.[62] It worked to support *enosis* and raised money to support Cypriots involved in the October 1931 rebellion against the British (Herodotou 1999: 236; Tamis 2000: 598).[63] Its agenda was to organise social activities and it provided employment contacts for newly-arrived migrants. In 1950 the association split as a result of increasing political tensions between pre-WWII migrants and those newly arrived from Cyprus (Herodotou 1993: 115). The contentious issue centred on the best way to achieve independence for Cyprus from Britain (*Neos Kosmos* 21 July 1980: 10-11). The pre-war migrants formed a new association, 'Troodos.' In 1960, however, when Cyprus obtained independence, the two associations merged to

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[60] Although Modern Greek is the official language of Cyprus, there are various regional dialects in Cyprus. A number of my informants in Deryneia commented that their relatives in Australia could not speak 'proper Greek.' Others told me that they sometimes found it difficult to understand their Australian relatives who mix 'old Cypriot' dialects with pidgin Greek and even a mixture of English words in their conversations.

[61] Similarly, Baldassar and Pesman's (2005) research on Veneti migrants from Italy found that it was only after they arrived in Australia that their migrant experience made them Italian, whereas beforehand, the first generation tended to identify by village or region.

[62] For more detail on Zenon and other Australian Cypriot associations, see Tamis (2005a). Also see the unpublished theses of Allimonos (2002), Andreou (2002) and Papasavvas (1997).

[63] In 1945 Zenon came under government surveillance because of its alleged links to AKEL (see the Dardalis Archives of the Hellenic Diaspora 1956).

form the Cypriot Community of Melbourne and Victoria (Herodotou 1993: 115).[64] According to their 1968 constitution, the association aimed to assist Victorian Cypriots in educational, cultural, social, spiritual and welfare arenas.[65]

Most of my informants and their families were not involved in the aforementioned organisations, as their main priority in the 1950s was to set up their own Cypriot Church, Apostolos Andreas, in Sunshine. This in itself took up a considerable amount of their time. Even before Apostolos Andreas was built, Cypriots in the Sunshine area had established an informal Cypriot club that organised social events for Cypriots in the western suburbs. Once a month a dance was held in a local hall when it was available, and later, at the Apostolos Andreas Hall which was built opposite the Church in 1967 (see Figure 9). These dances were advertised in the local municipal Greek and Cypriot newspapers. They were not only social gatherings, but also involved learning traditional Cypriot dances.[66] Informants also recalled that dinner dances were often held by the community, which Cypriots from all over Victoria attended.[67] There were also more informal functions including community picnics often held at Melbourne beaches.

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[64] For greater insight into the amalgamation see the files of the Victorian police NAA: B743, 1964/2449.

[65] A copy of the constitution (written in English) is held at the RMIT Australian-Greek Resource and Learning Archives (RMIT 1976).

[66] For the importance of Greek-Australian dance and music to ethnic identity see Chatzinikolaou and Gauntlett (1993). Several Cypriot newspapers were established in Melbourne but these are no longer in circulation. Today my informants who buy newspapers, read the Greek newspaper *Neos Kosmos*, established in 1957. It introduced an English section in 1974 and is read by a number of second-generation Cypriots; in 1978 a Cypriot supplement was introduced.

[67] At the end of the 1950s, dances were held by the community in city venues. These dances were advertised in local Greek newspapers (see *Pirsos* 17 October 1958: 414 and 14 November 1958: 13).

Figure 9 Apostolos Andreas community hall, 2002
(Photograph by author)

Today, most of the elderly congregation of Apostolos Andreas are involved in the church's Elderly Citizens Club.[68] A number of the younger population are members of the Greek Cypriot Parents and Youth Club of Apostolos Andreas whose main purpose is to organise social events.[69] These events are important in maintaining ties within the community and Cypriot identity (Herodotou n.d.: 8)

Melbourne Cypriots after 1974

In the 1970s the Australian Greek Cypriot community was already well established. Churches, social and cultural associations, an ethnic press and more supportive government policies, meant that Cypriots who came after 1974 were less pioneering, although their more contemporary experiences of Cyprus further complicated imaginings of the homeland within the community and its institutions.

The experience of Cypriots who arrived in Australia during the 1970s was very different from those who arrived in earlier years. The former came as refugees, and while many came with the assistance of Australian kin (NAA: A1838, 1634/17/2 PART 2), they still had to adjust to a new country and lived with the trauma of having had to leave a war-torn country where they had lost everything. Zena, who arrived in 1975, recalled that while many refugees received valuable support from the Cypriot community, they also felt that the community did not always understand their position as refugees, and some felt isolated from it for many years. Zena remembered that many

[68] A number of Cypriots in the western suburbs of Melbourne (many who moved from Sunshine to surrounding suburbs) were also involved in the St Albans Greek Elderly Citizens Club and the West Sunshine Multicultural Senior Citizen Centre. The latter caters for all ethnic groups, not just Greeks and Greek Cypriots. For an insight into problems facing the aging Greek Australian population (incorporates Greek Cypriots) in Victoria, see Tsingas (1998).

[69] According to its constitution, membership is confined to people under 50 years old (with the exception of persons over this age who have children under 18 years old) who are Greek Orthodox and of 'Cypriot extraction' or married to an eligible person.

refugee women encountered difficulties adjusting to a 'Cypriot community' in Australia that was very different to the one they had left behind.

Since the 1970s a number of Cypriot organisations have been set up for cultural, social and political reasons. In 1970 the Federation of Cypriot Communities of Australia was established, which had links with most of the Cypriot associations in Melbourne.[70] A number of associations were also set up as a direct response to the political situation in Cyprus, for example the Pan-Hellenic Relief Committee for Cyprus. Since then the number of associations (cultural, political and social) that reflect a growing diversity within the Cypriot community has grown. Cypriot women have been excluded from most Melbourne Cypriot associations and there has yet to be a woman sit on any of the main organisations' committees (Herodotou 1993: 115).[71] While women often felt marginalised from these androcentric organisations they have been central to community fund-raising, as this is typically deemed 'women's work.' After the 1974 war, women played a key role in organising events to raise funds and materials (such as clothing) to send to refugees in Cyprus. For example, the Women's Auxiliary Committee of the Cyprian Community of Melbourne and Victoria held an exhibition of handicrafts made by refugees in Melbourne and the proceeds were sent to Cyprus (*Neos Kosmos* 13 April 1978: 4). Others partook in an annual march to the Victorian state parliament to protest the Turkish occupation of northern Cyprus. As Anthias (1989: 151) shows, Cypriot women are linked to the nation-state at a symbolic level.

The majority of second and third generation Australian Cypriot informants have not been involved in Cypriot associations. This is partly a result of community groups not catering to their interests. For example, today many Greek Cypriot groups that are

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[70] In a memorandum, its stated objectives were to 'advance the cause of Cyprus, the cultural and ethnic identity, the educational, humanitarian, recreational, social, cultural, moral, patriotic and spiritual interests and the health and welfare of persons resident in Australia, who were born in Cyprus or are descendants of persons who were born in Cyprus thereby assisting their integration into the Australian community' (RMIT 1970). The Apostolos Andreas community was a member.

[71] However, the first Cypriot youth organisation formed in 1964 in Melbourne had eleven committee members of whom four were women and a woman was elected president (Sophocleous 1999).

not church-related have focused their attention on the 1974 Cyprus issue and few young people are interested in this. Moreover, for many of the second, the community's internal disputes, in which many of their parents were involved, have deterred their involvement in older community associations.

Greek and Turkish Cypriot Relations in Melbourne

Greek and Turkish Cypriot associations have generally not interacted. There are some exceptions, where they have collaborated on projects, but these associations tend to be academic in nature.[72] Turkish Cypriot academic Tumer Mimi (1999) notes that on the whole, the two groups avoid each other, although he acknowledges that there are some people in both communities who maintain informal relations.[73] In the 1940s and 1950s, Serkan Hüssein (2007) found examples of Turkish and Greek Cypriot men sharing houses and Turkish Cypriot men frequenting Greek cafes.

Only a few of my informants who came to Australia in the late 1940s and 1950s socialised with Turkish Cypriots in the early years of their settlement. When Georgina first came to Australia, she lived in a simple bungalow (built by her husband) for the first few years, until they built a house on the land. After they moved into her house the bungalow was rented out to newly-arrived Cypriots. For many years two young Turkish Cypriots resided there and often had dinner with Georgina's family:

> I didn't know any Turkish Cypriots in Deryneia, but in my daughter's godmother's village I knew a couple of Turkish families. Then in Australia we had two Turkish Cypriot boys live in our bungalow when they came from Cyprus. They were always very good people. When my daughter Eve was a small girl, they would take her in the pram. I would say 'Come on Ibrahim can you take her for a little walk so I can cook, wash and do the

[72] For example, in 2001 the 'La Trobe Project' brought together several Greek and Turkish Cypriot academics to work on a rapprochement between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots in Australia (La Trobe Project 2001a, 2001b).

[73] This information derives from a paper presented by Mimi at a conference at RMIT University, 15 May 1999. The paper is held at the RMIT Australian-Greek Resource and Learning Archives. Mimi was instrumental in setting up the La Trobe Project.

> cleaning?' And he would say, 'Alright my sister Georgina.' One day Ibrahim went back to Cyprus to marry a girl. When he returned years later to Australia I saw him at the supermarket. He saw me and kissed me and said, 'Oh my sister Georgina long time to see you' … His wife was beautiful. Always he was happy to see me (Georgina).

I found that most first generation Greek Cypriots by and large tended to socialise only with other Greek Cypriots and sometimes Greeks, but rarely with other ethnic groups. However, unlike their parents, most second and third generation Greek Cypriots tend to socialise with people of all ethnic backgrounds, but even so, few have relations with Turkish Cypriots, largely because of estrangements caused by Cyprus' recent history. Although Greek Cypriot informants have had little contact with Turkish Cypriots, the performance of their identity in Australia has nevertheless to a degree been influenced by them, as I discuss further in Chapter Three.

The remainder of this chapter focuses on the establishment of the church Apostolos Andreas in the mid-1950s. I demonstrate how through this church Cypriots maintained active connections with the homeland. I then look briefly at connections beyond the church.

The Importance of the Church

> We never had time to involve ourselves in the Cypriot associations. All we wanted was a church (Natassia aged 79).

During the early years of settlement Greek Cypriot women had few places to meet other Cypriots. On the whole they were excluded from Cypriot associations and had no meeting places like the male-centred *kafeneia* (coffee-houses), as women only frequented these on special occasions, such as the celebration of a particular saint's

day.[74] For many women the church was the most important place to meet with other Cypriots. During times of uncertainty, adjustment or upheaval in their lives, women saw the church as a safe haven where they could seek support and stability. For women, the church was something tangible that gave them a link between the familiar and the new. Prior to the mid-1950s, the Evangelismos Church in East Melbourne was the only public place in which Greek Cypriot women could routinely meet, but for many, adapting to the new context in which the church operated had its problems. Natassia's story outlines experiences common for many Greek Cypriot women

Natassia

Natassia left Deryneia with two children in the early 1950s at the age of 30. In Deryneia she had attended her village church most Sundays (except during harvest time) and also on specific saints' days or to light a candle. For her the village church was an important forum to meet with friends, it was as the focal point of the village. It was where all major village events took place, such as weddings, baptisms, funerals and festivals. When Natassia arrived in Sunshine she was shocked that there was no local Greek church to which she could walk. Instead, every Sunday her family caught several buses to the only Greek Church, in East Melbourne, some distance away.[75] As the church was always overcrowded her family frequently stood outside, even when it rained. She lamented not being able to visit the church as often as she had in Deryneia and believed that as a result she had not always fulfilled her obligations as *kali yinaika*.

Most Greek Cypriots who migrated to Melbourne during the 1950s came from rural areas like Deryneia. Women stated that in the village, the church congregation inevitably knew one another, which provided them with a sense of belonging. In

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[74] On the role that *kafeneia* have played in the Greek diaspora, see Patterson (1976) who argues that men use the *kafeneia* as a form of cultural resistance. See also Baddeley (1977) on the importance of the *kafeneia* and the church for Greeks in Auckland.

[75] At that time, the bus trip on a Sunday often took more than two hours.

Australia, however, the church no longer served the interests of a small village community, but included Greek-speaking people from different regions of Greece and other countries. For many, adapting to the urban context in which the church operated was not easy or even desirable.[76]

The Greek Orthodox Church in Australia was also run very differently from in the homeland. In the diaspora, Greek Orthodox churches, regardless of whether their founders were Cypriot, initially came under the jurisdiction of the Greek Orthodox Church of Australia, which is under the Patriarch of Constantinople and has fundamental connections with the government of Greece (Price 1975: 13).[77] In Cyprus, the Cypriot Orthodox Church is independent of the Orthodox Church of Greece.[78] The head of the Cypriot Church is not only the religious leader of Cyprus but also, traditionally, its political head.[79]

Discontent and the Desire for Separate Identity: Founding Apostolos Andreas

In the early 1950s with only one Greek Orthodox Church to service the growing number of Greek-speaking migrants and a lack of facilities to cater for this diverse group, meant that time and again regional and ethnic conflicts prevented 'Greek' unity in

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[76] For greater insight into some issues faced by migrants who move from rural communities to urban areas, see Kenna's (1977, 1983) work on internal migration in Greece.

[77] As far as I can gather, the Cypriot Orthodox church has shown no interest in controlling churches in the diaspora.

[78] The Church of Cyprus answers to the Patriarch of Constantinople but 'retains complete administrative autonomy under its archbishop' (Meleagrou & Yesilada 1993: 70). Unlike the Greek Orthodox Church in Greece, the Cypriot Orthodox Church has autonomy and is separate from the Greek state (Price 1988).

[79] In 1960 Archbishop Makarios was both head of the church and president of the country. After independence, he also introduced a new system which effectively distributed ownership of the archdiocese to the community and village churches. Although administrative and financial control was transferred to individual churches, Makarios exercised absolute power in matters of state and was seen as the supreme spiritual leader.

Melbourne.[80] The case of Apostolos Andreas church is an example of how relevant these conflicts became to the Cypriot community in the western suburbs of Melbourne, and how for first generation women, the events greatly affected how their cultural identities were constructed. [81]

In the early 1950s many Cypriots felt lost in the broader Greek diaspora, particularly as they felt that they had no effective representation in the Greek Orthodox Community (GOC).[82] According to my informants this led to several Cypriots from Sunshine voicing their resentment about the GOC. In 1954 a committee (made up of Cypriot men residing in Sunshine) was formed and it proposed to set up a Cypriot church, Apostolos Andreas.[83] For these Cypriots (a number of the founders were from Deryneia) building a new church was a means to (re)create a separate identity from other Melbourne Greeks, and a way to reconnect and strengthen their ties with Cyprus. With many of the community living in Sunshine or nearby, it also simulated a strong sense of the 'village church.'

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[80] A number of studies on Greeks in Australia have assumed that Greek Cypriots are no different from Greeks and often include them as part of the Greek diaspora (see Price 1975; Tsingas 1998). For example, Price (1975: 5) suggests that although 'Cypriot Greeks are in some ways different to those from mainland Greece ... These differences, however, are no greater than those between educated Athenians and rural Greeks … They certainly do not interfere much with that feeling of belonging to the Greek world, of being a "Greek"'. This ignores significant cultural and historical differences, which the case of the Apostolos Andreas church clearly highlights.

[81] Much of the information I have included on the history of Apostolos Andreas Church comes from my informants' accounts and is documented in more detail in my honours thesis (unpublished 1998).

[82] In Melbourne the first GOC association was established in 1897 and included Cypriots among its founding members (Tsounis 1971). Throughout its history the GOC has been plagued by schisms (see Kakakios & Van der Velden 1984; Tsounis 1971).

[83] According to Tsounis (1971: 440), the Greek Cypriot community of Sunshine was formed in 1954 and began to erect the church in 1956. The Church's foundation service was held on the 3 June 1956. A hole was dug and a parchment was placed in it before the foundation was laid. According to my informants, when the church was completed they lacked funds for a plaque that would have reproduced the parchment and until now there is still no plaque on the church. However, a copy of the parchment is held by one of my informants. It is unclear when the church building was completed. I was given a number of different dates, ranging from 1956 to 1969. Some of the original committee members I interviewed claim that the faction that took over the church in 1970 destroyed almost all earlier documents, whereas the church's priest of 1970 claimed that a number of documents simply went missing.

Soon after its inception the Cypriot committee rented a local hall and employed a novice priest to conduct services and other rituals. Georgina recalled that the establishment of this committee did not meet with the approval of the GOC, and as a consequence, the priest of Evangelismos Church and the archbishop (head of the Greek Orthodox churches in Australia) summoned the Sunshine church committee to a meeting.[84] An informant who was at the meeting claimed the archbishop denied the Cypriots permission to build a church, but agreed to have a monthly church service in Sunshine. As Georgina said:

> When the priest came to hold the service in Sunshine he made £200. That was a lot of money! The archbishop heard that a lot of people came and nearly everyone gave a pound each. There were over 300 people who came to the service that day.

Several informants believed that the GOC and the archbishop were worried that weekly services in Sunshine would result in lost revenue for the East Melbourne church. Although the GOC and the archbishop did not officially approve the building of a new church, they conceded that if it proceeded the church would automatically belong to the GOC. However, the Cypriot church committee, not wanting to have the church under the control of the GOC, wrote to Archbishop Makarios in Cyprus; however while Makarios sympathised with their predicament, agreeing that the church belonged to the Cypriot community, he insisted that in matters of religion all power was vested in the Australian archdiocese.[85]

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[84] Contrary to what my informants said, Tsounis (1971: 440) has argued that the GOC did not object to the building of Apostolos Andreas and that, 'the Community did not wish to deny the right of Greek Cypriots to found their own church. The Community consequently never considered Apostolos Andreas as a splinter group … Apostolos Andreas itself retained good relations with the Community and with the Federation throughout its existence.'

[85] Although Makarios denied their wishes it does demonstrate that several Cypriots were not happy to be under the authority of GOC run predominately by mainland Greeks. This is contrary to Tamis' findings. He argues that 'The historical separateness of the Cypriot Orthodox Church and its ecclesiastic autonomy … did not affect the organization and communal structure of Cypriots of Greek origin in the diaspora' (Tamis 2005a: 193).

A founding member of Apostolos Andreas, Dimitris, said that in the letter they wrote to Makarios they informed him that the Greek community was forcing them to abandon their unique cultural traditions.[86] Several Cypriots asserted that they wanted their own church after feeling the Greeks were not upholding 'traditional customs.' Such claims, I found, were often strategies adopted by Cypriots to resist Greek hegemony and empower themselves.

In 1955, having accumulated sufficient funds, the Cypriots purchased a plot of land for the church and held an inauguration service in mid-1956, to lay the church's foundation stone.[87] The ceremony, held by Archbishop Theophylaktos (head of the Australian Greek Orthodox churches) attracted a large Cypriot crowd who marched through the streets of Sunshine (*Sunshine Advocate* 8 June 1956: 2). According to a number of my informants, the archbishop came only reluctantly, after receiving a letter from the archbishop of Cyprus.[88] The service was also attended by the Australian archbishop of the Russian Orthodox Church and a Russian priest (see Figures 10a, 10b, 10c). The church took a number of years to construct and was built by Cypriots in the area who volunteered their labour, mostly on weekends (see Figures 11a, 11b, 11c).[89]

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[86] Although I never found documentation of this letter, Dimitris' claims were corroborated by other informants.

[87] The church festival is held every year in December to celebrate St. Andrew's feast. State and federal government representatives have also attended the festival. In 2001, for example, in the Victorian parliament, the representative of the Sunshine area declared that he would be attending the festival. He further commended the role that the Cypriot community had played in the area and claimed that with over 10,000 people attending, it was the largest festival in the area (Parliament of Victoria 2001).

[88] I was unable to verify this through primary documents.

[89] The church was designed free of charge by an Australian who was a work colleague of my informant Dimitris, and another work colleague, an Austrian engineer, who also agreed to supervise the building. The church was estimated to cost £6,000 and most of the work was to be done by volunteers (*Sunshine Advocate* 1 June 1956: 10). The church was not, however, built to the original model after it was realised the community would not have enough money for such a grand structure.

Figure 10a The Australian Greek archbishop before the foundation service, 3 June 1956 (Photographer unknown, collection of Ierodiaconou family)

Figure 10b Apostolos Andreas inauguration service, 3 June 1956 (Photographer unknown, collection of Landos family)

Figure 10c Inauguration service with Greek and Russian archbishops and priest, 3 June 1956 (Photographer unknown, collection of Ierodiaconou family)

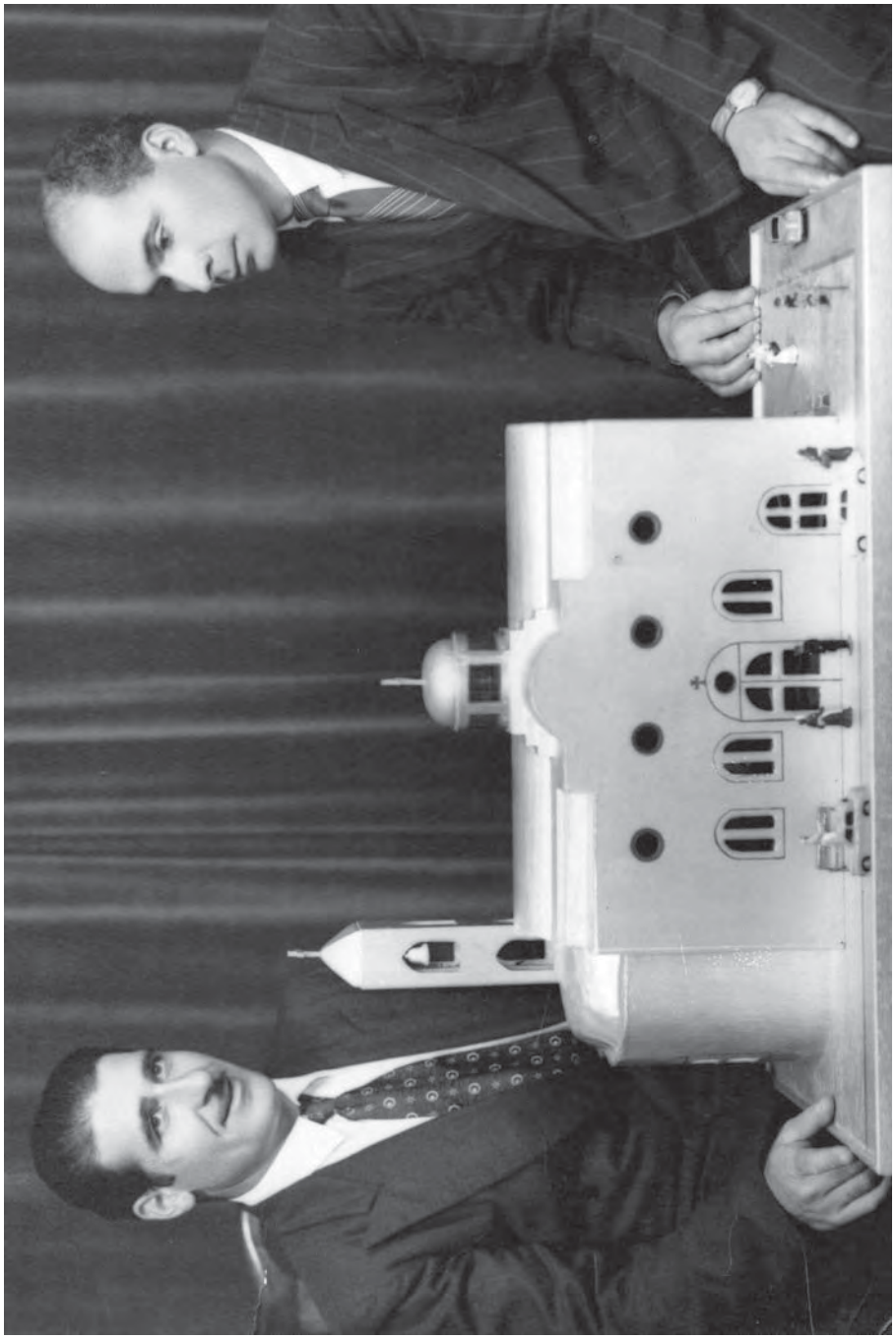

Figure 11a The original church model, 1956c
(Photographer unknown, collection of Ierodiaconou family)

Figure 11b Apostolos Andreas church, 2001 (Photograph by author)

Figure 11c Inside Apostolos Andreas Easter celebrations, 2003 (Photograph by author)

Georgina remarked:

> My husband would work in his spare time at the church. Of course he could not stop [his paid] work. We had four children. He was always working … In the late afternoon he would go to the church and work until it was dark. In the evening there was always a meeting at our place about the church. I would make *koupepia* (stuffed vine or cabbage leaves) and my husband would take them to work … My husband would give the architect, who wasn't Cypriot, my food and he would say, 'It's lovely.' He then asked the architect and his wife to dinner … I was nine months pregnant and I had to ask my brother and brother-in-law who were living with us to help me prepare the food, and they did! They would help and then I'd go and lie down and then get up and call them for help again (she laughs). I was very nervous; they were our first Australian guests.

While the church was being built, there was no priest available to service the community permanently. Dimitris said that the Australian archbishop suggested he bring out his father, a priest in Deryneia, to serve the community temporarily, and this was done in 1957 with the help of community donations. For Georgina, a great honour was bestowed on her family when her father-in-law (the priest) and his wife stayed at her house.[90] Cypriots from all over Victoria often visited her home as a result. Georgina's daughter also remembered fondly her grandfather's visit:

> Anglo-Australians would stare when they were in the street, as most had never seen a priest in long black robes, with a long beard. He was well over six feet tall, much higher with hat, a striking figure for anyone encountering him.

The Deryneian priest conducted church services in a shed in Sunshine while Apostolos Andreas was being built. He also travelled around regional Victoria conducting services such as baptisms requested by Greek Cypriots. In 1959, after the priest returned to Cyprus, another Cypriot priest took over and this has been an ongoing trend.

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[90] In the Greek Orthodox Church clergy above the rank of priest cannot marry because they take monastic vows.

Apostolos Andreas' Birthing Pains

Since its inception, tensions between the Apostolos Andreas community and the Greek Australian archdioceses have been almost continuous.[91] Here, I point briefly to only some of the major tensions that have featured in my informants' life-narratives.

In 1959 when Archbishop Ezekiel became head of the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia he tried to gain complete control of Apostolos Andreas, and as a result the community felt that he was trying to undermine Cypriots. In 1960, unwilling to relinquish control of the church to Ezekiel, some Cypriots wrote to Archbishop Makarios requesting that the church come under the Cyprus Church's jurisdiction.[92] According to some informants, although Makarios sympathised with their predicament, once again he is said to have stated that in matters of religion, all power was vested in the Australian archbishop. Tamis (2005b: 86) also says that Makarios advised Cypriot clergy in Australia to follow Ezekiel and avoid contact with priests not under his archdiocese.

Both Tamis (2000, 2005b) and Andreou (2002) attribute the problems at Apostolos Andreas largely to a religious schism, but this ignores the role that ethnicity and class have played in the conflicts. While the church and its representatives also have asserted that the conflict was one based on ecclesiastical problems, my informants' accounts suggest this was not wholly the case.

During the years immediately after Apostolos Andreas was built, the congregation was largely comprised of Cypriots with only a few Greek families

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[91] The relationship between the GOC and the archbishop of the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia has been shrouded in controversy (see Kakakios & Van der Velden 1984; Tsounis 1975). These conflicts have not only centred on ecclesiastical conflicts; typically, splits in the Greek community have played out along class lines, as well as *topikismos* (regionalism) which has been a recurring variable (Tsounis 1975).

[92] I saw a copy of this letter in the home of an informant. It was addressed to Makarios from the Sunshine community, dated 20 November 1960. In her thesis on Cypriots in Australia, Andreou (2002) also refers to this letter and notes that from 1959 to 1966 the community wrote a number of letters to Makarios on the same issue. These letters are held at the Dardalis Archives of the Hellenic Diaspora, NCHSR, La Trobe University, Cypriot Community of Sunshine, document 110 to 115.

attending. However, this changed in the late 1950s with a large influx of Greek immigrants into Victoria, some of whom settled in the western suburbs, and many attended Apostolos Andreas. As only Cypriots comprised the church committee, this fuelled tensions between the recently arrived Greeks and Cypriots.[93]

> A lot of Greeks began to come to our church and they became members. But after they became members they wanted to sit on the committee and take over from us. But Apostolos Andreas was for Cypriot people! Cypriot people built it! Of course we did not mind that they were members but we didn't want them to be on the committee (Andoni).

In 1957 the committee members decided to protect their interests through a formal written constitution.[94] One of the main clauses stated that committee members had to be Cypriot by birth or married to one. As Michael Tsounis noted:

> Greek Cypriots took great care to be in a position of exercising complete control in a settlement which ... was becoming … inhabited predominately by immigrants from Greece (Tsounis 1971: 502).

Although Greeks could be church members, they were excluded from voting in church matters, as Fito (77) explained:

> Well, the Cypriots are different to the Greeks but we have the same religion. So some of us were willing to include them, as a few of them had worked on the church. Although we have the same religion, we are different, actually we have different dialects. We speak different.

The Church constitution was predicated on ethnicity and for the Cypriots this guaranteed absolute control over church and community. For the committee members, allowing Greeks on the committee threatened their power and status in the Cypriot community. Indeed, for several Cypriots, the church became an avenue through which

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[93] The *Sunshine Advocate* (22 July 1970: 3) reported that in 1958, new arrivals from Greece were unhappy that they had no representation in Apostolos Andreas Church.

[94] A copy of the constitution is held by one of my informants; it details rules and regulations for the committee and church.

they could obtain the power and status denied them by the Greek and wider Australian community.[95]

The Greek reaction to the church constitution was unfavourable and resulted in threats of legal action.[96] Spiros (83) remembered:

> The Greeks went to Archbishop Ezekiel and told him that the Cypriots would not let the Greeks on the committee and that's when all the trouble started … We held a meeting with Ezekiel and a compromise was made, offering the Greeks four seats on the committee ... Ezekiel was not happy and wanted greater Greek representation.

Archbishop Ezekiel also insisted that Apostolos Andreas change its name from the Cypriot Community Apostolos Andreas of Sunshine to the 'Greek Orthodox Community of Cypriots and other Greeks of Sunshine, Victoria' (cited in Andreou 2002: 94). In changing the name, the Cypriots would have to give the Greek congregation representation and voting rights. In response, the Apostolos Andreas community members voted in favour of Greeks gaining membership and the right to vote for committee members, but refused to change the church name. Elli (72), however, mentioned that the issue was not resolved yet, as a few weeks later a splinter group at Apostolos Andreas demanded another vote. It was eventually decided that although Greeks could be members they would not have voting rights. This decision split the Greek and Cypriot communities, and resulted in the Greek congregation leaving Apostolos Andreas. In 1964, with the approval of Archbishop Ezekiel, the Greeks set about building another church in Sunshine, Saint Anthony's, which is located only a few streets from Apostolos Andreas.

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[95] In Britain, Greek Cypriots also split from Greeks and set up their own Cypriot church (see Constantinides 1977).

[96] Tensions in the community are highlighted in a letter that the Cypriot community of Sunshine received in 1957 from a solicitor acting on behalf of some Greek clients. The letter threatened legal action if the community did not change their constitution which, it alleged, was contrary to the wishes of the majority of the society's members. The letter stated that the constitution 'has the obvious result of excluding Greeks from mainland Greece from becoming members of the society.' The authors of the letter also demanded a meeting of all members be held (Letter addressed to the secretary of the Greek and Cypriot Society of Sunshine dated 16 December 1957, which was viewed at an informant's home).

Fissions in the Cypriot Community

Some years after the Greek congregation left Apostolos Andreas, new tensions began to emerge within the Cypriot community as a result of ideological and class differences.[97] By the mid-1960s the majority of the original church committee had been replaced by new committee members.[98] In the late 1960s the church committee, with the support of over half of the Apostolos Andreas community, decided that in order to gain independence from Ezekiel and the GOC it would leave the Greek Australian archdiocese and join the *Autocephalic* (independent) Greek Orthodox Church. The *Autocephalic* was founded in 1964 under Bishop Photios of Cyprus who had been excommunicated by Archbishop Makarios (Kourbetis 1990: 32). When Apostolos Andreas joined, it was under Archbishop Spyridon and had recently been 'pronounced uncanonical by the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the official church in Australia' (Tsounis 1975: 39). This decision divided the Apostolos Andreas community, as several would not join the independent church denounced by Archbishop Makarios.

By 1970, tensions within the Cypriot community were at fever pitch and a number of Apostolos Andreas' founding members alleged that the new president of the church committee was conspiring with communist factions to take over the church. On 12 July 1970, tensions between the two groups erupted, the police were called and the church was closed for four weeks (*Sunshine Advocate* 9 September 1970: 1 and 3).[99]

Elli remembered the day vividly and says it was the worst day in the community's history. She had arrived early in the morning for Sunday mass and sat in

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[97] See my honours thesis (Dawson 1998) for elaboration.

[98] This information comes from informants' accounts, along with documentation of the church's annual meetings. I viewed several minutes of meetings of the Apostolos Andreas committees. Some of these are held by informants, while some are held at the RMIT archives. See for example, minutes of the meeting held on 22 August 1965, which records the election of a new committee (RMIT 1965).

[99] A letter published in the local newspaper in 1970, by a member of St. Anthony's, discussing the 1970 dispute at Apostolos Andreas, claimed that Apostolos Andreas 'is now in no way connected with the Greek community of Sunshine' (*Sunshine Advocate* 22 July 1970: 3). It further claimed that only people from Greece attend the St Anthony church.

her usual position in the front of the church with the other women, while her husband stood at the rear. During the service a group of men whom she did not recognise barged loudly into church, reminding her of when the British raided her village in the early 1950s. They demanded that the service stop and with physical force tried to remove the priest. She recounted how women were crying and calling on the *Panayia* (Virgin Mary or All Holy One) for help. The priest's wife became most distraught at the manhandling of her husband.

With the church closed, the new committee dismissed the priest and the church's trustees (*Sunshine Advocate* 29 July 1970). In August 1970, the dispute was taken to the Victorian Supreme Court with two groups (the new committee and the second group comprised of many of the founding committee) claiming to be the sole representatives of the community and both declaring themselves to be the elected committee of Apostolos Andreas (*Herald* 12 August 1970: 6). The matter was resolved in favour of the new committee who wanted to keep the church independent. According to some informants, they won after convincing the court that the Australian Greek Orthodox archbishop was supporting the Greek *junta* in Greece.[100] Several founding members of Apostolos Andreas and their supporters left the church as a result and joined St. Anthony's. The Cypriot community of the Sunshine area remained split until 1998 when Apostolos Andreas returned to the Greek Orthodox archdiocese.

The feuding in the church impacted greatly on the Cypriot community, causing long-term feuds between friends and even family. These tensions were particularly hard on women who saw it as their responsibility as *kali yinaika* to maintain kin and community ties.

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[100] This position was also reported in the *Sunshine Advocate* (15 July 1970: 1). Furthermore, a number believed that money sent to the patriarchate of Constantinople by the Australian archbishop was diverted to the Turkish government.

The split also placed enormous pressure on women who were confronted with difficult political and moral issues. Some reported strain in their marriage over decisions made regarding the church's politics. Several women remembered their anxiety about staying with the church after it became independent because for decades the Australian Greek archdiocese did not recognise baptisms and weddings held at Apostolos Andreas. Thus, these women professed that it was difficult to accept that these would also not be recognised by the archbishop of Cyprus, and hence their homeland. For some religious women, this forced them to make very problematic decisions. Connie's case illustrates the dilemmas felt by some.

Connie

In the early 1970s, Connie, whose family had left Apostolos Andreas after the 1970 split, was asked to be a godmother of a child who had just been baptised at Apostolos Andreas. The child's mother pleaded with Connie to travel interstate secretly to have the child christened again, in a Greek Orthodox Church recognised by the Australian archdiocese. Connie recalled how the mother worried that if her actions were discovered, it would lead to scandal in the Sunshine community. But the woman could not live with the idea that her child's baptism at Apostolos Andreas was not recognised in Cyprus.

Connie, then in her early 20s, eventually agreed, but told me that she was somewhat uncomfortable about the fact that the interstate priest was unaware that the child was already baptised and had another godmother. In hindsight, she regretted her actions because she said as a 'secret godmother' she could not fulfil her role as a 'proper godparent,' a role she took very seriously and one that has particular importance in Cypriot culture, as in many others, for it creates important life-long links between families.

Resisting Assimilation

For Greek Cypriot immigrants the church became a cultural and spiritual haven in which to resist the Australian government's assimilation policies. Holding on to tradition provided Cypriots with cultural continuity and therefore the confidence to cope with social exclusion and racism. For many, involvement in Apostolos Andreas was not only motivated by religious beliefs, but was also a means to maintain their Cypriot identity in Australia (see Figure 12). Church participation provided individuals with a 'real' as opposed to merely an 'imagined' link with the 'homeland.' Attachment to the homeland by migrants can also be a way to distinguish themselves from others and hence a strategy to cope with social and cultural problems (Paerregaard 1997: 41).

During the early years of settlement, many Greek Cypriots identified themselves as Greek, whereas the establishment of Apostolos Andreas demonstrated their desire to express their Cypriot-ness. However, although the church played a central role in Cypriot identity formation, it was not always successful in uniting the community. In the case of Apostolos Andreas, the church became a contested space for 'the control of space provides a degree of control over the people who enter that space' (Mearns 1995: 182). Furthermore, as Anna Karpathakis (1994) has shown for the Greek diaspora in America, control over the church can also be a means by which to achieve class mobility. In Australia, the church acted as a forum where identities could be imagined and contested within the 'in-group.' In the case of Apostolos Andreas, intra-ethnic conflict was in part a result of individuals fighting to gain control and obtain status.

Figure 12 Apostolos Andreas: Cyprus independence day (Cyprus flag & picture of Archbishop Makarios), 2002 (Photograph by author)

The case of Apostolos Andreas demonstrates how the identity of Melbourne Cypriots was not only influenced by their Australian context, but also by the homeland. During the 1960s, it was evident that Cyprus' independence greatly affected the community in Melbourne. As Adoni reflected:

> After independence everything changed! After that I didn't want to be called Greek, but Greek Cypriot. But some Cypriots for instance are so fanatical, that they call themselves Greek. But it's not right, we're from Cyprus. We're a free country!

The rejection of *enosis* (union with Greece) by many Greek Cypriots in Cyprus after independence had clearly affected the Melbourne community, and this was seen in the intensification of tensions between the Melbourne Cypriot and Greek communities. While events in Cyprus were not the only reason for these conflicts, they did have a significant influence.

Cypriots' desire to involve the homeland in Australian church affairs has been ongoing. Many Cypriots felt alienated in the Greek church and believed that the Greek Australian community's relationship to their homeland rarely included Cyprus, but rather was over-determined by a connection to the Greek state. However, the case of Apostolos Andreas also demonstrates how the diaspora can try to involve the homeland as a way to gain recognition and legitimisation in their community. Besides the church, Cypriots maintain ties with Cyprus in a number of ways. I now look briefly at other links, and throughout the rest of the dissertation I elaborate on less obvious transnational connections.

Connections with the Homeland

For many first generation migrants, economic and political ties created important links to the homeland. Since Cypriot settlement in Australia, many migrants and Cypriot organisations have sent remittances to Cyprus, in some cases to support political

movements, but in most instances to help family members. Even today, a significant number of first generation Cypriots maintain economic ties with the homeland through land ownership (discussed in more detail in Chapter Three).

During the first decade of settlement in Australia most informants struggled financially and a number had the burden of repaying loans from relatives in Cyprus. Nevertheless, many sent money back to kin, in a number of cases to contribute towards dowries. For example, Andrew immigrated to Australia as an unmarried male in the early 1950s and sent a large proportion of his wage to his father in Cyprus. This was only possible because he saved money by living with his married sister's family.

In the initial years of settlement women were rarely in a position to send remittances to Cyprus, although clearly their unpaid labour was a contributing factor in male kin being able to do so. Ellen (68), who was unmarried when she came to Australia in the 1960s, stated, 'I didn't have any work and Christmas was coming and everyone was sending cards to their family with some money but I couldn't afford to, and so every night I would cry.'

Most married women told me that in their early years in Australia their main priority was to feed, clothe and educate their children. It was only after their family's financial positions improved that women were likely to send remittances home. Ten years after her arrival in Melbourne, Loukia began regularly sending money to relatives in Cyprus. In the early 1980s when her father was gravely ill she paid for his medical expenses and after he died she brought her aged mother to Australia, who lived with her until her death some 10 years later.

Not all informants were in a position to send money but some assisted kin in other ways. Georgina failed to sell her house in Deryneia when she first left and instead placed it in her father's care. Over the years the house was rented cheaply to extended kin in Deryneia and the money was used by her father to finance his other daughters'

dowries. In the 1980s, when Georgina's niece and her family were experiencing financial hardships, Georgina allowed them to live there rent-free.[101] In the late 1970s Loukia sent her own wedding dress to her husband's niece (who was a refugee) for her to be married in, and this was again used by other kin in Deryneia.

Many diasporic Cypriots with land in Cyprus also permitted relatives to use it for farming or other purposes. This was continuing in 2001, with a number of my Australian informants still owning land (usually inherited after their parents' deaths or given to them by parents as wedding gifts) and this was typically utilised by family in Cyprus.

Cypriot women also frequently send gifts to Cyprus. In the 1950s, 'gifts to islanders from overseas relatives - mostly in the United Kingdom or British Empire - accounted for almost $20 per Cypriote [sic] yearly' (Meyer & Vassiliou 1962: 12).[102] Melbourne women remembered lugging heavy suitcases on visits to Cyprus, almost all of which were full of gifts for relatives. These were usually Australian souvenirs or kitchen appliances unavailable in Cyprus.

Ties to the homeland often became heightened during major events in Cyprus. During the 1974 war, first and second generation Australian Greek Cypriots not only sent remittances but also held protests around Australia against Turkish occupation. Cypriot communities and individuals sent hundreds of letters, telegrams and petitions to the Australian government and members of parliament (both state and federal), pleading

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[101] Georgina's old house was located at the rear of the flat I rented in Deryneia in 2001. From photographs I took of her old mud house she was astonished to see that it looked exactly the same as when she had emigrated in 1950. According to Deryneians in the neighbourhood, no renovation/restoration work had been done on the house since her departure. In the 1990s Georgina sold the house to her husband's niece and her husband, who then used it to house foreign workers. In 2001 their intention was eventually to pull the house down and build their daughter a house when she married.

[102] Meyer and Vassiliou (1962: 61) found that in the early 1960s remittances from diasporic Cypriots averaged approximately AUD17.00 yearly for every Cypriot living in Cyprus. These largely came from diasporic Cypriots on holidays and those that sent money home, but also from diasporic Cypriots who returned to Cyprus and brought with them their life savings. In England too, remittances were sent regularly to parents in Cyprus (Constantinides 1977: 292).

for Australia to make submissions to the UN for the immediate withdrawal of Turkish troops from Cyprus.[103] As Demetriou (2003: 189) notes, it was also the first time that the government of Cyprus took an active interest in Cypriots living overseas and went to great lengths to mobilise them.[104]

Major events in Australia have also affected those in Cyprus. Melbourne informants recalled that after the 1983 Ash Wednesday bushfires in Victoria (one of the worst fires ever recorded) were reported widely abroad, many received distressed telephone calls from relatives in Cyprus. In Deryneia, Anthi remembered frantically trying to reach her sister after hearing that the 'whole of Victoria was on fire.' She recounted how she and other women went to church to light candles for relatives in Melbourne.

Summary

This brief account of Greek Cypriot immigration and the history of Greek Cypriot settlement in Melbourne gives insight into the experiences of my informants and how these influenced the ways in which they constructed their cultural identities. My focus has been on the community of Apostolos Andreas, as this is the community with which most of my elderly informants have been involved at one time or another. For my Melbourne informants, the church was of greater importance to them than other Cypriot association in the early years of settlement in Australia. It was one of the only places, particularly for women, where Cypriots could congregate to discuss their experiences

[103] Numerous non-ethnic organisations, such as trade unions, of which Cypriots were members, also took action. There were hundreds of petitions, letters and telegrams sent to the Australian government asking for their help during the Cyprus crisis. These are held in the national Australian archives. For example, between 1974-1975 the Pan-Hellenic Relief Committee for Cyprus sent the Australian government numerous petitions and letters asking for it to take political action and demand Turkish troops withdraw from Cyprus (NAA: A1838, 152/2/3/1 Part 1).

[104] This was seen in the establishment of two major organisations the POMAK (World Federation of Overseas Cypriots) and PSEKA (International Coordinating Committee Justice for Cyprus). For a brief overview of both groups, see Tamis (2005a).

and construct a meaningful identity in their new surrounds. The history of the community is also essential to the experience of women and allows greater understanding of how gender is constructed within and through diasporic communities.

While most of my second and third generation informants have not been involved in any formal Greek Cypriot community organisations, the history of the community, in particular Apostolos Andreas, has nevertheless influenced the ways they construct their cultural identities, as I discuss in the following chapter, which explores the performativity of identity in Deryneia and Melbourne.

Chapter Three

Performing Identity

Part One: in Deryneia

In 2001, Katelou (63) and her husband visited close relatives in Melbourne for the first time. On her return to Deryneia, Katelou said she was surprised that Australian Cypriots did not name their children after kin. They were, according to her, not upholding 'their Cypriot traditions.' A year later Lenya (49), having recently returned to Melbourne from a visit to Cyprus, remarked that, 'Cypriots in Melbourne are more Cypriot that in Cyprus.' When I asked her what she meant by this, she explained that in Melbourne, Cypriots were far more traditional than those in Cyprus. Cathy, a second generation Australian Cypriot, had also recently returned from a visit to Cyprus in 2002, but unlike Lenya, she told me that Deryneia had not progressed since her first visit in 1973. According to her, the village had modernised but the people still had that 'peasant mentality' and women, in particular, were 'backward.'

The comments of these three women reveal conceptual disjuncture in how homeland and diaspora are constructed and highlight the ways in which women perform their cultural and gendered identities. This chapter examines some of the factors that influence the ways people express their identity in the homeland and diaspora, and how this is informed by gender. It includes an exploration of local identities, and how ideas about tradition and modernity are appropriated by people to differentiate themselves from others.

The performance of cultural identity must be understood within local social and political contexts. In the first part of the chapter, I stress the ways in which identities are closely tied to cultural beliefs about what it is to be *kali yinaika* in Deryneia, and in the second part, I turn the focus to Melbourne Cypriots. I examine the extent and manner in

which Cypriot identity in Australia is influenced by the process of identity construction in the homeland, and how these differences impact on the individual. I also discuss the extent to which cultural identity is influenced by transnational ties.

Village Identity

Several months into my fieldwork in Deryneia, I accompanied a group of Deryneian women on a religious pilgrimage to the Troodos Mountains (see Figures 13a, 13b). On route I was introduced to various women from other villages. In a typical example, a Deryneian woman would say: 'This is Eleni; she's a *xeni* [foreigner, stranger or outsider]. She comes from Sotira.' Even though the village of Sotira is only a few kilometres from Deryneia, she was considered an outsider.[1] The toponymic suffix '*iotis*' denotes those who belong, and this is appended to the village name, as in *Deryneiniotis*. Wedding invitations also emphasise the importance of village identity as both the bride and groom's parents' birth village is listed.

In Deryneia I found that women living in their conjugal village were initially treated as *xenes*, whereas men living in their wife's village were less likely to be treated so.[2] It often took years of living in the village before a *xeni* felt a degree of acceptance. Assimilation of women into the conjugal home is strengthened only after they have children; when they have reproduced their husband's kin. Moreover, the age of women is important, as after they become grandmothers, their belonging is heightened considerably.

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[1] The masculine form is *xenos*.

[2] Similarly, Dubisch (1993) found this to be the case in Greece. Male informants who were not from Deryneia might not have revealed the degree to which they felt like 'outsiders' because of my gender. Sant Cassia (1982: 646) found that in the village of Peyia (in the Paphos hills, on the south west of the island) men not from the village could be treated differently particularly as they were 'dependent on their wives' village resources.'

Figure 13a Deryneian women on pilgrimage, 2001
(Photograph by author)

Figure 13b Deryneian women on pilgrimage during a lunch break, 2001
(Photograph by author)

Being known as a *Deryneiniotis* is often determined by kinship ties, age, gender and friendships within the village. The following examples illustrate the complexities of village identity and ideas about belonging to an 'imagined community.'[3] Androniki (33) moved to Deryneia when she married and often felt she was treated differently from Deryneian-born women. She explained:

> I would rather live in my village Avgorou. It is my home. My mother and sisters' houses are there. It's different with your sisters than your sisters-in-law. It is different, isn't it? We get along OK but sometimes there are things you don't say to them. I mean, there are no secrets but there are things you only want to share with your mother and sisters.
>
> At the beginning it was very difficult but as time passed it became easier. I am now used to it and my village is not so far away, 15 minutes by car and I go there whenever I want. I see my husband's kin everyday and we get along well but it is not my family. It may look like we are close but when you live together all the time, it is difficult; I mean it's OK, we never fight, but as I am not a blood relative they do say things that hurt! When your sister or mother say something it's OK, but sometimes my sisters-in-law or my mother-in-law say something and it hurts. They do not mean it, they don't say cruel things, they just give advice [trans. from Greek].

Despite the prevalence of matrilocality Androniki and her husband decided to live in his village, for economic reasons. Androniki's husband believed that his inherited property offered greater prospects than the land endowed by Androniki's natal family, in particular space to build a larger, luxurious house.

This decision became a source of anxiety for Androniki for several reasons. On either side of Androniki's house lived her husband's brothers and their families, and at the rear, her parents-in-law. Although she had acclimatised and considered Deryneia her home, she also felt constrained by her husband's family. This was emphasised on an outing with Androniki and her children when she asked them to tell me which village they preferred and, as prompted, the children chose her village. Androniki's relationship

[3] It is also important to note that community identity has been imposed by the state. Under Article 2 of the 1960 Constitution of Cyprus, women and children (under 21 years old) were said to belong to their husband's village (Cyprus Constitution n.d.). Village identity in Cyprus was emphasised in government documents and since 1974 identifying oneself by village also became a means of determining refugee status.

with her *kouniades* (spouse's sisters), who also lived in the neighbourhood, was also sometimes strained and this was exacerbated by the fact she often met them daily.

Similarly, in the early 1990s Christalleni (32) moved to her husband Sotos' village. At the time of my fieldwork she had four young children. She remarked:

> I am a *xeni* in Deryneia. My only relatives here are my sisters-in-law and my mother-in-law. All my aunts, my mother, sisters and cousins, live in Sotira. But after living here for 12 years now, it is more like I have always been here [trans. from Greek].

Sotos' family was considerably wealthier than her own and their decision to live in Deryneia was made for financial reasons.

Despite Christalleni's overt articulation of her outsider status, she was also cognisant of her gradual assimilation into her conjugal family and the village. She had actively nurtured strong friendships, particularly with her mother-in-law, her *kouniades* and her female neighbours, and was thereby transforming her status into a Deryneian.[4] Without the acceptance of her husband's female kin, she would have continued to feel and be treated as a *xeni*.

This was the case with Christalleni's ex-sister-in-law (married to Sotos' brother Christos), Swedish-born Brigitte. Brigitte was never accepted by Christos' family, as this remark by his mother indicates: 'Brigitte never tried to learn Greek or fit in.' His sister Stella added: 'She would pretend not to understand us even though she understood.' Christalleni explained, 'Brigitte did not try to fit into the family nor make friends in Deryneia and this is why she was always treated like a *xeni*.' According to some foreign-born women living in Deryneia (also married to Cypriots) and two of Christos' diasporic female kin, Brigitte had divorced Christos because of the pressure

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[4] There are three words for sister-in-law: *kouniada, nifi,* and *sinifissa*. In this case *kouniada* (sing.) and *kouniades* (pl.) denotes, for Christalleni, her husband's sister, whereas for the latter Christalleni is her *nifi*. *Nifi* also means bride and daughter-in-law. *Sinifissa* (sister-in-law) denotes two women married to two brothers. For a detailed analysis of kinship terminology, see Just (2000). It is also important to note that I found among my informants that kinship terminology was far from straight forward and women often disagreed on what certain terms mean, including the words for sister-in-law.

from his family and her non-acceptance in the community. She returned to Sweden while pregnant in the mid-1990s, promising to return to Cyprus after the birth of her son, but she never did. Christos later remarried a Deryneian and had another child. While many explained that Brigitte was ostracised simply because she was not Cypriot, Layla's story related below, points toward a more nuanced reading.

Layla emigrated from Singapore in the late 1960s after marrying a Deryneian, but unlike Brigitte, was rarely viewed as a *xeni*. There are several reasons for this. First, at the time of my fieldwork, she was a 56 year-old woman with adult children who were educated and raised in Deryneia, which gave her a certain amount of status. Typically, most post-menopausal women with adult children who have resided in Deryneia for many decades have generally gained acceptance.[5] Second, when Layla first arrived in Deryneia she spoke some Greek and some informants boasted that within three months she had developed a fluency in Greek and the Cypriot language (dialect). Most importantly, however, Layla, unlike several other foreign-born women living in Deryneia, who tend to establish networks with other expatriates, mainly confined her relationships to Cypriots. Certainly, her acceptance was further cemented when Christos' sister asked her to be her daughter's *nouna*.

In all these cases, a woman's degree of acceptance into the community depends on the development of relationships with female kin and the friendships they form in the local community. Each of these women employed different strategies, which determined the level of their acceptance. Christalleni's acceptance relied on her close relations with her husband's female kin, but also on friendships she formed with female neighbours. She chose a female neighbour to be her daughter's *nouna*, a bond that further facilitated her acceptance. For Androniki, the approval of her mother-in-law led to assimilation into the community, though she had not obtained the same degree of acceptance as

[5] This is not the case with non-Cypriots who had immigrated to Deryneia in the early 2000s. Most of these are retirees from England who tend not to socialise with Cypriots.

Christalleni, partly as a result of the tensions with her *kouniades.* In Brigitte's case, it was difficult to assimilate into the conjugal unit, particularly as her husband's female relatives had not accepted her. But unlike these other women, Brigitte maintained a fierce independence, rarely acquiescing to her husband's patriarchal values, or to the deference required to women more senior than her. My informants said that she often expressed her discontent publicly. In short, Brigitte's behaviour was seen as dishonouring her husband and kin. The methods that Layla, Christalleni and Androniki employed to gain credibility were much more successful.

Young unmarried women rarely refer to themselves as *Deryneiniotisses* (pl.). This is in part a result of social change and their aspirations to a more urban lifestyle. They are not so much rejecting a 'village identity' as the constraints of traditional womanhood that their mothers experienced.

It was only in Deryneia that I became aware of the importance placed on village identity. While the work of Peter Loizos (1975, 1981) certainly reveals its importance in Cyprus, I had assumed that it was region-specific, since my Melbourne informants never identified themselves with reference to their home village. In Melbourne, village identity has not been as important, particularly as there is not a large population of Deryneians.[6] Moreover, in Melbourne, for many first generation Cypriots, being Cypriot was far more important.[7] This was seen in the case of the Apostolos Andreas church, where asserting Cypriot-ness was a way of distinguishing themselves from the wider Greek community. I also found that among those who came to Australia after 1974, village identity was not as important as identifying as a Cypriot refugee. For

[6] There are, however, a number of small associations in Melbourne formed around village membership (see Herodotou 1993). In Britain there seems to be more emphasis on village identity, as evidenced by the Deryneian association in London which maintains strong connections to the homeland.

[7] Baldassar and Pesman (2005: 15) found that second generation Italians in Australia tend not to make regional distinctions either, though recently regionalism has become more important among the Italian diaspora.

some, this was also an expression of political identity in face of a general Australian population unfamiliar with Cypriot history.

Tradition and Modernity

When I first arrived in Deryneia many locals asked why I chose Deryneia rather than a 'traditional village.' Some even suggested that I relocate my research to the mountainous areas of Troodos where it is believed people live a more 'traditional lifestyle.' In Deryneia identity is often constructed through the opposition between the traditional and the modern. Deryneians like to describe themselves as modern in comparison to those in the mountainous regions, while also asserting that they are more traditional than people from Nicosia and other major towns.

Vasssos Argyrou notes these comparisons in village and urban Greek Cypriot wedding practices. He cautions, however, that cultural practice should not be seen as 'traditional' or 'modern,' but rather as class strategies which serve group or individual interests (Argyrou 1996: 164). He found that the urban middle classes claim a modern identity, while the rural and working class claim a more traditional one. In Deryneia, while I found that the dichotomy between traditional and modern was expressive of class relations, it was also more nuanced than Argyrou's assessment suggests. This became apparent especially during the celebrations over the Easter period.

Easter celebrations for women involve the preparations of special foods, the two most important of which are *flaounes* (short-crust pastries filled with cheese, sultanas and egg) and *avgotes* (buns with inset eggs used at Easter). When Easter was approaching Kleoniki expressed excitement about learning how to make these in the 'traditional way.' Her mother typically made the *flaounes* and *avgotes* in large quantities, enough for six households. *Flaounes* are served to guests throughout the

Easter period and invariably women compare each others' creations.[8] Coloured Easter eggs are used in a ritual after the midnight service to celebrate Christ's resurrection and kin gather to celebrate over a meal and members compete to crack each others' eggs. The last egg not cracked is said to bring the bearer a year of good fortune as Easter eggs represent rebirth. The decorative eggs are also placed on the Easter bread and women take great care to make elaborate displays for visitors to view (see Figures 14a, 14b).

It was the first time that Kleoniki had used the traditional method to make Easter eggs. Prior to the 1960s, her mother recalled that groups of women gathered to search the fields for *rizari* (the root of the plant *rubia tinctorum*) which was used to dye the eggs red. Older women insisted that natural dyes produced richer colours than the commercially produced synthetic dyes used today.[9] Eggs were also decorated with wild flowers.[10] Kleoniki's teenage sons collected the *rizari* in nearby fields and pounded it into a red paste.[11] Her motivation for adopting these traditional methods was largely her mother's age and fear that she would not learn the 'traditional way.'

Her desire, however, was more than to revive an old tradition. In 1989, Kleoniki initiated divorce proceedings against her husband, which led to her being ostracised by the community. In the years since, she had struggled to be accepted by the community, particularly among her extended kin. In the past seven years she had slowly regained some respectability, largely helped by her re-marriage and building a large house.

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[8] Nowadays, women also freeze them to serve to visitors throughout the year.

[9] Eggs were also dyed yellow using marguerites.

[10] Wild flowers were pressed on to the egg and a woman's stocking held these in place while they were dyed.

[11] Women informants told me that the eggs have always been dyed red, since Jesus' resurrection. They retell the story of an old woman who was walking, carrying eggs, when she met some people who said, 'Christ has risen.' She thought they were lying and said, 'If the eggs I hold turn red then what you say is true.' The eggs soon turned red. Kyri and Protopapa (1997: 50) provide another version of the story – that the red dates back to the Byzantine era, when the eggs represented life through the colour of blood.

Figure 14a Decoration of Easter eggs, Deryneia, 2002 (Photograph by author)

Figure 14b Easter *avgotes* and bread on display with *flaounes*, Deryneia, 2002 (Photograph by author)

For her, the adoption of traditional methods was a matter of conforming to prescriptive gender roles and a means to becoming regarded as *kali yinaika*, and thus it was a strategy to reclaim a reputable status.

The adoption of traditional methods of food preparation is admired not only by other women, but also by men. It becomes part of the discourse of *kali yinaika* in the sense that women are seen as being devoted to their family. Women are particularly admired when they make food considered a Cypriot speciality; thus the performance of cultural traditions is essential to *kali yinaika*. This is especially so in the preparation of *trahanas* and *halloumi* cheese, as discussed in the following cases.

I joined Evaggelia (34) and her female relatives (including her mother, mother-in-law, her daughter and two adolescent nieces) to make their annual supply of *trahanas* one evening (see Figures 15a, 15b). *Trahanas* is made from cracked wheat, milk and yogurt and is used predominantly in chicken soup.[12] Typically, the women I observed making *trahanas* were middle class, many of whom also worked in paid employment; in Evaggelia's case, she ran a small business with her husband. Evaggelia noted:

> In Deryneia we are more traditional. We do more traditional things, like making *trahanas*, whereas in the towns they do not continue the traditions. They don't make their *trahanas,* they buy it from the shops. You will see us make it the traditional way [trans. from Greek].[13]

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[12] The ingredients are slowly heated until a dough forms. Once cooled, it is then rolled into long cylindrical shapes and left to harden in the sun. The drying process usually takes a few days. In Melbourne, I found that some women did not cut it into strips but left it in large clumps. They usually make enough to last the year and it is stored in jars and these days also frozen. *Trahanas* is reconstituted in water and used in a chicken soup with *halloumi*. In the past it was considered a substitute for meat, which was expensive.

[13] A week after I had participated in the making of the *trahanas,* visiting friends from Larnaka saw some of the *trahanas* I was given by Evaggelia and pleaded with me to give them some. They said they never make it although they recall their grandmothers making it when they were young. Now, they purchase it from the shops. Like Evaggelia, my friends reinforced this traditional versus modern dichotomy, telling me how lucky I was to be learning the 'traditional way.'

Figure 15a Women gather outside on their front porch to make *trahanas*, Deryneia, 2001(Photograph by author)

Figure 15b *Trahanas* left to dry in the sun, Deryneia, 2001 (Photograph by author)

For four hours the women worked on a large table outside, on the front veranda. As they worked, a popular Spanish serial, 'Maria' (dubbed in Greek) was playing on the television, a series watched particularly by older women. During the commercials and even at times while the programme was on, they talked about various people they knew and caught up on community news. On most occasions when I observed *trahanas*-making, several female kin participated and the *trahanas* was shared among the participating households. Such gatherings are important social occasions for women and even those living away from Deryneia travel especially to partake in the process, as in the case of Evaggelia's mother-in-law who lived in Limassol. It was a time for women kin to catch up on family affairs and enjoy themselves.

I observed the making of *trahanas* in several households. Most women conducted this activity outside the house with the preparation table in full view of the street. Indeed, it was a public activity meant to be observed by passers-by. For women, their participation was a public demonstration of a continuing tradition and also of their status as *kali yinaika.* This status is reinforced by women and men in the village who admire the fact that they are maintaining the 'traditional ways.' In short, these women are seen as the bearers of culture and are responsible for the imparting of traditional values.

The day after making *trahanas* at Evaggelia's, I visited Despo and her husband Christos who, on hearing that I had watched *trahanas*-making, nostalgically recounted the time when almost every household made it.

> Ten or so years ago men and women would gather on the front veranda to make it. They would get together and talk. That is when the villagers use to be close! But now it's different. People are not as close. They watch television. They don't care about doing things together, like making *trahanas* [trans. from Greek].

Christos' account reinforced the role of women in maintaining community solidarity, but also evoked the process of social change.

Christos' remarks are also indicative of the roles of gender and ethnicity. When further questioned on the details of the shared tasks of women and men, he admitted not recalling men's involvement. Possibly, his first claim was in part a response to my status as a *xeni.* Indeed, his response was common among middle class men who are often confronted by Western foreigners that see Cypriots as 'backward' and in particular take the view that Cypriot women have fewer rights than Western women. As Herzfeld (1987) argues, Greeks often like to assert a European identity, especially with foreigners from the industrialised West. In Cyprus, Argyrou (1996) found that a modern identity is often associated with the West, while traditional identity is associated with the East. Christos' assertion that women and men shared such tasks was an element of this discourse, that gender relations in Cyprus were equally 'modern,' but in particular more modern than in North Cyprus.

The dynamics of this discourse were further accentuated by Takis, my neighbour, who called me over early one morning to photograph the *trahanas* process. Takis positioned himself in the outhouse kitchen and with a large wooden spoon began to stir the pot of mixture while instructing me to 'take a photograph to show people in Australia how men make *trahanas*.'[14] Takis was considered a joker and it was difficult to ascertain if he was being earnest or his actions were merely a playful display, but nevertheless, I asked him if he usually partook in the activity and he replied that he always made *trahanas.* In fact, on most occasions that I observed, men were visibly absent from these activities. Takis was quick to leave after the photograph had been taken and his wife Flora came into the kitchen. Takis' actions were part of the West and East dichotomy of Cypriot identity that Argyrou and others have portrayed. In one sense, it is a patriarchal response, portraying Cypriot women as without agency. It was

[14] Like a number of older houses, Takis' home had two kitchens, one inside the house and the other an outhouse at the rear of the yard.

also a claim that there was no sexual division of labour, a view I found often associated with a 'modern' identity.

The dichotomy between traditional and modern identities is also a way to position oneself within diasporic communities. When I joined Flora and her female relatives in the making of *trahanas*, she told me it was important for me to show Australian Cypriots how they maintain their traditions in Deryneia. Flora, in contrast to her husband Takis, wished to assert a traditional identity, which was often the case among middle class women. This contrasts with Argyrou's (1996: 174) findings that among urban middle class women, the assertion of modern identity is prevalent and the 'rhetoric of a culturally superior West' is advanced.

The Making of *Halloumi* and *Kali Yinaika*

Before the 1970s most women during the months of spring (usually March) made an annual supply of *halloumi*. Once made, the *halloumi* was stored in glass jars or plastic containers, covered in whey to ensure the longevity of the cheese. *Halloumi* was made for family consumption, although some women also sold it at the local markets or in exchange for other produce within the village. During my fieldwork most women purchased ready-made *halloumi* from local stores. However, several young married women were starting to make their own.

The women who still made their own *halloumi* were primarily from lower-middle and middle class families, or low income earners, such as widows, who sold *halloumi* to supplement their old-age pensions. Typically, the making of *halloumi* occurred under the supervision of older kinswomen, with mother supervising daughters or mother-in-law her daughters-in-law, as was the case of Anthi, who did it with her three daughters-in-law and her *simbethera* (her daughter-in-law's mother) (see Figures

16a, 16b).[15] The process of making *halloumi* takes up a large part of a day. The milk is bought relatively cheaply from a local dairy and often ferried to the house by male kin.[16] The equipment used to make the cheese is shared among women in the neighbourhood. The process begins with the slow heating of milk, which is stirred with the hands before it becomes too hot, and experienced older women often make the sign of the cross with their hand through the milk (see Figure 16c). Some women said that this is to assure the success of their venture and guard against the spoiling of the milk. In the final stage of *halloumi*–making, the cheese is covered in salt, and sometimes fresh or dried herbs (usually oregano or mint) are added before it is stored in jars (see Figures 16d, 16e).[17] The amount of salt and types of herbs used are a point of comparison among women. *Anari* (a soft curd) is made with the leftover pieces and male kin often share with women a bowl sprinkled with cinnamon and sugar or honey.

Unlike *trahanas, halloumi* is a staple food, served to guests at most social and religious gatherings. Women serve it after church services when they gather at each others' homes, as it is considered light on the stomach. Women who make *halloumi* take pride in this and invariably comparisons are made with commercial varieties and those made by other women. It is not unusual for women to compare taste, texture, colour and saltiness of the cheese. Their discussions of the quality of *halloumi* even occur on more sombre occasions, such as wakes. For poorer women, serving homemade *halloumi* to guests is one way to win a degree of status and demonstrates to others that quality is not affected by financial constraints. Most importantly, it emphasises that she is *kali yinaika.*

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[15] *Simbethera* (feminine), *simbetheros* (masculine) denote in-law. However, this term is also used in other contexts, for example, Ego's mother will also call Ego's sister's husband's mother s*imbethera.*

[16] In Anthi's case, she bought 56 litres of milk for £28 from her nephew and this made approximately 20 kilos of *halloumi.*

[17] The mint can also be placed inside the cheese.

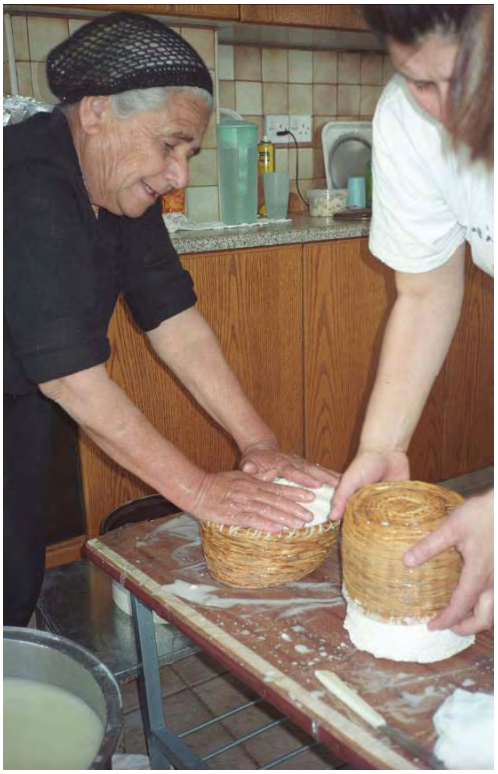

Figure 16a A younger woman under the supervision of her mother-in-law, Deryneia, 2001 (Photograph by author)

Figure 16b In-laws making *halloumi,* Deryneia, 2001 (Photograph by author)

Figure 16c Making the sign of the cross, 2001 (Photograph by author)

Figure 16d A tray of *halloumi*, 2001 (Photograph by author)

Figure 16e Covering *halloumi* with salt and oregano, 2001 (Photograph by author)

For elderly women, participation confirms their status as the head of the household. They instruct younger female kin, closely supervising their actions, and where appropriate, advise them on the best method to obtain the 'best *halloumi.*' In cases where two experienced, elderly women were present, the woman whose house it is made in always took the lead role, although often both point out differences in method. For young, married women, making *halloumi* is a way of affirming a sense of tradition and establishing connections with conjugal kin. Many women recalled observing their grandmothers' methods and were proud to continue the tradition. But for most women, the adoption of previous traditions is a means to gain status as *kali yinaika*, as the following case of Marilena (25) demonstrates.[18]

Marilena was eight months pregnant before she married and moved to her husband's village, Deryneia, in the mid-1990s. She lived in the extended household with her mother-in-law for six months as she came from a poor family and was not provided with a dowry house. Marilena's pregnancy and her history of premarital sexual relationships were well known among her husband's kin, and this defined her status within the conjugal household as a woman with *entropi* (shame) and a woman *tou glikou nerou* ('sweet-water,' meaning a 'loose woman'). Informants often said that a woman with shame took *ton kakon dromo* (the bad road) or they were *katastrofi* (ruination or catastrophe).[19] After more than six years of marriage, Marilena failed to win acceptance from her husband's kin and as a consequence she went to great lengths to assist her mother-in-law, and the day I observed them making *halloumi* was no exception.

In our discussions, Marilena maintained that the disregard of her husband's kin did not usually worry her, although at times it felt most hurtful. On numerous occasions

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[18] See Dubisch (1993) on the difficult position of women who move to their husband's village in Greece.

[19] Also see Argyrou (1993: 265) who says that *kakon dromo* means to take a bad turn and *na katastrafo* is to be ruined, implying a woman of loose morals.

in the company of female friends, Marilena complained about the laziness of her *kouniades*, who, she claimed, did not help their mother with household chores, and also about their lack of recognition of Marilena's efforts. Her grievances were expressed directly one evening when I attended her mother-in-law's house for dinner. In the presence of her husband's family, she used the occasion to remind her *kouniades* that although she had two small children at home, she always managed to help her mother-in-law.

For Marilena, participation in *halloumi*-making was intended to lessen her estrangement from her mother-in-law and to gain some support. In particular, such support meant that she was able to leave her children in the care of her mother-in-law without notice while she ran errands. Marilena also hoped her actions would be viewed favourably by her *kouniades*, but it created further cleavages. Her efforts to portray herself as *kali yinaika* and to claim a traditional identity largely failed.

Non-acceptance by female kin has distanced Marilena from the wider community too. Her marginality is further compounded by her refusal to subscribe to prescriptive gender roles. Unlike many of her peers, she is forthright and opinionated when unfairly treated. On several occasions she expressed publicly her discontent with certain villagers and criticised members of her husband's family – actions which brought dishonour on her husband. Marilena's wish to portray herself as *kali yinaika* and her rebelliousness against the constraints of this role placed her in an ambiguous position, in which she never obtained full acceptance by either her husband's kin or the local community.

The assertion of a modern or traditional identity often centres on discourses about womanhood. In Deryneian terms, modern is often equivalent to a woman without honour or a 'loose' woman, whereas referring to a man as modern is rarely as pejorative as this. This is plausibly the reason why many women in Deryneia are reluctant to claim

a modern identity.[20] By contrast, younger, unmarried women living in Nicosia or major towns define their modern identity through Parisian fashions and the latest consumer items. In Deryneia, women gain status among other women when they subscribe to the idea of *kali yinaika,* but in the process they uphold some of the gendered social structures that they find oppressive. Moreover, women use the idea of *kali yinaika* to differentiate themselves from others and in turn this is a tool that some women use to gain the upper hand over women.

Tourism and Tradition

> It is a happy moment that will lead you to Deryneia … you will be meeting some real people, unspoiled, unpretentious, totally committed to their land, their family … They lead a simple, hard-toiling life, stoically bowing their head to the daily responsibilities, continuing at best the way of older generations (Deryneia Municipality 2001: 4).

In Deryneia I found the claim of an 'authentic traditional identity' had many financial advantages for those involved in the tourist industry, and it is in fact a common trope in the industry. In Deryneia the Folklore Museum, a popular destination for tourists, contains an 'authentic' traditional mud straw house. During the tourist season, tourists are ferried to the museum and given a traditional lunch of chicken soup with *trahanas* and bread made in the outside wood-fired clay oven.[21] The female proprietor stands poised for tourist photographs in the courtyard whilst she enacts the process of bread-making or drawing water from the well. In recent years the museum has also become a popular site for foreign weddings, usually conducted in a room containing a traditional four-poster matrimonial bed adorned with a bride's trousseau (see Figures 17a, 17b).

[20] However, married women sometimes refer to themselves as modern when they are in paid employment.

[21] I was invited to help serve tourists on several occasions. On my first visit to the museum, I noted that my grandfather's patronym was amongst the list of donors on the foundation plaque. I told the museum owner of my connection, from which he inferred that we were relatives. Although the connection was remote I was referred to as a relative from Australia from then on.

Figure 17a Deryneian folk museum: matrimonial bed, 2002 (Photograph by author)

Figure 17b Deryneian folk museum: room where tourist weddings are held, 2002 (Photograph by author)

I found that despite the financial rewards of representing themselves as traditional, middle class Deryneian men, in particular, also reject this identity. Pavlos' sentiments capture this well.

> Now a number of tourists complain that Cyprus is becoming too overdeveloped and say it was better 15 or even 20 years ago. But 20 years ago we were *horiates/horiataioi* (peasants). They expect us to stay poor! Some tourists have suggested that we grow crops between the different hotels. Do they expect us to continue growing potatoes? But who wants to continue doing such hard work, ruining their backs when they could use the land for hotels ... They want us to stay poor!

I also met foreign tourists in Deryneia who expressed disappointment at not seeing donkeys, once a major means of transporting people and goods.[22]

Gender and Expressions of Tradition

Men rarely claim a traditional identity, however, many had no hesitation in asserting that their female kin should maintain traditional ways. For many men the tradition-modernity dichotomy is not only about Western and Eastern identity, but reflects ideas about manhood and womanhood. For some men, asserting a traditional identity is also an expression of wealth and superior class. In 2001 at a wedding I attended with Sotos and his family, he was keen to emphasise that it was not an 'authentic' wedding, as his had been in the mid-1990s. Sotos elaborated:

> You should have your wedding celebrations in the street, around the house [dowry house] you will live in. For our wedding we lined the street with chairs and tables … It was a traditional wedding ! [trans. from Greek]

In the past, wedding parties were often held outside the nuptial house.[23] This was an opportunity to show off the house to villagers and other guests. Prior to Sotos' marriage

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[22] The image of an agriculture worker on a donkey is often used on postcards and souvenirs to depict a traditional way of life.

[23] Prior to the 1980s it was also customary to hold them in the centre of the village.

his dowry house was completed and he and his wife spent their wedding night in their new home.

Argyrou (1996) argues that unlike the urban bourgeoisie, villagers often seek to have more traditional weddings, as a subordinate class strategy, employed to maintain dignity. However, Sotos' claim to tradition was an expression of his wealth, his upper-middle class status. Unlike him, the newly-weds did not have dowry land or the capital to build a house. In short, since the commodification of land, only the wealthy can follow fully the tradition of dowry giving, that is, in terms of the gift of land and homes. Traditional food and other cultural customs are more affordable, and therefore are about expressions of a supposedly authentic identity, but not expressions of superior power or wealth distinctions.

The claim to be more traditional is also a way for some villagers to resist social change, especially the demise of the extended family. This view is more often than not illustrated through gender expectations. Several married women in their 30s suggested to me that urban families and those abroad did not have close family ties, especially of the kind found in Deryneia, and this was why they prefer to live in the village. However, many of these women had never had the opportunity to live outside Deryneia, and despite their criticisms of urban family relationships, also envy the freedom and choice younger women have to live in the city or elsewhere. Nevertheless, their advocacy of traditional family life in the village gives them a sense of pride. They also pointed out that there are real benefits in living close to female kin, especially the sharing of labour and duties. Moreover, the fostering of female friendships enabled them to cope with and contest some of the constraints of traditional family life.

In Deryneia, social change and globalisation have not always been welcomed passively. Villagers have resisted and at times subverted change on the local level. One such response was the collective action of several older women to boycott fish and

vegetables from multinational supermarkets, instead purchasing them only from locally-run supermarkets or other villagers. On most Saturdays, pensioner Anthi shopped with her daughters-in-law at a local store even though the prices were higher than at the franchised supermarkets and the variety not as extensive. Anthi's actions were a response to the increasing presence of foreign-owned retail companies but her loyalty to her nieces' store was also a contributing factor. For Anthi, the solidarity of community in the face of foreign-owned business was important, but even more significant was to support kin.

Creating Greek Cypriot Identities

Asking people about their cultural affiliations was not easy. This was made explicit when Eleftheria, a part-time agricultural labourer, said: 'If someone asks me if I'm Greek or Greek Cypriot, I say 'I'm an international!' I live on earth.' Eleftheria's response, like those of many women I interviewed, was an expression of frustration at being defined by their ethnic identity and implied that this marker was irrelevant to her everyday life. However, further inquiry revealed that these shifts of identity are also connected to local contexts, especially the proximity of the UN Green Line and local politics.

Yiannis Papadakis' research (1993, 1995, 1998a, 2000, 2006) on Greek and Turkish Cypriots in the divided city of Nicosia and the multi-ethnic village Pyla, demonstrates how the Green Line has not only acted as a physical separation between the two sides, but also symbolises the emergence of two different historical narratives. As Papadakis' work demonstrates powerfully, the Green Line symbolises nationalistic narratives of 'memory and forgetting.'[24] In the case of Greek Cypriots they 'remember' the 1974 war, but 'forget' ethnic conflict pre-dating this time (see Papadakis 1995,

[24] Also see Galatariotou (2006) on issues of memory and forgetting among Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

1998a). Similarly, I found that the proximity of the Green Line influences the way Deryneians construct their past and also how they envisage their future.

Margarita (38) had an appointment in Nicosia and invited me to join her. Although rushed, she decided on a route that added 30 minutes or more to our journey.[25] This route is considered to be more informative for visitors as it is parallel to the Green Line and travels past the deserted town of Akhna, abandoned in 1974. It is a highly militarised zone (road signs warn of the danger and presence of landmines) with UN peacekeepers, Greek and Turkish soldiers (often waving to passers-by) manning machine-gun posts along the border, an eerie reminder of the country's division. This route, taken deliberately by some, is a reminder to Deryneians, their children and their visitors, of the 1974 events. In Margarita's case, it was a political statement, to show me, the 'outsider,' the injustices of 1974.

In Deryneia, the border on its outskirts is visually present. While narrating her life story to me, Anthi pointed to the border and recalled her family's poultry farm, once a thriving business. Likewise, Despoulla lamented that her parents' and husband's graves have not been visited since 1974. Athoulla looked to the border and remembered her family photographs and her wedding crown left behind when she fled her home. This visual ever-presence certainly makes it difficult for some people to be reconciled with the events of 1974, and signifies a loss and separation which is enmeshed in their personal biographies. However, in the main, women only spoke of the border when prompted by questions, or in their life stories; for most, the border is something to which they have become uncomfortably accustomed.

The process of identity construction can be highly political and as Thomas Eriksen (1993) argues, ethnic identities often arise in opposition to significant others. In the case of my informants, the 'other' was most often Turkish. Stereotyping and the

[25] Before 1974, Deryneians travelled to Nicosia via Famagusta. After 1974, this route was no longer accessible and Deryneians had to travel to Larnaka, which added 40 minutes to the journey.

denigration of Turkish people had become routine at a local level. This was forcefully illustrated to me when seven months into my Cyprus fieldwork, Zaharias (42) surrounded his property with a high wooden fence, a security gate and installed an intercom. When I asked him why he had gone to such lengths, he told me he was afraid that the Turks might enter his home as it was so isolated from the rest of the village, and therefore he did it in order to feel safe.

Sotos' house is also close to the border and in 1997 he visited Australia, where he observed his security-conscious relatives in Melbourne and remarked that, in comparison, in the village there is no need to lock up properties as there is little theft. However, he added, 'if ever the time came when the Greek and Turkish Cypriots lived together, we would also need to lock our homes.'

The cases of Zaharias and Sotos reveal the way ethnicity is constructed, but also how it can be used to mask different concerns. While Zaharias insisted that his security system was for fear of the Turks, I suspect there were other more mundane reasons for it. It prevented kin from entering the premises without forewarning and reflected his desire for more privacy, away from the prying eyes of his relatives (discussed in Chapter Four). His anti-Turkish explanation was acceptable to his kin. On the other hand, Sotos' remarks reflected the political environment at the time of my fieldwork, as the prospect of the reunification of Cyprus was seen by many of my informants as a real possibility and caused acute anxiety for some.

Anti-Turkish sentiments also have become ingrained in Deryneian civil life. The night before I attended a cultural event at the Cultural Centre of Occupied Famagusta on the border in Deryneia, the Greek flag that was hoisted beside the Cyprus flag outside the centre was burned. Some Deryneians blamed Turks who had crossed the border illegally. When I questioned a municipal official as to why the Republic of Cyprus flag, perceived by Turks as a symbol of exclusion, was not also burned, he declared that no

Greek would do such a thing.[26] In contrast, several informants believed that local youths had burned the Greek flag as a political gesture, to indicate that they did not identify with Greece. Peristianis (2006) identifies this as a Cyprocentrist view in which any connection to the Greek State and Hellenism is rejected.[27]

Individual recollections are often entangled in national histories. As Papadakis (1993) argues, for many Cypriots, social forgetting is enmeshed in historical narratives. Evaggelia was only six years old in 1974, yet her 'memories' of the war are very much part of her life. She confided that it is difficult to ascertain whether her memories were real or not. She explained:

> I think I remember seeing hotels and houses destroyed during the invasion. Well, I knew something terrible had happened. But I can't remember if I actually saw it or maybe if it was just from the media years later. I don't know if it was photographs in the newspaper and pictures on the television I saw, or if I really did see all the destruction [trans. from Greek].

Since 1974, on most Sundays during the summer months, Evaggelia and her family gather for a meal at their family *perivoli* which lies on the border.[28] Several years before the war, the family obtained a loan and installed running water and electricity, but these utilities were cut off after 1974, and as a result their trees died. Many of the trees had been given to Evaggelia's parents as part of their wedding dowry and bride-wealth. Evaggelia told me stories about the lush green garden, laden with fruit trees before 1974, but often she was uncertain whether she remembers this or if her memories are recollections of stories passed down from her parents and grandparents. As Papadakis (1993: 145) found, the younger generations' narratives of history are often archetypical

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[26] A few male informants claimed that they had crossed the border undetected on several occasions and entered the ghost town area of Famagusta. However, I was unable to verify these claims.

[27] For an insight into identity construction among Turkish Cypriots, see Mehmet-Ali (2002: 267) who argues that after 1974 there was a 'Turkification' of the north and this resulted in a move among some Turkish Cypriots people to assert a separate identity from Turks.

[28] My informants use the term *perivoli* to refer not only to a market garden but also to a piece of land where they might have orchards of olive trees or fruit trees for their own consumption.

of the nationalist history peddled by the state. This history is disseminated in the school system and propagated by the media (also see Bryant 2001a; Roussou 2000).

While I also found different sentiments between generations, the case of Evaggelia is representative of several informants who were willing to concede that their memories might be influenced by nationalist discourse, or were otherwise self-reflexive about their own prejudices and political ideologies. Soulla, an Australian Cypriot remarked on this:

> It was funny, the other day I stopped the car when I saw this guy pruning his olive trees, and I asked if I could have a couple of cuttings. I asked him what nationality he was, as I thought he was Greek. He said, 'Cypriot' and instantly I started talking to him in Greek and he kept looking at me. I thought, Oh this guy doesn't know what I'm talking about and I said, 'Are you Greek Cypriot or Turkish?' and he said, 'Turkish' and then he realised I had assumed he was Greek Cypriot.

Unlike many other informants, I found that some adults in their 20s and early 30s had tried to forge new more inclusive identities with Turkish Cypriots. This is not an easy task. Mitchos (24) had completed a language degree in Turkish at the University of Cyprus and recalled in his first year of study that while walking in Deryneia, passers-by called out 'traitor.' Since the completion of his studies, Mitchos has found employment opportunities limited because, 'usually you can only find work translating documents from Turkish to Greek, but most of this is for propaganda purposes, such as government jobs.' Yet, people like Mitchos continue to pursue their aims and envisage some form of reconciliation that will include Turkish Cypriots.

For many older Deryneians, the construction of cultural identity is closely linked to their political ideology. For example, the political affiliations of many men influenced which of the three main *kafeneia* they frequented. Athamos refused to enter one which, he declared, was for 'the fascists, the far right, people who think they are

Greek, not Cypriot.'[29] His son Antonis on the other hand said, 'The young people do not hold up these political divisions like the older people of my father's generation. We now mix together.' Antonis' sentiments reflect a different perspective among the younger generation and a shift from identities associated with places and local politics.

Foreign Workers and Domestic Servants

Over the last decade, the increasing number of foreign workers in Cyprus has also become important in the construction of a local identity.[30] This is made clear in several examples. On my joining Marilena and her friends for morning coffee, discussion turned to the employment of domestic servants.[31] Marilena's closest neighbour Angela (also Marilena's husband's first cousin and their child's *nouna*) was a successful businesswoman who had employed a maid for childcare. Marilena recounted the previous day's events, which included her having invited Chrysoulla's domestic servant, Lisa, for coffee.

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[29] Caesar Mavratsas (1997) points out that it is simplistic to assume that only those with political allegiances to the right adopt Greek Cypriot nationalist ideologies. Nevertheless, it was evident from informants' accounts that those who patronised the *kafeneio* that Athamos referred to more often than not included a Greek identity in their narratives, one that often featured the interlocking histories of Greece and Cyprus.

[30] My discussions with foreign workers were heavily constrained largely because of the presence of my informants, which meant that most workers were disinclined to speak freely. I encountered a few cases in which foreign workers were threatened by their employers with deportation. In one case an informant told me he had threatened his own workers with deportation if they did not 'work harder.' I had the occasion to speak privately with a Filipina maid, Lilly, while her employee was out. In the Philippines, Lilly had been a teacher and had a young daughter. She had been in Cyprus for almost four years as her family in the Philippines relied on remittances. She had almost completed her contract and was relieved to be leaving Cyprus. For her, the experience had been most painful. 'You work every day for little money and you don't even get the day off you're suppose to get.' She was adamant that she would never come back to Cyprus, and possibly would try to go to France as she has heard the working conditions were much better there. I also met several English people working in Agia Napa. A number said that the conditions and wages they agreed to before commencing work were never met and each week they had to argue with their employer to be paid. One said that as a result he quit and was also threatened with deportation. His English non-contractual status placed him in a more advantageous position than many other foreigners.

[31] In the winter months, neighbourhood women often met for coffee or to share cooking tasks at each others' homes, sometimes on a daily basis, while during the summer months they met less frequently as most were engaged in some form of part-time work in the tourist industry.

It was Sunday morning, typically a rest-day for most foreign workers. However, overhearing the invitation, Angela's husband became angry at Marilena and stated that Lisa had work to do. Marilena explained, 'I felt sorry for that poor girl. She never gets a day off. She is always working.' Another woman present asked whether Angela's sister also had a *mavri* (black) and Marilena replied, 'No. they use Lisa. They pass her on. When one of her sisters needs help, they take her and she'll do all the cleaning or whatever else.'[32]

Katerina, also a businesswoman and Angela's sister-in-law, expressed similar sentiments, that is, that she would never want her children to be brought up by a *xeni* (foreigner [fem.]). However, she conceded that the demands of her sister-in-law's business when it first opened and the fact she had four children necessitated the employment of a maid. But, she added, now that the youngest child was 13 years old, her sister-in-law no longer needed to employ one: 'My sister-in-law has become accustomed to someone else doing her household chores.' While expressing her disapproval, Katerina further recalled when her daughter returned from Angela's house and demanded a glass of water. Outraged, Katerina told her daughter she was not her servant. She declared:

> The children are not brought up the right way. They start demanding things. It is not right! You can always make time to do the ironing late at night or sometime. You can always find ways to cope on your own [trans. from Greek].

Women's responses rarely reflected class homogeneity and often their criticisms of women with domestic workers were knitted into discourses of *kali yinaika,* especially the traditional construction of motherhood and issues of ethnicity. They emphasised that a good mother teaches her children the language and customs, rather than allowing a *xeni* to do so. I have even heard women assert that children who are looked after by

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[32] *Mavri* (literally, black), in this context it is a derogative word, used to refer to foreign workers from Sri Lanka and the Philippines.

domestic servants are losing their customs and culture, and are learning the customs of a *xeni*. As Vassiliadou (2005) argues, Cypriot women often marginalise these women as a way of creating a space for themselves where they might obtain status and power. But as she shows, women can thereby perpetuate the very structures that oppress them. These women were forced into reinforcing gendered social relations that they themselves often rejected.

Some women who have domestic servants are also aware of these prejudices and try to dismantle them. This was often the case when they had guests and the domestic servant would discretely disappear. On Christmas morning, I attended Angela's family gathering where extended kin had come for the traditional *avgolemono*. For much of the morning her domestic servant Lisa had been preparing and attending to the soup stock. When family members began to assemble at the home, Lisa was dismissed and Angela took over the cooking as she explained to me, 'Only Cypriots know how to make *avgolemono*.' However, I had been to Angela's house on numerous other occasions when Lisa had made the *avgolemono* for the household.

In Deryneia, I found profound mistrust of foreigners.[33] In some ways this is related to Cyprus' history, but it also is a result of ethnic chauvinism and racism. I encountered few exceptions, that is, where the other was not cast in derogative terms. A dinner with Athamos' family was one of the few occasions on which foreign workers were treated with some dignity. Athamos had invited his workers to dinner at a local restaurant. The occasion was his birthday and as is customary he paid for all the guests. On hearing of my outing, several informants made disapproving comments about the fact that Athamos had taken out his foreign workers. Eleftheria stated, 'My brother used to also treat his workers like that, but they soon took advantage of him.'

[33] Ramona Lenz (2001: 85) also argues that this is a reason why foreign women workers are discriminated against.

The treatment of foreign workers also depends on their country of origin. Anthias (2000) has found that Filipina maids carry a higher status than Sri Lankans and this, she says, is largely a result of religious difference and ethnicity. However, this does not explain why Eastern European workers (many of whom are also Christian) are more likely to be employed as agricultural labourers rather than domestic maids. Many Cypriot women would not allow a European domestic servant to live in their house, particularly at the time when newspaper stories regularly reported Cypriot men leaving their wives for Eastern European and Russian women. Filipinas are seen as less threatening.

In Deryneia, I assumed that having a maid would be a matter of class. According to Anthias (2000: 27-31), in Cyprus, domestic servants have become 'part of a status symbolism' of the middle class, but also increasingly of lower-middle classes.[34] In Deryneia the contrasting responses of informants about domestic servants indicate that issues of class were not always central. Several women of the middle class disapproved of the employment of domestic servants and did not view it as a means of increasing their status.[35]

While exploring the different ways cultural identities are performed in Deryneia, I have highlighted the varying ways in which gender is constructed and how traditional ideas of womanhood have influenced the degree to which women in Deryneia become *kali yinaika.* As demonstrated in the case of foreign workers, ethnicity and class also are to varying degrees essential to the construction of gender identity. In the next section, I investigate the extent to which gender discourses affect the performance of cultural identity in the Melbourne context.

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[34] Prodromos Panayiotopoulos (2005: 115), however, found that in Larnaka the working class also employed domestic servants.

[35] Australian Cypriot Connie recalled that in the 1980s when she visited female relatives in Deryneia and told them she employed a cleaning lady once a week, they were shocked. Now she says the same relatives have employed a maid.

Part Two: in Melbourne

Australian Cypriot Identity

In the remainder of this chapter, I turn my attention to cultural and gendered identities of Cypriots in Australia who have connections with Deryneia. First, I examine how imaginings of the homeland are constructed in the diaspora and the manner in which these have evolved.[36] I also explore how cultural and gendered identities are influenced by the local and homeland contexts.

For first generation Australian Greek Cypriots, memory of home is based on their experiences of living in Cyprus. However, for second and third generations, reference to Cyprus is generally informed by family stories and contemporary transnational connections.[37]

For Cypriots living in Australia, ideas about the homeland have been essential to the construction of their cultural identity. In transnational communities, concepts of home include the physical, emotional, ideological or social spaces people occupy (Constable 1999: 207; Wolf 2002: 257). It is an ever-changing notion, taking on various meanings in different times and locations, on a space/time continuum. A sense of belonging can influence the way cultural identity is constructed, and among Melbourne Cypriots, it is influenced by their active communication with the Cypriot diaspora and Cyprus. What it means to be Cypriot in Australia, however, differs greatly from the imaginings of those in Cyprus or even in Britain, where a significant proportion of the Cypriot diaspora lives (Demetriou 2003: 202). For Melbourne Cypriots, ideas about home and the place people call home change according to the context of their lived experiences. Georgina's story is illuminating.

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[36] Terms used by informants to refer to homeland in Greek included *spiti* (house or home), *patriki gi* (homeland), *patrida* (fatherland) and more commonly, *topos mou* (my place, my home).

[37] Much of the material in the remainder of this chapter was previously published in Dawson (2008).

In the early 1950s when she arrived in Australia, Georgina experienced alienation and racism from the broader community, which intensified her feeling that home would always be Cyprus. She maintained that she always dreamed of returning home for good. However, on a return visit to Cyprus in the 1970s, she realised this was unlikely. Georgina reflected:

> In those early years, every day I cried for my family, for my village, for Cyprus. Every day! But after my trip in the 1970s, I knew that I would only ever go back for holidays.

This decision was in many ways informed by her gender and her newly-acquired middle class status, especially after she saw how difficult her sisters' lives were in Deryneia. They worked as agricultural labourers on their family property, as Georgina had before migrating. In Melbourne, Georgina and her husband owned a small supermarket and, although they worked hard and long hours, they were financially better off than their kin in Cyprus. Georgina also explained that in Australia her children had more educational opportunities and that her home in Australia offered her and her family more possibilities than her homeland.

However, for her brother Andrew, who also migrated in the 1950s, 'home' will always be Cyprus, though he knows he will never return. He had often thought about returning but complained, 'Cyprus was Aphrodite's paradise, and today it only is a paradise if you have a lot of money.' Androulla, on the other hand, who also came to Australia in the 1950s, envisaged a home that could be both Cyprus and Australia: 'I long for Cyprus. It is my home, but I will never go back to live there again. No! I couldn't live there because my family is here.'

During the early decades of settlement, isolation, even melancholia, created an acute disjunction between time and space. Connections to the homeland were through memories of living there, and even though some had returned for visits, in many ways they have remained in a type of 'time warp' (see Anthias 1992). Bottomley (1992: 162)

argues that as a result of migration there is a 'kind of "fixing" of time'. For example, many first generation informants claimed that they have upheld their 'traditions' far more than their counterparts in Cyprus. A claim that one is more traditional can be a strategy for resisting hegemonic structures and empowering oneself, but it is also tied to class and gender. For example, in the Apostolos Andreas community of Sunshine, individuals claimed to be more 'authentic' or 'traditional' than others within the church community.

This assertion of a traditional identity was a common view among returned diasporic Cypriots I met in Deryneia. They often said that those in the diaspora were more active at promoting 'Cypriot cultural identity,' than those in the homeland, claiming that the diaspora upheld customs and beliefs rarely found in Cyprus today.

In Melbourne, the first generation often hold on to traditions and cultural practices that had radically changed in Cyprus. Doing so is a way for Cypriots to imagine their homeland, at home in Australia, and this has influenced the homeland ideal held by the second generation. Poppy (33), the daughter of a migrant, visited Cyprus in the 1990s and told me how surprised she was to find engaged couples living together – she had been brought up to believe that this was not culturally acceptable and would lead to family dishonour. Oral testimonies, however, indicated that in the 1970s in Deryneia engaged couples commonly lived together, while in Melbourne in the same period this was considered a moral outrage by many, particularly if it involved a Cypriot woman, and is even so today among some of the second generation. As Poppy said, the pressure to be *kali yinaika*, especially for her mother's generation, meant that most women never complicated their life by living with their fiancés.

In the early decades of settlement, prohibitive travel and communication costs meant that most of my informants were not able to visit Cyprus or keep in regular contact with relatives. For many, it was decades before they could return home. While

many maintained contact through letters, most first generation women had few or no literacy skills and relied on their husbands to correspond for them. For most of the first generation, participation in formal Cypriot organisations and social networks therefore became the most important way for them to maintain links with the homeland. This also provided a safe space for them to perform their cultural identity.

Second Generation Cypriots and Ideas of Home

The first generation's imaginings of home are based on their experiences of living there. In this way, home is not only a nostalgic space but relates to the 'lived experience of a locality' (Brah 1996: 192). Many second generation Cypriots' ideas of homeland are influenced by their parents' memories of the way things were done back home. These memories are largely influenced by the space/time continuum in which their parents migrated. Moreover, the history of Cypriot emigration and settlement in Melbourne has been decisive in shaping the cultural identity of the second and third generations. This history also has been a major determinant of their imaginings of the homeland.

While most second generation Cypriots living in Melbourne consider Australia to be home, for their parents and themselves, materially and metaphorically, Cyprus can exist in their homes in Melbourne. In her study of Filipino immigrants in the USA, Diane Wolf confirms this in her observation that for second generation Filipinos 'the Philippines is often right in their home, locally in California, both literally and figuratively' (Wolf 2002: 258). Whether the second generation maintain strong links with their parents' homeland or not, they cannot avoid the transnational spaces of their families (Menjivar 2002). As Lee (2003: 7) found among second generation Tongans, 'emotional and social ties' might indirectly affect their lives even if they have 'no direct connections' with the homeland.

The second generations' ties to Cyprus are not necessarily as strong or as significant as their parents, but for many, 'becoming' Cypriot is an important part of their identity. Family narratives play a crucial role in the way homeland and cultural identities are imagined.

For those whose parents left before Cyprus gained independence, ideas about homeland are often enmeshed with their parents' experience and memories of colonial Cyprus. Their cultural identity is not necessarily bound to the formation of the nation-state or a nationalist pride in independent Cyprus. Alex (44), whose parents migrated in the late 1950s, preferred to be identified as a Greek Australian. His ideas of the homeland were framed by the Greek Cypriot nationalism that was prevalent during the anti-colonial struggle, when the goal was *enosis*. He envisioned Cyprus as an island belonging to the Greek state. Some who visited Cyprus in the early 1970s were shocked that many of their relatives did not share the anti-British sentiments that their parents and relatives in Melbourne had nurtured. Many said that throughout their youth ideas of homeland were influenced by their parents' stories of life under British oppression and plunder.[38]

A small number of children of refugee parents said they will never go to Cyprus until they can return to their family's home. Typically, the ideas of the children of refugees about the homeland have been constructed through stories of displacement told by their parents, such as tales about their war-torn village and the house they lived in before the division of the island. Their ideas of the homeland often involve narratives of loss and separation. Matthew (26), the son of a refugee, also identifies himself as Greek Cypriot. His insistence on the adjective 'Greek' is a deliberate strategy to disassociate himself from Turkish Cypriots. His narratives of the homeland were often embellished with anti-Turkish sentiments.

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[38] Fiction writer George Papaellinas (1986) also notes these contrasting narratives in his short stories about Australian Cypriots.

However, a number of second generation Cypriots do not incorporate their family's narratives into their own. Sotira (30), for example, unlike her refugee parents who call themselves Greek Cypriot, prefers to think of herself as Cypriot. Sotira wants to 'become a Cypriot,' something which she explains as an identity inclusive of Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

Age Differences

The way in which the second generation imagine home is also influenced by age. Those who went to school during the 1960s, for example, had very different experiences from those who did so in the 1970s. Cathy's family illustrates this well. She was born in Australia in the early 1950s, but her three older siblings were born in Cyprus. She said:

> My older siblings were much more Cypriot than me and my younger sister. For them it was there are Greeks and there are Aussies. They were like: 'We are Greek. We are here to remain. We are culturally right.' Whereas I wasn't sort of that way inclined. I guess when I went to school it had become more multicultural and I was a little more conscious of a lot more races.

In the 1950s, when Cathy's older siblings started school they did not speak English and most of their fellow students were of Anglo-Celtic heritage. By the time Cathy was in secondary school in the 1970s, most of her class peers were also the children of migrants. She did not experience the extreme racism and ethnic exclusion that her older siblings encountered. Their contrasting experiences at school have affected the ways in which their identity was perceived and performed at different times in their lives. In the case of Cathy's siblings, their ethnic identity was imposed on them, and strongly asserting their 'Cypriot-ness' at this time became a strategy to cope with racism.

Today, second and third generation Cypriots aged in their 20s and 30s also experience racism but they do not necessarily identify with the more conservative conception of their cultural identity. Many said that at school they were often called

'wog,' but did not perceive this as a racist or a derogatory term, as did those in their 40s and 50s. Simon (27), for example said: 'At school my friends always called me wog but they didn't mean anything by it. It was just a joke.' Some asserted that being called a 'wog' at school was not the same as the abuse that 'Asian' and Maori students experienced. In her study of British Cypriots, Anthias found that racist name-calling among boys might be perceived not as racist but rather connected to 'male bonding.' In Britain, it also relates to 'political discourses of race', where the construction of racism is 'primarily "colour" racism' (Anthias 2002: 509). In Melbourne, the younger generation take the attitude that 'wog' is positively ascribed and preferable to the names given to other ethnic groups. The media, especially television comedy series, have also played a significant role in effecting this shift in meaning, as a number of series made by second generation migrants have *reclaimed* (re-cited) racist words as a means of empowerment.[39]

Individuals display much agency in the acceptance and imagining of their cultural identity, however, the socio-cultural environments to which people belong also affect the processes of cultural identification. That is, people occupy multiple and varying habitats and this influences their identity modelling (Vertovec 2001: 578).[40] Some second generation Cypriots see themselves primarily as 'Australian,' with 'Cypriot roots,' but they are still perceived as different by others. They often attribute this to their physical appearance. Nick (26), a child of intermarriage, explained that although he is 'only half Cypriot,' what makes him different to his 'Anglo' friends is his Cypriot family, especially his extended kin, who form part of his circle of friends. For

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[39] For example, television and cinema comedy series like *Acropolis Now* and the theatre production *Wogs Out of Work* and *Wog Boy* were made by writers/directors of Greek descent. See Simpson *et al.* (2009). Also see Myria Georgiou (2001) on the important role the 'ethnic media' plays in the lives of first generation Greek Cypriots in North London. She found that for British Cypriots, watching Greek Cypriot satellite television 'is a real and symbolic ethnic reference' to confirm and renew their ethnic identity (Georgiou 2001: 326).

[40] This is Vertovec's interpretation of Hannerz's (1996) concept of the 'habitats of meaning.'

him, family functions are an important space in which, he said, he feels his 'Cypriotness.' While Nick does not see Cyprus as his homeland, he does imagine that Cyprus exists within his close social networks. Although to some extent individuals have a choice in defining themselves, this is not always possible as identity can be imposed.

Intermarriage and the Homeland

Intermarriage can also influence the way second and third generation Cypriots experience their cultural identity and the way they perceive the homeland. Most of the children of intermarriage I spoke with did not speak Greek and as a result some have experienced exclusion by other Cypriots.[41] Several called themselves 'Australian with Cypriot heritage,' largely because they do not speak Greek and for them this signifies they are not 'really Cypriot.' Kate (32), whose mother is Italian and father is Cypriot, said: 'I identify more with my Italian heritage because I can speak Italian. I only know a few Greek words.' Similarly Chloe (23), whose parents are both second generation Cypriots, was sent to Greek school at a young age but her experience there has made her feel isolated from her Cypriot identity. She told me that she was mocked at Greek school because she was accustomed to speaking the Cypriot dialect, and other children would tease her that she spoke like a *horiatissa* (peasant woman). Chloe said she has now forgotten the Greek she learned and would like to learn again but she refuses to speak to her parents or grandparents in Greek because she proclaimed, 'They don't understand proper Greek. They still speak like *horiates* [pl.].' For several informants, language has been significant in determining the degree to which they adopt a Cypriot identity.

[41] According to Price (1990: 6), the 1986 census shows that 62 per cent of second generation Cypriots with only one foreign-born parent and 68.8 per cent of third generation Cypriots with two Australian-born parents primarily speak English. In comparison, 66.3 per cent of the second generation with both parents of Cypriot ancestry speak Greek.

While experiences vary, I found that those with Cypriot mothers only, had generally experienced a greater degree of exclusion from the broader Cypriot community, and this has weakened their links with it. This results from the belief that *kali yinaika* is the bearer of tradition and culture, and that their role is to impart this to their offspring. Sarah's mother is Cypriot and her father is Anglo-Celtic. She does not speak Greek, but says that other Cypriots declare she should know the language because it is the mother's responsibility. They find it more acceptable that her cousins, with Cypriot fathers, do not speak Greek. This suggests that gender affects the formation of cultural identity and consequently the extent to which a person identifies with the homeland.

Most children of intermarriages call themselves 'half Cypriot,' an in-betweenness which they believe precludes their involvement in many formal Cypriot associations. However, most have strong familial connections and their cultural identity is often constructed through these networks. For many, ties to their extended Cypriot family have been important to their sense of belonging. However, even among those whose parents are both of Cypriot descent, there is also a degree of hybridity, an identity that is not fully Cypriot or Australian. Alexandra (23) said, 'I am Australian but I guess I'm Cypriot as well.' For Alexandra, and many others, her Cypriot extended family has been a central part of her life, and her strong links to the extended family also mark her different from her Anglo Australian friends.

Second Generation Cypriots and Communal Associations

Cypriot associations and social networks have also played a role in the way homeland is constructed and in the performance of identity. Unlike their parents, most second generation informants whose parents migrated before 1974 are not involved in any Cypriot associations, although many were during their youth. They attribute their non-

involvement to their parents' negative perceptions of the church and the past acrimonious conflicts within the community. Many claimed that Cypriot associations are irrelevant to their lives, while others considered these organisations to be headed by an older generation of traditionalists, typically men, most of who were not overly interested in the views of the second generation. It was not uncommon to hear second generation informants claim that the older generation is more traditional than people in Cyprus. One male informant insisted, 'They are all stuck in the 1950s.'

Often these institutions deal with issues that were relevant to their parents' needs when they immigrated and are considered to have not changed their focus since, as is the case of the church, Apostolos Andreas. Zac (42), for example believes that the younger generation cannot relate to the formal, cramped, internal space of old churches such as Apostolos Andreas. The church he attends in an eastern suburb is modern and pervades a more informal atmosphere. He also believes that the service at this church has 'moved with the times,' compared with Apostolos Andreas. However, it is also important to recognise that Zac's comments are also a reflection of his class position. Many second and third generation Cypriots have moved away from the working class suburb of Sunshine, which might also explain the diminishing congregation.

There are also distinctions among young second and third generation teenagers. Those with both parents of Cypriot heritage are more likely to be involved in the formal Cypriot community, especially via Greek language classes. Whether they will maintain their links with the community into adulthood is uncertain. Many whose parents came before 1974 were also sent to Greek school and once regularly attended church, but have not maintained these connections after leaving their natal home. However, this has not lessened their involvement in the Cypriot community via more informal networks.

Although I found a high level of non-involvement in Cypriot associations among second and third generation informants, several still attend Cypriot functions, such as

the annual Apostolos Andreas festival and the Cypriot wine and food festival. Many also attend church on special occasions, and while visiting their parents or grandparents glance through the Australian Greek newspaper (most often the English section).

Visits to the Homeland

Vacations in Cyprus also inform the construction of homeland and identities. This was the case of second generation informant, Cathy. It was not until her first visit to Cyprus in the early 1970s that she said she recognised she was 'not Australian.' She explained:

> I just realised that what and how my mother brought us up all fitted in. It was like an enormous jigsaw and I could understand the messages that my mother was trying to get through. So although I pretended that I was very 'Australianised' in actual fact culturally I wasn't. When I went to Cyprus it all fitted and I liked it.

Cathy stayed in Cyprus for six months and believes it changed her perception of her identity and contributed to an understanding of a dual ethnicity. On return to Australia, she took a more active interest in the Cypriot community, attending informal and formal communal Cypriot functions, something she avoided in the past. She also became involved in various charity events with other Cypriot women, and recently helped second generation women to set up a retirement home catering specifically to elderly Greek-speaking migrants. Cathy is a good example of how performance of cultural identity and ideas about the homeland can change at different stages in life.

For some second generation Cypriots, visiting Cyprus has fundamentally changed their notion of a homeland. A few said that only after visiting Cyprus and hearing their relatives' stories about the division did their interest in the history of Cyprus blossom. Some, however, felt that their visit to Cyprus made them feel more disconnected from the homeland. Several of those who visited Cyprus between the

1970s and early 1990s felt little commonality with people of their age group or the culture. Their narratives were about how different their lives were.

A common response among second generation women in their late 40s and 50s was about the greater oppression Cypriot women suffered than them. Connie recalled her visit in the late 1980s and explained that the village was 'backward.' She was dismayed that most of her female cousins had married young, often in arranged marriages. She also commented that few had the opportunity to finish their secondary schooling and many were still working in the fields as their mother had. While she enjoyed her visit, it made her feel more Australian than Cypriot.[42] Connie was like many first and second generation Cypriots who visited Cyprus during this period. They were often financially better off than their relatives in Cyprus and their ideas of homeland were informed by their class position and a tacit subscription to the type of feminist politics popular in Australia during the 1970s. For Connie, identifying herself as Australian was also a way to express status and modernity.

In contrast to Connie's generation, young people who have visited Cyprus since 2000 often emphasise how similar their lives are. Many say they are surprised by this, as their family's stories made them anticipate difference. Some also explained that their visits to Cyprus and or visits to Australia by young people from Cyprus made them feel more connected to Cyprus. Indeed, it is a growing trend among young adult second and third generation Cypriots to visit Cyprus without their families.[43] Many travel through Europe and some also work in Europe.

Advanced technology and greater access to electronic media and communications, along with the rapid economic and social changes in Cyprus since the

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[42] What it is to be Australian is contentious. Nevertheless, most informants use it to describe an Anglo-Celtic mainstream.

[43] Panagakos (2004: 301) found that for young Canadian Greeks, it is a rite of passage to be sent by their parents to Greece for a holiday (while on university holiday) and is also a form of status. However, I found that most young Australian Cypriot vacations to Cyprus are self-funded.

1990s, have meant that some younger Cypriots in the diaspora and Cyprus experience more 'interconnectedness' (Hannerz 1996: 6). The process of globalisation, whether in an international, national or local context, has impacted on many levels. In Deryneia, one of the most popular television series in 2001 among the young was the Greek version of *Big Brother*. The Australian version is also possibly one of the most popular television series in 2000 among young Australians of Cypriot descent in Melbourne. This does not mean, however, that Cypriots in different locations who watch the same series respond to them in the same way or attach the same meanings to them (see Appadurai 1996; Brah 1996: 195).

Several second generation Australian Cypriots had no desire to visit Cyprus, but still identify as Cypriot. Some admitted little knowledge of Cyprus and others said they had no real interest in visiting, except perhaps to meet family members. Others are deterred by negative stories; as Luke (27) said, 'I'm not really interested in going to Cyprus. From the pictures I've seen and what I've heard it's just like a big Surfers' Paradise, too many hotels and tourists.' Chris (56) was born in Cyprus and emigrated with his family at a young age in 1950. He expressed no desire to visit Cyprus. 'You don't have to go to Cyprus to feel Cypriot. I mean, I am Cypriot.' Olivia (17) who visited Cyprus with her family in the mid-1990s also said that she would not return; although she had enjoyed meeting kin, she did not feel any 'real' connection to the island. Not having a strong link or identifying with Cyprus does not mean refusal to identify as Cypriot. Many imagine a homeland that exists locally in Melbourne, a Cypriot place/space constructed through family networks and cultural practices.[44]

[44] Similarly, Baldassar and Pesman (2005: 205) found that among many second generation Italian Australians it was often ties with extended families that made them feel a connection to their parents' homeland.

Changing Ideas of Homeland

For the diaspora-born, the 'homeland' becomes more important in their lives at different times. Events in Cyprus during 1974 intensified material and emotional connections with the country. The homeland was brought into their Australian lives as many Cypriots campaigned in the streets, sent money to relatives, became involved in Cypriot associations, and actively kept abreast of the latest news from Cyprus. For some of my informants, it was the first time they had engaged in the history and politics of the island. A significant number became involved in political campaigns protesting the separation of Cyprus. Others raised money to help relatives to migrate to Australia. A few second generation Cypriots with no ties to any formal Cypriot organisations and minimal contact with Cyprus paid for relatives whom they had never met to emigrate and helped them set up in Australia. In this way, people's attachment to homeland can be situational or determined by particular moments in history.

The border incidents of 1996 in Deryneia that led to the death of two young men (described in Chapter One) also affected Australian Cypriots in a number of conflicting ways. In Melbourne these events were anxiously watched on television and read about in the newspapers. Some worried that more clashes would follow and were anxious about family members. For others it reawakened painful memories of displacement from their homes during the 1974 war. Yet others were relieved they had left the border village. Despite the different feelings that these events conjured up among Australian Cypriots, it enlivened the concept of homeland in their Australian homes.

Recent political developments in Cyprus have also influenced perceptions of homeland. In 2003 the opening of the Green Line (allowing restricted travel throughout the whole island) resulted in several Australian Cypriot refugees and their families returning to Cyprus with the intention of visiting their family village and house. Zena, a refugee, returned to Cyprus with her husband and their three Australian-born children to

visit their old home. Her youngest child, Olympia (23), became so distressed when they were nearing her parents' old village that they had to return to Deryneia and a few days later made the journey again without her. Zena told me that her sons knocked on the door to be greeted by the Turkish occupants, but she could not bring herself to enter the house. She said she cried for the rest of her stay in Cyprus and was happy to return to Australia. Others however, have returned with stories of hope and new friendships. Harry (36) returned to his parents' old home, where the Turkish Cypriot occupants welcomed him at the door and he has maintained contact with them since returning to Australia. He is now creating ecumenical imaginings of the homeland that he will pass on to his children.

In the last few years 'homeland' has also become more prevalent in some second and third generation Cypriots' lives, as a consequence of the accession of Cyprus to the European Union. Many have considered obtaining a Cypriot passport and view this as an opportunity to live and work in Europe. For some, Cyprus has become a possible home.[45]

[45] I was unable to find out how many second and third generation Australian Cypriots have applied for or obtained a Cypriot passport since its entry into the EU. I was told by government officials that these statistics have not been collated. However, I knew of at least 10 second/third generations in their 20s and 30s who have applied for a passport in order to travel and work in Europe.

Returning 'Home'

A few second generation informants whose parents migrated to Australia in the 1970s have resettled in Cyprus.[46] This was the case of Eftihia, whose parents came to Australia as refugees. She returned to Cyprus in 1998. 'I always felt that Cyprus was my home. It is where my roots are.' Her parental home was in occupied Deryneia and on return she settled elsewhere in Deryneia in the hope that someday she can return to her parents' home. Eftihia wanted her children to grow up in Cyprus as she felt that in Australia many younger Cypriots were 'losing their culture.'

Cyprus-born Dina (46) and her family also returned to Cyprus in the late 1990s, after 18 years in Australia. Both her children were born in Melbourne and they maintain dual citizenship. She said that she had felt more at home in Australia, but her husband had not liked the lifestyle, so they returned. Dina now resides in her husband's village in another part of Cyprus. She believes that in Melbourne she had more 'freedom' as a woman, than in the small village.[47] She confessed that if it were her choice, she would live in Melbourne. Her husband Haralambos (50) on the other hand, said life in Cyprus was much easier. He had struggled financially in Australia working in numerous low-paid factory jobs and never felt he belonged there. In Cyprus he found more opportunities and now works in a well-paid white-collar job. Dina's oldest daughter, then 17 years old, also voiced a preference for Australia because she misses her friends and feels more Australian, whereas the youngest daughter, does not regard herself

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[46] I knew of four other families who returned to Cyprus in the late 1980s and 1990s but had since returned to Australia. All said that they were treated as *xenes.* Two of the couples were second generation Australian Cypriot, another couple was born in Cyprus but migrated to Australia with their families as children, so had spend most of their lives in Australia. In the fourth case, the husband had migrated to Australia in his early 20s, while his wife was a second generation Australian Cypriot. For insight into transnationalism and returnees, see Anthias (2006) who touches on the issue of diasporic Cypriots that return permanently to Cyprus. Also see King *et al.* who look at second generation US born Greeks, German-born Greeks and British-born Greek Cypriot 'returnees.' See Anastasia Christou (2006a, 2006b) and Ioanna Laliotou (2004) who look at the experiences of Greek American returnees. See Tsolidis (2009) on second generation Australian Greeks who return to Greece.

[47] Baldassar (2001) also found in her study of Italian Australians that most women prefer to live in Australia. Also see Baldassar and Pesman (2005) on the difficulties that many Italian Australians have had repatriating. Also see Christou (2006c) on some of the negotiations that second generation Greek Americans face when they move to Greece.

Australian and never wants to leave Cyprus. In Australia, the youngest had often encountered racism because of her 'dark' complexion, whereas her sister, with a paler complexion, had not.

Diasporic Connections in the Homeland

In Deryneia, I also found that Australia enters the imagination of those in the homeland. Many houses, particularly those of older people, have souvenirs of Australia on their walls, even though many have never been there (see Figure 18). This is also the case in the homes of many first generation Cypriots in Melbourne, where ethnic identity is on display through tourist and craft items that come from Cyprus. Many houses have religious icons, lacework and other items given to them by kin in Cyprus or brought by visitors from the homeland.

The most important way in which Australia enters the imagination of some Deryneians is through kinship. Although most of my informants in Deryneia with relatives in Australia have never visited Australia, many feel an emotional connection. While discussing her family in Australia, Kleoniki said, 'There is something between all the family, even though everyone does not know each other. It is just that you feel it inside you. There is a feeling of Australia and a feeling of closeness with the relatives.' Eleftheria said, 'I feel so close to my relatives in Australia even though I see them rarely. Even the ones I have never met, I feel a connection with them.' While transnational ties are not central to their everyday existence, at times of crisis, when relatives visit, or when significant news comes from Australia, these ties enter their thoughts.

Figure 18 Australian souvenirs on the wall of a house in Deryneia, 2001 (Photograph by author)

For others, visits to relatives in the diaspora have had more long-lasting effects. Sotos and Christalleni visited relatives in Melbourne with their children in 1998. Sotos claimed that after seeing the active role his male cousins in Australia played in their children's lives, he returned to Cyprus hoping to do the same. Before 1998, Sotos worked for nine months during the tourist season at his restaurant, seven days a week, and in the winter months he and Christalleni grew strawberries. On their return to Cyprus they decided that they could manage financially without growing the strawberries if Christalleni worked part-time at her parents' supermarket during winter, thus allowing Sotos to stay at home during this period. However, on my return trip to Cyprus in 2003 the restaurant was struggling, and they were forced to return to growing strawberries.

Transnational Kinship Ties and Land Ownership

For many informants in Melbourne and Deryneia, social and community identity is linked to kinship ties, obligations and expectations. Kinship obligations in various forms have continued to be important and in particular those to do with landownership. A number of first generation Australian Cypriot informants continue to own land in Cyprus, even those who left prior to the 1970s. With the exception of those whose land became inaccessible after 1974, this land had not been developed and in most cases has remained fallow.

In Deryneia, the overriding expectation is that land should not be alienated to non-kin and most informants claimed that unnecessary problems and tensions in families arise when it is. In recent years, the sale of inherited land by overseas Cypriots has become a source of conflict and a transnational issue. The following case is one such example, which again brings to the foreground ways in which the performance of class and gender identity can be influenced by transnational ties.

The Case of Georgina and Dimitris

In the late-1990s, Georgina's and Dimitris' children convinced them to sell their land in Deryneia. The land was endowed to Dimitris by his parents after marriage in the 1940s. Dimitris held onto the land in the belief that eventually he would return to Cyprus. He even toyed with the idea that one of his children or Australian-born grandchildren would someday build a holiday house there, but distance and the expense of travel meant that this was not likely.[48] During my many discussions with Dimitris it became clear that he would never resettle in Cyprus but holding on to the land gave him an active link to the homeland and membership of the 'Deryneian community.' For him, it was a deep connection to its red soil.

In 2000, with their parents' consent, Georgina's children contacted an online real estate agent in Cyprus and had the land valued. After relatives in Deryneia heard of the proposed sale, they reacted in a variety of ways. One informant told me it was too high a price and that he could purchase land much cheaper in the area. Another said 'they should sell it cheaper to kin because it is important that the land stay in the family,' adding, 'the land comes from my grandfather and it is only right that it stay with our side of the family.' In other words, he felt the land should be sold to Dimitris' natal kin rather than Georgina's, and certainly not to non-kin.

Several relatives contacted Georgina and Dimitris by telephone and made offers to buy the land, all of which were well below the estimated market price. This led to great anxiety for Georgina and Dimitris, who decided it was easier to keep it. Two years later, Dimitris passed away and two of his children returned to Cyprus for visits, but both claimed it was too difficult to decide which family member the land should be sold

[48] In Deryneia and the surrounding area, a number of British diasporic Cypriots own holiday houses. In the 1970s Constantinides (1977: 292) found that large numbers of British Cypriots invested in Cyprus by buying land or holiday houses. This was not the case with the majority of my informants, although many continued to hold on to land in Cyprus they had inherited before or after they migrated. For British Cypriots, cheaper travel and closer proximity make this more viable. I knew of only one upper-middle class Cypriot Australian couple, in their late 60s, who had a house in Cyprus and spent six months a year there.

to, or even if it should be sold to kin. This land dispute involving diasporic Cypriots underlines the way in which the homeland incorporates the diaspora into its imagined community. Indeed, it is a tangible transnational link.

Land ownership is an important part of belonging to the community, but is also associated with intra-family status, particularly the equal distribution of land among siblings. The following case illustrates additional issues essential to understanding transnational ties, intra-kin relationships and cultural identity.

Transnational Land Inheritance: the case of Anthi

Anthi was the only female of seven children. Four of her brothers had migrated to Australia as young adults. Her parents gave each child a plot of land as dowry/bride-wealth, and kept a plot themselves. As Anthi explained:

> When my parents were alive there was no such thing as a pension, not like now, when we receive money every month. They kept some of their land for their own use just in case they needed to sell it to look after themselves in old age … My brother Lambros [who lived in Deryneia] somehow tricked my father into giving him their remaining *donums* [land measurement]. He received more than my other brothers, who were unhappy about this … It is not fair for a parent to do that. Parents should always share equally among the children and everyone should get exactly the same. For example, my children never fight with each other because their father gave them exactly the same thing. All equal portions. But Lambros wanted everything! Really he shouldn't have got everything [trans. from Greek].

After the death of Anthi's father, her brother Lambros inherited his father's remaining plot (their mother was deceased) which resulted in an ongoing feud between siblings that continued even after his death some years later. When Anthi's brother, Andoni, in Melbourne decided to sell his land in Deryneia, he purposely did not sell it to Lambros' children whose land was adjacent. He sold it to another brother's daughter, Mary (52), who lived in England. Mary's Cypriot father and her British-born mother emigrated to Australia when Mary was a baby and later, as a young adult, Mary went back to England.

Almost a decade after buying her uncle's land, Mary migrated to Cyprus where she built a house. The house was built on land inherited from her father, adjacent to the land she had bought from her Australian uncle, Andoni. Years later she converted this plot into a large, personal garden. Mary's two immediate neighbours (both natal male cousins, including Lambros' son), believed it was inappropriate that she owned two plots of prime 'family land.' Both felt that the land would be better used as a house plot than a garden. Prior to Mary's emigration to Cyprus, both had offered to purchase the land from her in hope of using it to build their daughters a dowry house.

In Australia, Andoni claimed that the land sold to his niece Mary was sold well below its value and that he has since regretted his decision. His wife Loukia explained that Andoni sold the land without consulting her or her children. Her remarks to Andoni about this are most revealing and reflect the expectations associated with kinship obligations.

> If you were going to sell it, you should have at least sold it to one of your nieces or nephews that have children, not Mary who is childless. It is not right! Mary has converted it into a garden while all the others need land for their children [trans. from Greek].

Andoni's regret is also linked to a prior incident that occurred when Mary lived in England in the mid-1990s, and which further illustrates the murkiness of kinship obligations. Andoni contacted Mary and asked if his family could stay at her recently-built house in Deryneia during their visit. Mary welcomed their stay but on the proviso that she was also at the house. For Andoni, this was most offensive. Even after 10 years, this incident continues to be divisive and a hotly debated issue among extended kin and those directly involved. Mary remarked, 'I was so offended that my uncle only asked to use my house and did not even visit me when he was in England.'

Kinship obligations through land ties are important for kin solidarity even for those in the diaspora, and while many informants believed that it was important to 'keep

land in the family,' such a statement also masks how class interests come into play. As Loizos (1975: 8) found in the village of Argaki, the more land one has, the greater prestige one can obtain in the village. Both Andoni's nephews wanted Mary's land for the dowry of their daughters. Both were agriculturalists, and although not wealthy men, procuring such land in the centre of the village would have been a measure of their prestige in the wider community.

However, class and gender dynamics were further illustrated by Mary's status. For some informants, Mary appears to be wealthier than both her male cousins and it was claimed that she flaunts her wealth, without adopting the responsibilities and duties of community, in particular, notions of generosity. Argyrou refers to this as the Cypriot idea of the 'big spender.' He argues that the notion of the *houartas* (big spender) is at the 'core of male personhood' (Argyrou 1996: 74). He demonstrates that in order to gain respect in the community one needs to be a *houartas,* regardless of one's actual wealth. He adds that a *houartas* must display a sense of abandon with money and also demonstrate that gift-giving is motivated purely by a sense of generosity (Argyrou 1996: 75-6). Possibly, the case of Mary points to the notion of a female *houartas.* Informants insisted that converting a plot of land into a personal garden was extremely selfish. As several of Mary's kin emphasised, she was wealthy yet she was not generous with her money. One of her male cousins reiterated this narrative and said that when he had visited her home she did not offer him her finest whiskey, which was on display, but rather gave him an inferior brand. Her lack of generosity in their eyes and her failure to meet kinship obligations was repeatedly emphasised. Equally important are issues of gender. Clearly, many of Mary's kin objected to her entitlement to the land, largely because she was childless and because she did not fit ideas central to Cypriot womanhood, that is *kali yinaika.*

This case raises other issues at the heart of this dissertation. It demonstrates the ways in which overseas Cypriots are included and excluded from the homeland. Mary's status as a diasporic Cypriot was also a reason why kin in Cyprus objected to their uncles' decision to sell her the land. As it turned out, she did move to Cyprus, but unlike some other diasporic Cypriots now living in Cyprus, she has not been accepted into the community. To some extent, this is also a result of her own wish to maintain her status as an outsider and not a typical village woman.

In Deryneia, several middle-aged informants expressed disapproval of overseas Cypriots holding on to land when they have no intention of returning permanently. But for diasporic Cypriots, land connects them to their kin and has also become part of their cultural identity. For several Cypriots in Australia, ownership of land in Cyprus is an important link to the homeland, giving them a sense that they have roots to the land both literally and metaphorically. The case of land is one example of how a community is defined and how kinship informs people's ideas about belonging, as well as how obligations are now transnational.

Summary

The ways in which cultural identities are performed in Deryneia are independent of the dynamics of the diaspora. Nevertheless, for those with kin living abroad and those who have visited kin in Australia, the diaspora does play a role in the way they experience elements of their cultural identity. While transnational ties are not central to the everyday existence of most Deryneians, most of my informants, in times of crisis, when there were visits to or from Deryneia, or when significant news comes from Australia, Australia is in their thoughts.

Transnational communities are not homogeneous and although transnational ties might be important in the construction of cultural identity and ideas of the homeland,

the local context will always determine how these processes occur. Australian Cypriots' ideas of homeland are diverse and conflicting. Differences such as time of migration, gender, age, class and ethnicity all play a part in the way people create images of the homeland and the extent to which they identify with it. Some people have more formal connections, through Cypriot associations, while others have continuous connections via family members. The latter also impacts on people in Cyprus. However, those who do not have continuing close ties with Cyprus might still draw it into their imagination in the process of constructing their personal and familial identities.

While cultural identities are never static, the place of origin and the historical context is important for the construction of identity. Unlike those in Deryneia, the Melbourne Cypriot community often excluded Turkish Cypriots in the way they constructed their identities. In the early years of migration to Australia, Cypriots primarily saw themselves as Greek, but unlike for those in Cyprus, this was not only about ethnic and political identities, where identification with a Greek identity carried nationalist connotations; in Melbourne, Greek identity was also a way to cope with alienation, displacement and (re-)location. Likewise, after the establishment of the Apostolos Andreas church, Cypriot-ness had nothing to do with Turkish Cypriots, but was a way of differentiating themselves from the broader Greek community.

Gender and class significantly affect the way people perform their cultural identity and this is highlighted in the ways that traditional and modern identities are experienced. Generational differences also impact on the way people construct their identity. In Melbourne, most first generation Cypriots do not identify themselves as partly Australian, as do second and third generation Cypriots, even though many have lived in Australia for most of their lives. Yet, on visits to the homeland, hybridity often comes to the foreground. In Deryneia, I also found that generational differences affect the process of identity construction.

In the next chapter, I examine the manner in which gender discourses affect individual agency in local contexts. I do this by focusing on the role of marriage and its connection with concepts of becoming *kali yinaika*.

Chapter Four

Becoming *Kali Yinaika*: a Woman's Destiny

In 2002, Georgina fondly recalled for me her Deryneian wedding, a four-day celebration that took place in the mid-1940s. However, she was less enthusiastic when recounting the events of the day after, when her mother-in-law, mother and grandmothers inspected her bed sheets for proof of her virginity, lost overnight.

Almost 60 years after Georgina's wedding, Australian-born Cathy was dismayed that her 28 year-old niece (a third generation Australian Cypriot), soon to be married in Melbourne, was also under pressure from her fiancé's mother to uphold what my informants referred to as the *parthenia* (virginity) ritual (bed sheet inspection) that Georgina had so candidly described as humiliating. Cathy recalled that in the late 1970s, when she married in Melbourne, neither her mother nor Cypriot mother-in-law had expected her to uphold the tradition. She stressed that when she stayed in Deryneia in the early 1970s, the ritual was not practised by her kin.

For women, marriage embodies the idea of *kali yinaika* and the majority of women I interviewed in Melbourne and Deryneia, regardless of age, believed that marriage and motherhood was a woman's *proorismos* (destiny/destination). Certainly, very few imagined a life without marriage.

Much of this chapter explores women's agency in the marriage process in Deryneia and Melbourne, and the changes to this institution since the 1950s. I focus on the rites of passage, from betrothal to wedding day, the transformation affecting arranged marriages, the shift from bride-wealth to dowry practices and its implications for women's role and status,[1] and the plight of widows and divorcees. Throughout, I

[1] Bride-wealth is the groom's family's contribution to the bridal couple.

consider the way in which marriage practices are tied to the organising principle of *kali yinaika*.

Kali Yinaika: Marriage and Virginity

From an early age, girls are taught that to become *kali yinaika* they must be modest and traditionally, parents exercised strict control over their daughters in an attempt to safeguard their virginity and the reputation of the family (see Anthias 1992; Attalides 1981; Surridge 1930). Pregnancy out of wedlock could ruin a girl's chances of marriage or cause financial difficulties if an unreasonable dowry were demanded (Attalides 1981: 164). Girls from wealthy families had more opportunities to transgress strict moral codes, as a substantial dowry assured familial silence (Anthias 1992: 87; Attalides 1981: 165).

Despite parents' attempts to have their daughters remain virgins until marriage, women from Deryneia who married after the 1940s suggested that several were not, even those from poorer families.[2] Changing attitudes in the 1950s towards women's sexuality were emphasised in Anthi's and Eirini's cases, both of whom were pregnant before they wed. While their pregnancies were a subject of gossip at the time, their lives were not severely affected and at the time of my fieldwork their status as *kali yinaika* was widely acknowledged. Anthi reported that the most hurtful consequence of her pregnancy in the mid-1950s was her mother's refusal to speak to her for almost a year, whereas Eirini insisted that her pregnancy in the late 1950s was 'not a big deal as by those years few girls were virgins when they married.' I encountered only a few cases of illegitimate pregnancies that did not lead to marriage, and these women were

[2] Attalides (1981: 165) found that girls from landless families had 'little incentive to maintain a good reputation.'

typically shamed.[3] Certainly by the 1960s premarital sex was tolerated on the proviso that women had only one sexual partner and intended to marry him. Those who transgressed these conditions were often ostracised. This was the case of Marilena, who was eight months pregnant when she married in the mid-1990s, and village gossip centred on speculation about the number of her sexual partners, not her pregnancy.

Ideal Cypriot masculinity presupposes that men have lost their virginity before marriage.[4] Although single men have much greater freedom than un-wed women, the conditions under which they hold these comparative liberties are not without constraints, as the case of Zaharias illustrates. In the late 1990s, Zaharias' casual and secretive relationship with a woman also from Deryneia became known to Zaharias' mother, through neighbourhood networks. The result was that he was forced by his family to 'choose' marriage or to cease contact with her. His mother was concerned that her son would gain a bad reputation in the village, which would also reflect poorly on her. Zaharias ended the relationship and since then has taken extraordinary measures to keep his relationships secret from his family (for example, building a security system around his house, as discussed in Chapter Three). Thus, under specific circumstances, men are held accountable for sexual conduct, particularly when it involves a village woman, or in the case of the Melbourne community, women of Cypriot background.[5] The story further illustrates the active role of a mother in maintaining family honour and indeed, her own reputation as *kali yinaika*.

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[3] There were however, married men who had affairs with single women which resulted in pregnancy. In some cases, these women had an abortion or were sent out of the village, had the baby and gave it up for adoption. In the early 1940s, a woman was sent to live in another country, where she had her child and remained a single mother. I also was told of cases where the grandparents brought up the child.

[4] Several women informants said that it is acceptable for single men to have sex with as many women as they please. Indeed, a man who does not have a number of sexual encounters is not considered 'normal.' Men are expected to act like 'real men' and maintain the machismo image (Phellas 2002: 60). Many were rumoured to have lost their virginity to tourists or prostitutes.

[5] Josephides (1988: 36) on the other hand says that, 'The only way in which sex can dishonour men is if the women they are connected with behave inappropriately.'

In the early 2000s, many young women were still closely watched by their parents, especially in the village.[6] I became particularly aware of this when a friend from Larnaka visited me with her 15 year-old daughter and the teenager decided to take a walk around the village alone. Her mother did not object, but my neighbour was quick to point out that her walking the streets in a short skirt without a chaperone would create a bad impression. This attitude surprised me as my neighbour had three teenage girls who walked alone in the village and often went out clubbing all night in Agia Napa. However, they only enjoyed this freedom when their actions were not observed by the neighbourhood. For my neighbour, what constituted *kali yinaika* depended on the specific circumstance. Her daughters walked alone in the village always with a purpose, such as to buy groceries, and their night-clubbing was not under the gaze of villagers.

Younger single Deryneian women I spoke to often preferred to live and work in the city as it offers them more lifestyle choices and they do not have to worry about community surveillance.[7] City life gives them more room to challenge gender ideologies, especially as their financial independence loosens the control their family can exert over them. Without surveillance, they can have a boyfriend, and feel less pressure to marry young. Nevertheless, several unmarried women also said they live a 'double life,' as on returning to the village they feel pressured to conform and be a 'dutiful daughter.'

The degree of freedom young women have gained over the last few decades has been significant, but continues to be different from the freedoms young men enjoy. The case of Takis' oldest daughter illustrates this clearly. When the 22 year-old decided that

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[6] In Deryneia it was rare to see young boys and girls socialising freely in the village. Deryneia has a few places for teenagers to meet: there was an internet café where younger teenagers met on Friday or Saturday evenings. Most teenage girls I knew were only allowed to go there in the evening if meeting girl friends or if married adults would be present. Teenage boys often gathered around the village centre or at an amusement gallery. I never saw teenage girls there and it seemed to resemble male-centred *kafeneia*. Boys in their mid-teens also often went to Paralimni on a Saturday night, but few of the young teenage girls I knew were permitted to go without male kin. Even engaged couples tend to walk the streets accompanied by a family member.

[7] The majority of single women in their late 20s I knew who lived in Deryneia planned to marry.

she wanted to move to a flat in Agia Napa, where she worked, her parents would not agree and, Takis told her, villagers would think she was a prostitute. Six months later she had a hasty engagement and with her parent's approval moved to Agia Napa with her fiancé.[8]

Cypriot Women in Melbourne

In Melbourne, Cypriot women are also restricted in their movements, often in observance of honour and shame ideas that the first generation brought with them from Cyprus.[9] Despite first generation women's protestations about the repressive constraints they endured when growing up, many placed the same type of limits and in some cases even more severe ones on their daughters in Melbourne. Second generation Connie, the eldest daughter in her family, recalls that her brothers not only had to chaperone her on outings, but also reported to her parents on whom she spoke to and what she did. However, by the time her younger sisters were of an age to socialise with their peers on weekends, her brothers had wed and were uninterested in supervising their younger sisters at close range. Even luckier for her sisters was that Connie was now married and willing to provide a ready alibi. Her parents had not changed but things were changing for women.

In general, most women who emigrated as young children, and second generation women, were more lenient on their children. As Anthea stressed:

> I didn't have a bad family background, but my parents were very strict and I promised myself that I would not be the same with my children, and now I let my daughters have boyfriends and go out.

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[8] I did not find any Deryneian woman living independently in Deryneia or nearby tourist areas; in contrast there were several single men living alone or with friends in these areas.

[9] For a similar experience faced by Greek Australians see Tsolidis (1995: 123), who also found that many young people obtained a 'sense of security' by such restrictions.

However, there were a few third generation informants who, like Chloe, often colluded with Cypriot friends in elaborate charades to evade parental constraints. While most parents today are unable to monitor successfully their daughters' movements, young women I spoke to (including those with only one Cypriot parent) were subjected to more restrictions and greater scrutiny than young men. In many ways, women in their 20s living in Melbourne are more supervised than their counterparts in Cyprus. This is because many young Deryneian women are able to live in the city or abroad while studying, whereas women in Melbourne are more likely to live with their parents, often until they marry.

In Melbourne, Cypriot women are also expected to remain virgins until marriage and while few do, the illusion of a women's virginity is maintained more vigorously than in Cyprus. Connie recalls the interrogation she endured from her women kin in Melbourne when they discovered that she was pregnant only a month after her wedding in the late 1960s. The ensuing gossip caused her great anxiety and a fear that if the baby were premature, she would dishonour her family. Several second generation women recounted to me their shock to discover the degree of sexual freedom among engaged couples in Deryneia as early as the 1960s. Soulla said, 'I think we are more traditional here in Australia than in Cyprus.' In Australia they had been brought up to believe that sex out of wedlock was culturally unacceptable and would lead to ostracism.

Betrothal

> My marriage [in 1979] was by *proxenia* [matchmaking]. I did not know him. My neighbour set us up. She told my parents that she knew of a man who came from a good family and had his own business. I had never seen him until he passed our house in his car and my neighbour pointed him out. I got a glimpse of him. He is 8 years older than me … My grandfather, my father's father, asked me what I thought and I said, 'No! No I don't want him.' They said, 'Why don't you like him? He is a good man.' 'No, no I said I don't want him.' … After a while I thought about it and agreed to marry [Stella, aged 47, trans. from Greek].

Traditionally, Cypriot marriages were by *proxenia* (bringing-about or matchmaking) whereby parents determined whom their child married, often with the help of *proxenitria/proxenitis* (female/male matchmakers or go-betweens).[10] When the match was made, families meet to exchange promises. Deryneians often say '*dosame logo*' ('we gave [our] word,' here meaning betrothal). Typically *logos* was given at the bride-to-be's home, in the *saloni* (the best sitting room) where guests were served *gliko* (a rich, syrupy sweet of preserved fruit) by the young woman. This was also an opportunity both for the prospective couple to see one another, sometimes for the first time, and to display them to their prospective in-laws. *Logos* was not as formal as an engagement ceremony, but in reality it had this status as it announced to the community that an agreement had been reached.[11]

The practice of *logos* continued in Melbourne, particularly in the early years of settlement, when Cypriots were less inclined to exogamy. However, this practice was not as vigorously maintained by subsequent generations, to the dismay of several of my first generation informants. Georgina explained how thrilled she was when her last child to wed was to marry a second generation Cypriot, as all her other children had married non-Cypriots. For Georgina, this meant she could uphold the tradition of *logos*.

> It is good before they marry that they keep things the same as in Cyprus. For the families to discuss it first. You have to see the family first and then talk about it. That is why we were so happy when our daughter wanted to marry a Cypriot.

Some Cypriots who married non-Cypriots also tried to incorporate the tradition of giving *logos,* by inviting their partner's family to dinner. While *logos* was not given, the parents used the occasion to assess whether their child was marrying into a good family.

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[10] In standard Greek, *proxenitis* (pl. proxenites) is the male go-between and *proxenitra* (pl. *proxenitres*) a female go-between. I use the Cypriot terms here, following my informants' usage. Typically, the *proxenitria* suggested that two people were suited or acted on behalf of a family to find someone interested in marriage.

[11] The Cypriot terms for to engage/become engaged/engagement are *hartono/hartonomai/hartoma;* literally 'I paper/I get papered/papering.' This refers to the dowry contract and *o logos* (the spoken word), where the written word denotes a degree of immutability.

Although dowry and bride-wealth were not discussed, a 'good family' is one considered to be one of sufficient resources, and those with daughters were particularly keen for them to marry a professional. For some second generation women, this meeting was a way of observing a tradition that their parents held as important, and for others, it was a strategy for lessening the hostility and anxiety of their parents who often did not want them to marry a *xenos* (foreigner [mas.]). In part it was their attempt to be *kali yinaika* in the eyes of their parents.

Sant Cassia notes that for Greeks it is important that a marriage match involve all family members 'as a collective decision' (Sant Cassia 1992: 196). Kin have a stake in the marriage in terms of their own status in the community and given the reciprocal relationship marriage brings between two families.

Once *logos* was given the couple soon engaged, sometimes with the blessing of a priest. The length of engagement depended on when the dowry (or the bride-wealth) house was completed. In Deryneia between the 1930s and the 1950s, engagements often lasted two to four years with most dowry contracts stipulating that each party had two years from the day of engagement to hand over assets they had promised.[12] However, women from very poor families could be engaged for up to eight years because of the time needed to assemble their dowry (Hadjicosta 1943: 24). Immediately after the 1974 war, the engagement period tended to be shorter as many families could not afford to build a dowry home.

From the 1960s onwards, engaged couples living together became commonplace in Deryneia (often with the girl's family), but not in Melbourne. Even up until the 1990s, second generation women tended to live in the natal home until their wedding day. Even today, some second and third generation Cypriot women are strongly discouraged from living with their fiancés. Nevertheless, my informants suggest that

[12] See Giannoukou (1993), who reproduces examples of dowry contracts from Deryneia dating from the mid-1930s to the early 1950s.

moral codes maintained by the first generation, particularly those restricting young women's movements, have gradually loosened over subsequent generations. Today, older Cypriot women in Melbourne are confronted by the greater freedom of their granddaughters, a number of whom have had more than one boyfriend. These changes are altering what it means for Australian Cypriots to be *kali yinaika.*

Arranged Marriages: *Proxenia*

The majority of my informants in Deryneia and Melbourne over the age of 60 had married by *proxenia*. Marriages by *proxenia* were often determined by class. In the mid-1980s Kleoniki (then 22) and her boyfriend decided they wanted to marry. Kleoniki's family was happy with the match but his parents were not. She recalled:

> I did not have money and therefore I was not good enough for them. His family told him there was no way he could marry me because my father could not build me a house and give me money. We broke up, as he went along with what his parents said and soon after he married a girl with lots of money [trans. from Greek].

In most cases, women without substantial dowries had hypogamous marriages, married men much older than themselves, or emigrated when the opportunity arose. I found only a few cases of men in hypogamous marriages. Marriages created alliances between families and facilitated control over village resources (see Loizos 1975). In the mid-1990s Athamos arranged for his niece to marry a man who had land adjoining his *perivoli*. After the marriage of his niece, Athamos was given access to the land, which enabled him to reduce his business costs. When other family members asked for his help in finding husbands for their daughters, he was less willing and many believed his help would have been more forthcoming if some personal financial gain had been assured.

I also found examples of wealthy families preventing their daughters from marrying poorer men. In the mid-1940s, negotiations by Andrew's family for his marriage to a girl from a much wealthier, property-owning family failed because his family found her family's bride-wealth demands excessive. Andrew claimed that this failure and the ensuing embarrassment contributed to his decision to escort his sister to Australia.

Control over Marriage Arrangements

Most informants whose marriage was by *proxenia* said that they had had the option of refusing after the first meeting (also see Anthias 1992: 80; Josephides 1988: 37). However, lack of choice was a recurring theme in the stories of informants. Georgina said she reluctantly agreed to betrothal after ever mounting pressure from numerous family members, who emphasised the difficulty that her father would encounter given he had seven other daughters yet to marry. From Georgina's account, it was her paternal grandmother who eventually convinced her to marry and who arranged with Georgina's mother-in-law for both families to meet for *logos*. When Georgina heard of the meeting, she complained to her father, but he insisted that as a meeting was arranged they could not back out. In essence, the arrangement had become public knowledge and withdrawal would have compromised both families.

In Despina's case, *proxenia* was totally in the control of the men of her family. She remembered:

> My family placed a lot of pressure on me and told me if I said no, it would be embarrassing for the family. After lots of persuasion I had to say yes. With my *proxenia* all of my uncles were involved. All these men arranged the *proxenia* and I was only 20. I wanted to think about it, but they kept

> saying, 'Don't be silly, this is your big chance. He is such a good man and he comes from a good family' [trans. from Greek]. [13]

Ironically, Despina's daughter Eleftheria claimed that her marriage in the mid-1980s was also by *proxenia* and went ahead after considerable parental pressure.[14] Eleftheria admitted feeling some bitterness towards her mother even today:

> My parents' marriage was by *proxenia*. My mother was in love with someone else and she didn't want my father, but they forced her to marry him and now this is my story as well. You would think she would understand my situation more, but she didn't. She persuaded me to get married. She said I would have a happy life with him, even if I am not in love with him. And yet I never saw my parents happy together, but they don't think anything is wrong with this. Everybody is like that, we all have the same story. But I will stop this story, my children will not go through this [trans. from Greek].

While Eleftheria's father was responsible for the match, she held her mother accountable as Eleftheria felt her mother's experience should have elicited empathy and support. Despina told me the contrary – that her daughter's marriage was not arranged but *agapi* (a love match).

Women's views of who controlled their *proxenia* often differed from that of their husbands. Dimitris, unlike his wife Georgina, claimed that their match was one made between the two fathers, not their women kin. Although I found male kin often determined arrangements and the father usually made the final decision, female kin also organised matches and persuaded women to marry. In some cases, female kin, such as sisters, found matches for their brothers. I found men rarely vetoed their wives' or

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[13] Even though brothers do not have a duty to a married sister, the whole extended family could be indirectly affected by any disgrace attached to the sister's nuclear family. Thus it was in the interest of the brother to have his sister's daughters marry into honourable families and this is one reason for the involvement of uncles in suggesting matches.

[14] Most of my women informants said that up until the late 1990s if you were not engaged by the age of 21 (once engaged, women were considered on the path to marriage) you were considered old and in danger of never marrying. Families used this as a way to pressure their daughters into marriage. Cyprus census data shows that in 1976 and 1980 the mean age of the bride was 23.7; while in 1990 it was 24.1 and at the time of my fieldwork in 2001 it was 27.1. However, many of my informants during these periods married before the age of 22 years. Probably women from rural villages like Deryneia married earlier than the national average. I encountered several women who married after this age, but they had been convinced to do so quickly before it was too late.

senior women's suggestions. This possibly points to ways in which women give men the appearance of being in control (Friedl 1986). Indeed, ostensible male control often masked women's active role in the arrangements.

Some Cypriots, mostly from poorer families, migrated in order to avoid marriage by *proxenia*. Loukia's decision to leave for England in the mid-1950s was influenced by her desire to escape *proxenia*. She left with the financial assistance of an older relative already living in England. After several years there, she migrated to Australia to join her brothers. Ironically, her marriage in Australia was by *proxenia.* Likewise, Andrew's marriage to an Australian Cypriot was by *proxenia*. It was arranged by his sister and a fellow Cypriot they met on their journey to Australia. I also found several cases of Cypriot men returning to Cyprus to find a bride to take back to Australia.

I encountered a few cases in Deryneia where children had defied their parents' wishes and refused *proxenia*. One of Eirni's daughters threatened to elope with a man she fell in love with while studying in Larnaka, thus forcing her parents to accept her decision to marry. They feared that an elopement would shame the family. Most women, however, were too fearful to stand against their parents and this was possibly a result of pressure from within the patriarchal family structure, but also relates to notions of *kali yinaika.* Additionally, Loizos (2001: 57) notes that traditionally, women rarely went against parents' wishes, as the latter could then refuse to provide a dowry. In this case, however, failure to provide a dowry would have become the subject of village gossip and the father's status in the community probably thereby diminished, as it would have demonstrated that he could neither control his family nor provide adequately for them. As this case typifies, 'love matches' transgress the ideal of a family approved and controlled marriage.

Overall, men have more avenues to escape unwanted *proxenia*. This was the case for Athamos, whose parents objected to his marriage to a landless girl he had fallen in love with and forced him to become engaged to another woman. To get out of the engagement, Athamos accused his betrothed of not being a virgin and as a result was said to have ruined her reputation.

Semi-arranged Marriages

> I didn't know anyone, not his mother or father, just him and that is why it is a risk when you get engaged and do not know each other. We had only been out two or three times … When you know them only a short period, they show you the good side only. You don't know how he is going to be after. For me it worked out, but for others it doesn't. That is why lots of people divorce. I think they don't have the chance to know one another for a long time and it is only after they marry that they discover the truth [Androniki, trans. from Greek].

In the 1980s, Mylona *et al.* (1986: 28) argued that arranged marriages decreased as a result of education. In Deryneia however, even in the 1990s marriage by *proxenia* was often practised in more subtle ways, which I shall call 'semi-arranged.' Most women I interviewed in Deryneia who married during the 1980s and 1990s, unlike many of their husbands, declared that their marriage was by *proxenia*, or partly so. The case of Christalleni and her husband Sotos depicts these conflicting discourses.

While mentioning that her marriage in the mid-1990s was by *proxenia,* Christalleni was interrupted by her husband, who overhearing our conversation denied his wife's claim. He regarded *proxenia* as an inappropriate word to use today, as it implied that Cypriots were 'backward and uncivilised,' and insisted that in his parents' time *proxenia* implied that children had no say in their betrothal. His rebuttal of Christalleni's account was made on the grounds that they had met independently of their parents and had been out socially before giving *logos*. However, for Christalleni,

as for many women I interviewed, once her parents agreed they could date, she was expected to marry him and after three dates *logos* was given.

Even in the 1990s marriages tended to proceed only with the approval of both families. In Androniki's case, her father-in-law insisted that his son could not wed until they knew more about Androniki's family, as they were not from Deryneia. He visited her local village *kafeneio* and enquired about Androniki's family among the men. When they confirmed that Androniki came from a 'good honourable family' he proceeded to Androniki's house to introduce himself. His second meeting with her family was for *logos*.

Younger people in Deryneia and Melbourne tend to have a negative view of *proxenia*, and most informants asserted that they would only marry a person of their choosing. Among the more educated, it became a symbol of Cyprus' 'backwardness' in comparison with the 'West.'[15] However, in both Melbourne and Deryneia men rejected this terminology more often than women. Many younger Australian Cypriots joked about marriage by *proxenia*, while their counterparts in Cyprus treated it as an embarrassment.

For many women, marriage by *proxenia* is a way of guaranteeing financial security but more importantly their path to becoming *kali yinaika.* As Anthias (1992: 83) notes, women who do not marry are often marginalised. Eleftheria stated:

> Even women who fall in love, just like *proxenia*, they are always forced to marry … The pressure placed on all women gives us no other option. If I had come from another country, I would not have married because truthfully I don't believe in marriage. But in Cyprus there is a lot of pressure [trans. from Greek].

In the past, the only viable alternative was for women to enter a convent. However, although nuns are held in great esteem, parents rarely envisage this for their daughters.

[15] See Argyrou (1996) on Cypriot perceptions of their relationship to the West.

For most women, familial and social pressures, especially prescriptions about *kali yinaika*, allow no option but to marry.

Relationships outside of heterosexual marriages are rarely accepted. For many Cypriots in Melbourne and Deryneia, even de facto relationships are heavily frowned upon, and women in particular gain bad reputations and even bring dishonour on their family by forming such partnerships. The few elderly women I knew who had a child living in a de facto relationship, often told others that their child is married, sometimes claiming that the wedding had been a small civil ceremony, not the ideal, but at least defensible. Even less tolerated are same-sex relationships; couples in Cyprus are forced either to remain closeted or to move abroad, and in Melbourne, same-sex relationships are also rarely acknowledged, let alone approved.[16]

Proxenia in Melbourne

> My four older sisters all had *proxenia.* For me it was an intentional choice to marry another Cypriot. At that time, when my parents organised my *proxenia,* I had a boyfriend, but my family did not think he was suitable and I agreed with their decision … I am very family orientated and felt I was always going to be with someone that came from the same background and could communicate with my parents (Anthea).

Until the 1970s at least, marriage by *proxenia* was common among Cypriots in Melbourne. However, as the Greek Cypriot community was not large, families looked to the broader Greek community to find suitable matches for their children. In Melbourne, women often used the church as a place to seek out potential partners for children. Women with daughters looked for men earning a good wage, preferably white-collar workers (such as lawyers and doctors), occupations that carry great prestige. This was not their criterion for potential daughters-in-law, rather most said

[16] Modinos (2004: 295) argues that most homosexual men (approximately 80 per cent) marry to hide their sexual identities.

they wished for the girl to be of 'good' moral character and speak Greek, in other words, *kali yinaika*.

In the diaspora, women have been instrumental in *proxenia* not only for their children but also for other kin. They were especially active in finding matches for single men in the early years of settlement, particularly if the latter lived in their home. Their marriage and the arrival of a new woman would, it was hoped, alleviate their burden of looking after the men of the household.

Daughters, particularly, were pressured to marry Cypriots. In the late 1960s when Connie announced that she would marry an Australian, after refusing her parents' attempts at *proxenia,* they threatened to disown her. Connie remembers her father pulling his hunting gun on her Anglo-Celtic fiancé when he came to ask for her hand in marriage. Her younger sisters insisted that throughout their teens their sister's decision to marry a *xenos* had caused great tension in the household. In some families these conflicts led to long-lasting feuds. In one case reported to me about the late 1980s, a second generation Cypriot who married an Australian was disowned by her parents. It took a family tragedy five years later to reconcile them.

During the late 1980s children were more successful at vetoing their parents' decisions and many of the second generation rejected their parents' interventions, refusing to be involved in *proxenia*. This shift in the dynamics between children and their parents was a result of greater access to the Australian media and education, particularly for single women, who were also increasingly working outside the home and earning an independent income.[17]

[17] Argyrou (1996: 86-7) found that in Cyprus this shift in power was beginning to take effect as early as the 1940s, particularly as young men's dependence on their fathers gradually diminished as a result of greater education and a trend for younger men to leave their villages for employment.

Dowry/*Proika*[18]

In 1979, dowry in Cyprus was abolished by the church hierarchy (Mylona *et al.* 1986: 27). Up until then marriages by *proxenia* were finalised through a *proikosimfono* (dowry contract) and overseen by a priest who received a fee for his service.[19] Usually, negotiations over the *proikosimfono* occurred at the time of betrothal. It was also not unknown for a *proikosimfono* to be finalised by parents on behalf of children living abroad.[20] Parents not only discouraged the annulment of engagements, for fear of losing honour but also because of potential financial penalties stipulated in the *proikosimfono*. However, the abolition of the *proikosimfono* did not prevent its unofficial continuation.[21]

In Deryneia, dowry and bride-wealth operated simultaneously and unlike in other parts of Cyprus, provision of the nuptial house by the bride's family did not become the norm until the mid-1950s.[22] In the 1940s in Deryneia it was usually the groom's family who built the nuptial house, with both families providing some land. According to informants, houses were built at low cost, using mud, straw and stones

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[18] The standard Greek for dowry is *i proika* (feminine singular); the vernacular derivative *ta proikia* (neuter plural) denotes the movable component of the dowry, that is, the trousseau.

[19] Each family was given a copy of the agreement and one was also kept in the church register.

[20] The archives of the local church, *Panayia*, contain a dowry contract signed in 1950 on behalf of a diasporic Cypriot living in South Africa, by his mother and brother (see Giannoukou 1993: 231). The contract was blessed by the Deryneian priest though the prospective groom was absent (Giannoukou 1993).

[21] I found even before the 1970s, some of the poorest in the village did not have an official contract as an agreement was verbal, as it was after the 1970s.

[22] In Argaki, Loizos (2001) found that after the 1920s it became more typical for the bride to provide the dowry house than the groom. In Deryneia I found that between the mid-1940s and mid-1950s men outnumbered women of marriageable age, which might explain why more grooms provided land and the nuptial home (CCG 1949; CCG 1956b). However, the 1992 census again counts fewer women than men of marriageable age in Deryneia, and it was more common for the bride's family to build the nuptial home (RC 1993). Despite the departure from the national trend for Cyprus, the figures are significant since Deryneians had a tendency to village endogamy at least until the 1950s. While Loizos (2001: 59) is aware that the shift in dowry donation from the groom's to the bride's family did not occur in the same period all over Cyprus, he does caution against looking at population statistics from individual villages, as he says that villages do not operate in isolation. My findings indicate a preference among villagers for marriage partners from the same villager or region, even after the 1950s. The Greek Orthodox Church prohibits marriages between first and second cousins, as well as fictive kin.

collected free of charge from nearby government land. Labour costs were also low as houses tended to be built by the couple and their kin during periods when there was little work to do in the fields. Chrystalla recollected ferrying stones in the winter season with her husband and father to build their house in the mid-1940s. Brothers and sisters often contributed to their siblings' dowry, typically providing materials for the construction of the nuptial house, or animals. Remittances to parents from overseas siblings also went towards dowry and bride-wealth.

By independence, in Deryneia it was more typical for the bride's family to provide the dowry house and the land it was built on, with both the bride's and groom's families providing a small plot of agricultural land, sometimes with fruit trees. Increased land prices and building costs resulted in this shift in dowry practices (Anthias 1992: 85).[23] The exception was immediately after the 1974 war, when few were able to build their daughters a dowry house. Yet even after the 1980s, I found several exceptions, where the dowry house was built on land donated by the groom's family, and in a few cases the house was even built by his family.

Loizos suggests that after the 1920s the shift in some parts of Cyprus from the groom's to the bride's family providing the house was partly due to changing demographics, in which there were more women than men of marriageable age. In effect, women had to entice men to marry them and provision of a dowry house increased their chances of success (Loizos 2001: 59). The decline in dependency on agriculture after independence also meant that for men, education was the most important asset to bring to a marriage, replacing the need to provide a nuptial house (Argyrou 1996; Attalides 1981; Sant Cassia 1982: 652).[24]

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[23] In the 1960s Webster (1999: 24) reported that Cypriots tended to build concrete homes with modern plumbing, at considerable expense.

[24] Attalides' (1981: 142) study in the early 1970s found that the provision of the house by the woman's family was a recent development.

Some people I interviewed claimed that tourism also contributed to changing dowry practices in Deryneia, particularly in the 1980s, when more Deryneian men were marrying foreign women. As Pavlos asserted, 'Because men were marrying *xenes,* local girls' families needed to provide them with a good dowry to make matches with them more attractive.' This is not a convincing argument, though it might have some weight, considering that in the 1980s and early 1990s, several Deryneian men had wed foreigners.

My discussions with Deryneians reveal that in 2001 dowry was still prevalent, typically with the bride's family endowing land, but fewer families were providing daughters with a dowry house. More couples were building their own house, sometimes with the help of both sets of parents, but more often, relying on money given at their wedding by guests, often using it as a deposit to secure a bank loan.[25]

Trousseau/*Proikia*

Older women claimed that even when the groom's family provided the nuptial house, the bride's family usually contributed more by giving household items such as the matrimonial bed, cooking utensils and *proikia* (trousseau). Prior to the 1960s, young unmarried women, with the help of other female kin, spent most evenings working on their *proikia*, which consisted of handmade items such as fine linen, bedding and elaborate lacework that typically took many years to assemble.

Items of the *proikia* were displayed in the interior of the nuptial house and gave women a certain amount of satisfaction, pride and status. In the 1940s, women would 'hang articles of the trousseau round the walls or on ropes about the rooms for inspection by the bridegroom's family and other interested friends' (Hadjicosta 1943: 25). Women's handicrafts were often judged and admired by other women for their

[25] Vassiliadou (1999: 102) argues that weddings are financial incentives to marry.

design and quality. However, not all women could afford to buy or barter for the fine fabrics and threads needed to assemble their *proikia*.

During the 1960s, the traditional *proikia* was gradually replaced by bought items, usually expensive, imported household appliances, usually provided by the bride's family but also given by wedding guests. Items were often displayed in cabinets in the *saloni* and several older women still had their wedding gifts and *proikia* items on display at the time of my fieldwork. By the 1990s, bought items were rarely given and gifts of money became the norm.

The display of items was status-enhancing, and the wealthy were often envied for their modern consumer goods. Unlike with the traditional *proikia*, where women were judged on their handicrafts, bought items had become a symbol of class status. However, the traditional *proikia* was not judged on skill alone, as women needed the means to obtain materials used in their handicrafts in the first place, so even then they were a mark of wealth.

Eleftherios Pavlides and Jana Hesser (1986: 89), in their study of the island village Eressos in Lesvos (Greece), found that after WWII women's contribution to their dowry diminished. Handcrafted items (such as embroidery and crochet work) were increasingly replaced by manufactured items. They argue that modernisation diminished the importance of women's contribution to the household and women became more reliant on men as the money providers (Pavlides & Hesser 1986: 91-93). Although Deryneian women's handicrafts were also devalued, as more women bought readymade items for the *proikia,* it was not the case that they became more dependent on men's wages. The pressure on families with daughters to provide modern furniture and appliances for dowries meant that women increasingly had to work outside the home. Although many unmarried women did not earn an independent wage, they contributed

to their dowry by working on family land, or caring for siblings or livestock (discussed in more detail in Chapter Six).

While the traditional *proikia* has lost value, elderly women in particular still admire each others' handicrafts. Many still display such items in their homes and continue to produce handmade items for their children's or grandchildren's marriage. Middle-aged and younger women, on the whole, are not interested in continuing the practice and although many married women have inherited such heirlooms from their mothers and grandmothers, few display them in their homes. They are nevertheless symbolically valuable and are occasionally shown to others as a symbol of family honour and the maintenance of tradition, a role many see as essential to being *kali yinaika.*

Diasporic Cypriots have also influenced changes in *proikia* and played a role in the move from handicrafts to manufactured goods. Relatives visiting from abroad often brought gifts such as kitchen appliances and other manufactured goods – items either not available in Cyprus or very expensive to purchase. These items were put on display in the home and some women recalled that certain things became highly sought after. In the 1970s, an Australian-made stainless steel electric kettle, 'the Birko' was one such item. It was used on social occasions to make large amounts of Cypriot coffee and to display one's modernity. They became popular in Deryneia and Australian Cypriots visiting Cyprus were often requested to purchase them for kin. At the time of my fieldwork, they were still used and women proudly pointed out how handy they were.

Many women emigrating to Australia brought their *proikia* with them. Georgina refused to leave Cyprus until she had finished collecting all the pieces she needed to make it complete.[26] Several older women also recalled buying *proikia* items for their daughters. In Australia these consisted of manufactured items, such as cutlery, table

[26] In Deryneia, Georgina had spent two years after her marriage adding pieces to her *proikia*.

cloths and bedding. The English term 'glory box' also became interchangeable with *proikia* for younger women. Connie wed in the late 1960s and remembers her mother's reluctance to purchase a *proikia* as family finances were limited. However, as all of Connie's friends had received glory boxes, her mother felt pressured to buy one and spent the next few years paying it off in instalments. Other valuable items, particularly lacework and linen, were collected by first generation women on trips to Cyprus and brought back to Australia for their unwed daughters.

Implications of Dowry

> It was very difficult. We were working lots of hours to build each of our daughters a house. We worked 20 hours a day to pay off our debts … We built all their houses with lots of striving, worrying and hardships. Even when my husband was in his late 60s and had a major heart attack, we still had to work for years after that. But then after some years he had a stroke and I became ill and had an operation. After that we could not work any longer, we were too old and sick [Eirini, trans. from Greek].

In order to build a dowry house, many families were forced into debt and struggled financially for years afterwards. In some cases, parents, like Eirini and her husband, bestowed their own house on their daughter, while they moved to a shed in their field and only later built a small flat behind their old house for themselves.

In theory, a dowry, in so far as it involved property ownership, meant that in law, the land given to the bride by her parents was in her name, thus giving women security, property rights and some degree of independence (Anthias 1992: 85; Sant Cassia 1982: 650; Tsolidis 1995: 123). Anthias (1992: 85) adds that legally a husband could be forced out of the house, although she acknowledges that this was not likely to occur (also see Loizos 2001: 64). But as the case of Kleoniki and Eleftheria demonstrates, women's property ownership in Deryneia did not always guarantee their rights.

On marriage, Kleoniki was given a piece of land by her parents (which had been part of her mother's dowry), but soon after her wedding, in the late 1980s, her husband pressed her to sell it. Kleoniki's mother, not wanting to lose the land, offered her son-in-law money in return for transferring the land back to her name. She wanted to keep the land in their family, in an attempt to salvage some pride and honour, particularly as her husband was not highly regarded in the community after failing to build a dowry house for any of his five married daughters.[27] To buy back the land, Kleoniki's parents took out a loan and were forced into debt. Legally, Kleoniki could have refused to sell the land, but felt powerless to veto her husband's wishes.

In the mid-1980s, during dowry negotiations, Eleftheria's fiancé asked for money to start a business, instead of a dowry house, and Eleftheria's parents agreed without consulting her. They also provided land for the enterprise. Clearly, women were to a large extent regarded as mere exchange objects in dowry negotiations (Anthias 1992: 85).[28] Although the business and land were legally in Eleftheria's name, when they decided to sell the business, she was pressured by her family, especially her father, to sell it to her brother. While her preference was to sell to the highest bidder, she felt obliged to submit to her father's wishes, it was part of her performance as *kali yinaika.* Her husband was not in a position to refuse his father-in-law's request, considering he had provided a generous dowry and it would have been considered greedy to do otherwise. Indeed, dowry and land given on marriage meant that children contracted continuing obligations to their parents.

Although women had always worked for their dowry (discussed in Chapter Six below), in the main they had less control over dowry assets, particularly as they tended not to receive a salary for their farm or household labour. In cases where women built

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[27] The land in question was only a small block and connected Kleoniki's mothers' house to another block of land set aside for Kleoniki's youngest sister's dowry.

[28] Loizos (1975: 65) argues that dowry was another village resource that people competed for, that is, in seeking the best partner for their child, parents inevitably looked for the best economic transaction.

and paid for their dowry house with little if any help from their natal family, they usually exercised more control over these assets.

The Dowry House

Loizos (2001: 62) argues that the importance of land as a dowry asset diminished with decreased dependency on agriculture in Cyprus and thus the house became the most important dowry commodity. In Deryneia, this was only partially the case, as even today it is economically dependent on agriculture. Moreover, the influx of refugees after 1974 increased demand for plots of land for building. Population increase also caused more houses to be built away from the village centre, on land previously set aside for agriculture. In 2001, land prices in Deryneia had risen steeply, partly in response to an influx of foreigners building homes.[29] Many Deryneians still consider land an important asset, and at the time of my fieldwork I found that land ownership conferred status within the community, even if it was not generating an income.

The type of house was also an important symbol of status and standing. As Loizos (2001: 63) demonstrates, Cypriots competed for status via the relative opulence of the dowry house. In Deryneia this was evident not only in the exterior but also the interior of the house. By the 1990s there was a growing trend to build houses with two sitting rooms and two kitchens.[30] One sitting room was used on a daily basis, while the second, referred to as the *saloni,* was rarely used, but was the place in which a visitor of importance, or a first-time visitor, was entertained. The *saloni* is a space where 'the family is on public display' (Dubisch 1993: 275). Thus, it housed the best furniture and was often adorned with religious icons and other valued items. In several older houses

[29] These were mostly retired couples from England who were living in Cyprus for at least a good proportion of each year.

[30] See Charalambous and Peristianis (n.d.) for an insight into the spatial layout of a house and its relationship to ethnic identity in Cyprus.

and also poorer households, a corner of a room was set aside for the best couch or chair and small coffee table. This space was only used for the rare visit of a priest, or someone deemed of high status within the community. The upkeep and decoration of the house is for most women a way to perform their identity as a *kali yinaika.*

Married women often cited the type of house as an index of wealth. It was not uncommon to hear someone say, 'Look how rich she is. She has two kitchens.'[31] Katelou's 30 year-old daughter-in-law had married in the late 1990s, and when I asked why she had two kitchens, she explained that the one at the rear of the house was where all the cooking was done, so that smells would not permeate through the house. The second kitchen, visible from the *saloni,* was only for making guests' coffee, and sometimes the oven and kitchen appliances were used during large social gatherings. The show kitchen was always immaculate and a way for women to make a 'public' display of being 'good housekeepers' (*noikokira* [sing.]). This is perhaps understandable, as Dubisch (1986: 200) suggests, because a clean house reflects a moral woman, an untidy house signifies that she has not properly attended to her duties and might even imply that she is involved in immoral behaviour (this is discussed further in Chapter Six).

For women, having a luxurious house is one way of becoming *kali yinaika.* In Deryneia, even those of modest means strive to have large, luxurious houses and for some this is a strategy to gain acceptance in the community, but in several cases I found that the financial strain to achieve it only led to conflict within the home. Others thought such people were merely overreaching their status and in effect thereby decreasing it because of their thoughtlessness. They were damaging their household, not looking after it.

[31] I am not referring to older houses with an original kitchen in the courtyard and a subsequently installed modern kitchen, but to houses that have been built in the last 15 years by wealthier families.

Dowry in Melbourne

In Australia, dowry was no longer provided by the families of most of my informants, as it took many years, if not decades, to achieve financial security after immigration. Several families even migrated in order to avoid the burden of dowry and bride-wealth. Families did however, help with wedding costs, most of which were generally borne by the brides' families. Some parents also gave large sums of money to their children on marriage and a few gave land. I also met several parents who had contributed towards a deposit for a home loan.

Several Cypriots who emigrated as young adults and married in Australia were endowed with small plots of land on their next visit to Cyprus. In Deryneia, land given to children residing abroad was usually not prime agricultural land (also see Sant Cassia 1982). Others, like Loukia, were given money; her father sent her £200 some years after her wedding, rather than endowing land. Loukia suspected that the money had been saved by her father from remittances made by her and her brothers. In the past decade, parents who gave money or land to children for their wedding no longer considered it a form of dowry or bride-wealth, but viewed it rather as a gift. In Melbourne and Deryneia most informants claimed that it was their way of 'helping the children.'[32]

Lechte and Bottomley argue that the institution of dowry in Greece was not replicated in Australia but was transformed in order to be interwoven into 'existing sociocultural practices in Australia.' For instance, they show that among Australian Greeks, women's educational qualifications have become important for dowry (Lechte & Bottomley 1993: 29). However, this was not so for many Australian Cypriots, among whom women's education was not highly valued, particularly among the first

[32] Just (2000: 226) also found that with improved access to education and modernisation in Greece, his informants rejected the notion of dowry and preferred gifts of money, land or a house from parents (*goniki parohi* [parental provision] is the official term). He says that among the wealthier and better educated, dowry became 'a potent symbol of backwardness.' Furthermore, he found that although the 1985 family law changed dowry, it was not abolished.

generation that came before 1974 (discussed in Chapter Five). The educational qualification of girls was secondary to other considerations.

Marrying Foreigners

Buy a shoe from your own country though it be mended (Stylianou 1931: 94).

Traditionally villagers preferred to marry within the village, a practice typical across Cyprus as echoed in this old Cypriot proverb, advising men to marry women from their own village. The ideal was to marry another villager of the same status (also see Webster 1999: 5). Marrying within the village had economic advantages, particularly in terms of agricultural land. However, to avoid marrying someone connected by 'blood' villagers often had to look outside the village, with a preference for partners from within the Famagusta region. It was not uncommon for parents to find matches for their children through business contacts, for example, while trading at the Varosha market.

Marriages to people from other countries were often frowned upon. In the 1980s, Despina's son married a *xeni* and later divorced.[33] Despina recalled:

> At the time it was a big scandal in the village … Now things have changed and there are a lot of people in similar situations … People still talk about it, but now there are many people divorcing because these girls are from other countries. Their habits and customs are too different for it to work. Well, usually these sorts of marriages break up [trans. from Greek].

The information I collected from my informants suggests that a high proportion of inter-marriages ended in divorce, particularly when the couple resided in Deryneia. I learned of at least five men who had previously married foreigners but are now divorced, and all

[33] Typically Deryneian men who married non-Cypriots met their partner while working or studying abroad or working in the tourist industry in Cyprus. In 2003 there were 6,912 civil marriages in Cyprus but only one per cent of civil marriages were between Cypriots. The records showed 81.8 per cent were between foreigners, most of who do not reside in Cyprus and 3.1 per cent were Cypriot women marrying foreigners, while 14.1 per cent were of Cypriot men marrying foreigners (RC 2004b).

had remarried Cypriots. I only knew of one Deryneian woman living in a major town who was about to marry a British man, although some had previously had relationships with foreigners. This was the case of Eleftheria, who claimed that parental pressure ended the relationship, even though her brother had married a *xeni*.

Foreign women married to Cypriots can face many obstacles. As explained in Chapter Three, some whom I met in Deryneia said that they were often treated as 'outsiders' by the community and their husband's family.[34] Several of these women were divorced but remained in Cyprus for their children's sake. However, a few were readily accepted into their husband's family and said they had adjusted to village life without much difficultly.

Attitudes to Inter-marriage in Melbourne

> My son wanted to marry an Australian girl but I wanted him to marry someone like us, from a family like mine. I told him it was better to take a girl who talks the same language, then we could speak together. Well, he told me he would think about it, but after we talked and talked, he wouldn't change his mind (Georgina).

Melbourne Cypriots also prefer their children to marry other Cypriots, but as the community has become less close-knit over the decades, the pressure has become less intense than in Deryneia, where it is almost impossible to escape 'public' gossip and daily coercion. Today, the Melbourne Cypriot community has had to accept that members of the second and third generations are more likely to marry non-Cypriots.

In Melbourne, gender influences the degree of acceptance of inter-marriage.

[34] I met a few non-Cypriot women via women informants. I also met some at the Greek language school I attended during my stay in Cyprus. Zinovieff's (1991: 218) work on tourism in Greece also found that foreign wives are treated as outsiders for the rest of their lives.

Typically, older women are more accepting when sons married a *xeni*.[35] Many Deryneians espouse primordialist theories of ethnicity, where identity is seen as predetermined by bloodline, but more specifically male bloodline. As du Boulay (1986: 139) argues, traditionally, Greeks believed that women are polluted by menstrual blood and the blood of child birth. Thus the only 'true way' to be Greek Cypriot is to have 'pure' blood, which can only come from men. Yet contrary to this, Cypriot women are seen as the carriers of ethnicity, 'culture' and language (see Anthias 1992).[36] On many occasions, women themselves insisted that it is a woman's 'duty' as *kali yinaika* to teach her children language and 'culture' and thus, they stressed, it is more important for Cypriot women to marry other Cypriots.

Deryneian Weddings

Before the 1960s, wedding celebrations in Deryneia were often elaborate affairs spanning a period of a week, but today celebrations usually are completed in a day.[37] I do not intend to examine in detail Cypriot wedding rituals as they have been documented elsewhere, most notably in Argyrou's (1996) ethnography which focuses on weddings as 'rites of distinction.'[38] He analyses rituals that take place before, during and after the church wedding ceremony (usually over in an hour) known as the

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[35] From 1965 to 1979, only 25 per cent of Cyprus-born people in Australia married non-Cypriots or Greeks, but the second generation have tended to marry out more (Price 1988: 553).

[36] Paradoxically, until 2000, persons of Greek Cypriot parentage born and living overseas were eligible for Cypriot citizenship only if their father was born in Cyprus, a mother born in Cyprus was insufficient. This was the case in my family. My cousins who have a Cyprus-born father and a non-Cypriot mother obtained Cypriot passports, whereas I could not, as only my mother is Cypriot.

[37] Argyrou (1996: 10) says that traditionally, wedding celebrations occurred over five days and this changed to one day after the 1930s. However, my informants' accounts indicate that in Deryneia traditional weddings were still occurring in the 1950s, although during times of political upheaval wedding celebrations were shortened (discussed in Chapter One).

[38] For a detailed account of wedding celebrations, see Argyrou (1996); Averof (1986); Hadjicosta (1943); Markides *et al.* (1978); Webster (1987, 1999).

stefanoman (crowning with wedding garlands).[39] Here, I describe some key differences that I found in rituals performed by Deryneians compared with those documented by Argyrou. In particular, I foreground the significance of wedding rituals performed by women outside the church and draw out issues of gender that Argyrou only touches on. These rituals are essential to discourses of *kali yinaika* and are also important in highlighting how rituals are transformed in the diaspora.

The rituals I examine were referred to by informants as *ethima prin ton gamo* (traditions before the wedding), performed at the couple's family homes before the *stefanoman*. The rituals began with 'the changing of the bride', followed by the 'shaving of the groom.' On completion of both rituals the *kapnisman* (smoking denotes purification ritual) was performed by the prospective mothers-in-law. I discuss this ritual in more detail in Chapter Seven; what follows is a brief description of some rituals performed at Nina's wedding in Deryneia in 2001 whose significance I then analyse.

The Bride's Rituals[40]

The first ritual sequence centred on the bride and took place at her parents' home. It was conducted in the *saloni*, where a large crowd including relatives, friends and neighbours of the bride had gathered, many of whom were forced to stand outside on the front balcony (adjacent to the *saloni*). Throughout the ritual women vied for a position inside, while men mostly stood outside and smoked cigarettes.

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[39] For an in-depth description of the crowning ceremony performed in Cyprus, see Argyrou (1996). It involves the priest placing two crowns (connected by a ribbon) on the bride's and groom's heads three times. The priest performs both engagement and marriage rituals (see Machin 1983: 116). In the early 1970s in the village Philia, Webster (1999: 25) found that the engagement ring was the same ring given at the wedding. Most women informants I interviewed had two rings. However, while the engagement and exchange of rings can be a free-standing ritual, it is also repeated as a formal part of the wedding ceremony and the same rings are blessed and exchanged again.

[40] Neither bride nor groom attended each other's rituals, but in-laws, kin and friends attended both.

After dressing and having her hair and make-up done, the bride Nina made her entrance and sat in the centre of the living room (see Figure 19). The bride's parents stood on her right-hand side, while her maternal grandmother was seated on a chair in front of her (that is, facing her). To the bride's left sat two musicians, a violinist and lute player, who performed throughout the ritual (see Figures 20a, 20b).[41] The musicians were occasionally accompanied by a singer. In this case, the singer was a male scout member, as both the bride and the groom had also been scouts.

The first sequence of the ritual began after the bride was seated. Argyrou (1996: 65) refers to this as the *zosimon* rite. It involves the tying and untying of a red-purple *mandili* (scarf) around the waist of the bride. The bride's mother began the sequence, tying and untying the *mandili* around her daughter's waist three times, her last action leaving the *mandili* tied. The bride's father then followed, repeating his wife's action, but finishing by leaving the *mandili* untied. During the ritual the bride often cried and on several occasions had her mascara retouched.

The second sequence of the ritual involved the bride's *koumera* (matron of honour) performing a dance in front of the bride. She did this while holding a large flat, straw *panera* (basket), that held the bride's veil and wedding crown. The dance involves turning in a full circle three times, and at each turn the *panera* is motioned towards the bride. The *panera* was then passed on to the bride's sisters and a few close female kin who also performed the dance (see Figure 21). Five women partook in the dancing sequence.

The final ritual, the *kapnisman,* was performed by the mother of the bride using a silver censer made specifically for weddings (see Figure 22). She moved the smouldering censer high in the air so that the smoke reached all of those present.

[41] During the ritual, men came into the room to place £10 notes in a plate at the feet of the musicians.

Figure 19 A bride in Deryneia seated in the *saloni*, 2001 (Photograph by author)

Figure 20a Musicians at pre-wedding rituals in Deryneia, 2001
(Photograph by author)

Figure 20b Musicians and bride seated, 2001
(Photograph by author)

Figure 21 Women's pre-wedding dance with the *panera*, Deryneia, 2001 (Photograph by author)

Figure 22 A groom's mother performing the *kapnisman* at the pre-wedding rituals, Deryneia, 2001 (Photograph by author)

Finally, she circled the censer three times over the bride's head, signalling that the ritual was concluded.[42] Guests then went to the back of the house for savouries and drinks.

During the rituals, an elderly aunt (whose deceased father was a priest) of the bride's father, alerted Charalambos (the bride's father) that they were not performing the ritual correctly. Charalambos responded by turning to his mother-in-law, who quietly disagreed, and the ritual continued. Women often disputed among themselves about how rituals should be performed, even during their performance. The aunt's interference was well-intended, as she was attempting to protect her nephew (whose father and mother were deceased) and his family's reputation by ensuring that the rituals were performed by the women in 'the correct way,' so that no-one in the neighbourhood could say otherwise. Charalambos' wife and mother-in-law, however, were not from Deryneia, which explained some of the differences outlined by the elderly aunt, since rituals differ slightly between villages.[43]

On completion of the bride's rituals family, friends and the musicians travelled to the groom's village, without the bride, where the next sequence of the wedding rituals was performed for him.

The Groom's Rituals

The rituals known as the 'shaving of the groom' took place at the groom's parents' house. The shaving is done by a local barber, but in most cases that I witnessed, this was merely a mock shave.[44] The mock shave is a way to uphold tradition and as Argyrou (1996: 116) says, it is symbolically important to capture this on wedding

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[42] From videos of weddings in the 1990s, I noticed that at some wedding rituals rosewater was then sprayed in the room apparently as a way to say thank you to guests.

[43] Charalambos' wife was a refugee from a village in the Turkish area of Famagusta.

[44] The barber covers the groom's face with shaving cream and then takes up his razor, but does not shave the groom. His face is usually wiped with a towel after the charade has finished.

videos. All such videos I have viewed indeed record this event and give it prominence. After the shaving was complete, the *koumbaros* (best man) carried the *panera* with the groom's shoes and jacket and assisted him to dress. The *zosimon* ritual then followed and was performed as at the bride's ritual, thus the *mandili* was tied and untied around the groom's waist by his parents three times each. The ritual concluded with the groom's mother performing the *kapnisman* ritual (again performed in much the same way as at the bride's house), and then appetisers and drinks were served to guests.

The *kapnisman* is performed by the bridal couples' mothers to protect them from evil spirits. It is posited that if somebody present feels envious or jealous towards the couple, then the couple will be cursed, and thus it is left to the mother to protect her child. I was told several stories of times when the couple had been thus cursed, and their ongoing bad luck was attributed to this.

The Red *Mandili*

> Nowadays the *mandili* is always red, but when I married [in the mid-1940s] it wasn't necessarily red. I wore my best blue one, the same type we wore when we worked in the fields. I could not afford another, a red one [Chrystalla, trans. from Greek].

A week after Nina's wedding, I asked her and her mother why the *mandili* was typically a hue of red. Neither knew its significance, but called over some neighbouring women to assist with my questions. They could not explain why it was always a red hue either, but later, when the bride's father arrived, he claimed that it is a symbol of the virgin bride. Nina replied laughing, 'Of course it does not happen these days, as after the engagement the couple sleep together.' Older women in Melbourne told me that red is a symbol of fertility or happiness, while Georgina insisted that it replicates the one that the *Panayia* (Virgin Mary) wore.

Several women said that the *mandili* became red only after the 1940s. It is also possible that by the 1950s the colour became more significant, when the *parthenia* ritual in which the nuptial sheets are inspected for blood, began to die out. The red *mandili* might be a substitute, symbolically evoking the bride's virginity.[45]

According to Deryneians, tying the *mandili* three times represents the Holy Trinity of God the father, the Holy Spirit and Jesus. It also signifies the parents' releasing of their children, a rite of passage into adulthood. Most women explained that this is why the bride often cries during the *zosimon* rite, as she is sad at having to leave her parents' home. Some added that she is mourning the loss of her single status.

The *zosimon* rite is public recognition of a child's passage into adulthood. It also signals recognition of the parents' role in successfully leading their child to this stage of their life. The mother's performance during the *zosimon* rite symbolises that she has protected her daughter's honour and upheld her responsibilities as a mother, a display of *kali yinaika.* The bride's father final act in untying the *mandili* is said to symbolise his giving responsibility for his daughter's welfare to the groom. At the groom's *zosimon,* when his parents finally untie the *mandili*, it signifies their recognition that their son has entered manhood and is ready to make his own household.

Following the *zosimon* rite, a dance begins with the *koumera* or *koumbaros* holding the *panera*. According to most women, it is customary for three people to dance with the *panera* in order to represent the Holy Trinity. However, when I told women that I had observed this dance performed on several occasions by five people they replied it was the same, and a few suggested that this is to include the *Panayia*. In Melbourne, some older women were of the view that only married women could join in the dance, but in Deryneia this was not so.

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[45] Possibly there is a link to Jewish tradition; according to anthropologist Sered (1991: 139), Saint Rachel, one of most revered women saints in the Jewish tradition, had a red string said to be an amulet for pregnancy and easy delivery at child birth.

Wedding Songs

The sequence of the *zosimon* that I witnessed in Deryneia was somewhat different to what Argyrou found in his fieldwork in Pafos and Nicosia. Probably this is a result of regional differences. For example, he found that the ritual began with the musicians calling the bride's father 'to come and do the *zosimon* to give her his blessing and deliver her' (Argyrou 1996: 65). In the oral accounts that I collected of weddings dating between the 1940s and the 2000s, all insisted that the mother goes first. Eirini recalled that at her daughter's wedding the musicians first summoned her with, 'Call her mother to come and dress her, to give her blessing and to give her to someone else.' And after the mother had completed her ritual they sang:

> Call her father to come and undo her
> And to give her blessings
> And to pass her over
> To hand her over to her husband

In 2001, at the pre-wedding rituals I witnessed, the bride's mother started the *zosimon*, followed by the bride's father. The central role and status that Cypriot mothers have in their community is emphasised in their role in opening and concluding the rituals, though this is not to say the father's role is unimportant, particularly as he finally 'releases' his child, symbolically represented by untying the *mandili* for the final time.

At most weddings I attended in Deryneia it was an older woman who sang. However, accounts of informants suggest that the gender of the singer is irrelevant, and the singer is chosen only for their good voice. For example, in 1955 Anthi's brother sang at her wedding rituals.

Wedding songs vary according to the singer. During the groom's rituals they typically announce his passage into adulthood, his new responsibility as a husband and sometimes include references to his past successes in life. Songs at both the bride's and groom's rituals also include verses about the loss the parents must now suffer. The

bride's wedding songs typically include words of admiration for the bride and herald her passage into adulthood, as shown by the following verses of a song performed at Eirini's youngest daughter's wedding in the mid-1990s:

> *Panayia* dress her beautifully
> And put her veil on
> Because we are going to give her away
> The bride's dress
> The angels have sown it for her.
> And on her left you can write her husband's name.

Songs to the bride usually make reference to future children, as reflected in Chrystalla's recollection of a song sung at her wedding in the 1940s.

> There is beautiful Chrystalla,
> Like a chandelier hanging at Agios Anastasios
> We hope the couple will live happily and with children.
> We hope that they will have a long and happy life.
> We hope that they will always be blessed.

For Cypriot women, marriage is a step towards fulfilment as *kali yinaika* and the ultimate goal of motherhood. During my fieldwork, I was often asked why I was childless, since my partner and I had been together for many years. My response was to say I was waiting to finish my studies and this seemed partially to satisfy those who were more willing to accept my differences as an outsider. Most of my informants, however, found it difficult to understand that a woman might choose not to have a child.

Within the first few years of marriage most women have their first child and those who do not come under relentless pressure from kin to have one quickly. Infertility is often blamed on the woman and relationships can be severely strained as a result. Few Cypriot families entertain the idea of adoption. In 2001 I knew only one Deryneian family who had adopted a child.[46]

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[46] In 2000, 61 adoptions were processed through the Cypriot court (RC 2000). The parents of three of my older Deryneian informants had been adopted in the late 1800s. One was a girl of 14 years, adopted after her parents died; although the details were sketchy, it seems that she was employed as a servant before being adopted. Her adoptive parents could not have children and had previously also adopted a young boy, but his history was unknown. The boy and girl later married each other.

Cypriot Wedding Rituals in Australia

In Australia, wedding rituals such as the *zosimon* have been maintained among some second and third generation informants. However, many women who emigrated before the 1970s as young adults and married in Australia, usually did not perform the *zosimon* rites. In most cases, this was because their parents were not in Australia to perform it, although some who did have this ritual had other kin stand in for their parents.

Several second generation women also reported that their mothers' memories were sketchy when it came to the performance of the ritual. A number of married women claimed that after watching wedding videos of kin in Cyprus they realised that their mothers had not performed the ritual in the 'correct way.' The difference was usually about how the *mandili* was placed around the waist. In some cases, it had not been tied around the waist but simply placed there symbolically and then taken away. Another difference was that several people (not just the mother and father) placed the *mandili* around the bride's waist. This was possibly a result of regional variations, as Argyrou (1996: 65) reports that in some areas of Cyprus it was performed by parents as well as other close relatives, and in Melbourne, Deryneians had incorporated different traditions from regions of Cyprus into their practices. For those who performed it in Melbourne, it became an important way of expressing Cypriot identity, which is possibly why more people were included in the ritual. In other words, it is not only about the couple and their parents, but also symbolises an identity, a collective one, beyond the family, that is, Cypriots who have maintained their tradition in a foreign land.

Typically, second generation Cypriot men who married non-Cypriots did not perform the mock shaving ritual, whereas second generation women married to non-Cypriots were more likely to partake in at least some of the wedding rituals. Most second and third generation informants who have married in the last 10 years, told me

that it was their decision whether or not to perform the wedding rituals. Those married between the 1960s and 1980s were more likely to have been pressured by parents, especially mothers, to maintain the tradition.

Virginity Rites

In the opening of this chapter, I suggested that the *parthenia* ritual was commonly practiced in Deryneia until the 1940s.[47] Argyrou (1996) notes that pre-1930, the sheets were displayed in public, but between the 1930s and the 1950s, were only shown in private to close kin. He attributes the ritual's decline to the diminishing authority parents had over their children as a result of educational shifts and modern ideas. Georgina claimed that during the 1940s in Deryneia only female kin of the groom viewed the sheets and added, 'It was not very nice but that was the system then. And if there was no blood they would demand a divorce.' Several Deryneian women claimed that by the 1950s the ritual was rarely practiced as very few women were virgins on marriage.

While the *parthenia* ritual is rarely practiced in Cyprus, a woman's virginity before marriage is still seen as important by some, and it is not unheard of for women to have a colporrhaphy (the stitching of the hymen, known in Greek as 'the stitching of the virgin') before they wed. According to a gynaecologist interviewed by Vassiliadou (1999: 117), this was widespread in Cyprus during the 1970s and 1980s. I did not find cases of it among my informants, but in Australia a second generation woman who worked in a Melbourne hospital in the western suburbs during the 1980s, claimed that

[47] For more insight, see Argyrou (1996) who has analysed the ritual in great detail.

every week, a woman of Greek background came in for the procedure, although how many of these were Cypriot is unknown.[48]

In Melbourne, some Cypriots continued the *parthenia* ritual after emigration. However, many first generation Cypriots who married in Australia during the 1940s-60s, usually migrated without parents and so there was often nobody in the family who was interested in viewing the sheets. This was the case for Ellen, who married in Melbourne in the mid-1960s. However, the day after her wedding some older Cypriot women suggested the sheets be inspected, but she was thankful that her husband's family had not asked to look, although she added, 'My sister-in-law did ask my husband whether everything was in order.'

While I could only find a few cases of the performance of the *parthenia* ritual in Melbourne in the 1950s and 1960s, some said that by the 1970s it had been revived and several second generation women informants said they had witnessed it in the early 1980s.[49]

A few second generation women who had participated in the ritual did so in an effort to uphold family tradition and honour. However, most Cypriots I spoke to in the early 2000s were not upholding the tradition, which was why Cathy was so surprised when her niece, a third generation Cypriot, was preparing to have it done to her. Cathy added:

> My niece was concerned about the ritual as obviously she already had intimate relations, but my mother-in-law assured her not to worry as she said she would take care of it.

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[48] Bottomley (1974: 10) also notes that in Sydney this occurred among Greek Australians and reports a gynaecologist saying that fathers even asked him to certify in writing that their daughters were virgins.

[49] I also recall having seen the ritual as a young teenager in the early 1980s.

Nowadays, many who observe the custom simply stain the sheets with food dye or animal blood. Cathy's niece ended up not performing the *parthenia* ritual as her mother-in-law convinced the groom's mother that it was unnecessary.

For some Cypriots however, upholding traditions no longer practised in the homeland is a way of asserting cultural identity and distinguishing themselves from 'Australians.' Additionally, some women said it was part of their performance as *kali yinaika* in Australia.

Contemporary Weddings

According to Argyrou (1996: 72), weddings in the 1930s were a form of male competition.[50] A lavish wedding reflected the social status of the father of the bride and his family, since he usually financed the celebrations. My informants' accounts suggested that this continues to be so, although as Argyrou notes, the way status is now demonstrated has changed. For example, he says that today the upper classes distinguish themselves by having 'champagne weddings,' small intimate affairs compared with large, raucous, village weddings (Argyrou 1996). In Deryneia, class distinctions are made but in different ways. Eleftheria, who married in the mid-1980s, claimed that her father used the occasion to advertise the opening of his new business in the tourist area:

> My father said we should have the reception outside in the parking lot, so we could use it to advertise the business as well. I didn't want this, but my husband just agreed with everything my parents said.

[50] In the 1920s Surridge (1930: 25 and 73) found that people went to great lengths to hold extravagant weddings, although many could not afford it.

Connie recalled that during her visit to Deryneia in the early 1990s, buses of tourist were ferried to Deryneia to view a 'real Cypriot village' wedding. She described it as a way for newly-weds to make money,[51] because tourists typically feel compelled to donate generously to the new couple.

Weddings are also a form of female competition, as mothers vie for prestige, especially in the preparation of food. For example, in the 1990s, the bridal couple's mothers, with the assistance of women kin, often went to great lengths in the preparation of food for the wedding feast. By the late 1990s food was rarely made by women kin, but was contracted to local caterers. For many women, not having to cook became seen as status-enhancing. In the early 2000s, the wedding feasts I attended in Deryneia were buffet style, but the quality and types of food served were still a point of discussion among women.

Weddings were important social occasions, but attendance was also part of reciprocal relations between villagers.[52] In Deryneia most of the neighbourhood was invited, as well as family and friends from around Cyprus and abroad (see Figures 23a, 23b).[53]

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[51] Re-enactments of traditional Cypriot weddings have taken place at Apostolos Andreas in Melbourne and are largely a way for the Cypriot community to celebrate their traditions (see *Neos Kosmos* 8 December 2005: 17).

[52] In the early 2000s, most Deryneians held wedding parties at one of the two main reception halls in the village. Immediately after the 1974 war, many receptions were held in restaurants, usually attended only by family and close friends. Women who remarried also usually celebrated their weddings in this way.

[53] Before the mid-1990s, invitations were usually hand-delivered by either bride or groom and a family member. At the time of my fieldwork, a person was employed to deliver invitations in surrounding neighbourhood's post boxes; usually only close friends and family received hand-delivered invitations. Platis (1995: 84) reports that in Deryneia in the early 20th century, the groom's parents would visit each house in the village a week before the wedding and offer a candle by way of invitation.

Figure 23a Women seated at a wedding in Deryneia, 2001
(Photograph by author)

Figure 23b Women dancing at a wedding in Deryneia, 2001
(Photograph by author)

Many villagers, however, only attended to give their greetings to the bridal party and a monetary gift. A representative of each family would present an envelope bearing the family name, containing a gift of money for either the bride or groom (depending on the degree of acquaintance).[54] During the wedding season, many Deryneians attend at least two weddings every weekend in Deryneia and surrounding villages.[55]

Kin in both the homeland and the diaspora send wedding invitations to one another and occasionally these are accepted. An official wedding photograph of the couple is also sent to relatives. In Melbourne, I have visited homes where women displayed numerous wedding photographs of nieces and nephews and their children, even if they had never met them.

In Melbourne, weddings were not as large, but still often involved 200 to 300 invited guests. Unlike their counterparts in Deryneia, guests were expected to indicate in advance their intention to attend or not. Wedding receptions were usually held at reception halls, often run by Greeks or Cypriots. As in Cyprus, weddings are an opportunity for the competitive display of Cypriot hospitality. Cypriot weddings in Melbourne are also influenced by the traditions of the broader Australian community. That is, a sit-down, three-course meal is served at individual tables. At a wedding I attended in 2000 in Melbourne, a second generation Cypriot (whose father was Cypriot) married an Asian Australian, and they hired Cypriot musicians for the night. The bridal couple had taken Greek dance classes prior to their wedding.

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[54] In the 1940s, Hadjicosta (1943: 26) noted that wedding gifts included money or expensive cloth and silk handkerchiefs. I was told that until the early 1980s couples were more likely to receive household items as gifts from their guests than money. In the 1970s, for example, gifts were mostly aluminium items such as pots and pans. In the 2000s, gifts were predominately money. I attended several weddings at which the envelopes were immediately placed in a portable safe. At some of the weddings I attended, approximately 25,000 Cypriot pounds were collected, part of which went towards the cost of the wedding, with the remainder set aside for the couple's house. At the time, one Cyprus pound was approximately three Australian dollars.

[55] Most weddings take place between July and October and rarely do weddings occur during the religious period of Lent. People also avoid marrying in a Leap year as it is said to be unlucky (Vassiliadou 1999: 87).

In Melbourne, a popular tradition among Cypriots is the bridal dance in which money is pinned on the couple. In Deryneia this also occurs, but money is pinned on the newly-weds only by immediate kin, whereas in Melbourne it is done by all guests, kin and non-kin.

Wedding Crowns

On death, a married person is buried with his or her wedding crown. It was heart-wrenching when Georgina's husband died and she broke open the wooden box that had stored her and her husband's wedding crowns since their marriage in the mid-1940s. She had brought the box with her when she emigrated to Australia. As she cut the ribbon that connected the two crowns, she wept and reflected on her life with a man her parents had chosen for her to wed. Like so many older women I spoke to, she said that although she was married by *proxenia,* over time she had learned to 'love' her husband. That day, Georgina's husband's crown was placed in his coffin and when she dies, hers will be placed in her coffin.[56]

Traditionally, wedding crowns were stored in a handmade wooden box with a glass frame and hung on a wall of the newly-weds' home, usually in the bedroom (see Figures 24a, 24b). However, I found several informants who did not have wedding crowns because at the time of their wedding, they had been poor and obliged to borrow them from kin. Other women, like Despoulla, who fled her home during the 1974 war, left behind her wedding crowns, believing she would return one day. For many refugee women, family photographs and wedding crowns were the most lamented of abandoned items.

[56] My grandmother has on several occasions reminded me that if her children forget, then I am responsible for making sure that she is buried with her crown.

Figure 24a Wedding crowns in wooden box
on the couple's bedroom wall, Deryneia 2002
(Photograph by author)

Figure 24b Wedding crowns and photograph in
wooden box, Deryneia, 2002
(Photograph by author)

In Melbourne and Deryneia the younger generations do not usually have their wedding crowns framed in wooden boxes, but rather keep them in the plastic boxes they came in and store these in display cabinets or cupboards. In the case of Georgina's three children who married non-Cypriots, their crowns were on display in their plastic boxes in a glass cabinet at her Melbourne home.

The importance of marriage is also expressed in other death practices. On the death of her husband, a Deryneian woman immediately wears black and is likely to spend the rest of her life so attired unless she remarries. In general, I found that a widow who did not continue to wear black in public is treated with contempt. While men also wear black after their wife's death, in most cases they return to ordinary clothes after several years of mourning.[57]

In both Melbourne and Deryneia informants asserted that the length of time a person wears black is an individual choice and I was frequently told that people 'do whatever they feel.'[58] During a conversation with Anthea and her mother Androulla, a widow of thirty years, Anthea expressed disapproval of her mother always wearing black, whereupon Androulla replied:

> When you lose your husband, the happiness and enthusiasm has been taken. You don't want to go and buy nice clothes with colours in them. You don't want to wear beautiful clothes anymore. You prefer to wear black … Well, I feel comfortable wearing black. I just don't want to wear anything different [trans. from Greek].

It became evident to me that Cypriot widows feel community pressure to remain clothed in black. Not all, however, yield to the pressure. My neighbour in Deryneia was widowed at the age of 40 and though she hated wearing black, did so for a year. Other neighbours said she returned to her ordinary clothes too soon, which was disrespectful

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[57] Parents also wear black after the loss of a child.

[58] According to my informants, it is mandatory to wear black for 40 days after the death of a loved one, as the soul is said to take this long to ascend from the earth.

to her deceased husband and his family, and thus she was not performing her duty as *kali yinaika*. In Melbourne, Connie, (who migrated to Australia as a child) also did not wear black for long after her husband's death and maintains that Cypriots often interpreted this as a sign that she had been unhappy with her husband because he was a *xenos*.

While wearing black symbolises mourning, it has also been a way to suppress women's sexuality (du Boulay 1974: 123; Hirschon 1989: 108).[59] Black is seen as not sexually enticing and thus is a way for women to avoid the expression of their sexuality. In some ways, a widow also thereby loses part of her own identity, as she is no longer considered a sexual being. Yet paradoxically she also gains more freedom of movement, as unlike many married women, who only went out with their husbands or with their approval, widows need not account to a man.

Divorce

Family and community pressures often give Cypriot women little alternative but to stay in marriages against their will. As Eleftheria said, 'in a village like Deryneia, if you divorce, everyone will know and everyone will talk about it and it could make your life very difficult.' Fear of not conforming to discourses of *kali yinaika,* especially the responsibility to uphold family honour, weighs heavily on women and can keep them in

[59] Juliet Du Boulay (1974) argues that women are seen as weak and sensual beings who lack self-control, and it is therefore up to their male kin to look out for them. Widows, however, no longer have the protection of their husband and therefore become a threat to the community.

unhappy marriages. Divorced men are not as stigmatised as women, as there is usually an underlying assumption that the woman was to blame for the divorce. [60]

As a consequence of her divorce in 1989, the natal family of Kleoniki were treated as outcasts. Kleoniki told me that when other villagers found out that she was divorcing her husband, women in particular strenuously advised her to stay with him. For these women, divorce was incompatible with *kali yinaika.* Kleoniki said her maternal aunts also tried to dissuade her, although they knew that on several occasions she had been hospitalised after beatings. Even her maternal uncle accused her of shaming the whole family and has rarely spoken to her since.

Kleoniki's divorce affected her natal family members to different degrees, but the consequences for her mother, Anna, were most brutal in terms of village gossip (discussed further in Chapter Seven). Anna's brother and some of her sisters blamed her for her daughter's divorce and the ensuing dishonour to the family. Others in the village also blamed Anna's father for the divorce. They said his failure to provide a dowry for his daughter led to her failed marriage. Although it was over 10 years since her divorce, villagers still spoke about it and on a number of occasions I was told to avoid the family as they were 'not a good family.' Of the few Deryneian women to leave their husbands, one informant, having endured an abusive marriage for many years, found community gossip unbearable and moved to a big city. Cypriots in Melbourne also view divorce unfavourably and for the older generation in particular, the divorce of their children causes great embarrassment and dishonour.

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[60] In 1990, civil marriage was introduced in Cyprus; before then Greek Cypriots could only seek a divorce through the church courts. Under Orthodox Canon Law (Article 225) divorce was justified if the wife was found not to be a virgin on her wedding night (Vassiliadou 1999: 105). Another condition under which a man could file for divorce under church law was if his wife spent a night away from him with non-kin (CSRC 1975: 13). Women could not get a divorce for these same reasons. The church was against the introduction of civil marriage and state divorce, and went to great lengths to have the law quashed. The church even threatened to excommunicate all MPs who supported the legislation (Cyprus High Commission 1989).

Affairs and Innuendo

Soon after her marriage in the late 1990s, Marilena's past relationships became the subject of gossip among kin and others in the neighbourhood. Her husband was made aware of the gossip through his women kin and responded by attempting to limit Marilena's movements. She remarked, 'he was jealous. He would not let me go out. He would not let me dress up.' Her husband's actions and those of his women kin only made her more determined to defy him.

Her husband's kin feared for his honour and their own, and relayed their concerns to him in the hope that Marilena would act in accordance with their notions of *kali yinaika.* For women in the neighbourhood, gossip was a conduit for discourses of *kali yinaika,* but also a strategy for exerting a certain amount of power over others (see Kibria 1990). With Marilena, their strategy was not wholly successful, although it triggered some changes. The rumours about Marilena's sexual relationships caused one of her closest friends, Kleoniki (also Marilena's husband's first cousin), to avoid her. On my return visit to Cyprus in 2003, I found that Kleoniki had almost severed ties with Marilena after it was rumoured that she was having an affair. Kleoniki was still trying to regain community acceptance after her divorce and friendship with Marilena could jeopardise her claims to be *kali yinaika*. Marilena's case also reveals how gossip not only acted as a form of social control, but was also used to maintain gendered social relations, including by women themselves.

Despite changes to the marriage process over the last decades, the importance of it for a woman's path to *kali yinaika* has not largely changed. Marriage is still seen by most Cypriots as the ideal path to adulthood and life fulfilment. Community surveillance and sexual control have gradually changed but primordial definitions of what a woman is remain very much in place. For most of my women informants, whether in Deryneia or Melbourne, marriage is the way to become *kali yinaika* and is

essential for reproduction. Nevertheless, there is some evidence that ideas about what it is to be *kali yinaika* are changing among the younger generations.

In the next two chapters, I focus on women's education and work practices, and explore how these fit in with the idea of *kali yinaika.* I examine how the modernisation of Cyprus and immigration to Australia have led to a transformation of these practices, and therefore affected women's everyday lives. My aim is to further highlight women's agency.

Chapter Five

Educational Practices of Cypriot Women

In 2001, while I was helping Katelou to pack strawberries at her family farm in Deryneia, she confided that although she had only completed elementary school, she had always dreamed of going to university, like her daughter. When I asked if she would consider returning for further education she laughed, saying that she was too old and that studying would remain a dream. 'It is different in Australia, Australians are lucky. They have easy access to universities. It is not like in Cyprus where it is much more competitive.'

A year later, in Melbourne, Katelou's niece Connie told me that in Cyprus education was not valued except as a means of status acquisition: 'Education is a way to compare one's child to another and boast about a family's achievements.' She added that one of the reasons her mother and husband emigrated to Australia in the late 1940s was to give their children a better education, hoping that they would avoid a farmer's life. For Connie's parents, this meant prioritising the education of their sons, which she claimed was no different in Cyprus, where few of her female cousins had completed secondary school. Connie strongly believes that her generational peers in Melbourne valued education more than her cousins in Deryneia.

From the colonial era to the early 2000s, the socio-political changes in Cyprus have to varying degrees influenced the educational experiences of Deryneians in both Cyprus and Australia, and informed their perceptions of the purpose of education.[1] Educational practices are also closely tied to ideas about what it is to be a Cypriot in the homeland and diaspora. In this chapter I examine the educational experiences of

[1] For details of education in Cyprus during colonial rule, especially the comparison between Greek and Turkish education, see the work of Rebecca Bryant (2001a, 2004). For an insight into the teaching of history at Greek Cypriot schools and in particular the role of patriotism, see Miranda Christou (2007).

informants in Cyprus and Australia. My purpose is to investigate the extent to which gender relations in both homeland and diaspora have changed as a result of education and how this has affected discourses of *kali yinaika*. The analysis reveals some of the more pertinent effects of migration on Cypriots in Melbourne, and also sheds light on the conflicting perceptions of one another in the homeland and the diaspora, as indicated in the comments by Katelou and Connie.

Deryneians and Education under British Colonial Rule

When the British arrived in Cyprus in 1878 there were some religious schools in the larger villages, but the majority of the population was illiterate.[2] The British maintained the sectarian education system established under Ottoman rule, but eventually schools were separated according to ethnicity, rather than along religious lines, the effect of which was to enforce the British administration's policies of 'divide and rule.'[3]

In 1879 the high commissioner of Cyprus reported that in many villages there was not a single person who could read or write, and the education of women was almost non-existent (CO 1880: 23). According to Deryneians, education was the privilege of the village priest and *mouktaris*. Greek schools were typically run by village priests and monks, and primarily served to impart a religious education and literacy to young boys.[4] Kitchener's survey of Cyprus (1878-1883), found that most

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[2] An Ottoman survey of 1860 found there were only 19 Christian schools on the whole island, and although the number of Muslim schools is not mentioned, it is likely there were considerably more (Loizos 2001: 129). According to Loizos, by the time Cyprus was leased to the British, there were 148 schools, 83 of which were Christian. The travel writer Rostovitz (1878), who surveyed Cyprus in 1878 found three Christian schools, one in Nicosia run by the archbishop of Cyprus, and one each in Lemesos and Larnaka.

[3] See Pollis (1973), who argues that under British rule ethnic identity became more pronounced.

[4] Typically, religious books were used as school text books (Hill 1972: 28; Karagiorges 1986: 17). However, Deryneian school records and those of the CBBs suggest that during the early 1800s, few teachers were priests but the local priest acted as school principal and religious instructor.

priests had basic literacy and many were highly respected by villagers who sought their advice and counsel (Shirley 2001: 59).[5]

In 1879 the Famagusta region had ten Christian and eight Muslim schools (CO 1880: 80). The commissioner of Famagusta disclosed that Greek school masters were 'fairly educated' but paid very little (CO 1880: 80).[6] He found that Greek schools were in a poor state, relying on villagers' voluntary contributions and small donations from the church (CO 1880: 80).[7] In Deryneia the first elementary school was built in 1882, but it is unknown how many students attended.[8] Until then some Deryneian children of wealthier families were sent to Paralimni and were later schooled in a house in Deryneia next to the local church (Platis 1995: 52). It was not until 1887 that an elementary school for girls was set up in the Famagusta region (Keshishian 1985: 141). Prior to this a few girls from wealthy families attended boys' schools (Pyrgos 1993: 50). The gender code, prohibitive fees and reliance on daughters' labour excluded the girls of poor families.

After 10 years of British rule the Famagusta commissioner reported that education in the region had greatly improved and basic literacy among all children had been achieved (CO 1887: 63).[9] However, this is at variance with statistics in the *Cyprus*

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[5] Marriage contracts written by Deryneian priests from 1936 to 1951 indicate the priests' poor literacy, with frequent spelling mistakes and incomprehensible expression (see copies of these in Giannoukou 1993). Indeed, only one Deryneian priest of this period was known to have been educated (Giannoukou 1993).

[6] Before 1929 a teacher's wage was based on religion and sex. For example in 1923, male Christian teachers were paid from £65-130, female Christian teachers £55-120, whereas Muslim male teachers were paid £42-144 and female Muslim teachers £42-102 (Oakden 1935: 79). After 1929, wages were determined by sex, not religion.

[7] According to Oakden (1935: 11) Muslim (Turkish) schools were supported by the state through *Evkaf*, a state-sponsored Islamic religious foundation.

[8] My informants claimed that before British rule, spare rooms in villagers' homes often served as schools.

[9] In 1887 the Famagusta region had 41 Christian and 21 Muslim schools, although it was not until the end of the 19th century that the first secondary school was established.

Blue Books (CBB), the 1901 census and informants' accounts (see Table 5).[10] Many older Deryneians stated that their mothers and grandmothers were illiterate and only male kin had elementary literacy skills. Eleftheria's grandfather, for example, completed first grade and later taught himself to read, as was evident by his extensive collection of books. Her grandmother could not read but made farm supply inventories using pictograms and drawings, and her good numeracy skills were essential to the farm's operation.

Table 5: Deryneian Elementary School Students

School Year	Total Students	Female Students	Male Students
1887-8	31	1	30
1891-92	30	0	30
1895-96	27	2	25
1897-98	42	4	38
1900-1901	53	11	42

Source: All figures derive from the CBB of that year.[11]

Colonial economic and political policies and even climatic factors determined access to education in Deryneia. Thus, the 1887 drought in the Famagusta district, which resulted in extensive crop failure, led to the closure of many Christian schools, as villagers were unable to contribute to their funding (CO 1887-8). The education of girls was severely limited during times of economic uncertainty, as families thought it unnecessary to spend money on their daughters' education. This was evident in the 1889 depression in the Famagusta province (CO 1892), a year when no girls attended the Deryneian school.

[10] The discrepancies in colonial statistics might be attributed to the differences between the town and villages. Moreover, the statistics suggest that the commissioner's claim that almost all children were literate probably referred to boys in Famagusta city.

[11] The CBBs (1881-1946) not only recorded the number of students at each elementary school in Cyprus, but also the name of the teacher and their salary. Government and voluntary contributions given to each school were also noted, along with the total expenditure of the school and where the money was allocated. After 1901 the CBBs ceased publishing information on individual schools.

The introduction of the 1895 Education Law tied local taxation to the provision and expansion of educational services.[12] However, this was especially disadvantageous in rural areas like Deryneia. In 1935 Sir Ralph Oakden (1935: 81) revealed that in many villages there were no students enrolled in the last three years of elementary school. He estimated that up to 50 per cent of children who enrolled in the first grade of the village school left within two years. Censuses between 1901 and 1946 indicate that the majority of those who left after second grade were girls. Although the 1895 law provided more funds for building schools, Deryneia's revenue was rarely spent on improving school infrastructure, particularly on girls' facilities, and the law resulted in only a slight increase in female enrolments (see Table 5).[13]

Until 1923, classes in Deryneia were held in a run-down house (converted into two class rooms) next to the village church of the *Panayia.*[14] In 1923, a new school was built, but girls remained in the old house (Platis 1995: 19). From 1938, co-educational schools were the norm.[15] The following case study illustrates a common experience among the older women informants of this study.

Georgina

Georgina was born in 1923. Her parents owned land on the outskirts of Deryneia where they grew vegetables and wheat, selling most of the produce at the Varosha market or at religious festivals in the area. If the harvest was poor, her mother also baked bread and sold this to local villagers, or exchanged it for goods in kind. By the time Georgina was

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[12] For details see Attalides (1981), Loizos (2001) and Oakden (1935).

[13] This was the case in 1939 when the village was ordered by the colonial government to make urgent repairs to the girls' facilities at the school (CCG 1940: 143).

[14] In the 1900-01 school year, it cost approximately £24 to run the Deryneian school (this included the teacher's salary) to which the government gave a grant of only £4 (CBB 1900-01: 272-3).

[15] Before 1916, classes were co-educational in Deryneia (Platis 1995: 52).

five years old, she had three siblings and her parents were struggling to survive under the constant threat that moneylenders would acquire their land.

In the winter of 1929, once the crops had been sown, Georgina was sent to school.[16] During harvest time her family employed a woman from a neighbouring village to live with them and take over her mother's bread-making enterprise. Like other girls of her age, Georgina was also withdrawn from school during the harvest season to care for her siblings and attend to household chores. When she was eight years old she worked in the fields full-time, helping with the harvest and planting seedlings. Her sister, one year younger, took over household chores and cared for their younger siblings. Georgina recalled feeling devastated, as she had loved school and the rare opportunity it afforded to see her friends. She remembered envying the students attending the village school, opposite her home. With hindsight, she thought herself fortunate to have received three half-years of schooling, as her mother and grandmothers had had no schooling at all. Georgina felt that she could not complain and said to me in early 2001, 'This is the way of life in Cyprus! What can we do? It is our destiny.'

Georgina's rhetorical statement is a common trope among Cypriot women. Older women often use such terms to explain their hardships, implying that their destinies were shaped by others and that they were powerless to do otherwise. In the case of Georgina, formal education was not valued, as once her family had accumulated her dowry, she was expected to marry, have children and work with her husband in the fields; this was her path to becoming *kali yinaika*. However, Georgina's reference to destiny was her way of working within gendered social relations and eliciting empathy from others. Such rhetorical strategies also allow women to bond and share their

[16] In 2001, Deryneia had three elementary schools but no secondary school.

feelings, giving them a sense of empowerment; that is, 'we succeeded in the face of many obstacles.'

As the eldest daughter, Georgina had major responsibilities for the care of her natal family, which had to provide dowries for seven daughters. In addition to her nine dependent siblings, her grandmother came to live with the family after her grandfather's death, thereby increasing the financial strain on the household, which worsened even further when the woman her parents employed to make bread fell ill and had to be nursed by Georgina and her sister in their home, until her death some years later.

Georgina was fortunate that her family owned land and derived occasional income from their crops. Her cousin Androulla, who came from a poorer family, had only been to school for three months. In 2002, Androulla, then aged 88, could write only her name, but some decades after migrating to Australia in the 1950s, she taught herself to read and proudly boasted that she had persevered for over a year to complete reading her first book, which was about the lives of various saints.

In contrast, Ellen (also now living in Australia) recalled that she had not wanted to go to school. She came from a village in the far north east of Cyprus and married a Deryneian. Her parents had owned a small agricultural plot some distance from their village and spent most of their time working the farm, leaving Ellen to care for her two older brothers. Ellen recounted:

> I would see the other children, with their mothers but I had nobody to look after me, or to make my breakfast, or to put me in nice clean clothes. I saw my mother once a week, sometimes not at all, that's why I stopped school. It was difficult. My older sister didn't go to school at all as my father was very poor and he needed help in the fields.
>
> I remember the time when I finally decided to leave school. I had nits in my hair and the teacher said, 'You can't stay in school, you have to go home and clean up and then come back.' I was too afraid to return to school and waited a week for my older sister to return to the village. After my sister cleaned my hair I returned to school, but as soon as the teachers inspected it, they found some eggs again and I was taken out of class and isolated from the others ... My sister's solution was to cut all my hair off and cover my

> head with a scarf. When I went to school with a scarf on, I was teased and after they pulled off the scarf I knew I would never return.

Poverty prevented most village women from completing their schooling. Girls' unpaid labour was essential to a family's survival. The ideology of *kali yinaika* legitimated this exploitation.

After the 1930s most men in Deryneia received some education. In 1946, while 59 per cent of women aged 20 years and over had never attended school, only 23 per cent of men had not (RC 2000: 78). Additionally, 36 per cent of women had only partial elementary schooling, in contrast to 65 per cent of men (RC 2000: 78). Georgina's brother Andrew illustrates the situation of many men of his generation.

Andrew

Andrew was born in 1927. He was the oldest son and fourth child. After completing elementary school, he worked in the fields with his father.

> It was sixth grade, I couldn't go any further because my father wanted me to look after the farm. There weren't many people who went to secondary school back then, well I didn't know anyone. My father had ten children so we had to work … I helped my sisters in the fields but I did the heavy work. I ploughed and was in charge of the ox. I was the oldest son and had to make a living as my father had seven daughters. Even when I was at school, every Saturday and Sunday, or when the school was closed, we had to go to the fields and help.

Andrew's family farm was at some distance from Deryneia and at 12 years of age he permanently moved to the farm until he emigrated to Australia.

Many male informants over 60 years of age had completed elementary school, but few had attended secondary school. Most villagers simply did not have the means and I found that few men over the age of 60 had been to university or college in Greece. The 1946 census records that one per cent of the total population had attended university or college, and all of these were men (RC 2000). A few men who trained as priests received further education in monasteries. Having completed elementary school,

Dimitris was sent by his father to train as a priest at Stavrovouni monastery, in order to continue his education. Dimitris had no desire to become a novice, but took the opportunity to advance his learning, to escape village life and to avoid pressures to marry early.

Education and Political Unrest

In 1931, with intensifying political unrest (discussed in Chapter One), the governor of Cyprus took direct control of all elementary schools and only teachers approved by the colonial government were allowed to practise (Kyrris 1985: 347).[17] Deryneian informants said that teaching Greek history and geography was strictly prohibited in elementary schools and that English was made a compulsory subject in the mid-1930s. Not all schools complied (Arnold 1956),[18] but the elementary school at Deryneia introduced English classes, as the village council feared government funding cuts.[19] Some informants recalled that students were compelled to attend at least one lesson of English daily, although English was only taught in the last years of elementary school and therefore were not taken by most women.

The most turbulent period for the education system came at the end of 1955 when anti-British sentiment and the struggle for *enosis* gained momentum. Petros (75)

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[17] In 1937 the colonial government set up two teacher training colleges (the Teachers Training College for men and the Mistresses Training College for women) and the language of instruction was English (Karagiorges 1986: 21). Prior to this, Greek Cypriot teachers were largely trained in Greece. At secondary schools, both teaching staff and texts were modelled on the education system in Greece and gradually Greek nationalist ideologies were embedded in the school curriculum (Katsiaounis 1996; Kelling 1990: 7).

[18] Under the 1935 Secondary Education Act, all school curriculum and text books had to be first approved by the director of education (SLC no. 25, 1935). Additionally, school readers published in Greece were replaced with readers published in Cyprus (Persianis 1996: 57). Contrary to the claims of my informants, Bryant's in-depth study of education on the island shows that Greek history was not banned but rewritten in an attempt to purge it of Greek nationalism (Bryant 2004: 164). Also see Given (1997) and Spyridakis (1954).

[19] After 1935 the government cut economic aid to all schools that did not accept its curriculum (*Cyprus Mail* 9 July 1955: 5).

remembered that the school in Deryneia hoisted the Greek flag, not in support of EOKA as many other schools had done, but in defiance of British rule.[20] The colonial government responded to this act of defiance by forbidding elementary school teachers to teach in a school 'over which a foreign flag had been raised' (CCG 1957: 46).[21] Classes were suspended until such flags were removed. Nationalist songs, anthems and flags other than the British were also banned (*Cyprus Mail* 9 July 1955). Escalating political violence forced most elementary schools to close in March 1956.[22] In the late 1950s, several Greek Cypriot teachers had their contracts suspended for what the government termed 'seditious teaching,' accusing them of fomenting anti-government behaviour among students (CCG 1957: 49).

From the mid-1950s, secondary school students became ever more politicised and staged anti-colonial demonstrations throughout the island.[23] The secretary of state for the colonies, Alan Lennox-Boyd (1954-1959), noted that secondary school students

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[20] The memoirs of EOKA's leader General Grivas explained the EOKA strategy of involving school children in the nationalist struggle: 'The use of young people in a battle of this kind was entirely my own idea – I know of no other movement … which has so actively employed boys and girls of school age in the front line' (Grivas 1964: 28).

[21] Colonial reports indicate that before 1955 few elementary schools hoisted Greek flags. Numerous incidents during this period point to the growing anti-British sentiments among students. For example, on 27 August 1955 at a public gathering in Nicosia at St John's Cathedral, Archbishop Makarios demanded self-determination. Large numbers of secondary school children were reported to have gathered to hear him, wearing armbands in the colours of the Greek flag (*The Times* 27 August 1955: 5).

[22] In March 1956, 418 Greek Cypriot elementary schools out of 499 had suspended classes, resulting in 57,000 out of 62,000 students enrolled at elementary school not attending (CCG 1957: 47). The colonial authorities reported that all Turkish, Armenian and Maronite elementary schools remained opened (CCG 1957: 47). After the summer vacation of 1956, the high commissioner of Cyprus reported that all schools had reopened except those in the Famagusta district (CCG 1957: 47).

[23] Karagiorges (1986: 24) argues that until the 1950s the British authorities took little interest in the affairs of Cypriot secondary schools and as a result schools maintained strong links with Greece. Several scholars have remarked on the role of Greek-trained teachers in promulgating Greek nationalism through the education system (Karagiorges 1986; Kelling 1990: 7; Koyzis 1997; Loizos 2001: 26, 2002: 101; Panayiotopoulos 1999: 38). In Deryneia at the time of my fieldwork, the influence of mainland Greek nationalism was still evident. Greek Cypriot school children participated in and celebrated Greek historical events such as the Greek uprising on 25 March 1821 against Ottoman rule. On 28 October they celebrate Greece saying '*ohi* (no) day,' that is Greece's rejection of an ultimatum from fascist Italy in 1940. To mark these occasions, parades are held throughout Cyprus and during my fieldwork the village centre was decorated in Greek and Cypriot flags. On both occasions, Deryneian elementary and secondary school children marched through the centre of the village, while crowds gathered waving flags as they passed by. Cypriot Independence Day (16 August) fell during school holidays and there was no such parade in Deryneia, although secondary school children did participate in a parade held at Paralimni.

in the Famagusta district had conducted numerous strikes and demonstrations (NAA:A1838, 152/11/72/1 PART 4).[24] In 1956, student riots led to the closure of more than half the secondary schools on the island and those that remained open were barely functioning (CCG 1957: 47). Students and teachers were arrested (CCG 1957: 48).[25] Some Deryneians insisted that by the late 1950s the colonial administration enforced curfews specifically aimed at curtailing student sedition.[26]

In 1959, the year preceding independence, the colonial government handed control of the education system to the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities.[27] The Greek board of education immediately proceeded to abolish English at all elementary schools (CO 1961: 47).

Education since Independence

Before 1960, the Cypriot economy was largely agrarian and villagers rarely valued education for women beyond rudimentary numeracy and literacy. Attitudes changed with the rapid industrialisation and economic growth that followed independence. In 1962, elementary education became compulsory and women were required to complete

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[24] In 1955, student militancy was evident when 2,000 secondary schoolboys demonstrated and one was reported to have received an 18-month prison sentence after destroying a picture of the queen of England (*Cyprus Bulletin* 31 January 1956: 3).

[25] Students were arrested for carrying machine-guns and others for planting bombs. Several students were also killed, as were policemen and soldiers. The colonial government reported that girls and boys were involved in 'terrorist activities' (CCG 1957: 48).

[26] These curfews affected Deryneians to varying degrees. Deryneian students living on the outskirts of the village were most affected. Unlike Deryneia (traditionally a stronghold of AKEL), Paralimni and other villages in the area were known for their strong support of the right-wing guerrilla movement EOKA. This might explain the frequent imposition of curfews in these villages. For example, on 20 November 1958, the colonial commissioner of Famagusta ordered that 'no female Greek Cypriot born between the 1st January, 1932 and 1st January 1944, and no male Greek Cypriot shall be out of doors, between 7.30-9.30 am and 14.30-16.30 pm in the Paralimini village including one mile beyond the village outskirts' (Statute Laws Subsidiary Laws 1958: 1031). The intent was probably to prevent pupils gathering after school hours and also to ensure attendance during school hours (reportedly 7.30 am-1.30 pm).

[27] Control was officially given to each community in 1959 under the Greek Cypriot Education (Transitional Arrangements) Law and the Turkish Cypriot Education (Transitional Arrangements) Law (CO 1961: 47).

at least their elementary schooling. In 1972, three years of free secondary education became available and the number of secondary schools increased rapidly (CSRC 1975: 7).[28] This provided women in rural areas with much greater access to secondary education.[29]

During the 1970s most women informants who attended secondary school completed the first three years.[30] A few from more affluent families and some with scholarships also went abroad for tertiary education.[31] In 1973 Stella started university in Thessaloniki, Greece:

> My mother didn't want me to go overseas but my uncle, a teacher, convinced her that it would be good for me to enter teaching. But still my mother was hesitant, but eventually she agreed as there were other Deryneians there, and most of them were related to us or we knew them. Although I lived with another girl from Deryneia my mother constantly worried and would tell me to be careful, but I was a good girl! [trans. from Greek]

Stella wanted to be an architect, but her parents believed that the only appropriate career for her was teaching. Unlike the fee-paying architecture course, the education degree was free, so after her first year she found part-time employment and enrolled in an architecture course, without her parents' knowledge. In 1974 she returned to Cyprus during university holiday and her plans changed. Stella recounted:

> It was two weeks after I had arrived back home and the war broke out, and as a consequence we had to stay in Cyprus as there were no planes back to

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[28] For example, in 1959-60 there were 45 secondary schools in Cyprus, while in 1973-74 there were 91 (CSRC 1975: 8).

[29] In Cyprus at the time of my fieldwork secondary education was divided into gymnasium (lower secondary) consisting of three grades for 12-15 year olds, and lyceum (upper secondary) also three grades.

[30] Several women who attended secondary school in the 1970s and the 1980s told me that subjects were often geared towards their future role as wives and mothers, so while boys could learn wood and metalwork, girls did home economics.

[31] There was no university in Cyprus until the 1990s. During the 1970s scholarships were offered to students according to their parents' political affiliations. Loizos (2001: 122) states that scholarships to Greece were given to right-wing nationalists. Socialist countries also offered them to left-wing supporters (Karagiorges 1986: 121). In the 1975-76 school years, 7.7 per cent of Cypriots studying overseas were in socialist countries and most of these were on scholarships (Karagiorges 1986: 120).

> Greece. By the end of the year I returned to Greece but had missed some of my course. In those days it took two years to complete the teaching course but because of the invasion it took me three. I had to stop the architecture course as my family had lost their livelihood after the invasion, and I felt that I had to return quickly to help them [trans. from Greek].

After 1974, the number of Cypriots studying abroad increased by about 10 per cent and about one-third of these were women (Karagiorges 1986: 119 and 149). Andreas Karagiorges (1986: 149) argues that the increase was a direct result of the 1974 war, with several countries offering support for refugee students.[32] More families also willingly consented to their daughters studying abroad as they feared for their safety in Cyprus.[33]

The Cypriot diaspora also helped students leave Cyprus. Kalliopi recalled applying for an exit visa to study in England, but restricted government quotas made this difficult.[34]

> Everyone at that time wanted to leave Cyprus, but the government only permitted it if you could prove you were studying. I said I was going to college in England and luckily my godfather was living there. He sent me a ticket, registered me in the college so I could get an exit permit. At the same time, my older brother was leaving for Greece and together we caught a boat there and then I flew to England. Once I was in England I received a letter from my younger brother saying he was desperate to leave Cyprus and if I could please in any way help. I took my registration number and illegally changed the name into his, so he could come. I stayed in England for two years and went to college part-time, learning English and I also worked in my godfather's travel agency and at a restaurant [trans. from Greek].

The 1974 war put a halt to the education of thousands of students.[35] In Deryneia the majority of secondary students had attended school in Varosha, but after 1974 this

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[32] This included France, Greece and the UK (Karagiorges 1986: 149).

[33] Some parents feared that their daughters would be killed or raped by Turkish forces after such incidents were widely reported.

[34] On the 13 September 1974 the Cyprus government announced that men between 15 and 60 and women aged 15 to 55 could only leave Cyprus with a special permit (NAA: A1838, 1634/17/2 PART 1). Exit permits were only given for 'reasons of health, study or for business trips helpful to the economy' (NAA: A1838, 1634/17/2 PART 2).

was no longer an option as it was under Turkish control. Many students never completed their schooling. Tasoulla was 15 years old in 1974, and although she had every intention of returning, she never did and ended up working in her brother's supermarket until she married.

Post-1974 Education

The burgeoning of the Cypriot economy in the 1980s led more Deryneian families to aspire to provide a tertiary education for their children. Educational achievements, particularly at tertiary level, enhanced family status in the village (see also Loizos 1981; Stavrou 1992). It was also more likely to result in an improvement in the family's financial status.[36] Despite these changes, few Deryneian women had an opportunity to further their education.

Katerina finished secondary school in 1986 and wanted to continue with her studies. Her family, however, was unwilling to send her abroad as both her brothers were still completing their university degrees in Greece. Katerina explained:

> In those days women did not go beyond secondary school. After we finished school we were expected to get engaged, then marry and start having children straight away … Nowadays it is very different for girls, they can have a career whereas in my day it was impossible [trans. from Greek].

Even those families with financial means often decided against sending their daughters abroad for higher education. Some claimed parents feared that without close supervision, daughters would lose their virginity. Furthermore, many families considered that by the time women completed a tertiary degree they might be too old to marry (Stavrou 1992: 83). Other women said that pressure to accumulate a dowry

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[35] It is estimated that 31 per cent of the island's elementary schools did not operate during 1974-75; 35 per cent of elementary school children and 32 per cent of secondary school children became refugees (CSRC 1975: 15-16).

[36] By the mid-1980s, a person with a doctorate earned four times more than those with no formal qualification (Christodoulou 1995: 25).

limited their access to further education. Eleftheria wanted to go to university, like her three older brothers, to study accountancy.

> My father said he could not afford to give me an education as well as a [dowry] house. This was the same with all my friends. We knew that once we left school we had to marry and have children. My father, though, still allowed me to visit my brother in America while he was studying. My brother rang my parents to convince them to let me stay and study. Of course my parents would not allow it … My mother would then ring daily and tell me she was sick. 'I'm going to die if you stay,' she would say… My mother was never sick, she just wanted to make me feel guilty. They were afraid for me to be away. Within two months I couldn't afford to stay in America and returned to Cyprus [trans. from Greek].

Changing Attitudes towards Education since 1990

In 1992 the University of Cyprus officially opened in Nicosia and by the mid-1990s the number of tertiary educated Greek Cypriots had steadily increased.[37] However, limited student quotas at the university meant that many Greek Cypriots continued to study (free of charge) at Greek universities. Most parents I spoke to preferred to send their children to English or American universities, which were considered more prestigious.[38]

During my fieldwork I found that in Deryneia, having a tertiary educated daughter or son was a form of cultural capital that greatly enhanced the status of a family. Conversations with older informants often centred on their university trained sons and daughters. Yet most families were reluctant to send their daughters to study

[37] In the 1999-2000 academic year, south Cyprus had nine public and twenty-one private institutions providing tertiary education. There were 11,744 students studying in south Cyprus, 22 per cent of whom were foreign students (RC 2001: 329).

[38] Government statistics reveal that annual wages for UK Cypriot graduates are greater than those with qualifications from American universities. Graduates of Greek and Eastern European universities receive less than either (Christodoulou 1995: 27).

abroad except to places where they had kinship ties.[39] There was less resistance to daughters studying at a Greek university as similar customs, beliefs and language were believed to reduce the potential danger. In 2001, I knew of no Deryneian woman pursuing tertiary education outside Cyprus or Greece. In contrast, several young men were studying in England, America and several European countries.[40]

Since 1990, Deryneian women have had greater access to further education and careers. Some have completed degree courses and many have pursued professional careers such as teaching and nursing.[41] Despite these radical changes for women, traditional discourses of womanhood and concepts of *kali yinaika* persist. This was especially evident for women studying after their mid-20s.

Kleoniki's younger sister Elena was the only female student I knew over the age of 30 and some of my informants disapproved of her status as an 'older' student.[42] Poverty had caused Elena to leave school at 13 and work in a factory, then at various pubs and restaurants in Agia Napa.[43] At 28, she left Deryneia and moved to Nicosia and worked in a local café. Three years later, after attending night school, she finished her secondary education, and in 2001 started a degree course at the University of Cyprus.

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[39] Of the 11,744 students attending both private and public tertiary institutions in Cyprus in 2001, there were 6,463 women and 5,281 men (RC 2001: 335). At the University of Cyprus in the 1999-2000 academic year there were 2,240 women undergraduates, compared with 460 men (RC 2001: 335). Before the mid-1990s the majority of female Deryneian students studied in Greece. There was however, a small number studying in England, all of whom had kin living there. Exceptionally, one woman studied in France in the 1970s.

[40] In 2001, approximately 55 per cent of Cypriot tertiary students were studying abroad (RC 2001). The majority of women students whom I knew studying in Cyprus lived in Nicosia and were largely supported by their parents. Most spent the weekends with their families in Deryneia.

[41] A 2001-02 UN report on Cyprus shows that women were enrolled in courses traditionally deemed 'women's occupations.' For example, in the 2001-02 academic years, 80 per cent of students in education and 79 per cent in humanities and arts were women, whereas 79 per cent of students in engineering, manufacturing and construction programmes were men (UN 2004).

[42] However, a few women, including Katelou, told me that they admired her for having the courage to return to school.

[43] Elena had eight sisters and one brother and she was the only one to attend university. Her brother had received some technical training while completing his apprenticeship.

Elena wanted to improve her job prospects and secure her financial future, particularly as her parents could not give her land on marriage.

Loizos (1975), Markides *et al.* (1978) and Sant Cassia (1982: 652) argue that as a result of industrialisation, education surpassed land as the most important asset for Cypriot men to bring to a marriage, whereas for women, the dowry house, rather than education, was the essential determinant of social mobility through marriage. However, even before the 1990s women's education was important in marriage alliances, particularly among the wealthier classes. Greater education for women could 'counter-balance the dowry or can be additional qualifications to the existing dowry' (CSRC 1975: 14). Since the late 1990s, education has become a status marker for Deryneian women, particularly as it also enhances their earning potential. Women's education, however, still operates within a rigid framework of familial expectations of marriage and motherhood. Evaggelia explained:

> For Cypriot women, by the time you are 30, that is when their lives end! It is expected that things like study have completed because by then you have children … It is probably different in other countries like Australia, where women still study when they are over 30.

Traditionally, a mother's role was to pass on to her daughters essential skills needed in marriage (such as cooking and crafting items necessary for her trousseau), which did not rely on a mother's formal education. Social change has altered traditional beliefs about motherhood and today education is viewed as a way of becoming a better mother and educator of one's children.

Education for mature men is not proscribed in terms of the degree courses they choose, but parents are inclined to pressure sons to take over the family business, regardless of tertiary qualifications. Stephanos (24) graduated with a business degree from a British university in 2000 and hoped to pursue his chosen career. After his return, his father pressured him into running the family business, a large shop in the

tourist area of Paralimni. It was expected that Stephanos' father would soon retire. However, three years later, his father had not retired and Stephanos was still his father's assistant. Disillusioned, he complained:

> My parents worked very hard for me to have a good education. They struggled to send me to England. Yet sometimes I think, what was the point? I do not need a degree to stock the shop and serve customers!

Education after School Hours

The status attached to a university education resulted in a growing demand in Cyprus for after-school *frondistiria* (private tutorials or 'cramming' schools).[44] These cater for elementary and secondary students in a range of subjects. Classes vary in size but typically consist of 10 students. In Deryneia, classes are held at private homes or in shops. The highest demand is for private English classes, though English is taught in state elementary and secondary schools. Many parents asserted that extra tutorials, especially in English, enhanced their children's employment prospects.[45] Many of the private, post-secondary institutions in Cyprus (for example, Intercollege),[46] are English-medium, and though the official languages of instruction at the University of Cyprus are Greek and Turkish, many of the prescribed readings are in English.[47]

The high demand for limited university places and the competitive job market have also impacted on the lower-middle classes. Many parents make sacrifices in order

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[44] Two teachers who taught after-school classes told me that the school curriculum was overloaded and subjects were not taught in-depth, students therefore needed extra tuition. They added that students who obtain above-average grades do not really need extra tuition.

[45] During the colonial period, examinations for entry into the Cyprus civil service were conducted in English, and Greek or Turkish. All senior positions required a high proficiency in English. No-one was employed without knowledge of English, unless in a subordinate position such as a cleaner (Jardine 1914: 32). According to informants today, this has remained largely unchanged.

[46] In 2007 Intercollege was in the process of changing its name to the University of Nicosia after gaining university accreditation.

[47] For political reasons, Greek was made the main language of instruction, while Turkish is only used for Turkish Studies (Koyzis 1997: 3).

to pay for expensive English tutorials for their children. Kleoniki has four children and her husband was co-owner of a restaurant in Agia Napa. In the early 2000s, the restaurant was not doing well and money was tight.[48] Kleoniki worked as a cleaner during the tourist season to raise extra funds, but had to withdraw her children from private English classes because of financial constraints. She feared that this would jeopardise her children's future.

Tourism and changing demographics have heightened the importance of English-language skills in Deryneia. Many Deryneians work in the tourist industry and since the late 1990s more foreigners live in Deryneia and surrounding villages, requiring local businesses to serve their customers in English. Evaggelia and her husband, Marios, for example, ran a specialist shop in Deryneia and found that their clientele were increasingly foreigners. For the sake of his business, Marios enrolled in English classes at a private language school in Paralimni.[49] His children also attended English after-school classes in Deryneia.

Higher literacy levels and changes wrought by independence have changed Deryneians' attitudes. Educational reforms created a new class of educated professionals and brought a greater degree of gender equality. Nevertheless, as I have demonstrated here, socio-economic changes have only marginally altered traditional notions of womanhood and women's agency is still over-determined by discourses of *kali yinaika*. Regardless of her educational level, a woman's future is still bound to marriage and motherhood.

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[48] By the end of my fieldwork in Deryneia, her husband had sold his share in the restaurant.

[49] In Paralimni there are several private language institutions catering for children and adults (locals and foreigners) in a range of languages.

Education in the Diaspora

The majority of adult Greek Cypriots who emigrated to Australia prior to Cypriot independence had little schooling, while those arriving after 1974 were on the whole more educated.[50] Very few, however, had a tertiary education.[51] Second and third generation Cypriots were far more educated than the first generation of immigrants.

In the early 1950s as a young child, Connie emigrated to Australia with her mother and brothers. She was the second child of five and the eldest daughter. In her third year of secondary school, she was forced to leave school and assist with the family business. Connie recalled her feelings of loss and regret, and determination to continue learning. Most evenings she hid under her bed with a torch so her mother could not see her reading. Connie's mother, Georgina, remarked:

> For the boys, their future is with a family and if they don't have an education, they cannot provide for their families. But for the girls, they will marry and then they won't go to work. That's why I allowed my two eldest sons to stay at school [trans. from Greek].

The decision to take Connie out of school was made by her father. He found it difficult to manage their supermarket with his limited English. Indeed, Cypriot immigrants often used their offspring as translators and in negotiating bureaucracy. Women, in particular, became reliant on their children, reversing the parent–child role and leaving women feeling powerless (Bottomley 1984b: 4). As few of my older women informants had the opportunity to attend English classes, they also became more reliant on their husbands. Elli recalled:

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[50] The 1966 Australian census recorded that few Cyprus-born women completed elementary school, but most Cyprus-born men living in Victoria had. Also, 601 of these men (of 2,407) had some secondary schooling, compared with 468 of the women (of 2,005) (AG 1966).

[51] In 1966 five Cyprus-born men living in Victoria had a university degree but no Cyprus-born woman had one (AG 1966). In 1986, 21.4 per cent of Cypriot-born persons living in Victoria had a post-secondary school qualification, the majority being trade certificates (AG 1991: 99). Ten years later this figure had changed to approximately 31 per cent (AG 2000).

> When one of the kids got sick, I would panic because I couldn't speak the language. I would have to wait anxiously all day until my husband came home from work before we could go to the doctor [trans. from Greek].

This was very different from Elli's experience in Cyprus where assistance was easily accessed through the priest's wife or a neighbour.

During the early years of their settlement in Australia, Cypriot women's limited English skills not only changed power relations within the family, but also made many feel inadequate as mothers. Several recalled their extreme anxiety on first sending their children to school. Natassia said:

> My kids couldn't speak English, and I worried about that, like what if they want to go to the toilet, how are they going to ask the teacher? I worried so much.

Others were summoned to their children's school, but, unable to communicate with the teachers, had to return with their husbands after they had finished work, or with one their husbands' friends. A number also stated that they had no alternative but to rely on their older children to translate.

Despite the general emphasis on men's education, girls remained in school when finances permitted, as Connie's younger sisters did. During their schooling, the family's financial situation improved, so they both completed secondary school and were among the few second generation Cypriot women to gain a tertiary education.[52] However, both had to overcome many hurdles, like those shown in Cathy's story.

Cathy

Cathy left secondary school before completing her final year, due to extreme conflict in the family over her elder sister's Connie's marriage to an Anglo-Celtic Australian, one of the first inter-ethnic marriages among their Cypriot friends. She later completed her

[52] In 1981, 0.1 per cent of Cyprus-born women in Victoria had a higher degree (VEAC 1986: 12) compared with 0.3 per cent of the Cyprus-born men (AG 1991: 101).

final year at night school. Cathy recalled numerous arguments with her parents in the 1970s after announcing her intention to train as a nurse. Without her parents' consent, she was unable to enter an internship before the age of 21. When her parents took a six-month vacation in Cyprus later that year, she obtained the requisite adult consent from her eldest sister and brother-in-law. Cathy said:

> When my mother returned she was furious and literally ignored me for many years. I had acted against her wishes. That was the old cultural way of thinking. Being a female you're going to get married eventually, so what do you need a degree for? My mother said if I wanted a career I should have been a primary school teacher instead of choosing a dirty profession!

Cathy gained her degree and worked as a nurse for many years. However, her choice resulted in an enduring estrangement from her parents.

In contrast, many of Cathy's peers left secondary school in Year 10 to take up apprenticeships.[53] The majority of these women did apprenticeships in sewing or hairdressing, and many later found employment in office jobs or the retail industry. Many second generation Cypriot men also left school to take up apprenticeships in the building and manufacturing industries.

While few first generation Cypriots placed value on the careers of their daughters, this has markedly changed with regard to their granddaughters. Generally, since the 1990s, Cypriots in Australia have put more emphasis on tertiary education for women. This change is most evident among third generation women over the age of 20, many of whom were university educated and are now professionals.

These changes in women's education reflect class mobility and the concomitant aspirations, in addition to the changing attitudes towards women's education in the Australian population in general. Indeed, older Cypriots now laud the education of their youngest kin and use it as a status symbol. In Georgina's house, graduation photographs of grandchildren take pride of place on her living room walls.

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[53] In Australia, Year 10 is equivalent to the first year of lyceum in Cyprus.

Fear of Cultural Assimilation

Many first generation Cypriots feared the process of acculturation once their children entered the Australian education system. In the early decades of settlement, most Cypriots laid great emphasis on Greek language instruction and community schools were established as a means to foster cultural identity.[54]

In the 1950s, Cypriots had formed a close-knit enclave in Sunshine and one of the first measures taken by the men of the community was to set up formal Greek classes for children and secure teaching staff. For several years, Andrew's living room served as a class room for about 20 students, until the Apostolos Andreas Cypriot Association opened a Greek language school, opposite the church, in 1959.[55]

The success of Greek schools is difficult to ascertain as most first generation informants said that their children were reluctant to attend (also see Tsolidis 2008). Natassia sent her three oldest children to Greek classes and recalled:

> The first three children we sent to Greek school at Andrew's place. But my oldest son after six months said that he understood enough Greek, and didn't like going to Greek school. My son felt he would learn better at home and so stopped going [trans. from Greek].

Loukia struggled to make her children attend:

> We sent the children to Apostolos Andreas. But they only went for a while as they didn't like it. They didn't want to go and they would always cry. But we made them go until my younger son was in Grade 5.

Second generation informants confirmed their parents' assessments, adding that the classes were highly regimented and teachers often inflicted harsh punishment for minor transgressions, such as laughing in class. Others viewed Saturday classes as a form of punishment, as all their non-Cypriot friends had the day off. For others, Greek

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[54] For an insight into Greek language use in Australia and Greek language schools, see Bottomley (1979), Tamis (1985, 1993), Tamis *et al.* (1993), Tsolidis and Kostogriz (2008) and Tsounis (1975).

[55] Andrew said classes at his home were conducted on a week night.

school was a site where the tensions of their hybrid identity were aggravated. As Tsolidis and Kostogriz (2008: 326) argue, 'after hours' Greek schools 'capture the tensions and contradictions implicit in "in-betweenness."' Cathy noted: 'You were living between two worlds which made you realise you were different.' Some also pointed to the difference between their 'native' Cypriot dialect spoken at home and the language taught at Greek school, which only made their experience at the school more isolating (illustrated in the case of Chloe, discussed in Chapter Three).

Despite their own experiences, several second generation Cypriots enrolled their children in Saturday Greek school. Others sent their children to private or public schools that offer an extensive Greek curriculum and bilingual Greek teachers. However, this was less often the case with second and third generation Cypriots in interethnic marriages.[56]

The lack of Greek language skills among some second generation and many third generation Cypriots has been attributed to assimilation. Andrew remarked:

> I used to speak to my children in Greek but my wife [an Australian-born Cypriot] would speak to them in English. She never talked to the children in Greek. Now I have to talk to them in English. Sometimes I talk to them in Greek because I forget and they look at me like I'm strange.

Andrew's comments indicate not only his negotiation of assimilation, but also hint at the role the community assigned to women in countering it. For many Cypriots 'the role of women in the maintenance of ethnic boundaries is decisive' (Tsolidis 2001: 196). The women who were most successful at transmitting the Greek language to their children gained a certain degree of prestige.

For many Cypriots, sending children to Greek schools was essential to ethnic identity and the preservation of culture. It was also viewed as important for imparting to

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[56] According to Price (1990: 6) the 1986 Australian census shows that English is the sole language of 62 per cent of the second generation of only one foreign-born parent, and of 68.8 per cent of third generation Cypriots with two Australia-born parents. In comparison, 66.3 per cent of second generation with both parents of Cypriot ancestry speak Greek (Price 1990: 6).

children pride in their parents' or grandparents' homeland. However, young Cypriot adults said that at Greek language schools and Greek schools they were usually only taught about Greece and its history. Most added that the Cypriot history taught at the schools pertained only to the 'Cyprus conflict.' What was evident from those who attended schools with little emphasis on Cypriot history and culture was that their cultural identity was more often linked to pan-Hellenic identities. They often referred to themselves as Greek and did not distinguish between Cypriot and Greek traditions.

Despite the differing degrees of importance that parents placed on children attending Greek language schools in Melbourne, one common thread was that most saw migration as an opportunity to give their children greater access to education. However, for many, the type of education children received was determined by the employment prospects they offered. Most wanted their children to enter occupations viewed as prestigious, such as medicine and law, and again this was largely motivated by income prospects and the prestige it brought to those in the community. The value of education for most Cypriots I interviewed was premised on the notion that a good education leads to a well-paid job. But as has been shown, at least until the 1980s, Cypriot girls' education in Melbourne was not valued as much as that of boys. In several cases, girls were encouraged to leave school early and find apprenticeships or jobs so that they could assist the family financially. Again, as in Cyprus, this related to ideas about what constituted *kali yinaika*. Girls' education was hindered because of a belief that they would marry and ultimately rely on their husband's income, a fact that was rarely the reality for most of my informants, as I show in the following chapter.

In Deryneia, too, from the 1990s, there was a strong correlation between formal education and income, particularly when it involved women's education. However, for Deryneians, it was not simply a case of rising incomes permitting more families to send children to school. Instead, greater access to education, particularly tertiary education in

Cyprus, had given women more choices. Certainly, for the last 20 or more years, most Deryneian girls have at least attended lower secondary school. The greater emphasis placed on women's education was a result of the revolutionary changes in Deryneians' work practices over the last two decades or more. In the following chapter, I look at these changes and examine how they have affected women's lives in Deryneia and Melbourne.

Chapter Six

Work Patterns of Cypriot Women

I joined Katelou and some of her women friends in Deryneia for coffee, in 2001, a few days after she had returned from a trip to Melbourne, where four of her husband's siblings live. Katelou gave a detailed update of the activities of her Australian relatives and then turned the discussion to the differences between Melbourne Cypriot women and those in Cyprus. Foremost of her observations was that many of her husband's female relatives with children rarely work outside the home in Melbourne. This was different from the '*kipriako sistima'* (Cypriot system).

A week later I visited Katelou at her family's *perivoli* to find out more about the 'Cypriot system,' in which women of all ages, regardless of their marital status, work outside the home. Katelou first explained that possibly the 'Australian system' was better, for a mother could stay at home until the children were of school age. This, she insisted, was not the case for her daughter-in-law (with two small children), a white-collar worker. She was able to work thanks to Katelou's help with occasional childcare and errands, and a domestic servant to do housework and care for the children. Katelou concluded that in Cyprus, 'women like to work,' and later explained that it was 'because they are more concerned to have a lavish house, whereas in Australia people are more economical.'

In this chapter, I look at women's work practices and how these have been influenced by discourses of *kali yinaika*. I also trace how women's work has changed over the decades and the implications of this for their lives. This also enables me to examine what Katelou terms the 'Cypriot and Australian systems.' In the last chapter, I argued that in Deryneia, particularly before independence, education was not a high priority, especially for women. For many families in Deryneia, child labour was vital

for the economic survival of the household, despite various attempts by the colonial government to regulate it.[1] Child labour was certainly not viewed as exploitation and was typically justified by reference to the custom whereby on marriage adult children were given land and/or a house. However, since independence, socio-economic changes brought about by modernisation have diminished reliance on child labour and made education more important for boys and, to a lesser extent, girls. Certainly since the 1980s there has been a greater emphasis on the education of women in both Cyprus and Melbourne. In this chapter, I explore the implications of these changes for women's work practices.

Honour, Shame and Work

Before independence, women's employment in Deryneia was largely restricted to agriculture.[2] Household reliance on women's unpaid agricultural labour was one reason for this, but many informants also reported that honour and shame prescriptions prevented women from entering many other occupations. Cypriot honour codes have often been represented as rigid proscriptions of behaviour, with men as the sole economic providers and women attending to household duties (Balswick 1978; Peristiany 1966). Women's honour also required sexual modesty and the avoidance of

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[1] Under the Employment of Children and Young Persons Law (1932), 'no child (*a person under 14*) shall be employed or work in any public or private industrial undertaking … other than an undertaking in which only members of the same family are employed.' Under Clause 9, however, an industrial undertaking could employ a person under 16 years where no family member worked if granted permission by the commissioner of the district. Furthermore, Clause 8 states that a person under 16 can only work for six hours a day unless the governor in council rules otherwise (SLC 1932, no. 16: 22-24). This legislation, however, had no effect on child labour in villages like Deryneia. The majority of children were exempt from this law as most worked for their families, and the government could do little to regulate the hours or conditions under which they worked.

[2] In 1932, the colonial government introduced a law prohibiting women from working at night in any industry, except where members of the same family were employed, or in case of emergency, or where raw materials might deteriorate if work did not continue through the night. Breaches of the law incurred a fine, not exceeding £10 (SLC 1932, no. 15: 21-22).

xenoi (male strangers, unrelated men). Theoretically, this precluded women working for *xenoi* (see Josephides 1988; Peristiany 1966).[3]

Sasha Josephides (1988: 37) argues that women's work in the fields was 'an extension of women's work within the household,' and as they were unpaid and working with male kin, they did not lose honour. Women laboured in the fields to help the family and therefore were performing a selfless role as *kali yinaika.* However, honour codes are dynamic and constantly re-interpreted. In Deryneia, women's work outside the home increased during depressed economic times. Those from landless families have never had any alternative but to seek work as agricultural labourers or as maids in the major towns. For example, in the mid-1920s, several Deryneian women worked as labourers on the roads breaking stones.[4] In the late 1940s, Androulla and other women went to Famagusta to pick oranges and then pack them in a factory for export.[5] Androulla (now living in Australia) recalled this time:

> We used to have to go to all the farms around Famagusta and pick the oranges and collect them to take back to my bosses' farm. Then we would clean and pack them for export. To meet the deadlines we had to work most Sundays … but I only worked on Sundays when I had to. Once Eva [also now living in Australia] and I worked on Christmas day … If Eva heard me now she would be so embarrassed to think she did that sort of work. Now she is very rich and she would be ashamed to think people knew she worked like a poor person. That Christmas, it was a Sunday and there were about 30 women, most of us were from Deryneia, and on our way to work, Annou would sing songs. She would sing that we have lost our honour, as today we are working on Sunday, when we should be working in the home. But instead we have the men making lunches for us. We had the men cooking

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[3] In 1946, women comprised less than one-fifth of the labour force; in 1976, less than 30 per cent; and in 1994, just under 40 per cent (Agathangelou 1996: 7). The 2001 census showed a participation rate for women aged 15 and above of less than 50 per cent, compared with over 70 per cent for men (RC 2001: 6). Although Cyprus censuses dating from the 1930s to 2001 indicate a much lower participation rate in the work force for women than men, I found the reverse in Deryneia. Official statistics might misrepresent women's actual work practices by ignoring their seasonal employment, especially during harvest months. Census questionnaires were typically filled in by the more literate husband, and they may well have not considered women's seasonal labour in the field as reportable employment.

[4] The artist and writer Gladys Peto (1926: 222) reported women working on the roads outside Famagusta city: 'A Cyprus road that is under repair presents a most decorative appearance. Crowds of peasants, largely women, sit and break up stones.'

[5] In 1930 the export economy for citrus grew and as a result two factories were established in Famagusta producing citrus juices and citrus oil (CBB 1930: 376).

> [she laughs]! Annou would always make up songs, funny jokes about our work, about what happened in the day and about all different people. It was like a story she would sing [trans. from Greek].

Androulla's comments highlight the contradictions in women's lives and how honour and shame can be rather fluid notions. Women working for unrelated men at one time or another were aware that they were not adhering strictly to the community's expectations of *kali yinaika*. They were not treated as outcasts by their community, but pitied.[6] They were also earning less than their husbands. Loss of honour is more likely to occur when a woman misbehaves sexually, rather than when she works outside the home (Loizos 1975: 55).

When women spoke of those who had worked for non-kin, they did not talk about loss of honour. Almost every Deryneian family, irrespective of class, had at least one female relative who had at some time worked for non-kin. I also found that it was not uncommon for a family to have members in different social classes. Thus Anna (the youngest daughter of a family of 10 children) was poor compared with her siblings and had several times worked for non-kin. Her wealthier, married sisters had previously told neighbours that Anna's employer was a relative, but by the 1990s, when she worked as a cleaner at a hotel, they did not need to invent such a connection, since many women in Deryneia (including Anna's now-widowed sister) were similarly employed.

[6] Kenna (1996: 148) also found that this was the case for widows on the island of Anafi, Greece.

Agriculture in Deryneia

The majority of older Deryneian women worked for most of their lives as unpaid agricultural labourers.[7] From an early age the main responsibility of girls was to tend the animals and fetch water for the household.[8] At harvest time young girls often took over most household responsibilities and reared their siblings, while their mothers undertook heavy manual labour.[9] Elli recalled:

> When I was about six years old I would look after the animals but as I got older I was left to water the crops and often had to dig in the fields. We had to thresh the wheat and plant things like beans, and later when the crop was ready I would tie everything into bails [trans. from Greek].

As girls grew older their work in the fields became more strenuous and often meant spending all day in the sun. The work was physically gruelling and women aged prematurely (Anthias 1992: 86). As Androulla reflected:

> It was difficult for everyone. Everyone was tortured! It was hard work. I used to complain that I lost my youth, but looking back I suppose compared with many women, I'm lucky. There are a lot of other people who have worked as hard as me but haven't come through it [trans. from Greek].

Once married, women worked with their husbands in the fields during harvest time, or when they needed assistance. Eirini said:

> We used to go out to the crops during harvest time with our babies. We would take the children with us because there was nowhere to leave them. We would put them in the basket on our backs while we did our work [trans. from Greek].

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[7] The Cyprus census of 1891 showed that the greatest numbers of women in the Famagusta district were employed as agriculturalists, with weaving the second most popular occupation (CO 1893: 56). In the 1901 census, this trend was reversed. In 1931 the largest number of women worked as 'ploughmen' and agricultural labourers, followed closely by weavers, then dressmakers. The censuses of 1901 and 1931 also show that men were mostly concentrated in agriculture (CCG 1901 and 1932). The majority worked as cultivators, followed by ploughmen and agricultural labourers, then shepherds. In 1946 most women and men in the Famagusta region were found in agricultural work (CCG 1949).

[8] Tap water was not available in Deryneia until 1953 (Platis 1995: 105). Today while most houses have running tap water (desalinated), the majority buy drinking water (which comes from the mountainous areas of Cyprus) at dispensers located throughout the village.

[9] Kitchener's survey of Cyprus from 1878-1883, for example, found that 'the women do a great deal of manual labour, fetching water, accompanying their lords to the fields to reap the harvest, and threshing the corn: they help in everything except ploughing and sowing' (in Shirley 2001: 58).

During times of economic hardship, married women often ran the farm while their husbands sought employment elsewhere or emigrated. This was the case during the late 1940s economic recession that resulted in high unemployment and affected potato-growing regions like Deryneia (CO 1950: 4). Some men sought work at the British military base under construction at the time, while their women kin were left to work the land.[10] In the 1950s, increasing competition in the world market saw agricultural prices dramatically decrease, and Cyprus' problems of land fragmentation and inefficient agriculture practices only made matters worse (as discussed in Chapter One). At the end of 1957, unemployment had risen drastically and once again the agriculture sector was hit by a fall in world prices which this time adversely affected the citrus industry (CO 1958). The economic slump was also the result of political unrest (which led to a fall in tourism) and the diversion of labour and resources to the completion of the British military bases (Angelides 1996: 219-221).[11] This left numerous Deryneian men unemployed and many had no choice but to emigrate while their wives were left in Deryneia to support their family.

The rapid growth in manufacturing and construction after independence caused many male agriculturalists and agricultural labourers to move into these better-paying industries (Attalides 1981: 55; House 1985).[12] During the 1960s and 1970s several Deryneian men found work outside agriculture, leaving their women kin in charge of the family holdings for most of the year. Some established small businesses in the growing town of Varosha, like Despina's husband, Evan (74), who set up a shop selling car parts in the town, while she ran their orange grove. Other men left agriculture for the

[10] In 1957, 8,000 Cypriots had work at the British military base and 8-10,000 had jobs indirectly associated with the base (Meyer & Vassiliou 1962: 14).

[11] According to an informant who was the village *mouktaris* of Deryneia at the time, political instability also halted the expansion of the tourist industry in the Famagusta area, as many were reluctant to invest in new venues such as hotels (see also Meyer & Vassiliou 1962: 64).

[12] According to Attalides (1981: 57), modernisation and mechanisation of farming practices were also conducive to this.

now-thriving tourist industry. As men moved away from the sector, women were left to take over their roles in the burgeoning agricultural export market.[13] In 1982, more than half of agricultural labourers were women and the majority of these were older, unpaid women who worked on their family's land (House cited in Ansell *et al.* 1984: 8).[14]

Since the 1980s many agriculturists in Deryneia have found that their children are unwilling to enter the industry.[15] The lack of interest among young Deryneians has left many parents with a dilemma, as traditionally sons took over their parents' farm. Athamos' sons were not interested in running his farm, but he was one of the few who hoped that once his daughter (a professional living in Nicosia) married, she and her husband would do so. Athamos' main concern was that after his death, the farm would continue to operate and above all, remain in the family.

During my fieldwork, most Deryneian women working full-time in agriculture did so on farms owned by their family. These were usually older women and they mostly played a supervisory role. Although Despina did not need to work, she could not bear to stay at home and instead helped out at her son's property (inherited from her parents) where they grew flowers, vegetables and fruit trees. She was mainly overseeing the foreign labourers. Other women married to full-time agriculturalists also worked during the busiest periods during their husbands' absence from the farm, assuming full

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[13] After independence, agricultural output almost doubled (Eteocleous 1993: 72).

[14] According to Shekeris (1999: 30), the increasing number of women entering the workforce after 1974 was due not only to a high demand for workers, but also to aspirations for higher living standards.

[15] In Deryneia, Paralimni and Agia Napa one-third of agricultural holders were aged 39 and under (Philippides & Papayiannis 1983: 61). I have found that since 2003 several male informants in their 30s have become full-time farmers. In 2001, all of them had struggling businesses in the tourist area. Many contributed this to the changing tourist clientele in Agia Napa, which was once touted as a 'family destination,' but since the 2000s has become popular among young (predominately British) backpackers, who come to party. According to my informants, the younger clientele do not spend as much money in restaurants. Some of these men have since obtained EU grants and established lucrative agricultural businesses, often trying new technologies in their fields.

managerial responsibilities. Thus, when Athamos fell ill in 2001, his wife Katelou ran their *perivoli* with the help of her son.[16]

In 2001, several older Deryneians produced small crops for family consumption, and sold fruit and vegetables to supplement their pensions. Widows, too, grew small crops of vegetables without any assistance and sold their produce locally. In several younger Deryneian families, the husband worked in the tourist industry but during the winter months grew strawberries for additional income.[17] Many employed foreign labourers to do most of the manual work, but at the busiest times wives also worked in the fields. This was the case of Androniki whose husband Pavlos was a co-owner of a restaurant in Agia Napa and grew strawberries in winter when the restaurant was closed.

Androniki

Androniki rarely looked forward to the hectic strawberry season as she found it difficult to balance her time between household responsibilities, childcare and assisting her husband in the fields (which also included making and delivering lunch to their foreign labourers). At the start of the season she helped with the planting of seedlings and during harvest was in charge of the packaging, which was done in their home garage (see Figures 25a, 25b).[18] This was a tedious and time-consuming task, as each strawberry must be graded and sorted by size and quality, with imperfect fruit set aside for jam. The contents of each punnet must be packed to maximise aesthetic effect. The punnet is then manually wrapped in cellophane and a business label attached, before delivery by her husband to the suppliers (see Figures 25c, 25d).

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[16] The son was co-owner, with his brother, of a Deryneian business established by their father. Both sons told me they had never wanted to work as farmers but when their father was ill, they had no alternative but to help.

[17] For some, involvement in less profitable agriculture was also used as a taxation write-off.

[18] During the day Androniki also attended to her small child who spent most of the day in the garage in a cot, and later attended to her older children when they returned from school.

Figure 25a Packing strawberries in Deryneia, 2001
(Photograph by author)

Figure 25b Packing strawberries in Deryneia, 2001
(Photograph by author)

Figure 25c Deryneia: ferrying strawberries to women, 2001 (Photograph by author)

Figure 25d Deryneia: a husband collecting strawberries packed by his wife, 2001 (Photograph by author)

Pavlos' brother and mother failed to plant their usual joint crop that year, so Androniki's mother-in-law was free to help her with the packaging, as her own mother did when her cleaning duties in a hotel allowed. Sometimes Androniki's sisters-in-law (her husband's brothers' wives) also helped, and on a few occasions Pavlos' foreign women labourers joined them, when not needed in the fields.[19] I was also expected to help and did so many times. Indeed, whenever my female informants were involved in group tasks such as making *trahanas* or *halloumi*, or picking olives, my participation was expected.

While Pavlos acknowledged that his wife played an important role in their enterprise, he saw it as an extension of her household chores. Moreover, he told me that for women, work is a social occasion, because they spend the day gossiping with other women. Like her husband, Androniki also saw her contribution as a wife's obligation. It was part of being *kali yinaika* and essential to their financial security. While Androniki wanted the winter harvest work to finish as quickly as possible, her sister-in-law, Christalleni, told me, 'I miss growing strawberries because it keeps me occupied and it is more rewarding than staying at home.'[20] Several women said that the strawberry

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[19] Foreign workers are often expected to multi-task. In the case of Pavlos' women labourers, when there was little to do on the farm they were sent to help women kin in household chores, like window cleaning.

[20] During winter I moved into her shed, which usually housed foreign workers and was used for packaging strawberries. She had invited me to stay at her home for my last few months of my fieldwork, and most villagers were surprised, even somewhat horrified, to learn that I preferred the farm. My explanation that I needed to live near the hub of agricultural activities for my research was generally accepted, but it became a joke among acquaintances. One woman quipped that if asked where I lived, I should reply, '*odoshorafia, noumero agathia*' (literally field street, number thorns). This phrase is actually a cliché used evasively by those not wanting to disclose personal details. It was also a reference to the distant past when people moved to the farm during the harvest periods, whereas most informants now find that degrading. My mother's kin also joked that I was like my grandfather, who also stayed on one of their farms whenever he visited Deryneia. He had wanted some privacy, but also, as he told them, to feel the red soil of his homeland for as long as possible. Some said that part of his soul and blood were in the soil. See Bryant (2004) for the use of 'blood and soul' as metaphors for an imagined community, and its relation to Cypriot nationalism; also Herzfeld (1997b: 83-86) on metaphors of blood in relation to ethnic and national identity. My decision to live on the farm was for privacy, but also for financial reasons. Renting a flat in Deryneia was not only expensive but also difficult at short notice. The flat I had initially rented was let to tourists at three times the rent.

season was exhausting, but found the work more fulfilling than their domestic chores, particularly as it contributes to the household economy.

On every farm I visited, I found mostly women in charge of the strawberry packaging, with the exception of Katelou and Athamos, who often worked together on the task. When she was busy with the grandchildren, Athamos combined supervision of the packaging with overseeing other activities on the farm.

Foreign Workers in Deryneia

> Once the Cypriots were slaves. They went to work in countries like Australia and worked as slaves, like your relatives. Now in Cyprus we have slaves! [Eleftheria, trans. from Greek]

Since the late 1990s, the employment of foreign workers in Cyprus has dramatically increased because of the shortage of low-skilled workers, a more educated population and the unwillingness of younger people to do agriculture work.[21] In Deryneia, foreigners are employed in agriculture mostly, but are also found in domestic service.[22] Most come from Sri Lanka, Bulgaria or the Philippines and many are not paid fully until their contract ends and they return home.[23] In upper-middle and middle class households, where both spouses are in paid employment, a domestic servant is typically

[21] In 1990 the Cypriot government responded to the acute labour shortage by changing its restrictive policy on the employment of foreign workers. In 1992, it issued more permits for the employment of foreign workers than ever before (RC 2001: 155). In 1993, foreign workers comprised about six per cent of the workforce, and by 2000 they formed nearly nine per cent (RC 2001: 155 and 163). In 1999 there were 24,059 registered foreign workers (RC 2001: 15). However, it is impossible to know exact numbers of foreign workers in Cyprus as illegal workers were estimated to number 10,000 in 1997 alone (Anthias 2000: 29). In 2001, I encountered several foreigners working without permits.

[22] In the tourist areas near Deryneia, there were foreign women, mainly from Eastern Europe, working in the sex industry.

[23] See Panayiotopoulos (2005) for more detail on these contracts. Typically, workers are on two-year contracts, but in the case of agricultural workers I found they were often in Cyprus for only three to six months.

employed as a nanny and in many cases also to attend to the household chores.[24] They sometimes live with and care for elders as well. I found that the employment of foreigners in unskilled work was largely unregulated and that they often did not enjoy the same rights and protection as Cypriot workers. Theoretically, workers had Sunday off, but in many instances this was not the case. Most foreign agricultural workers resided on the farm or close by. The housing was often substandard, usually an old shed or run-down house. The case of Takis was particularly poignant.

Takis

After months of negative press regarding the treatment of foreign labourers in Cyprus, Takis invited me to a barbeque to welcome his new Sri Lankan labourers, as he said he wanted to demonstrate that the media reports were wrong. A month later, one of his workers absconded and Takis angrily announced that once he found where he was hiding he would have him deported.

A day later, Takis insisted that I join him and his daughter on a trip to Nicosia, where he had business to attend to, and on our way back to Deryneia we stopped at his orange grove situated inside the buffer zone, close to the British military base at Agios Nikolaos. It was after 10 pm when we arrived at the farm and as we entered the property, Takis turned off his car headlights. He said he did not want to forewarn the workers living in the farm shed, in case they were hiding the absconder.

The workers were housed in a storage shed for fertilisers and a loud electric water pump beside the shed operated throughout the night. It was difficult to hear anything over the pump (which explained why Takis was not concerned that his workers might hear the car approaching). The workers also had turned up the volume of

[24] For insight into foreign women workers in Cyprus, see Anthias (2000), Lenz (2001), Panayiotopoulos (2005) and Vassiliadou (2005). Agathangelou's research (2004) focuses on foreign women workers and their employers.

a small television, to counteract the pump noise. On meeting the workers, who were preparing their evening meal, Takis thought it appropriate to scream instructions for jobs that still needed doing, and interspersed this with racist abuse. The alleged absconder remained elusive.

Women's Employment outside Agriculture

Until 1960, Deryneians were largely reliant on subsistence farming. Women also played the major role in the processing of food items for family consumption. They made *halloumi*, *anari, trahanas,* noodles and olive oil. They also hulled wheat by hand and took it to the village mill. The first motorised flour mill in Deryneia was opened in 1940 (Platis 1995: 104). The wheat was used to make bread, pasta, bulgur and various other items. Anthi recalled that married women in the 1950s made bread (a staple food in every household) weekly as there were no bakeries, adding: 'I used to have to wash the wheat and maize and then dry it, after which I baked it in the clay oven.' Some women were also involved in the cultivation of silkworms and paid by weight to have it processed (Platis 1995: 75). This was then used for making items for their own or a daughter's trousseau.

Women also bartered or sold their produce to other women in the neighbourhood, and to local and travelling merchants. Older women recalled that from the 1940s to the 1960s they sold surplus eggs to egg merchants who traded in Varosha. Many women also kept animals in their yards, which were sometimes sold. Some women recalled bartering produce at the local grocery for items such as sugar, coffee, wine and various household goods. They also traded goods in the church courtyard and in the early 2000s during religious festivals stalls were set up outside the church to sell items such as bedding. In Melbourne the church courtyard was also an important place for women to sell various food items they had made. Each Sunday after the church

service at Apostolos Andreas, women sold homemade sausages, bread, sweets and plants.

Women's stories and the colonial records show that women supplemented the family income with paid work in the handicrafts industry, in particular embroidery, lace making and weaving (CBB 1930: 376). From the 1930s the growing export of embroidery and lace led to the establishment of several specialised schools in the Famagusta region, offering apprenticeships in weaving and embroidery.[25] However, as far as I could tell, Deryneian handicrafts were exchanged only within the local economy, whereas in villages in the more mountainous regions (such as Lefkara) and the plains where cotton was grown, women's lace and embroidery was sold across the island and to foreign markets.[26]

In the 1940s in Deryneia, several women worked full-time in the handicraft industry, primarily as fabric weavers. Most sold their finished product to other villagers or to merchants. Platis (1995: 29) also found that some women bought fabrics in Famagusta and resold these to neighbours for a small profit. In the 1940s, with the growing demand for machine-made products over handicrafts, some women became seamstresses.[27]

During the 1950s and 1960s, a number of girls in their early teens were sent to Varosha and surrounding villages to learn weaving, embroidery and dressmaking.[28]

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[25] According to informants, these were run by older women in their homes.

[26] Angeliki Pieridou's (1973-1975: 278) work for the Cyprus department of antiquities notes that before Venetian rule, valuable textiles were manufactured in Nicosia and Famagusta and exported through the Famagusta market. However, I could find no evidence of Deryneian involvement in this. Surridge's (1930: 26) survey of Cyprus in the late 1920s found that women's lace, particularly from the village of Lefkara, was sold all over the world. Lefkara is still reliant on lace production and has become a popular tourist destination because of it.

[27] In 1946, women's occupation as weavers was in decline while the number of dressmakers and seamstresses steadily increased (CCG 1949).

[28] Historically, women made both women's and men's clothing. Thus census data indicates that in the early 1900s there were few male tailors in the Famagusta region, but by 1931 the number of men entering this occupation had risen dramatically (CCG 1901 and 1932). According to Platis (1995: 26), the change occurred after men began to wear trousers instead of the traditional breeches.

More often than not, those who entered these apprenticeships were the youngest daughters of the family. Their older sisters typically worked in the fields. They usually took a three-year apprenticeship, but many only attended training during the winter months, when there was little work in the fields. As the youngest in her family, Ellen took up a sewing apprenticeship in Varosha at 14 years of age, travelling there daily by bicycle. Her parents paid her fees hoping that once she gained her certificate, she would find work in the industry. The clothes made by the apprentices were sold at market and in nearby villages, or were items made to order for women in the area. In Cyprus at that time, apprentices did not receive a wage.

During the late 1950s, Varosha became a thriving 'modern' town, and studying or working there exposed women to new ideas (see CSRC 1975: 7). Loukia was an apprentice seamstress:

> When I was working in Varosha it was the first time I had seen a *xeni* (foreign woman). The women from England were dressed in beautiful clothes and seemed to be enjoying their lives. From then on I wanted to go abroad and enjoy my life too, and eventually I did go. Many of the girls felt like I did. Working in Varosha opened our eyes and made us realise that we could have other opportunities [trans. from Greek].

On completion of their apprenticeships, some women found employment in the industry. Families did not see these occupations as a threat to women's honour as senior women typically supervised them. In many cases, the income derived from this work was given to their parents by way of contribution to their dowry. Many of their new skills could also be applied to the performance of their household duties.

Today, few women in Deryneia are employed as seamstresses because globalisation has made it cheaper to import clothing. However, older women continue with lace-work and crochet for themselves and kin, many making handicrafts to give to new brides (see Figures 26a, 26b). On several occasions I also witnessed older women kin gather to crotchet while catching up on family and community news.

Figure 26a Deryneia: crocheting in kitchen, 2001 (Photograph by author)

Figure 26b Deryneia: crocheting a gift for a grandchild's wedding, 2002
(Photograph by author)

Contemporary Work Patterns of Women in Deryneia

Increased wealth and access to education have broadened employment opportunities for many Deryneian women. An increasing number of unmarried, tertiary-educated women from the village now work in white-collar jobs and live in large towns such as Larnaka and Nicosia. Not only have women gained greater freedom in their lifestyle choices, but also financial independence has resulted in the loosening of parental controls. A mother of three children, Margarita expressed the sentiments of many married women of her age in Deryneia:

> These days it is easier for girls to get jobs in Nicosia. They leave Deryneia and get their own flat. Girls now study and have more independence. They decide when to marry and when to return to Deryneia. When I left school I did not have this choice [trans. from Greek].

Mylona *et al.* (1986: 133) argue that better access to education and more employment opportunities have led to the social and economic liberation of women in Cyprus. However, as I have already indicated, this is only true to a degree. While several younger Deryneian women are employed in white-collar occupations, overall, women's wages are still considerably lower than men's and gender divisions are ever-present in the workplace.[29] The increased number of women entering paid employment has not necessarily meant that inequalities between women and men have vanished, and as I suggest later, codes of honour and shame have also been mapped on to these 'modern' changes. Moreover, married women now bear the brunt of a 'double burden,' since they earn their income while retaining their responsibility for overseeing the household and child-rearing.

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[29] In the 1980s, women in Cyprus with a comparable level of education and responsibilities were paid considerably less than men (House 1985). Moreover, House (1985: 141) found that men received 10 per cent more pay than women in the public sector, and 14 per cent more in the private sector. In 2001, men were paid on average 34.9 per cent more than women (Soumeli & Trimikliniotis 2004). In Australia, the situation was similar among Cypriots and censuses indicate that overall, men's wages are considerably higher than women's (see AG 1983 and AG 1991: 152).

The expansion of tourism in the Agia Napa and Protaras areas has led to the decline of agricultural work among Deryneians.[30] Married women with basic lower-secondary education have entered the service industries and are typically employed as cleaners, waitresses and bar tenders, whereas women who have completed a secondary education now hold white-collar jobs such as receptionists or sales assistants. Some younger women work in retail stores and souvenir shops or in bars.

Several married women also work on a seasonal basis, or part-time. Eleftheria stated:

> Most women prefer to work now, even if they have children. They don't want to stay at home. They enjoy working with friends and getting paid a salary. They feel more independent and able to do what they want [trans. from Greek].

Many women with pre-school children work part-time and rely on extended family networks for childcare.

The financial burdens of providing a dowry, coupled with the effects of the 1974 war, forced many women to work well into old age. I discovered cases where older women in Deryneia needed to supplement their pensions (often because they were paying off debts) and as a consequence, had to take up paid employment when they were well into their 60s and 70s.[31] Chrystalla said:

> The older women never used to go to work. They would just go to their own *perivoli* when there was work to be done. But now most of the elderly women have to work. A lot of my friends work at the hotels where they clean [trans. from Greek].

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[30] The 2001 Cyprus census, records that most men and women in the Famagusta region were in tourist-related jobs (RC 2004a).

[31] A 1991 government report found that older women in rural areas were the most disadvantaged women in Cyprus (RC 1997: 7). The report states that as they had spent most of their lives working in the fields as unpaid labourers, they were paid substantially smaller government pensions than women who had been in paid employment. Moreover, the report found that in rural areas, the highest contribution rates by women to the family income were provided by those between the ages of 18 and 25 and women over the age of 65 (RC 1997: 16). By contrast, women in urban areas over the age of 65 contribute the least to family income (RC 1997: 15). A 1995 UN report notes that Cypriot women who worked as unpaid family workers on farms were not covered under the Social Insurance Scheme.

After the decline of agriculture in the area, particularly of small-scale farming, many senior women turned to the tourist industry where they found unskilled employment on a seasonal basis. After Eleni was widowed, she could not manage to maintain her crops alone so she found employment in the tourist industry, as a hotel cleaner and a kitchen hand.

> I liked working at the hotel. It was difficult but you learn things. After some years there, I even learned some English from the tourists. It was fun! You got to meet people from other countries … With the other women we worked hard but we also had fun. It wasn't like the farm. Work at the farm was hard because you are in the sun, in the heat all day pulling out potatoes [trans. from Greek].

Many senior women relished receiving a wage, often for the first time in their lives. Anna (60) had worked on the family farm most of her life as an unpaid labourer, but in the mid-1990s took employment as a cleaner at a hotel. Although the work was hard, she enjoyed meeting people from beyond her village. It was also the first time she had had her own bank account.[32] Her daughter Kleoniki insisted that her mother did not need to work as hard as she did, nor was her decision to work born of economic necessity. 'My mother always has to keep occupied. It is in her mentality, from the olden days.' Wage labour has given many older women more independence and for some has radically changed the power dynamics within their family.

Several older men, having found their pension insufficient, have also had to return to work after retiring. They usually work part-time, like Anna's husband, who drove a mini bus for children attending after-school classes. Some older men also undertake seasonal work in the tourist industry. Their greater proficiency in English has provided them with more opportunities than women of the same generation. Petros, for example, works the night shift on the reception desk at a tourist hotel in Agia Napa.

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[32] During my fieldwork, Anna decided to buy her first car and told me that previously she would have sought permission from her husband to buy something so expensive. However, as it came from her own savings, she did not feel the need for her husband's approval. On the day she purchased her second-hand car, she asked me to come and read the contract for her.

Business amongst Extended Family

A number of Deryneians also work in non-agricultural family businesses, ranging from speciality shops and small supermarkets to kiosks and restaurants.[33] Several Deryneians have businesses in the tourist areas. Most of them work long hours and often six or seven days a week. Some businesses are run solely by Deryneian women.[34] Some find it very difficult to run their own business without family support and given the restrictive practices expected of *kali yinaika*. For example, in the late 1990s, Margarita opened a restaurant in Deryneia, but closed it again after two years, as she received very little support from kin and struggled to find childcare or maintain her household in parallel with regular evening work. The stress was exacerbated by constant criticism from family members that she was neglecting her children, and therefore transgressing in her role as *kali yinaika.*

Other businesswomen experienced comparable conflict in their marital relationships. These surfaced on numerous occasions during my fieldwork, but especially one evening when I joined Marilena and her family for dinner. Marilena recounted a heated argument she had overheard between her neighbours, a successful businesswoman with several thriving businesses in Deryneia and her husband, a wage-labourer in the tourist industry. Marilena's narration focused on her neighbour's defiant remark to her husband that she earned three times as much as him. Unimpressed, Marilena's husband reprimanded her not only for her uncensored gossip, but also for exposing the neighbours' private financial affairs. However, he agreed that the couple should not have aired such things 'in public,' and added that it was not right for a woman to earn more than her husband as it diminished a man's honour.

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[33] The supermarkets were mostly small, family-run general stores.

[34] In 1995 women owned approximately 12 per cent of enterprises registered in Cyprus and about 6 per cent of female sole owners were self-employed or employers (Nearchou-Ellinas & Kountouris 2004: 325). However, as Nearchou-Ellinas and Kountouris (2004: 326) point out, some of these companies might belong to husbands but are registered in women's names.

Jack Balswick (1978) argues that the reason Greek Cypriot women earn less than men, even in the same occupations, is related to 'cultural norms,' wherein men are expected to be the main providers for their families. He suggests that Cypriots take the view that 'a woman who works for pay outside of the home is possibly depriving another man from [sic.] accomplishing his duty' (Balswick 1978: 883).

The argument at Marilena's dinner table highlights how codes of honour and shame persist. It also demonstrates how these codes serve to circumscribe not only the activities of women but also men's lives, and point to the idea of *kalos anthropos* (a good man).[35]

Cypriot Women's Work in Melbourne[36]

During the early years of settlement, particularly in the 1940s and 1950s, most Cypriot women did not work outside the home (see Tables 6 and Table 7).[37] The demands of serving large households of men are the most plausible reasons for this. However, in the mid-1960s this changed, and more than half of Cypriot-born women were in paid employment. In 1981, one in two Cyprus-born married women in Victoria were in paid employment, mostly in the manufacturing industry, and four in ten single Cyprus-born women aged 15 years and above were employed (VEAC 1986).[38] During economic down-turns, women were more likely to seek employment outside the home. Andrew

[35] Although this is beyond the scope of my thesis, the ethnographical works of Argyrou (1996), Loizos (1975) and Phellas (2002) suggest that men are subject to discourses of *kalos anthropos*. Also see Herzfeld (1985) and Just (2000: 167) for an insight into the discourses of *kalos anthropos* in Greece.

[36] It is difficult to gauge accurately Greek Cypriot women's participation in the Australian workforce as the sources aggregate other Cypriot ethnic groups. Also, as mentioned in Chapter Two, in some cases, Cypriots were classified in broader categories such as Asian or Southern European.

[37] In 1954, Australia-wide approximately 34 per cent of Cyprus-born women between the ages of 15 and 65 years old were employed, compared with 98.5 per cent of Cyprus-born men in that age bracket.

[38] In 1981, the number of Cyprus-born unemployed (7.7 per cent) in Victoria was higher than the general population (5.6 per cent) and of those Cyprus-born single women had the highest rate of unemployment (VEAC 1986).

was left unemployed for months in the mid-1970s, so his wife Soulla found factory work to support the family. Although Andrew said this was humiliating, necessity meant wives had to help out and find whatever work they could.

Table 6: Australian Employment of Cypriot-born women

Year	Total Cyprus-born women in Australia	Australia-wide Cypriot women not in workforce
1954	1,519	1,131
1961	3,508	2,442
1966	4,726	2,810

*All figures derive from the Commonwealth of Australia census 1954, 1961 and 1966.

Table 7: Australian Employment of Cypriot-born men

Year	Total Cyprus-born men in Australia	Australia-wide Cypriot men not in workforce
1954	4,254	467
1961	5,068	825
1966	5,977	947

*All figures derive from the Commonwealth of Australia census 1954, 1961 and 1966

Factory Work in Australia

The expansion of manufacturing industries after WWII meant that most first generation Cypriots found employment in low-skill occupations.[39] Typically, women were absorbed into the clothing industry as machinists and cutters, and by the 1980s the highest numbers of Cyprus-born women in Victoria were employed as plant and machine operators (AG 1991: 144).[40] During the 1980s Collins (1993: 291) found that women working in the clothing industry were eight times more likely to be Cypriot than any other ethnic group. Work in factories often meant long hours in poorly ventilated sweatshops. The effect of these workplace conditions on women has been documented

[39] See Lever-Tracy and Quinlan for insight into the expansion of the Australian manufacturing industry in the 1960s. They also give a historical overview of migrant workers and their position in the labour market. Their work demonstrates that 'non-Anglophone immigrant workers' were mainly concentrated in manufacturing (Lever-Tracy & Quinlan 1988: 22). Also see Collins (1988).

[40] The second largest industry to employ Cypriot women was the wholesale–retail trade (VEAC 1986).

by Bottomley (1984b, 1991), who reported that immigrant women who were concentrated in the textile industry and metal trades suffered serious long-term health problems, including repetitive strain injuries and stress-related illnesses (also see Tsingas 1998).

In the 1960s Ellen was employed in a textile factory as a machinist and despite severe arthritis today has fond memories of her time in employment. It gave her an opportunity to make friends, especially as many of her colleagues were Greek-speaking migrants. It was also an escape from the house:

> I was so desperate to get out … Well of course we needed the money, but I was so bored in the house always cleaning, washing, cooking and constantly having visitors and their children … I went by myself and asked for work and they said yes. I was so happy. I was finally out of the house!

Similarly, Loukia worked as a machinist for long hours, often twelve-hour days, but she was grateful that her employers allowed her to use the sewing machines at lunchtime to make clothes for her family, which she could not otherwise afford. She proudly noted, 'My daughter and I always had the latest fashions.'

While many women informants found the factory a safe space to meet other migrant women, at the same time, several reported feeling alienated from management. Language difficulties also meant they were often exploited.[41] Women rarely had the opportunity to acquire English or advance their careers. Most returned home at the end of their shift to attend to the household.

Other Forms of Employment

Apart from factory work, Cypriot women were involved in outwork and piecework, making clothes at home. From the 1950s onwards, and particularly during the mid-

[41] See Bottomley (1984b) for further elaboration of the problems migrant women faced in the manufacturing industry. Also see Martin (1984) on language problems for non-English speaking women in the workforce.

1970s recession in Australian manufacturing, many women moved to piecework. It is difficult to ascertain how many Cypriot women were involved in this as it was hidden employment and largely undocumented. Georgina and several other first generation women informants recalled that in the 1950s most of their friends did piecework at home. Elli remembered that representatives of Melbourne clothing factories often walked the neighbourhood recruiting migrant women like her as outworkers.

Outwork did not threaten the principle of *kali yinaika*. It enabled women to work full-time without leaving their children or home, as the fabrics were delivered to them and the finished garments were picked up. An additional advantage was that outworkers did not need great proficiency in English.

While piecework at home gave women some economic independence, women informants reported that the pay was low and without benefits such as holiday pay or long service leave. The hours were often long and typically women worked late into the evenings after children were asleep. Today many of these women suffer from chronic repetitive strain conditions and other illnesses, as a result of poor working conditions.

Some older women were also involved in family businesses, usually milk bars, small supermarkets or fish and chip shops. Georgina remembered:

> We had a small supermarket and I worked there every Friday and Saturday. I could only speak a little English. I would just weigh the biscuits and things like that. But my husband was having trouble managing the supermarket, so he took my daughter out of school. She was very upset, she didn't want to come [trans. from Greek].

Most of these businesses were established some years (often 10 or more years) after settlement in Melbourne. Women's work was unpaid and children were expected to help after school, on the weekends and during school holidays or, like Georgina's daughter, to leave school altogether.

Contemporary Work Practices in Melbourne

Social and economic mobility meant that second generation Cypriots were generally better educated and moved away from the types of low-skill jobs their parents had.[42] Many second generation Cypriots and those who emigrated as children were employed in white-collar occupations.[43] Though there were an increasing number of women in professions, women with small children still tended to stay at home.

Many second generation informants had small businesses. Women involved in these tended to work with their husbands, like Loukia's daughter, who ran a restaurant with her husband. However, a few were businesswomen, working independently. For instance, Connie left her secretarial job after the birth of her first child and did not return to paid employment until she was widowed in her late 30s, when she set up a small business. Several second generation men also established businesses, mostly in the construction and service industries.

Some women have operated small enterprises from their homes. For example, Cathy runs a childcare agency with her husband. She initially established the agency alone, but her husband joined her when the business grew. Lenya single-handedly operated a 'Cypriot food' business from her home, mainly selling to other Greek Cypriots, who viewed the business as important for the reproduction of Cypriot identity.[44]

However, a significant number of second generation women, particularly those whose parents came in the 1950s, worked in similar occupations to their parents. Typically, the older daughters of the family were more likely to be in employment not

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[42] House ownership was an index of overall social mobility. Thus, in 2000, 87.3 per cent of Cypriots owned their own house, compared with 71.3 per cent of the general Australian population (AG 2000).

[43] The 1986 census categorises these as clerks, managers and administrators, professionals and paraprofessionals (Museum Victoria Australia 2005).

[44] See Kalivas (2007a, 2007b) on the importance of food to Cypriots in Melbourne.

requiring university qualifications, and some worked in factories, while others entered occupations such as hairdressing or in the retail sector.

Some first generation women informants never worked outside the home. In Australia, keeping women at home was a symbol of status and success both for display within the local community and to report to kin in Cyprus. Informants recalled that in the 1950s a Cypriot woman who stayed at home was considered wealthy. Georgina, for example, was proud that unlike other Cypriot women in Melbourne or her women kin in Cyprus, she never needed to work in Australia. Significantly, she did actually work in the family business, but her insistence on the contrary was part of a pretension to a higher status.

Unlike many older women in Deryneia, first generation immigrant women in Melbourne generally did not remain in paid employment after 60 years of age. Though many struggled financially after migration, the majority did not have the burden of providing dowries or bride-wealth, as did their kin in Cyprus.

The Double Burden

In Melbourne, first generation immigrant Cypriot women who undertook paid employment were also expected to perform their traditional roles in the domestic sphere, in most cases with little help from their husbands. Many did not have the type of support they had in Cyprus, especially from women kin. A few, however, claimed that their husbands occasionally helped with the children or cooking, particularly when women came home late from work. I also found that more elderly men were involved in grocery shopping with their wives in Melbourne than in Deryneia. This was largely because the wives lacked the requisite English-language skills. Men's involvement in shopping was welcomed, but the concomitant control over household finances was not. Androulla remarked:

> There are a lot of men who hold on to their money and they won't give their wives enough money to do the shopping. In the Greek club you see them, they are just so mean. If their wife wants one dollar she has to beg for it [trans. from Greek].

Inadequate English disempowered many Cypriot women who would have had significant control over household finances in Cyprus. Some women said that in Australia, they lost a degree of independence and felt that men had more control over their lives. Many women, however, viewed their sacrifice as essential to the success of their family in both moral and financial terms (Lim 1997: 43). Moreover, it was presented as essential to maintaining Cypriot culture in Australia. Several women also felt that in Australia they no longer contributed to the household, as they had in Cyprus. For example, in Cyprus most women had provided a large portion of the family's food by growing vegetables and fruit or raising chickens. In Australia, without land, they were unable to contribute significantly to the household in this way.

Contemporary work practices and improved access to education has enabled more lifestyle choices for younger women in Deryneia and Melbourne. For example, in Cyprus by the late 1990s, younger women were achieving more independent lives by moving to the city and larger towns. They also had more career choices. In Melbourne, this was also apparent for second and third generation women, many of whom were now in professions such as education and law. These changes in work and literacy have also affected traditional ideas of domesticity and womanhood, in some cases challenging existing norms, but in others reinforcing the traditional proscriptive roles, whereby women remain responsible for child-rearing and the maintenance of the household.

While many women now have more choices, some are ambivalent about social changes. In Melbourne Loukia reflected:

> I think women have more responsibilities today. They have to organise everything and they do all the chores in the house. The men sometimes help

> but the women do so much more. They do all the shopping, they do everything. The women have more worries. They worry about everything!

In Deryneia, Stella reiterated Loukia's observations but also acknowledged that her life is very different from that of her mother's generation.

> My husband rarely helps with the cleaning or cooking. Well, he does lots of jobs. If something is broken he will fix it and does all the odd jobs around the house, but he never will clean up or help me, nothing like that and I am always complaining about it. I hate being at home, I get sick of it. I prefer to be at work. But at least my life has changed from my mother's. She didn't have a washing machine. Life was more difficult, it was different. For example, her work was harder at the farm and now everything is easy. But I still don't seem to have enough time! [trans. from Greek]

Both Loukia and Stella had been in paid employment and while labour-saving technology in the home helps, they still bear the double burden.

In Deryneia and Melbourne, changing work patterns have also had other consequences for older women, many of whom are now involved in the care of grandchildren (see Figure 27). For example, in Deryneia after school, children tend to go to their grandparents when both parents work outside the home. Some older women also do the housework for their working daughters. While my informants loved looking after their grandchildren and helping their children, many admitted that they found this tiring and at times trying.

Reliance on senior women also causes tensions within families. In some cases, I found conflict between kin, usually between sisters-in-law, as a result of their competing for the help of senior women in the family. In Deryneia, Tasoulla, for instance, often criticised her sister-in-law for leaving her small children too often with Tasoulla's mother.

Figure 27 Deryneia: grandmother caring for her grandchildren, 2003
(Photograph by author)

Tasoulla explained her mother was too ill and old, yet she never made such comments, as far as I was aware, to her sister, whose daughter was in the care of Tasoulla's mother after school everyday.

In Deryneia, social changes were also interwoven with concepts of *kali yinaika.* Kleoniki recalled that when she was ill she had to stop her husband hanging out the washing lest female neighbours witness it. Her husband's actions could potentially shame her. Similarly Christalleni remarked:

> I don't like my husband to help me with the housework as I have my own way of doing things. But I do like him helping me with the children sometimes, like giving them a bath and dressing them. But because he works so hard, it is a bit difficult. He does take the children to the beach and sometimes he reads with them. But he would never wash the floor! [trans. from Greek]

The responses of these women reflect the contradictory attitudes to domesticity and traditional womanhood that I found among women in both Deryneia and Melbourne. They also reveal how women like Christalleni and Kleoniki actively perpetuate ideas of *kali yinaika*. Although many women often wished for more help from male kin, at the same time, some see their ability to keep a 'clean house' as a reflection of their status as *kali yinaika*. It is part of their construction of female selfhood (see Argyrou 1997: 164). *Kali yinaika* is not only a good housekeeper, but also committed to family and kin, and therefore deserves public recognition (see also Tsolidis 1995, 2001).[45]

Public Demonstrations of *Timi* (Feminine Honour)

Most married women take great care to ensure their homes were always clean. Home is the site for the public demonstration of family honour and status, regardless of one's class position, and enables women to maintain their reputation as *kali yinaika*, one who

[45] For a similar experience of women in Greece see Dubisch (1986: 200).

knows how to be hospitable.[46] Kenna (1995:144) shows that in Greece, hospitality not only displays 'a household's resources but [also] its resourcefulness.' David Sutton (2001: 48) claims that hospitality in Greece must be 'witnessed,' and involves the recipient relaying to the community that the hosts' hospitality was generous. For Deryneian women, performance is open to the gaze of the village, so they go to great lengths to be seen to be hospitable. Serving homemade sweets, and presenting food and drink on the best china are some of the strategies that women employ to be seen as *kali yinaika,* as a good hostess.

In both Melbourne and Deryneia, women are at pains to extend good hospitality to visitors, often expressed by the type of food and drink offered. Older women, in particular, rarely invite guests to their home without having first prepared food.[47] This was particularly evident after the Sunday liturgy when invitations to each other's homes appeared to be issued spontaneously. Women were shrewd at masking their planning, as they casually pulled out plates of cut *halloumi*, olives, and pastries, much of which had been prepared beforehand in case an invitation was accepted. Issuing invitations after church can function as a competitive strategy among women.

Most homes I visited in Deryneia stored *gliko*, a delicacy served to unexpected or important guests. The *gliko* was always served on the best plate, usually crystal, with a small silver fork.[48] I was served this on many occasions, particularly on my first visit to a home. I came to dread it, as I do not have a sweet tooth and had to force myself to

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[46] Unannounced visits from acquaintances also fall within the bounds of hospitability codes. For example, on one occasion when I arrived at an informant's home in Deryneia to pick up a book, she had just prepared her family's lunch and insisted that I join them. As I could not stay she insisted that I take a plate of food home. Her husband apologised for giving me a small plate of food, and feeling embarrassed I said I really could not take it. Her husband pulled me aside to explain that if I did not take it I would offend them, but more importantly he said it was not good for his wife's *timi*. See Kenna (1995) on the importance of hospitality in Greece.

[47] I have yet to visit an older Cypriot's home (in Melbourne or Deryneia) where the woman did not have food stored in case of unexpected guests. However, younger married women often meet for coffee at one another's homes, which are often informal gatherings.

[48] On numerous visits to my grandmother's home in Melbourne, she has berated me for mistakenly serving coffee to other guests in the everyday cups, instead of her best ones.

eat it. I found out later that the most acceptable excuse among women for declining a serving of *gliko* or other sweets is to indicate concern for one's weight.

Jane Cowan and others argue that foods are gender-coded. She found that in Greece, women are associated with sweet foods and concluded that when eating sweets, 'women literally produce themselves as properly feminine persons' (Cowan 1990: 66). However, in Deryneia, this attitude is more likely to be prevalent among older women. Most women informants in Deryneia, particularly those under the age of 60, were concerned about their waistlines and tend to avoid sweet foods. Women in Melbourne were also body-conscious, but in Deryneia I found that it was even more significant.

Not all women subscribe to the ideals of *kali yinaika.* In Deryneia, Eleftheria was one of the few who did not spend much time on housework. As a consequence, her mother often asked if she could clean her house for her, but she never agreed. Eleftheria sensed that her lack of attention to housework contributes to her ostracism from the community. Apart from women kin, her only other women visitors were from the more marginalised sections of the community, usually foreign women divorced from Cypriot husbands but residing in Deryneia with their children. It was through her friendships with these women that she felt she could avoid the pressure to conform to the ideals of *kali yinaika* (discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven).

Eleftheria's subversive practices were the subject of much commentary among neighbours. However, I also encountered other departures from the norm. These were evident among women and men who had returned to live in Deryneia after a period of residence abroad, during which they acquired a more cosmopolitan outlook. Tasoulla and her husband lived in South Africa for 10 years and returned to Deryneia in the late 1980s. Central to Tasoulla's experience was the sharing of domestic chores with her husband.

> Lots of men don't help their wives, but mine does. He helps me because when we lived away from Deryneia, he was away from his male peers.

> When we lived away from Cyprus there was no big deal about it. We both just helped each other. But here there is a stigma attached to men helping. People find it weird if the man helps a woman, like my sisters-in-law. But I don't. It is because when I was outside of Cyprus I learned a different way of living.

Tasoulla's situation, though atypical, does reflect a growing consciousness of gender inequality, especially among younger married women, who often struggle to combine paid employment and unpaid domestic labour. This change was also expressed in the attitudes of some younger men. While there were noticeable differences between the attitudes of younger and older women towards the gender division of labour, I found that those relating to food preparation remain largely unchanged. The kitchen is always the major site of women's activities, whereas men display their culinary prowess outdoors, usually with special dishes such as meat, either barbecued or cooked in a purpose built clay-oven (see Figures 28a, 28b). The only deviation from this that I saw was the cooking of the delicacy *ambelopoulia* (pickled small birds, usually a type of sparrow or warbler). At the time of my fieldwork, it was illegal to hunt them, but they were still offered at dinner parties, exclusively cooked by men in the interior kitchen (see Figure 29).[49]

Exceptions to the gender division of labour can also be found among older Deryneians. For example, when Despina worked at her son's *perivoli*, her retired husband, Evan, occasionally cooked lunch for himself and an evening meal for both of them. This was something of a rarity and although Despina was grateful for it, she remarked that he rarely helped with other household chores, leaving them for her to do on her Saturday off. In Melbourne, however, first generation male involvement in domestic chores was even rarer, except where the wife was ill, away or deceased.

[49] In several market gardens around Deryneia, mist nets were tied to trees and music played to attract the sparrows. Other trapping methods involve sticky poles or lime sticks.

Figure 28a Deryneia: men cooking on barbeque with their sons, 2001
(Photograph by author)

Figure 28b Deryneia: men preparing meat, 2002
(Photograph by author)

Figure 29 Deryneia: cooking *ambelopoulia* , 2001
(Photograph by author)

Evolving work patterns and modernity have resulted in attitudinal shifts. For example, young men in Deryneia and Melbourne have become more involved in childcare. In the recent past, women often stayed at home until their children started school, but in the 2000s, more women in both places were returning to work soon after childbirth, although more so in Deryneia. To an extent, this has forced men to become more involved in childcare, but it also reflects changing attitudes to gender roles in the last 10 years. Yet, the gender division of housework is still rigidly adhered to. Thus, in both Deryneia and Melbourne, only a few young Cypriot men help in food preparation and other household chores. At numerous social events in Melbourne, I observed young adult men being served by girlfriends or women kin.

Beyond the House

For many married women in Deryneia and Melbourne, the qualities that constitute *kali yinaika* centre on the maintenance of the interior and exterior of their dwellings. Anthropologists writing about Greece and Cyprus have observed that the interior of the home (including the yard within the boundaries of a property) and the exterior (that is, the street beyond the house perimeter) are sites expressive of women's sexuality. The exterior (street) is conceived as a place of impurity and dirt, and the interior as a place of purity. Therefore, the exterior is a place of danger for women's honour (see Argyrou 1997; Dubisch 1983; Hirschon 1993; Vassiliadou 2005). In Deryneia, however, I found that women take some pride in what lies beyond their property.[50] For example, in the street where I lived, most married women swept the pavement in front of their house on a daily basis. On special occasions they were more extensive in their cleaning. When a daughter was getting married, a mother would not only clean her house from top to

[50] See also Dubisch (1986: 201) and Hirschon and Gold (1982: 69) on the importance of the exterior of the house for women in Greece.

bottom, but also would wash and sweep the ground outside her home, including the foot-path and the road.

Argyrou (1997: 165) argues that to a significant extent the aesthetics of space within the house and yard are gendered. In Deryneia, however, I found that men, just like women, are concerned with appearances. In the street where I lived, several informants made disapproving comments about the state of the front of a British couple's home (the woman was of Cypriot descent). On one occasion, Evan told me that my British neighbours took no pride in their home. Their failure to prune the trees on the public foot-path was disgraceful. His comments not only reflected a concern for appearances, but were also a comment on my neighbours' position as outsiders.

Several of my neighbours (both men and women) also made numerous disparaging references to a widowed neighbour, Maria (60), and the state of the exterior of her home. They criticised her for allowing long grass and weeds to overtake the area between her property and the road, and were particularly critical that she did not maintain the façade of her house. The paint on the outside walls was peeling and the windows rotting. In many ways, she was considered a woman without honour, and certainly not *kali yinaika.*

Maria's situation points to the contradictions within the community over what defines *kali yinaika*. Many of her actions conformed to quintessential expressions of *kali yinaika.* For example, she spent a good portion of the day cleaning inside her house. Her actions were always on display – every morning she could be seen hanging out her bedding and beating her rugs. Daily she attended to some chores that most women only do a few times a year and the interior of her house was always immaculately clean. She was a fastidious cleaner. Yet although she possessed one of the most admired qualities of *kali yinaika,* being a good housekeeper, her neighbours never considered her such.

Some women referred to her as 'dirty and unclean,' in one instance because of the old clothes she wore.

There were several reasons why she never gained the status of *kali yinaika.* She openly received charity, such as food parcels, from non-kin, which many in the neighbourhood viewed as degrading and undignified. A male informant told me that instead of relying on handouts, she should have sought employment. She was considerably poorer than others in the street, and her neighbours' criticism was a reflection of their class status, but also clearly connected to issues of gender. What her case foregrounds is that in one way it does not really matter whether one is *kali yinaika* or not, what actually counts is whether you are a convincing performer. Maria's failure to attend church every Sunday and her refusal to wear the black dress of a widow isolated her. But there were other women who did not attend church regularly, yet were not marginalised for it. Underlying Maria's failure to be considered *kali yinaika* was her position as one of the poorest people in the neighbourhood.

Women's work practices have to a significant degree been informed by discourses of *kali yinaika.* Until Cypriot independence it was not unusual for girls to be pulled out of school at an early age, as education was not viewed as important for their future life. Women's work was geared to the role of wife and mother. However, with the decline of agriculture and the move to a cash economy, households became less self-sufficient and more consumption-oriented which, to a degree, reduced women's key economic role in the household. Nevertheless, this also meant that women increasingly needed to find paid employment outside the home.

In Melbourne as in Deryneia, women's work practices are also linked to discourses of *kali yinaika.* Immigration did not fundamentally change traditional ideas of womanhood and many Melbourne Cypriots held on to rigid ideas of what constitutes *kali yinaika*. This is one reason why Katelou's observation made at the introduction of

this chapter is correct – more young married women with children in Deryneia work outside the home than in Melbourne.

In the introduction to this dissertation, I argued that public and private distinctions are of limited use in understanding gender relations. It is evident that Deryneian women have never been fully confined to the domestic (private) domain, and as noted earlier, the domestic is not always a private space. However, the extent to which traditional gender boundaries in Melbourne and Deryneia are evaporating is highly questionable, given that women still are the main child-rearers and do almost all of the housework. This does not mean that they do not have agency, but attitudes to women are still to a great extent informed by an idea of *kali yinaika*. After all, no matter how educated women are, or what career they pursue, in Melbourne or in Deryneia, they are still expected to marry and have children.

In the next chapter, I explore how participation in religious rituals is important to the performance of *kali yinaika,* and examine the ways in which these performances differ in the homeland and the diaspora.

Chapter Seven

Women, Religion and Ritual

A month after Katelou returned from her holiday in Australia, she told me, 'The priests in Melbourne are far worse than in Cyprus. They are always trying to make money.' Her outrage was directed towards a Melbourne *papas* (priest) who had tried to persuade her sister-in-law that he should visit her home for a fee, in order to perform the *kapnisman* ritual ('smoking,' denoting ritual purification with smoke). *Kapnisman* is routinely performed by married women to cleanse their homes spiritually and as Katelou insisted, in Deryneia a *papas* only visits if invited and payment is optional. A man or a *papas* is not needed to perform the ritual, and rarely does.

Katelou's view of the differences between the homeland and Australia was shared by her sister-in-law Despina, who had visited Melbourne 10 years earlier. She had been surprised by how many Christian churches there were. She also noted that unlike churches in Cyprus, 'Australian churches' were rarely filled with parishioners. More surprising for both women was that Greek priests in Melbourne appear in public without their priestly attire. Differences in religious practices were also reported by Melbourne informants and it was not uncommon for older women to tell me that they had maintained 'Cypriot traditions' more than their counterparts in Cyprus.

In this chapter I explore these differences by locating the role that religion and ritual play in the construction of gender identities in Melbourne and Deryneia. Participation in formal rituals and those performed outside the church are an integral part of women's social identity, especially for the older generation. I also consider how migration has transformed ritual practice and the implications of this for women's identities.

Performative Rituals

Anthropological studies of Greek religious practices distinguish between 'folk' or 'popular' and 'official' or formal religion (Dubisch 1991: 43). Religious practices associated with the church have been classified as formal and those performed outside the church as informal (folk religion), participation in the latter being mostly restricted to women. Charles Stewart (1991: 11) uses the binary between 'doctrinal' religion and 'local or practical religion– the form that religion takes in relation to the life of a given community.' He argues that in the main, 'local' religion in Greece conforms to an Orthodox framework (Stewart 1991: 12). However, du Boulay is a little less definitive and suggests that it can be difficult to distinguish 'between the varying degrees of belief and practice which shade off those of Orthodox Christian doctrine from those of a more popular religion' (du Boulay 1974: 64).

Stewart's argument is that there is a syncretism between local and doctrinal beliefs, however this conceptual schema undercuts the performative aspect of ritual enactments, and therefore marginalises localised meanings. As Dubisch (1995: 211) argues, 'religious activities provide a "space" for women's performances,' while also demonstrating that women's religious roles are not limited to the church. Victor Turner (1974: 35) shows that while rituals are repetitive performances or 'social dramas,' they have always been re-invented. It is through these performative aspects of religious practices that ideas about what it is to become *kali yinaika* are articulated.

Status Acquisition and Rituals

The hierarchical division drawn between doctrinal and everyday religious practices suggests that women's involvement in the religion of the community is peripheral. For example, Stewart (1991: 74) reasons that as Greek women are more involved in religious practices, they have a 'moral and spiritual authority' over men, but he counter

poses this 'informal' authority against the 'formal' authority of priests. Several studies of Greek women and religion challenge this view by demonstrating the ways in which women gain power and status through specific religious practices performed outside the church (Caraveli 1986; Danforth 1983; du Boulay 1986; Dubisch 1995; Hirschon 1983; Seremetakis 1991). These ethnographies of women in Greece are also most insightful for the study of Cypriot religious practices, which have attracted little ethnographic attention.

The most notable Cypriot ethnography is Vassos Argyrou's *Tradition and modernity in the Mediterranean: the wedding as symbolic struggle* (1996). Argyrou examines wedding rituals but not women's participation in these rituals. My analysis takes appropriate cognisance of the dynamics of gender relations in ritual performance.[1]

Church Attendance and Concepts of *Kali Yinaika*

Traditionally, the church was one of the few public places where Cypriot women congregated. For many it was an important part of social life and a place to keep abreast of community news and the more intimate details of individual lives. This is still so today, especially for older women, many of whom also still observe the tradition of inviting guests home for coffee after church services. In Deryneia such invitations are usually confined to close female kin, such as *koumera* (matron of honour or spiritual sister) and *simbethera* (in-law), whereas in Melbourne women regularly invite non-kin as well.[2]

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[1] Dubisch (1991: 44) suggests that focusing on people's 'practice and experience' in religion offers new ways to examine gender and religion. This allows us to move beyond viewing women as peripheral or complementary to systems structured by men and to avoid looking at women's rituals as an 'additive history' without questioning the supposed 'gender-neutral categories' employed (Nair 1994: 84).

[2] *Koumera* (in standard Greek *koubara*) is considered spiritual kin.

From childhood, Cypriot women learn the importance of religious devotion for the spiritual and physical welfare of family, and are taught that as wives and mothers they bear the responsibility for this. Most older women attend church for their family's benefit first; their own religious and spiritual needs are considered secondary. For older women, regular church attendance signals to the community that they are *kali yinaika* and even gives them claim to moral superiority.

That women participate in religious practices more than men has long been noted in Greek ethnographies, but interpretations have differed markedly. Richard and Eva Blum (1970: 217) found that in Greece women's 'use of the religious system' and dedication to religious institutions is a strategy to avoid male control. Their argument relies largely on the distinction between the 'private' and 'public' spheres. Pre-1970s anthropological methodologies often relegated women to the private domain and viewed their status as subordinate to men. However, Renée Hirschon (1983) and Jill Dubisch (1995), among others, have clearly shown that Greek women's participation in religious practices goes beyond the domestic realm. Furthermore, as I have argued throughout this dissertation, the home can also be a place for women to perform in 'public,' and women have several other arenas in which they can 'escape male control.'

One of the most important ways women perform the role of *kali yinaika* is at the *mnimosino* (memorial service) to commemorate deceased kin.[3] In Deryneia, women of the deceased make *kolliva* (boiled wheat mixed with dried fruit, fresh pomegranate and nuts) and *prosfora* (bread blessed by a priest) which are blessed by the priest during the Sunday liturgy and distributed afterwards in the church courtyard by female kin (on rare occasions by men) (see Figures 30a, 30b).[4]

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[3] For one year after a death, requiem masses are held for the deceased every three months and then annually after that.

[4] Today more women are buying the bread and in Melbourne women order it from Greek or Cypriot-run bakeries which emboss the bread with the letters ICXC (Jesus Christ) or ICXNIKA (Jesus Christ Conquers) (Kenna 2001b: 129).

Figure 30a A woman in Deryneia distributing *kolliva*
(Photograph by author)

Figure 30b Deryneia: a woman distributing *prosfora* on her mother's *mnimosino,* 2001
(Photograph by author)

Kolliva 'is believed to confer spiritual benefit on the souls of those commemorated by it' (Kenna 1992b: 169). In Deryneia, women make sure that people in the community who are considered important or of high status are given their *kolliva*. Women often take great pains over the presentation of *kolliva,* making elaborate designs and placing it in woven baskets or crystal plates for others to view (see Figure 30c). While the mixture is almost always the same, women compare its taste and on numerous occasions while visiting women at their homes after the liturgy, I was asked how their *kolliva* compared with other women's.

For some women not from Deryneia, participation in the *mnimosino* has been their way of 'becoming Deryneian.' For example, on the anniversary of her mother-in-law's death, although her four sisters-in-law were willing to do it, Katelou provided the *kolliva* and distributed it to the congregation after the service. Here, she was publicly demonstrating her acceptance into her husband's family and thus into the village community.

In Deryneia, many senior women attend church two or more times a week, whereas their counterparts in Melbourne attend less frequently. In Deryneia, those elderly women who do not frequently attend church are often marginalised from the community. Most of these women are either poor or had transgressed honour and shame codes. Anna's case is particularly poignant.

Anna

After Anna's daughter was divorced in 1989, her family was ostracised by many Deryneians, including members of her natal family. Anna was accused of dishonouring her husband's family and bringing shame on her natal family. Her situation was made worse seven years later when another daughter divorced.

Figure 30c *Kolliva* at Apostolos Andreas Church, Melbourne, 2003
(Photograph by author)

Anna's dishonour was also to affect the aunts and uncles of the divorcee in Melbourne, when claims circulated that Anna's family had brought their own families into disrepute and their nieces' divorces had become a public embarrassment to all. Since the divorces, Anna and her husband (a trained church chanter) frequent another church, in a nearby village.

In contrast, Anna's sister Despina and her family experienced no adverse effect when their son divorced a *xeni* in the mid-1990s. Despina acknowledged that while her son's divorce was the subject of hurtful gossip in the neighbourhood for a short time, the family had not been shunned by the community to the same degree as Anna's, and Despina and her family continued to attend the church in Deryneia.

Anna is considerably poorer than Despina and others in her natal family. She and her husband also had not provided a dowry house for any of their seven daughters, and indeed, many of Anna's children were less well-off than their cousins. More importantly, Anna's family was dishonoured chiefly because it was a daughter, not a son, who divorced. In Chapter Four, I argued that divorce marks a 'bad woman,' as it is acceptable that only men divorce women, typically for their sexual transgressions. In contrast, Despina's son's divorce was viewed by the community as inevitable and a consequence of an ill-suited match with a *xeni*.

Anna's voluntary withdrawal from the local church highlights the importance of the village community for women of Anna's generation. Her decision to 'save face' for the benefit of her natal relatives, indicates some of the values of *kali yinaika,* that is, a woman who does not parade her shame publicly. However, her decision became increasingly problematic when she did not attend church in Deryneia on the occasion of on her mother's *mnimosino*. This incurred the scorn of her sisters-in-law, most of her sisters and, more generally, their network of female friends. However, her sister

Despina countered their collective indignation by stating that Anna had attended church in the next village to commemorate their mother.

Anna was in the invidious position of having all her actions publicly scrutinised. Her husband did not attend church in Deryneia either, but still continued to frequent the local men's *kafeneia.* Thus, it was Anna who bore the greater responsibility and shame for their daughters' divorces.

Church Attendance and Young Deryneians

From oral accounts, it was clear that church attendance in Deryneia has decreased since the 1990s, especially among the younger generation. Young, single women rarely attend church, except on special occasions.[5] The church is not an important social arena for young women and lack of attendance also indicates that only after motherhood does ensuring the spiritual well-being of the family become a vital role for women. Women's religious activities are often closely associated with discourses of motherhood. For example, in the late 1990s in Deryneia, some reported that their children were regularly asked in school classes to raise their hands if they had attended Sunday church. Mothers who rarely attended insisted that their children were often stigmatised by teachers as a result (also see Chant & McIlwaine 1998: 144).

Women from wealthier families, in particular those with tertiary education, are also less likely to attend church regularly.[6] Katerina, co-owner in a business with her husband, rarely goes and explained: 'I don't think I am less religious than other people but some women just go to be social. They dress up so that afterward they can go for coffee.'

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[5] In both Melbourne and Deryneia, most Cypriots, regardless of age and gender, attended church at Easter and on Christmas day. In Deryneia even women who said they were not religious attended on these two occasions. As one informant said, 'I only go for my family's sake.'

[6] In her study of urban, middle class women from Nicosia, Vassiliadou (1999) also found women's participation in decline.

At most church services that I attended in Deryneia and Melbourne there were more women than men. Many male informants aged from 18 to 60 rarely attended church, although men's attendance increases after retirement, especially in Melbourne. For men, irregular attendance at church is acceptable, and even when they did attend, many spent their time chatting outside the church.[7] For women, this is not considered appropriate, unless they are attending to a child.

Melbourne Cypriots and the Church

In Melbourne, first generation women found that they were no longer able to partake in religious activities as often as they had in Cyprus. This was particularly the case for women who did not live close to the church. Several women reported that in Deryneia they could easily pass the church on their way to work and it was always open, but in Melbourne this was not the case. In Deryneia, they had more opportunities to meet neighbours and walk to the local church, but in Melbourne this was less likely to happen. For example, visiting the cemetery became a rare occurrence, not routine practice as it had been in Deryneia. As a consequence, women's religious practices became more confined to the formal occasions at the church.

At Apostolos Andreas church in Melbourne, women were often excluded from formal decisions and since its establishment, no woman has sat on the church committee. Despite this, women contribute and participate substantially in the religious life of the community. A case in point was the *prosfora* offered to the congregation at the conclusion of the liturgy. The quality of the bread and its presentation, usually embossed with a religious image (applied with a stencil), is a subject of discussion among women and confers status on those involved in its preparation.

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[7] In his study of Nicosia in the late 1970s, Attalides (1981: 173) also noted that women attended regularly while men did not. He also found that men from villages were almost as regular church-goers as women from the city, but village women attended more often than either.

Migration also altered gender roles in the church. This was highlighted in *mnimosino* practices. For example, at Apostolos Andreas, the *kolliva* was divided into paper bags and placed at the entrance of the church by senior men (who are church wardens), for the congregation to take on leaving (see Figure 31a). Hence, in contrast to Deryneia, Melbourne church wardens have taken over women's role in the distribution of ritual food.[8]

Another departure from homeland practice occurred in the type of food presented at church on the first annual anniversary of the death of kin. Older Melbourne women typically brought a tray of olives, *halloumi* and other cheeses which were placed at the church entrance for the congregation to take after the service (see Figure 31b). Androulla recalled that this was done in Deryneia prior to her emigration in the early 1950s. However, in Deryneia I found this has been discontinued, although women did serve such foods to guests at their homes after church.

In Melbourne offering regional cheeses and olives to the whole congregation became a symbol of ethnicity. *Halloumi* is not served at other Greek Orthodox churches because it is specifically 'Cypriot.' Women see sharing 'Cypriot' food with the community as a way of expressing and maintaining their cultural identity. Moreover, its distribution to the whole congregation suggests an attempt to maintain community solidarity.

For many Cypriots during the early years of settlement in Australia, the church was a place of sanctuary and familiarity, important to their well-being. Sharing stories with other Cypriots helped them to deal with the acculturation that comes with immigration.

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[8] However, almost every Sunday a group of women sell bread and sweets outside the church. They usually set up a table half an hour before the church service finishes. Men are not involved in this and the food is not blessed by the priest. Also see Kenna (1991: 105) who found that on Anafi, men distribute sweets after the *mnimosino* church service.

Figure 31a *Kolliva* in paper bags for the congregation to take on leaving, Melbourne, 2002 (Photograph by author)

Figure 31b Apostolos Andreas Church (Melbourne) men supervising food, 2002 (Photograph by author)

It was also a place where women and men heard about employment opportunities. Today the church remains a central place to hear news from Cyprus and a link to the 'homeland.'

In Melbourne I found that older men attend church more frequently than in Deryneia. There are several reasons for this. First, is the shared ethnicity – the church was a strong, tangible link to the homeland and a safe place to express cultural identity, especially in the early years of settlement, when attendance was also a way to resist racism and assimilation pressures. Second, the church was an important forum for Cypriot men to gain status and power often denied to them in the wider Australian community. Third, many senior women relied on their husbands to drive them to church and men were more likely to attend for this reason.[9]

In the early 2000s, Apostolos Andreas largely serviced a dwindling congregation of older, first generation Cypriots.[10] Many ritual practices remain unchanged since the church's establishment in the mid-1950s. For example, many still upheld the traditional separation of sexes during the church service. As a consequence many younger Church goers preferred the more modern services in other Melbourne Greek Orthodox churches, where the sermon is often delivered in English.

As a result of migration, the church also became central to class identity. In Melbourne, attendance at church by first generation women was a means of maintaining or improving the status of the family in the community. Thus the church was a good place for women to network and to find eligible marriage partners for their children.

For senior women the church was a forum in which to maintain their family's honour and gain status as *kali yinaika.* For example, when Georgina's brother-in-law, a

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[9] Many of my older women informants in Australia never obtained a driver's license, largely because of poor literacy and English language difficulties.

[10] However, attendance at Apostolos Andreas by the younger generation increases dramatically during Easter and Christmas services. For example, at the 2002 Easter celebrations that I attended, thousands of young people came. Indeed, the church courtyard and the street outside were overcrowded and many were unable to enter the church. I found that most young people came to socialise with family and friends and later spent the evening with their family for the traditional Easter feast.

priest, took up a temporary position at the neighbouring Greek Orthodox church, she felt she had no option but to go there rather than to Apostolos Andreas. She feared that community gossip would affect the community's perception of her family.[11]

Her decision not to go to Apostolos Andreas was her way of performing the role of *kali yinaika* and publicly upholding her family's honour by displaying that her family was close and united. This served to discredit rumours to the contrary. The relationship between her husband and his brother was strained, but in public they maintained cordial relations. For Georgina, like many Cypriot women, participation in religious devotion was also 'a kind of spiritual equivalent of kin work' (Dubisch 1991: 43). In short, this example demonstrates the importance of church attendance for older women in maintaining honour and signifies how kinship is important to discourses of *kali yinaika.*

Deryneians, the Priest and Anti-clericalism

Several ethnographies on Greece note the uneasy and often hostile relationship between villagers and their *papas* (Dubisch 1995: 60; Herzfeld 1985: 240; Just 1988b; Sant Cassia 1992: 206; Seremetakis 1991). Dubisch argues that this arises from a tension between Orthodox doctrine and everyday religion, or what she calls the 'villager's version of religion' (Dubisch 1995: 60). Blum and Blum (1970: 289) further explain that 'the priests represent the city-controlled, organised dogma of Christianity which … is in conflict with the older pre-Christian beliefs and practices.' Bottomley (1979: 56) also found anti-clericalism among Greeks in Sydney and attributes this in part to the 'tension between democratic ideals and authoritarian practice.' In Cyprus, anti-clericalism might have been exacerbated by the close relationship between the church

[11] In this case, gossip worked as a form of social control within the community.

and the state. This was amplified when Cyprus gained independence in 1960 and the inaugural president, Makarios, was also head of the Cypriot Church.[12]

Tension between the community and the clergy is also a consequence of the economic control the church traditionally held in Cyprus. The Church of Cyprus had amassed vast landholdings and during British rule many of these were leased to agriculturalists. Some Deryneians accused the church of profiting greatly from these arrangements.[13]

Women's perceptions of the local *papas* are often expressed in contradictory terms. At times, they oscillate between extreme reverence and disdain. Sant Cassia distinguishes between criticisms directed at the local *papas* and those made of the higher clergy. He found that criticism is often levelled at the *papas* because he failed to uphold social laws, whereas the higher clergy are criticised for failing 'to act in the popular mind according to the strictures of the faith that they impose' (Sant Cassia 1992: 206).

However, I found that Deryneians do not always make such distinctions. In 2001, the Cyprus church was implicated in several scandals, in particular the alleged homosexual liaisons of the bishop of Lemesos.[14] This heightened tensions between some villagers and the *papas*. Several older women informants were enraged and questioned whether it was appropriate for them to kiss the hand of the village *papas* (a

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[12] Archbishop Makarios was usually spoken of with reverence and respected even by the more leftist (including AKEL supporters) of my informants, some of whom at the same time attributed to him a degree of blame for events leading to the 1974 war.

[13] During the 1920s Surridge (1930: 59) noted that the church leased land for three to five years to 'well-to-do peasants who cultivate as much of the property as they are able and sublet the rest – usually the less productive lots'. He added that the poor often paid twice the rent of those who could afford to lease it directly from the church, because they could not afford the upfront deposit demanded by the church.

[14] The public accusation of this by a number of archimandrites led to the accusers defrocking (Psyllides 2001: 7).

mark of respect).[15] Some declared they could not be sure of what their own village *papas* was up to, further fuelling homophobic sentiments.[16]

In Melbourne, tensions with priests are also a result of ethnicity. Georgina recalled that when she went to have her daughter Evi (a popular Cypriot girls' name) baptised in Melbourne before Apostolos Andreas was built, the priest from Greece was shocked and asked Georgina whether or not she had read the Bible.[17] According to him Eve was an evil woman, one without honour. Indeed, discourses of honour and shame, and religious doctrine, are manifest in the binary opposition between Eve and the *Panayia.*

In Greek Orthodox tradition, women are closely associated with these two conflicting religious figures (du Boulay 1991; Hirschon 1993:54). Myria Vassiliadou (1999: 53) argues that during the Byzantine era (particularly 965-1191 AD) these two models came to prominence in Cyprus. According to du Boulay (1986: 167) Eve always had the potential to be 'vulnerable to the devil.' As the original seductress, she was the sinner, the destroyer of the home and family. Young women are seen as more like Eve, but as women age, their stature in the community grows and thus there is a 'conversion of Eve into the Mother of God' (du Boulay 1986: 159). In contrast to Eve, the *Panayia* is a representation of *kali yinaika,* one who has passed honourably through all life experiences, particularly marriage and motherhood.

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[15] Marios Sarris (1995: 28) argues that the social status of the priest in Cyprus, particularly in urban areas, has diminished in recent times. He states: 'This is reflected in the respective attitudes of "traditional" and "modern" Greeks towards the priest. Whereas the former … regard the traditional kissing of the priest's hand as a gesture of respect, the latter interpret it as a sign of subordination.' However, it is not clear what Sarris means by 'traditional' and 'modern' Cypriots.

[16] For insight into priests and their homophobic attitudes, see George Georgiou's (1992) article 'Sexual Attitudes of Greek Orthodox Priests in Cyprus' which was based on a questionnaire given to priests in Cyprus.

[17] Evi was an ancient Greek name popular in Cyprus but nothing to do with the biblical Eve (Eva). However, many older women (particularly those with no formal education) do not differentiate between Eva (Eve) and Evi.

In Georgina's case, the priest refused to baptise her child as Evi and substituted the name Evaggleia during the service. Georgina maintained that although Cypriots and Greeks share the same religion, there are differences. She explained that Cypriot priests do not see Eve as 'evil,' as Greeks do, but recognised her as important inasmuch as she was the first woman.

It is difficult to assess Georgina's claims, but her example points to several tensions. The first is that for Georgina cultural differences between Greeks and Greek Cypriots are important. This is partly a result of migration, and the importance of upholding her Cypriot-ness and distinguishing herself from the wider Greek community. Second, it also suggests that church doctrine is not always adopted or interpreted by women in the same way as the clergy. Indeed, the equation of women with Eve as argued by du Boulay sometimes occurs among Cypriots, but Eve is not always viewed as a negative model, as Georgina's comments show.

The tensions that sometimes arise between Cypriots and their priests are often illustrated in their humour. Ethelyn Orso's (1979) collection of Greek jokes includes several that relate sexual encounters with priests and reflect ambivalence about the priest as 'both holy man and earthly man' (1979: 91).[18] A common joke among Cypriots and Greeks is: 'If the child did not resemble the father, then better ask the priest why' (Just 1988b: 29). This illustrates how the church and clergy can be criticised without explicitly insulting individual priests. Indeed, joking is a way of moving within well-defined parameters of acceptability, so as not to offend directly or lose honour (George 2004). It is through joking that individuals can reinforce the moral standards of the priest but also express their disdain for him and the religious institution he represents.

Cypriot jokes often also reflect the social boundaries between men and women. Unlike in men's jokes, priests are rarely the subject of women's jokes. Rather than

[18] Blum and Blum (1970: 24) also point towards this ambivalence in Greece, especially the priests' power to invoke good or evil.

joking by way of social commentary, Deryneian women are more likely to use life narratives to express their views of the church and individual priests. Often these stories centre on the sexual transgressions of local priests.[19]

Women and the *Papadia* (Priest's Wife)

Among my informants, the *papadia* is highly respected and acts as a confidante, particularly for older women. For many the *papadia* is symbolically associated with the Virgin Mary (*Panayia*), as she is considered very knowledgeable and, like the *Panayia*, wise and compassionate. Several older women recounted their experiences of childbirth during the 1940s and 1950s, when in the absence of a midwife they had urged their male kin to bring the *papadia* as 'she would know what to do.' Older women in both Melbourne and Deryneia also directed me to the *papadia* when they were unable to answer my questions. This might also have been intended to legitimise their own religious practices to an 'outsider,' by demonstrating to me that these are also practised by the *papadia* in the priest's home.

Younger women tended to refer me to senior women for answers to questions about religion, with some exceptions. Kalliopi, who had lived abroad for many years, advised me to dismiss explanations of rituals by women (including the *papadia*), insisting, 'Only the priest knows the correct religious way.' Men also invariably referred me to the priest when they could not answer my questions.

[19] The most scandalous story often told concerns a 1950s Deryneian priest whose affair with a nun led to her pregnancy. The nun was exiled abroad, where she had her child and remained for the rest of her life, while the priest continued in the Deryneian church until retirement. Local historian Platis (1995) notes that in the mid-1950s the nunnery at Deryneia was closed due to unfortunate circumstances but no details were given. Possibly he was referring to this case. Few informants were willing to provide details of the case, mainly because the priest was related to my mother's paternal kin. Some elderly women kin felt shamed by the scandal and avoided discussion of it, even though both the priest and the nun are deceased.

Despite the reverence expressed for the *papadia*, her sexuality was also a subject of jocular discourse. Several jokes in Orso's collection attribute sexual promiscuity to the *papadia*:

> One day somebody asked the priest how many months pregnant his wife was. 'How should I know?' said the priest. 'Ask the mayor or ask the chantor [sic]' (Orso 1979: 99).[20]

The content of these jokes illustrates the ambiguity of the traditional Greek perception of the *papadia*. She represents the duality of good and evil, having the potential to be just like the *Panayia,* or that of her contrary, Eve. However, as is the case with jokes about priests, women's jokes, unlike men's, rarely includes the *papadia*; rather, women's opinions on a particular *papadia* are stated through life stories.

This conflicting portrayal of the *papadia* might also be explained in terms of gender. Sant Cassia (1992: 206) found that in Cyprus, few villagers go to confession for 'fear that because the papas is married his wife will soon find out the substance of the confession, and hence the whole village.' This attitude was typical among my male informants, who often disapprovingly claimed that all women gossip and therefore cannot keep secrets.

Older women in Melbourne were often nostalgic about the *papadia* they had known before they emigrated, particularly as many had relied on them for advice or assistance. However, narratives of post-migration experience with a *papadia* were less flattering and typically questioned her status as a *kali yinaika*. Particular weight was attached to the public deportment of the *papadia* in Australia. Thus, one *papadia* was criticised for the 'suggestive way' she danced at social functions and her acceptance of 'Australian women's values,' values, generally seen as characteristic of *xeni,* a woman of few moral values and inclined to sexual promiscuity. As noted in previous chapters, older women often used patriarchal language in such assessments.

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[20] Orso does not identify whether these jokes were told by women or men, or both.

The *Panayia*

> When I have problems in my life I ask help from Jesus and *Panayia*. But it is *Panayia* who has sympathy for the people. The women I know ask for her help because she has compassion for all people [Anthi, trans. from Greek].

For many women the *Panayia* is the archetype of a long-suffering mother whose ordeal helps women to understand suffering, pain and loss in their own earthly lives. Like Anthi, married women regularly pray to the *Panayia* for help with problems, whether severe or mundane. However, before providing an account of the role of the *Panayia* in women's lives, I briefly look at some of the literature on the *Panayia.*

Accounts of both Greek Orthodox and Catholic cults of the Virgin Mary emphasise the importance of her role as a mother, a gendered being symbolising the ideal woman, both married and a mother.[21] According to Blum and Blum (1970: 327) the veneration of the *Panayia* as a 'Mother of mother's' will remain as long as women hold subordinate social status in their communities. The *Panayia* is a model for women to emulate and is used by the church to influence women's behaviour (see Warner 1976).

Arguably, however, ideas about the Mother of God have not so much arisen from religious discourse but have rather been appropriated by the church from popular ideas about womanhood (Dubisch 1995; Loizos 1991). Loizos suggests that in Roman Catholicism, for example, 'the Church has not co-opted Mary, but Mary has co-opted the Church.' Church ideology can incorporate social and political ideas in order to 'appear' to control people (Loizos 1991: 231). Other scholars have theorised the *Panayia* by tracing the rise of Mariology, some suggesting an historical link between the *Panayia* and pre-Christian views. Harald Haarmann (1998: 17) argues that since the 17th century, scholars have found similarities between the cult of Mary and those of

[21] Sant Cassia (1992: 212) notes that, unlike in Catholic theology, in the Orthodox church, 'Mary is not seen as Immaculately Conceived and bodily assumed into Heaven.'

female divinities in antiquity.[22] He suggests a fusion of pagan and Christian traditions in Cyprus, where the *Panayia* assumed features of the goddess Aphrodite, as can be seen by comparing the relevant iconography.[23]

The importance of the *Panayia* has political dimensions in Greece, as Dubisch and Stewart demonstrate. Thus Annunciation day is also Greek Independence Day (Stewart 1991: 35) and the *Panayia* had served as a symbol of the Greek nation, often associated with militancy and resistance (see Dubisch 1995). The *Panayia* has more than one significant feast-day, and in both Deryneia and Melbourne the feast of her Dormition (Assumption) is always devoutly celebrated on 15 August with church services always crowded with both women and men. In Cyprus, the feast of Dormition is also a public holiday and its significance for many Deryneians was heightened by its association with the events of August 1974 in which many lost land, businesses and or became refugees. For some informants, the festival day of the *Panayia* is also a remembrance of the 'invasion.'[24]

The *Panayia* has diverse local connotations in different villages and regions, and thus is not only a symbol at the national level but also for particular communities, and for specific, associated reasons. Dubisch notes that the *Panayia* takes on different meanings for different people, while at the same time being omnipresent. In Dubisch's (1995: 249) terms, the *Panayia* provides both national and local symbols that do not necessarily coincide, but support her theorisation as a religious figure 'beyond gender.'

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[22] Stewart (1991) has also shown links in Greece between Orthodox beliefs and those of pagan Hellenicism. He argues that there has been a type of syncretism between 'Great and Little Traditions.' Du Boulay (1995) also demonstrates a link with the agricultural year and the orthodox calendar in Greece. Mary had also been linked to the Egyptian cult of Isis (Mathews & Muller 2005).

[23] Haarmann (1998) gives several examples of this fusion. For example, in the Troodos mountains of Cyprus, a monastery is said to hold the Mother Mary's belt (dropped there during her assumption) which was reminiscent of Aphrodite's magical girdle, which according to Greek myth was a fertility belt. Haarmann says that even today brides visit this monastery to pray for fertility and to be good mothers, like Mary. Furthermore, he notes that several Orthodox churches in Cyprus have been erected near sites that were once places of cult worship during the pre-Christian era. For example, in Old Paphos, a church dedicated to the *Panayia* has been erected near the ancient temple of Aphrodite.

[24] As mentioned in Chapter One, 14 August is noted as the second invasion.

Dubisch stresses the limitations of focusing on the *Panayia* in gendered terms and the need to move 'beyond her gender to understand her divinity fully. She is a *person*, an *ánthropos*, and a powerful person, once a human, now the most powerful of all the saints' (Dubisch 1995: 239). Dubisch points out that the *Panayia* can be translated in English as Mother of God, sometimes also Virgin Mary (*Parthena*), but the most common translation is All Holy One (Dubisch 1995: 236).

The following examples typify how the *Panayia* was represented by my informants. Androniki related an experience which suggests that, while the *Panayia* reflects ideals of womanhood endorsed by the church, these ideals also give women agency. Androniki prayed to the *Panayia* for help when she was three months pregnant and fell seriously ill. She was hospitalised and told she would probably lose her child. She vowed that if *Panayia* helped save the child she would name it after her. Six months later, Androniki gave birth to a healthy son and attributed this to the success of her prayers. She kept her promise and named her son Marios, rather than following the Cypriot tradition of naming the first son after the husband's father.[25]

For women, praying to *Panayia* is part of being *kali yinaika*. Many senior women claimed that men do not seek help from the *Panayia* because mothers are more aware of the dangers their children face. Calling on the *Panayia* is aimed at protecting women's progeny.

The next example highlights the way in which the *Panayia* has an ambiguous status and also demonstrates that representations of the *Panayia* move 'beyond gender.' Anthi, a priest's daughter, told me that when she performs *kapnisman* (ritual purification by smoke) at home, she prays to God for his assistance as he is the most important religious figure. But on the occasions that I witnessed her perform the ritual, she called only upon the *Panayia*.

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[25] The names Marios, Panikos, Panayiotis and Panos are seen as the male equivalent of *Panayia.* Maria, Mary, Despina, Maro and Panayiota are just a few of the names given to girls named after the *Panayia.*

The discrepancy between Anthi's performance of the ritual and her stated intent supports several possible explanations. First, her denial of invoking the *Panayia* could be unconscious. Second, it may be reflective of my status as an 'outsider' and enmeshed in her perception of my political status. That is, as a daughter of a priest, she did not want to tell an 'outsider' that the *Panayia* might be more significant to women than God in everyday life. This concern was perhaps better understood in the context of the complexity of Greek identity, often constructed as 'the polarity between the European front that Greeks display to foreigners and the Oriental aspects of their culture' (Argyrou 1996: 3).[26] Possibly, for Anthi, God represents a European identity and the *Panayia* represents an identity linked to the 'East' or the 'Oriental' aspect of Cypriot culture, or, if we take Haarmann's argument, then the *Panayia* represents an identity linked to Cyprus' pre-Christian past.

The *Panayia* is often viewed as an ideal. Irrespective of whether or not this derived from religious doctrine, it highlights how symbolism is informed by specific, gendered, social discourses in Cypriot communities. However, women have used this symbolism to express aspects of their identity, further their own interests and help them in their lives. Married women often emphasised the key role of the *Panayia* as a mother, and by doing so also indicated the importance they attribute to their own roles as mothers. Even unmarried women who venerate the *Panayia* conceive her as a mother, capable of miraculous benefaction.

On the whole, few male informants were prepared to discuss the role of the *Panayia* in-depth. They were, however, willing to talk about the history and politics of the church. Again, this was possibly to do with my outsider status and gender. However, the fact that women's veneration of the *Panayia* is unimpeded by men, as in the case of

[26] Herzfeld (1987) was one of the first anthropologists to argue that Greeks like to portray themselves as 'European' or 'Western' to outsiders, rather than 'Eastern' or 'Oriental.' I found that Greek Cypriots often reject links to the East as a way of distinguishing themselves from Turkish Cypriots.

women naming their children after the *Panayia,* demonstrates that the *Panayia* also occupies a separate realm, of women only.

Religious Icons

Religious icons are displayed in most Greek Cypriot houses in Deryneia and Melbourne, though more often in the homes of older Cypriot women.[27] Typically expensive gilt icons are placed on the wall of the *saloni* where important guests are received, or on hallway walls for public display. On my first visit to Christalleni's house, I was entertained in the *saloni.* On the wall were two icons, one of the *Panayia* and the other of the *Panayia* holding the infant Christ. Both were in gold frames and were sources of great pride for Christalleni. She had bought them in Tinos in Greece.[28] The types of religious icons and religious memorabilia women have around the house are a way in which to gain status vis-à-vis other women. Expensive items reflect either the women's wealth or, if they were not wealthy, then their substantial investment in religion.

Icons are typically displayed on a small table called an *iconostasio*, which is found in most older women's homes. The stand is covered with a white, handmade, crocheted doily. Barrie Machin (1983: 113) argues that in Greece the *iconostasio* in homes 'imitates the *iconostasis* in the sanctuary of the church, access to which is denied women.' He concludes that women's religious activities and icons at home are mimicry of the church and priest. Women's rituals at home often appear to imitate church

[27] For insight into the importance and power of icons in the church, see Dubisch (1995), Kenna (1985) and Stewart (1991). Kenna (1985: 351) argues that the use of icons was also important to Greek nationalism.

[28] I found that many of the most prized icons have been purchased on pilgrimages to Jerusalem (referred to by my older informants as the Holy Land), Russia and Tinos. See Dubisch (1995) for the importance of Tinos to Greek women.

practices, but as I demonstrate with the *kapnisman* ritual, the removal of a patriarchal lens yields different significations.

The relative autonomy of women's rituals was highlighted a few months into my Deryneian fieldwork, when Eleftheria explained that she was not religious and did not subscribe to Greek Orthodoxy. Several months later I was surprised by an invitation to join her on a visit to a small seaside church of Agia Thekla (Saint Thekla), near the tourist area of Agia Napa.[29] The church is much visited by women from the area, but is not used for church services. In the centre of the church was a large icon of St Thekla, on a wooden easel. The icon depicted the head and upper torso of the saint with the palm of her left hand opened towards the viewer. Eleftheria instructed me to place my hand over the saint's hand, but stressed that I should not touch the icon. Kenna (1984: 359) remarks that 'Correct behaviour toward an icon not only taps its power and keeps it flowing but even seems to call forth that power initially.' Eleftheria insisted that if I concentrated, I would feel the energy through my hand. According to her, the icon not only represents St. Thekla, but has healing powers.

Women visit the icon for various reasons, including illness or, as in Eleftheria's case, for the resolution of marital problems. For her, *Agia Thekla* provided a form of guidance for resolution of her problems and renewed her sense of hope.

Older women also often make religious pilgrimages.[30] One of the most important pilgrimages women in Deryneia made was to *Agia Marina* (St. Marina),

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[29] Locals say that after her betrothal St. Thekla renounced married life and devoted her life to Christ

[30] Traditionally, it was customary for male pilgrims who travelled to Jerusalem to have *Hadji* (the Turkish term for pilgrimages to Mecca) appended to their surname in form of a prefix. The family name was then passed on (Webster 1999: 8). Gillian Webster (1999: 8) adds that the female prefix was *Hadjina*, but a woman's child did not inherit the prefix. I was surprised to learn that even in hard economic times, a number of my older women informants' fathers had made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

located in the buffer zone and until the opening of the Green Line accessible only once a year under UN escort.[31]

In Deryneia elderly women also go on coach excursions to monasteries and churches around Cyprus. In 2001 these trips were held every three months and I joined several. The trips were always fully booked and the majority of participants were women over the age of 70, although a few men did occasionally participate. While these journeys were considered religiously significant, they were also social occasions for most women, and on the bus they sang, danced and exchanged news.

Older women informants in Melbourne also incorporate religious pilgrimages into their visits to Cyprus. Georgina had been on several pilgrimages to Jerusalem with her husband and, like many older informants, had been to Greece to visit monasteries and important churches. Almost all of my older Melbourne informants had made visits to churches and monasteries while in Cyprus. Often icons were purchased on these journeys, which were displayed in their Melbourne homes with great reverence and pride.

Purifying the Home: the *Kapnisman* Ritual (Purification by [Holy] Smoke)

In 2001, on entering Georgina's house in Melbourne, I witnessed her performing the *kapnisman* ritual. It commenced with the blessing of a small handful of dried olive leaves and a prayer to an icon of the *Panayia*.[32] Georgina placed the olive leaves on small beads of *livani* (incense) and charcoal in a *kapnistirin* (censer) and lit them.[33]

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[31] For insight into pilgrimages to the north by Greek Cypriots since the opening of the border, see Dikomitis (2009).

[32] The icon depicted the *Panayia* with a golden halo, holding the baby Jesus (on painted and gilded wood, approximately 30cm x 40cm). According to Dubisch (1995: 240), in Greece 'icons are seen to "contain" (rather than simply represent) the saints and are the means through which they express their will and enter into relationships with human actors.'

[33] In a few cases, rather than using incense or charcoal, women poured pure alcohol in the censer and placed the olive leaves on top. This method creates an unpleasant smell and a large flame.

Once the leaves were smouldering and producing smoke, she entered every room of the house and moved the censer with a circular gesture, so that the smoke would fill every corner of the room.[34] In each room she also made the sign of the cross three times while praying to the *Panayia.*[35] Much of the performance was aimed at the purification of her home, especially driving away evil forces, thereby ensuring the protection of her family (see Figures 32a-32d). The *kapnistirin* was then taken outside and left to extinguish slowly (see Figure 32e).

The *kapnistirin* is one of the most cherished possessions of married Deryneian women. Many women over 40 have more than one in their homes. Several are for display only and placed in cabinets or on an *iconostasio* (see Figures 33a, 33b). Women often insisted that I photograph their display *kapnistirin* rather than the one used in the *kapnisman*, which was often blackened.[36] Married women also purchase a silver *kapnistirin* when their first child is about to marry, and this is used only at weddings.

Georgina explained that the *kapnisman* is performed exclusively by women and only olive leaves can be used. She declared that this is because olive leaves are sacred and all products from the tree are pure. While she discussed the ritual, her husband saw fit to add that the leaves of the olive tree are the sign that God's dove brought to Noah to signal that the great flood had receded and the land was ready to re-inhabit.[37]

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[34] Women typically stand at the entrance of a room.

[35] When I saw women perform the *kapnisman* in the presence of kin, they asked each person to take the smoke upon themselves, in order to remove any evil or obstacles in their lives. This is done by gesturing a hand over the smoke, moving it towards the body and finally making the sign of the cross three times.

[36] One informant explained that were her sisters in Melbourne to see the photograph, she wanted them to see her prized censer.

[37] Cypriots maintain that the olive tree replaced the symbolism of the palm tree, which was scarce in Cyprus (*Cyprus Bulletin* 9 February 1980: 6). According to the Bible, palm tree branches were held by devotees to welcome Jesus to Jerusalem.

Figure 32a *Kapnisman* ritual: lighting the olive leaves, Deryneia, 2001 (Photograph by author)

Figure 32b *Kapnisman* ritual, Deryneia, 2001 (Photograph by author)

Figure 32c *Kapnisman* ritual: blessing each room in the house, Deryneia, 2001 (Photograph by author)

Figure 32d *Kapnisman* ritual: blessing the photographer, Deryneia, 2001 (Photograph by author)

Figure 32e The *kapnistirin* (censer) left on the outside porch, Deryneia, 2001 (Photograph by author)

Figure 33a *Kapnistirin* (right-side is the display only censer), Melbourne, 2002
(Photograph by author)

Figure 33b *Kapnistirin* on display, Deryneia, 2002
(Photograph by author)

He also claimed that this ritual is neither formally prescribed by Greek Orthodox scripture nor necessary, but just an old superstition practised by women. Georgina replied that his understanding of religion was different from hers and that this ritual is necessary for the protection of her family. Moreover, it had been performed by generations of women in Deryneia. For Georgina, it was expressive of her responsibilities and that women are the 'bearers and representatives of honourable traditions' (Mani 1987: 119).

In Deryneia, men were typically dismissive of women's rituals. This is illustrated by the attitude of Athamos, an agriculturalist and an AKEL supporter. On the eve of our first interview, I had dinner with his family and observed that after serving the food, his wife Katelou lit her censer and gestured for each person to draw smoke upon themselves and make the sign of the cross. It was one of the few times I witnessed the *kapnisman* performed in this way.[38] The following day, Athamos discussed the ritual and pronounced, 'I don't believe in that stuff, but my wife does because she has learned it from her mother and her mother from her grandmother. I think it is nonsense.' Athamos rarely attends church, but his wife does regularly.

Older Deryneian women recalled that traditionally the *kapnisman* was performed every Saturday by married women and on Sundays if they were unable to attend the liturgy. This varies today, and most older women perform it weekly, or whenever they remember or feel the need to do so. When I asked women to explain the ritual many replied, 'It is just our system,' or 'It is a tradition we have always observed. That's what was passed down to us and that is why we do it.'

Indeed, for many older women the ritual signals to other women that they are *kali yinaika* and is a means by which to distinguish themselves from those who are not. Although the ritual was conducted in private, the display of the *kapnistirin* to visitors,

[38] I joined Athamos and his family on many other occasions for dinner at their home, and Katelou never performed the ritual at dinner again. I suppose that I was special or strange to them on the first occasion, and something less special or unfamiliar afterwards.

typically on the balcony or near the entrance to the home, indicated to all that the woman of the house performed the ritual.

The *kapnisman* is also connected to ideas of personal honour. Elderly women often remarked that it was necessary for the protection of their family and their home, a matter they take very seriously. For them, *kapnisman* evokes notions of womanhood, their responsibilities as a wife and mother. Moreover, as the bearers of tradition, many feel that it is their duty to perpetuate a ritual practised by prior generations of righteous women.

The priest also performs a ritual similar to the *kapnisman*, as part of the liturgy. He swings a large censer attached to a triangulated gilded chain towards the parishioners while circumambulating the church aisles. As stated earlier, on occasion, priests also perform this ritual to bless individual homes. Many women claimed that the priest did not pray to the *Panayia* but to God, and his prayers were from the canonical prayer book. Several also confided that they rarely ask the priest to visit their homes as they can fulfil the role just as well.

The olive leaves used by women in the home ritual must be blessed by the priest. On Palm Sunday, women deposit an annual supply of olive leaves in the church, where it remains for 40 days. However, several women admitted to using often unblessed olive leaves that they had prepared themselves. Some women even expressed great cynicism of the priest for charging a fee to bless the olive leaves.

The *kapnisman* is also performed to remember the dead. In her bedroom in Deryneia, Eleni had a large photograph of her husband encircled by icons and pictures of the *Panayia.* Once a week she performed *kapnisman* over the photograph, allowing smoke to cover it while weeping for the loss of her husband (who died in the early 1990s). I presume that a part of this was her remembering the financial hardship that followed his death.

The performance of *kapnisman* can be highly charged and for some women it is used to air their current problems. I witnessed Eirini performing the ritual and breaking into uncontrollable sobbing as she entered her bedroom. Her husband had been ill for some time but his condition had worsened recently. She told me that the ritual was directed at easing his pain. In Melbourne, older women informants also perform the ritual as a personal emotional outlet. In the late 1990s Eleni travelled abroad for the first time to visit kin in Melbourne.[39] According to her, there was no difference in the way she or her Melbourne sisters performed the ritual, as they had all learned it from their mother. However, she noted:

> My sister-in-law Zena [in Melbourne] does it every time someone comes to her house. She never puts it down. As soon as her children leave home she does it. She just has her system. It is different from ours [trans. from Greek].

Later it was revealed that since her emigration to Australia in 1975, Zena had spent much of her time battling depression. The war in Cyprus had left her traumatised and the performance of the ritual eased her emotional trouble and helped her countenance her new circumstances in Australia.

Young married women in Deryneia and Melbourne rarely perform *kapnisman*. Education and socio-economic change has altered ideas about womanhood and many young, married women no longer believe that the religious life of the family is their responsibility. Even so, some women perform it once a year or when a family member is ill, or in times of crisis. Evaggelia explained:

> I don't do *kapnisman* often, but when I do it makes me feel different. It is like when I go to church (although I don't go often), I feel different. When there are things on my mind that are troublesome I will go to church or do *kapnisman*. When I'm doing the *kapnisman* my worries do seem to disappear for that moment [trans. from Greek].

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[39] Her two oldest siblings had emigrated to Australia in the early 1950s, while the younger two came after 1974, as refugees.

Single women do not perform the ritual, but I did find instances of their lighting the censer and using olive leaves. Stella's 19 year-old daughter borrowed her mother's censer while she was studying in Athens. She lit it in her apartment whenever she felt homesick and to remind her of her mother and grandmother. Evaggelia reported that her 13 year-old daughter wanted to perform it all the time but only as a ploy to avoid domestic chores.

A Ritual Across Transnational Spaces

For many older women in Melbourne, one of the most important ways of imagining their homeland is through their participation in religious rituals. The *kapnisman* ritual therefore provides a symbolic connection to homeland and female kin in Cyprus. While the ritual is practised in much the same manner in Deryneia and Melbourne, the reasons for doing it differ.

In Melbourne, first generation immigrant women typically perform the *kapnisman* ritual more frequently than women in Deryneia. It is an assertion of their cultural identity in Australia. In the early years of their settlement, many Cypriot women worried that their children would 'lose their culture,' and felt that one way to guard against this was the regular performance of the ritual at home. It was their way of being 'good' Cypriot mothers in Australia. Second and third generation women had, in the main, abandoned the practice. There were a few exceptions. Myria (54) a second generation Cypriot woman, took up the practice after she left home:

> I never thought it was something specifically Cypriot. I just grew up with it. If I went to my aunt's houses or visited the next door neighbour who was also Greek Cypriot, they all did it as well. I found it no different in our household. I never questioned it. I'd seen my grandfather who was a priest do it in the church. Therefore it was a done thing and I just assumed everyone did it, and so I continue to do it.

Other second generation women permitted their mothers to perform the ritual in their home or business. Each year, Loukia performed the *kapnisman* in her daughter's restaurant. She explained, 'It is for good luck, so my daughter's business goes well. I also smoke the ovens and kitchen too.' For women like Loukia's daughter, allowing their mothers to perform the ritual is a sign of respect for them.

Second generation women's understandings of *kapnisman* reveal how ritual meanings change, along with their performance. For instance, Melani never performed the *kapnisman,* but occasionally lit the censer. In doing so, she remembered watching her deceased grandmother (who visited Australia in the early 1980s) perform the ritual. It was also a nostalgic reminder of her youth. Likewise, several third generation women who do not practise the ritual, confessed to enjoying watching their grandmothers perform it. For some, it signified their close relationship with older women kin. Many told me that they love the smell of the singed olive leaves and incense, which evokes memories of visits to Cyprus and loved ones.[40] In such cases, the *kapnisman* has become a symbolic link to their 'roots' and to parents and grandparents in the homeland. Their understanding of the ritual is not only about womanhood but also an identification with their cultural identity.

In Deryneia, I found that women's performance of *kapnisman* sometimes even references connections with Australia. For example, on the small home shrine used during the *kapnisman*, Despina placed religious icons of the *Panayia* bought from Apostolos Andreas in Melbourne. For Despina, the icons are reminiscent of her trip to Australia and her Australian kin. Similarly, Eleni placed an enlarged photograph of her Australian-born nephew who tragically died aged 21, on her shrine and although she never met him, his photograph was blessed during her performance of *kapnisman*. Eleni often became emotional and lamented her brother's misfortune in losing his only son. In

[40] Kenna (2005: 65) also observes that smell can be linked to emotional memories.

this, she was also evoking her own separation from her brother. She had been very close to him in her youth before he emigrated. In this way, some Deryneians have also incorporated Australia into their 'imagined biographies' (Appadurai 1996: 57), through the performance of rituals.

Matiasma (the Evil Eye)

> You must do *kapnisman* to get rid of any evil in the house. There might be people who are jealous of you and they are jealous because you may have bought another house ... There are just people who are bad and jealous of you. So you do it for the *mati* (eye) [Stella, trans. from Greek].
>
> I believe in the *matiasma*. When I was younger a woman told me I was beautiful, but she didn't mean it. Some people say something but they don't mean it and you get sick straight away. That is the evil eye. For a week I had a headache and could not get out of bed. That's why I believe (Georgina).

Women often perform the *kapnisman* ritual to counter external forces or *matiasma*.[41] Tasoulla recalled an episode when as a five year-old her son started to froth at the mouth during an evening meal. She was convinced that he had fallen victim to *matiasma*. She explained the problem as a result of her lapse in performing the *kapnisman*. Since the incident, she performs it regularly.

Women were reluctant to discuss *matiasma,* some out of fear, others, like Kalliopi, remarked, 'You should not write about these types of things, as people in Australia will get the impression that we are backward.' Kalliopi's comments reflect an attitude among middle and upper class younger Cypriots that belief in *matiasma* is confined to what the 'Old people used to believe in because they were illiterate,' and is therefore a belief steeped in ignorance and superstition. Despite this, I found that several middle and upper class women in their 40s and 50s, while denying belief in *matiasma,* still perform *kapnisman* to rid the house of evil.

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[41] For insight into the 'evil eye,' see Herzfeld (1981) and Stewart (1991).

The performance of *kapnisman* safeguards the home; however, if *matiasma* persists, outside intervention is sought. Some middle-aged educated women said that only the priest has the power to rid someone of *to mati*, while others insisted that a diviner or *maghos* (sorcerer) should perform the task.[42] When I asked Kalliopi if she knew of a *maghos*, she warned, 'You must be careful of people who do magic, because they could be doing the work of Satan.'

Men often denied the existence of the *mati,* whereas their wives claimed their husbands believe but are ashamed to admit it. After Androniki's husband Pavlos bought a new car, she claimed that he immediately went out to buy an eye-stone to hang on his rear-view mirror, to fend off evil. Pavlos denied this and insisted that his wife had pressured him to buy it.

A New Phenomenon: Women Healers

The existence of women healers in Deryneia was not revealed until eight months into my fieldwork when one of my informants told me about a small group of women who met once a week for two hours in Deryneia for 'spiritual healing.' Many of the activities of these women healers were secretive, and my account is accordingly respectful of their wishes. I have omitted details which might cause offence or reveal identities.

The healing sessions were conducted in the home of a retired British woman who had lived in Cyprus for several years and was known as a 'healer.' The group consisted of mostly foreign-born women married to Cypriots, and a smaller number of Cypriot women. Most were middle to upper-middle class, aged in their 40s to 60s. Attendance levels fluctuated, but the average was about 12 women. Most sessions

[42] According to the Oxford Greek Dictionary (1997), *maghos* is a wizard or sorcerer, but as Argyrou (1993) points out in his article on magic in Cyprus, this is not generally what Cypriots mean when they use the word. It usually refers to a person from whom people seek help to rid them of the evil eye, for healing, or to help resolve personal problems.

involved activities such as relaxation exercises and meditation. A two-year training course for certified 'healers' was also offered.[43]

The weekly group meditation mainly functioned as a forum where the women could express their worries and each woman was asked to nominate a person to whom they wished the group to send healing and why. At the closing of the meeting each person reported on their experiences during the week and whether the healing they had performed the previous week was successful. I was invited to attend on condition that I tell no-one in the village of the group's existence. I asked a married Cypriot woman in her 40s why it was a secret and she explained:

> You don't talk about healing in Deryneia because most of the people think it is black magic. They think it is the work of the evil eye, particularly as the church is against it. Even my husband thinks I'm stupid for doing healing and if my mother knew she would not understand. She would think it is magic because she is very religious and believes in the church and they are against it. Only the priest can perform a ritual such as healing or rid someone of the evil eye. But the church is hypocritical. They have so much power and money.

I found that most Cypriot women who attended the sessions did so in varying degrees of secrecy. One woman had lied for years about her whereabouts to family and friends, and only recently had her husband found out about the group. Women feared that if others in the community knew of the group's existence and that they were members, then they would be accused of performing black magic and the evil eye. They feared not only their local community, but also the church. As one woman asserted, 'the Orthodox Church believes that they are the most important and the only right religion. They consider the healing we do as evil.' Stewart (1991: 243) also observed that Orthodoxy permits only the priest to perform healing and anyone else performing such rituals is accused of sorcery.

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[43] The forms of exercise practiced varied. For example, one routine involved a woman sitting on a chair and another standing over her with her hands above the woman's head. This was referred to as 'channelling the energy' and was said to heal or alleviate stress.

For the women I knew, attending these healing sessions was a way to deal with problems in their lives. A woman in her mid-40s found that it helped her to cope with marital problems. She said that she had been unhappy in her arranged marriage and in the previous year had had an affair with a married man, declaring him to be the only man she ever loved. The affair ended after her husband found out. Unable to confide in family and friends for fear of being ostracised, she turned to a foreign woman for counsel, and it was this woman who later introduced her to the healing classes. Thus such foreign 'new age' ideas have found a place in the spiritual and emotional lives of some Deryneian women, possibly breaking barriers erected to reinforce culturally appropriate behaviour.

Summary

In this chapter I have shown that traditions are not static but always in a process of change. People rework practices to accommodate and negotiate transformations that modernity and other social change such as migration have wrought. In the process of negotiation, religious rituals and their meanings change, as in the case of *kapnisman*, which for Cypriot women in Melbourne became an important marker of cultural identity along with gender identity.

I also gave an interpretation of how Deryneian religious practices are gendered and why in Melbourne and Deryneia religious participation for most married women, but particularly senior women, is an important part of their performance as *kali yinaika.* Religious rituals reflect Cypriot gender relations but also the different experiences of women as a result of their social class, generation or place of residence. For older women in particular, their ritual performances are markers of their position and status in the community – literally, a performed identity.

In Deryneia and Melbourne, women's ritual performance has been essential to their agency. However, in Melbourne, it seems that migration has to a degree lessened the key role women play, particularly in church rituals, as highlighted in the memorial services co-opted by the church wardens.

Finally, although I have shown that women's agency has always been circumscribed by greater gendered social structures within local communities, I have also demonstrated that women are neither inactive nor silent participants in the social structure; through their participation in these rituals, they attempt to change their lives.

Conclusion

The turbulent political, economic and social conditions during British rule and in the aftermath of the 1974 war left many Cypriots feeling that they had no choice but to leave their homeland. Of those who left, few imagined that they would settle permanently in another country. However, most who came to Australia never returned to Cyprus except for occasional visits and often decades after settlement. At one time or another, many contemplated returning, but generally saw it as unfeasible as their Australian-born children and now grandchildren have firmer roots in the new country. Possibly those who long most strongly to return are the most recent arrivals, those who came as war refugees after 1974.

Economic constraints and lack of literacy often limited the contact that first generation women had with their homeland, particularly in the years immediately after settlement in Australia. Even in the early 2000s, the majority of older informants in Melbourne and Deryneia had neither the means nor the necessary skills to communicate via technology such as the internet, which for younger informants has allowed more regular and cheaper communication, and thus revitalised transnational ties by new means. In short, in the case of Deryneians, transnational ties were not always constant, often because of economic and gender constraints. Despite this, many have developed and maintained a complex web of associations that have informed identity construction over the last half century or more, in the homeland and in the diaspora.

Comparative Approach

This dissertation began with the suggestion that there are certain ways of being 'Cypriot' in Australia, in particular, ways of being *kali yinaika*, 'a good Cypriot woman.' I set out to examine the resonance of such an observation in the homeland and

found that despite similarities, there were also many significant differences. However, the range of attitudes among women informants precludes me from making simple generalisations. Only by looking historically and ethnographically at particular groups of women, in this case, Deryneian women in Cyprus and Australia, could I gain comparative insights into their lives. A comparative methodology enabled me to explore the social and attitudinal differences between those in the homeland and the diaspora, as well as between women in the same places who are distinguished by generation, education and class.

A comparative framework was also useful for analysing the forms and extent of transnational ties. This methodology highlights the complexity of people's experiences, and the varying degrees to which emigrants and those in the homeland are involved in each other's everyday lives. The main difficulty in presenting a comparison was not to lose sight of the particularity of informants' lives, and the historical and local context essential to understanding women's experiences. I was conscious of this throughout the study.

A multi-sited ethnography was a productive analytical tool for mapping the process of social change among women in Melbourne and in Deryneia. Women's lives are connected through kinship and village ties, which helped me to plot the effects of socio-economic forces and the manner in which they have shaped individuals in both locations. Several field trips to Deryneia and the fieldwork in Melbourne enabled me to reflect on prior observations and, at times, misunderstandings, yielding a nuanced account of women's experiences and attitudes.

I have compared the lives of women informants in Melbourne and Deryneia in order to highlight the intricacy of gender and cultural identities. The historical context has been essential to this understanding, as have the connections that those in the diaspora and the homeland foster with one another. Chapter One provided a

comprehensive history of the village so as to give the reader an understanding of the forces that shaped my informants' lives and also to indicate the reasons why many felt they had to emigrate. Chapter Two demonstrated the obstacles they encountered leaving Cyprus and the difficulties they had adapting to a sometimes hostile hegemonic culture in Australia. The founding of the Apostolos Andreas Cypriot church in Sunshine provided a case study of how a distinctive Cypriot Australian identity was formed in order to help ameliorate social and cultural displacement. Here, I made visible women's agency in the establishment of the church and more significantly their role in constructing an Australian Cypriot identity.

The comparative accounts presented in Chapters One and Two raised the question of how the life choices of women in two different places, with different yet shared histories, compare. As I have demonstrated, variables such as ethnicity, age, class and historical context are important. For example, women who immigrated to Australia before Cyprus gained independence had a very different experience from those who went as refugees. Those who migrated before the 1970s arrived at a time of economic growth administered by conservative governments ideologically driven by the White Australia policy and majority community demands for cultural assimilation. In contrast, those who left after 1974 arrived in an Australia administered under a nascent policy of multiculturalism and found a Cypriot community that had been settled for some decades. These differing experiences also greatly affected the imaginings of homeland and self formed by subsequent generations.

In Deryneia, social change and the political implications of a divided country have affected the life choices of women. The lived experience of the 1974 war and since then of living on the border have influenced the ways in which cultural identity is constructed and again, this is different for women of different generations. For example, some left Cyprus as young women and returned later with children, and living abroad

greatly affected their world view. Those who were born after 1974 have also been affected by the border, in that they have known nothing but a divided country and two antagonistic communities. Their cultural and gender identities have been shaped by familial and official discourses about the atrocities of war, displacement and ethnic nationalism.

In both Deryneia and Melbourne, opportunities for young women to pursue education beyond primary school have enabled a broader range of life choices. Most aspire to a professional career and seek to avoid the limited work choices that were available to their mothers and grandmothers. While they still suffer the double burden of wage work and house duties, they believe that their lot has progressed from manual work in the fields, textile sweatshops or factories.

Women's agency is also influenced by changing economic circumstances. This was demonstrated in the diaspora by Georgina's situation as she experienced a degree of upward class mobility which in turn affected what she could offer her daughters. Her younger daughters were encouraged to finish secondary school, which had not been an option for her oldest daughter. Georgina's desires reflect her changing perception of the role of education for women and indeed the changing evaluations of what it is to be *kali yinaika*.

Limits of Transnationalism

I found that for Deryneians, kinship ties are the most important transnational networking conduit. Transnationalism 'from below,' that is, people to people, has more impact on their everyday lives than more formal ties with organisations and governments, that is, transnationalism 'from above' (Smith & Guarnizo 1998). However, I have demonstrated that there is no clear separation between informal or formal ties, as in the case of the conflicts between members of the Apostolos Andreas

community and the fact that archbishop Makarios was called upon to intervene in the politics of the diaspora.

For second and third generation informants in Melbourne, it was clear that transnational ties were not as important. Nevertheless, even when second and third generation Australian Cypriots are not directly involved in active transnational communication, they often cannot avoid meaningful ties, because of their families' ongoing links. Events like the 1974 war, parents' and grandparents' involvement in the Apostolos Andreas church, cases of transnational land ownership and, more significantly, kinship networks, show that ties can be immutable and continue to affect constructions of the self.

Like Bottomley (1979) and Baldassar (2007), I found that ongoing connections between the homeland and the place of residence are essential for understanding identity construction among Cypriots in Melbourne. I discovered that even those of the first generation who do not have frequent communication with Cyprus still have a strong emotional connection to it. Indeed, this could also be said of several informants in Deryneia, as their emotional ties to Melbourne kin have had significant and ongoing impacts on their lives. This was seen when women in Deryneia incorporated the photographs of Australian Cypriots in their propitiation on behalf of relatives during the *kapnisman* ritual.

Although links to the homeland are not as strong for later generations, ideas about Cyprus and Cypriot ethnicity are instrumental in the construction of their cultural and gender identities. Many second and some third generation Australian Cypriots view their Cypriot identity as an important part of their lives. However, unlike many of the first generation, hybridity allows them to hold onto aspects of their cultural identity and to reject others. This 'mixed' identity can also be a source of conflict for some, as they struggle with their in-between status. Or, as is the case with many second generation

Cypriots, hybridity results in conflict only at particular moments in their lives. Cathy's case was telling in this regard, for her hybridity alienated her from both her Cypriot identity and also from the dominant Anglo-Celtic society. She only accepted her mixed identity after visiting Cyprus for the first time as a young adult. Likewise, Chloe's isolating experience at Greek language school and lack of Greek language skills were a source of anxiety for her in relation to her sense of self-identity.

There are strong emotional ties to the homeland among the second and even some third generation informants. Wolf (2002) argues that this can be seen as 'emotional transnationalism,' and I also found that emotional connections to the homeland do not necessarily entail ongoing engagements across borders. Remittances and real estate deals in the homeland, and the importation of priests to the diaspora were mostly limited to first generation migrants and kinship ties significantly decreased among second and third generations. However, second and third generation Cypriot Australians still view themselves as having a Cypriot identity and many still have a sense of Cyprus as a 'homeland'

For most first and many second generation informants, however, their emotional connection is more than mere nostalgia, which is what Fouron and Glick Schiller (2002) argue distinguishes a diasporic from a transnational community. As I have demonstrated, emotional ties to the homeland are often combined with active socio-economic ties, but again these links are more significant at particular times, such as in 1974. The findings of this dissertation reinforce the need to acknowledge that degrees of transnational communication occur through time, and to take note of how gender, socio-economic and other factors contribute to these flows and disjunctures.

The diaspora is also important to the homeland, although for informants residing in Deryneia this importance is almost always premised on persisting kinship relations. Maintenance of strong kin-to-kin communication across borders is very important for

older Deryneians in Cyprus and Melbourne. However, while a number of informants in both places are involved directly and indirectly in transnational social spaces, my comparison shows that the local context is always at the centre of their everyday lives. For example, many women in both locales are aware of one another's lives, yet the local context remains determinant, their immediate window onto the world.

While transnational theories have opened up the ways in which scholars view immigrant groups, they have tended to focus on the new place of residence and, more recently, on those who return to live in the homeland. This dissertation goes beyond such a focus by including an ethnographic analysis of those who never left and have therefore lived a different history while still enmeshed in transnational networks.

Kali Yinaika: Discourses of Honour and Shame

For many Cypriots, regardless of age and location, the demonstration to others of what it means to be *kali yinaika* is extremely important. Ideas of honour and shame clearly underpin discourses of *kali yinaika*, but as demonstrated throughout this study, these discourses are not static – they change in relation to the other variables that fuel social change. Indeed, my ethnographic research confirms Vassiliadou's findings (1999) that women's beliefs are not always reflected in their practices and that while women have agency it is restricted by patriarchal structures.

Women's sexual modesty is a key part of their maintaining an honourable reputation in Deryneia and Melbourne. Social change has diminished the strict rules that once regulated women's chastity, decorum and movement, but these changes have come slower in the diaspora, as the first generation often clung to a more traditional view and projected this onto their children.

Unlike Peristany (1966), I found that a family's honour does not rest only on men. The actions of women are also judged and thus they may heap shame on

themselves and kin or maintain their honour. In several examples, I showed that even perceived transgressions by natal family members can affect the way a woman is judged, even after she has married. Peristany also found that social evaluations like these are rigid, a final judgement, whereas I have shown that women who have lost honour can, over time, regain acceptance and respectability, largely by performing in public the actions and attitudes that define what it is to be *kali yinaika.* Prime among these are selfless devotion, thrift, hard work and righteousness. Moreover, unlike Attalides (1981), who found that girls from wealthy families have more opportunities to transgress strict moral codes, my ethnographic examples show that honour evaluations are not so strict, nor does class always determine how women are judged by the community.

In both Cyprus and Australia, these evaluations have evolved as a result of social change. However, one significant difference is that women in Melbourne also bear the responsibility of imparting culture to their children, their Cypriot-ness, in the context of an alien, hegemonic culture.

In the introduction, I suggested that evaluations of *kali yinaika* centre on women's sexuality, but as I have emphasised throughout, it includes much more than this: the performance, the demonstration, of honour in front of others often determines how women are treated in their communities. As Dubisch (1995) argues, this performance is not only a reaction to male dominance, a 'subversion of a male ideology', but is also essential for women to gain status and respect among themselves. For Herzfeld (1985), the performance of manhood is essential to male Cretan identity and status, but he fails to show the importance of performance for women and how they, not men, predominantly influence the status of other women.

For younger people in Australia and Cyprus, what constitutes *kali yinaika* is changing, for some subtly and for others more radically. Young Deryneian women now

move abroad or to the city for study and work, and this has given them more freedom to challenge traditional ideas of womanhood. Living in urban settings can generally be said to offer more opportunities to challenge gender stereotypes than are available to their female kin living in Deryneia, where the pressure to conform to expectations is ever present.

This dissertation has demonstrated that Cypriot women are not passive agents but create, submit and subvert cultural identities and ideas about gender roles, just like men. Although there are clear gendered divisions of labour in most households in Melbourne and Deryneia, women are not silent. So, unlike Attalides (1981), the early works of Loizos (1981) and Markides *et al.* (1978), I have shown that women actively engage in the discourses constituting *kali yinaika.* They also continue to create and reinvent women's culture through participation in marriage and household rituals like the *kapnisman*. Women are also significant participants in community activities, such as making *trahanas* or attending the Apostolos Andreas Church in Melbourne. Every day, women make decisions that not only affect their own lives but also those of their family and community.

Women's agency is also highlighted by the choices they make in the everyday. This was seen in the case of women who married Deryneians and moved to their husbands' village and the different strategies they employed to gain acceptance. However, as I also highlight, not all women's strategies are successful and they might never be regarded by the community as *kali yinaika*.

Migration and Ethnicity

Throughout this dissertation I have shown that discourses about what constitutes *kali yinaika* are complex. Migration, especially, has affected what this means, as women have had to negotiate between the ideas they brought from the homeland and those they

found in their place of settlement. This mediation is sometimes fraught. Many Cypriots have held on to traditions that altered substantially in the homeland. To an extent, I agree with Anthias (1992) that some facets of culture stay in a kind of 'time warp'. Indeed, for many Melbourne Cypriots, holding on to traditions was essential to the formation of their cultural identity in Australia, an identity that gave them a sense of empowerment as well as a way to contest assimilationist pressures and more hostile forms of racism in Australia. However, using tradition to counter racism and highlight identity has meant that the reasons underlying the performance of cultural practices changed, even if the choreography did not.

My dissertation has demonstrated the central role ethnicity plays in immigrants' lives and also shown the fluidity of ethnic and cultural identities. Cultural identity changes according to circumstance, which was seen in the case of Apostolos Andreas. In contrast to Tamis' work (1997, 2005b), I showed that ethnicity played a major role in the tensions within this congregation, particularly seen in the divisions between Greeks and Cypriots.

Migration did not allow Deryneian women to escape many of the more 'traditional female roles' as Laliotou (2004) found it had for her Greek American informants. In Melbourne, women still largely became *kali yinaika* through marriage and motherhood, and their roles in the domestic sphere have not dramatically altered. However, in the context of migration, the display of one's ethnicity has become essential to ideal performances of *kali yinaika.* First generation immigrant women were largely responsible for imparting Cypriot traditions and language to the next generation. The success of this endeavour has been used to judge women immigrants, with these evaluations being made by those in both the diaspora and the homeland.

Social change in Deryneia has also affected ideas of *kali yinaika* and certainly there are contrasting views about what this term entails for differing generations of

women. There is also evidence that those in the diaspora have had some impact on gender roles in the homeland. This was seen in the case of Sotos and Christalleni, whose visit to Australia and observations of activate participation by male kin in their children's lives influenced their decision to change their work schedules, allowing Sotos more time with his children.

Tradition, Modernity and Class

My ethnographic examples confirm Argyrou's (1996) findings that cultural practices should not be simply seen as either 'traditional' or 'modern,' as earlier work such as Markides *et al*. (1978) prescribed. Argyrou's research showed that as a result of class struggle, Cypriots often strategically claim a traditional or modern identity. In contrast, I have shown that the claim to either a traditional or modern identity is not always a clear reflection of class and also changes according to circumstance. As I demonstrated for Melbourne Cypriots, claims to a 'traditional' identity were largely a result of ethnicity and a means by which to differentiate themselves from Greek Australians. Most importantly, my research demonstrates that gender identity cannot be overlooked – people can claim a traditional identity as an expression of class and at the same time claim a modern identity as an expression of gender. Nor did I find that class is always central to ritual, as Argyrou found with wedding rituals. The *kapnisman* ritual, for example, is a key ritual for older women, essential to their identity. For women in Melbourne, the performance of this ritual is also connected to their ethnic and cultural identity. In particular, it gives them a link to the homeland, especially to female kin there.

Cypriot women in both Cyprus and Australia are still limited in the choices they make, as a result of gendered social relations, but how they deal with these is not the same in both places. Women's experiences are influenced by personal history, class,

age, place of residence, religious and political beliefs and everyday factors that inform their agency. I have demonstrated the complexities of women's lives in Australia and Cyprus, and how women who have a link to the village of Deryneia continue both to challenge and to submit to their communities' ideas of *kali yinaika.*

More importantly, I have stressed that *kali yinaika* is a fluid concept. Women can manipulate it to serve their purposes, often out of necessity, as when women need to find work outside the family. Others choose to reject parts or all of what it is to be *kali yinaika*, as seen when widows refuse to wear black, or when some women refuse to marry or to subscribe to other ideals, such as those concerning housework.

Future Research

My work contributes to the growing literature on gender in Cyprus and ethnic communities in Australia. My research is the first to look at Cypriots in Melbourne, in particular Deryneians, and is also the first ethnography of Deryneia. In the latter case, it is an important ethnographic contribution that can be used with other studies to compare regional differences and thus bring greater understanding of the diverse experiences of Cypriots. My findings are also important for comparative work among other diasporic Cypriot communities, particularly in the manner and degree to which they maintain ties to the homeland. This can only deepen our understanding of why some people have more tangible ties than others, thus reframing our understanding of transnational practices. Moreover, my work specifically contributes to the emerging literature on transnationalism in Australia. This study of Cypriots in Australia can further our understanding of transnational ties in a specific Australian context and be compared to the experiences of other ethnic groups in Australia. Although such comparisons are beyond the scope of this thesis, which is a detailed, ethnographic case study, it provides the basis for such comparisons in future research.

This raises the question of whether my research is limited to the relationship between Australian Cypriots and the homeland, or do diasporic Cypriots elsewhere have similar experiences? These are questions for future research and the most pertinent comparison would be with England, where the majority of emigrant Deryneians now live.

In Deryneia, I discovered that British Cypriots from Deryneia have strong transnational ties to the village and the homeland in general. For example, those living in the UK have their own Deryneian association that maintains continuous links with the Deryneia municipality. Additionally, a number of British Cypriots have returned to live in Deryneia and several have built holiday houses nearby. A number of my informants also maintain strong ties with kin living in Canada, Greece and South Africa, and it would useful to chart the links that Cypriots have across the global ecumene. I met a number of my informants' kin from the latter two countries and found that those living closer to Cyprus were more likely to visit on a regular basis.

Future research on women's lives will need to take into account how Cyprus' entry into the European Union affects Deryneians and therefore also discourses about *kali yinaika*. There is already evidence in Deryneia that EU membership has brought many young people back to farming, as several have obtained EU funding to establish high-tech agriculture on their or their parents' land. The recent economic recession has also ruined many tourist businesses, forcing Deryneians to seek employment or business opportunities in other industries. What this has meant for Deryneian women is still to be investigated.

These changes might also influence ideas held by Cypriots in Australia. More pertinent, however, is that the first generation of migrants is getting older. When they are no longer present to share their stories and transmit their cultural practices to subsequent generations, will Cypriot-ness in Australia be weakened? And what will this

mean for ongoing transnational ties between the diaspora and the homeland, even, whether or not those ties are maintained? It also remains to be seen how ideas about gender will transform over time and whether the concept of *kali yinaika* will retain any significance and continue to shape women's lives.

Appendix One

Main Women Informants Living in Australia: Bio-data record 2002

Androulla, aged 88. Born in Deryneia. She had three months of elementary schooling and then worked with her father as an agricultural labourer and in seasonal agricultural work. In the early 1950s she emigrated to Australia with her children to join her husband Tassos. She had six children, four of whom were born in Deryneia. In Australia she worked in the house and in the family business (established in the 1970s). She was widowed in the 1980s. She now lives with her daughter and her family.

Anthea, aged 44. Born in Melbourne. In the early 1950s her parents emigrated to Australia with three of her older siblings. She is the second youngest of six children. She completed secondary school, then found work as a secretary. She married a second generation Australian Cypriot and had four children. She currently works in a bank.

Cathy, aged 50. Born in Melbourne. In the 1940s her parents came to Australia with three of her siblings. She left secondary school before completing her senior years and worked in a bank. She later returned to night-school and trained as a nurse. She now runs her own business. She married a second generation Cypriot Australian whom she met in Greece (while on holiday) in the 1970s. In 1974 she was visiting kin in Cyprus when the war broke out. She has three children.

Chloe, aged 23. Born in Melbourne. Both her parents were second generation Australian Cypriots. In 2002 she was completing her university degree and living with her parents. She works part-time in the retail industry.

Connie, aged 54. Born in Deryneia. In the late 1940s she emigrated to Australia with her family. As the eldest daughter she was forced to leave secondary school to work in her parents' family business. She has had various jobs, including shop assistant and secretarial work. She married an Anglo-Australian and had four children. After marrying, she worked full-time in the home until widowed in the 1980s, when she set up her own business.

Ellen, aged 68. Born in a village in the far north east of Cyprus. She completed three years of elementary school and then worked on her family's agricultural plot. Later she took an apprenticeship as a seamstress in Varosha. In the 1960s she emigrated to Australia as a single woman where she worked in factories as a seamstress and as an outworker for a textile company. In Australia her marriage to a first generation Deryneian was arranged. She had four children.

Elli, aged 72. Born in Deryneia. She completed two half-years of elementary school. In the mid-1950s she emigrated to Australia to join her husband who had emigrated two years earlier. Her marriage was arranged. She had five children. In Cyprus she worked on her family's market plot and in Australia worked as a seamstress in factories and as an outworker for a textile company.

Georgina, aged 79. Born in Deryneia. She completed three half-years of elementary school and then left to care for her siblings. In the late 1940s she emigrated to Australia to join Dimitris her husband who had emigrated two years earlier. In Cyprus she worked

on her family plot; in Australia she also worked in the home and in her husband's supermarket. She is now a widow and lives alone. She had five children, three of whom were born in Cyprus. Only one of her children married a second generation Cypriot Australia.

Lenya, aged 49. Born in Deryneia. In 1974 she came to Australia with her family as a refugee. Her marriage in Australia to a Cypriot was arranged. She had four children. In Cyprus she completed her third year of secondary school and then worked in her family's market garden. In Australia she worked in a factory until the birth of her first child. Some years later she started to make 'Cypriot food' and sold it at the Cypriot church; this eventually led to a small, home-based, catering business.

Loukia, aged 66. Born in a village close to Deryneia. In the mid-1950s as a single 18 year-old she emigrated to England and few years later emigrated to Australia to join her brothers. In Cyprus she worked on her family's agricultural plot and later did an apprenticeship as a seamstress. In Australia she worked in factories as a seamstress, married Deryneia-born Andoni and had three children. One child married a second generation Cypriot Australian and her second child married a second generation Greek Australian.

Melani, aged 48. Born in Melbourne. In the 1940s her parents emigrated to Australia with three of her five siblings. She is the youngest. She completed secondary school and trained as a teacher. She now works in academia and lives with her partner. They have no children.

Myria, aged 54. Born in Melbourne. Her parents migrated to Australia in the 1950s. She completed the first three years of secondary school, then did an apprenticeship as a hairdresser. She was in Cyprus for her first visit during the 1974 war. She has four children and is married to a second generation Cypriot Australian.

Natassia, aged 79. Born in Deryneia. She had no schooling. In the early 1950s she left Deryneia with two children to join her Cypriot husband in Australia who had emigrated several years earlier. In Cyprus she worked as an agricultural labourer and in Australia worked in her husband's business and also in the home. She had four children, all of whom married second generation Cypriot Australians.

Paraskevi, aged 73. Born in Deryneia. She had four half-years of school, then stayed at home to care for her younger siblings. She also worked with her parents in their market garden. Her marriage was arranged in Cyprus by female kin and she then worked as an agricultural labourer until she emigrated with her husband to Australia in the 1960s. She had three children.

Soulla, aged 65. Born in Melbourne. She is a second generation Cypriot Australian. She left secondary school in Year 10 to take up an apprenticeship as a seamstress. She worked on her family's farm in country Victoria, and later moved to Melbourne with her parents. She worked in their family shop. Her marriage to a first generation Deryneian, Andrew, was arranged. She had four children and worked mostly at home until they all completed their schooling. She also worked for a brief time in a factory when her husband was unemployed. She then found work as a clerk and currently works at a secondary school.

Talia, aged 69. Born in Deryneia. She completed elmentary school. In the mid-1970s she emigrated to Australia as a refugee with her husband and seven children. In Cyprus she worked on her family's agricultural plot. In Australia she worked in factories and is now retired. Five of her children have married either Cypriot-born or second generation Cypriot Australians.

Zena, aged 58. Born in a village close to Deryneia. After completing elementary school in Cyprus she obtained an apprenticeship as a seamstress. She married a Deryneian man. In the mid-1970s she emigrated to Australia as a refugee with her husband and lived with her brother-in-law and his family for over a year. In Australia she had three children and worked in several factories as a machinist. Her eldest son married a second generation Italian Australian.

Main Male Informants Living in Australia: Bio-data record 2002

Alekos, aged 83. Born in Deryneia. He completed elementary school. In the late 1940s he emigrated to Australia, leaving his wife and children in Deryneia for several years. In Cyprus he worked as an agricultural labourer. In Australia he worked as a carpenter and also in factories. He had seven children, all of whom married either second generation Cypriot Australians or second generation Greek Australians.

Andoni, aged 77. Born in Deryneia. He completed elementary school, then worked on his family's agricultural plot. He first emigrated to England to join his brother Spiros and in the early 1950s emigrated to Australia where another brother had settled. In Australia he has worked in several factories. He married a first generation Cypriot in Australia and had three children. Of the two who married, one married a second generation Cypriot Australian and the other a second generation Greek.

Andrew, aged 75. Born in Deryneia. In the late 1940s he emigrated with his sister Georgina to Australia. He later married a second generation Cypriot Australian in an arranged marriage. In Cyprus he worked on his family's agricultural plot and when he first arrived in Australia worked in factories. Although he received no formal training, he has worked most of his life as a carpenter. He had four children; one daughter married a second generation Australian Greek but is now divorced.

Dimitris, aged 82. Born in Deryneia. In late 1940s he emigrated to Australia, leaving his wife Georgina and children in Deryneia for several years. In Cyprus he worked on his family's agricultural plot and for a short time as a builder's labourer at the British military base. In Australia he worked as a carpenter (although he had no formal training). In the mid-1960s he opened a small family business. He had five children, one of whom married a second generation Cypriot Australian.

Lefteris, aged 67. Born in Deryneia. He completed elementary school. In Cyprus he worked on his family's agricultural plot. His marriage was arranged by his father. In the mid-1970s he emigrated to Australia as a refugee with his wife and they lived with his brother and family for over a year. In Australia he had various factory jobs and later set up his own business. He has three Australian-born children.

Spiros, aged 83. Born in Deryneia. In the late 1940s he emigrated to England where he married his English wife. They had two children and then migrated to Australia in the mid-1950s. His wife died in the late 1950s. As a young adult he served in the Cypriot

regiment of the Imperial Army. In Cyprus he worked on his family's agricultural plot, while in Australia he worked in factories. In the 1970s he went to night-school with his niece Cathy and completed his secondary schooling.

Yiannis, aged 78. Born in Deryneia. He completed elementary school. In the 1960s he emigrated to Australia and lived for several years with his brother and his family. His marriage to a first generation Cypriot was arranged in Australia. In Cyprus he worked on his family's agricultural plot, while in Australia he worked in factories. He had three children.

Main Women Informants Living in Cyprus: Bio-data record 2002

Androniki, aged 33. Born in a village close to Deryneia. She completed secondary school and wanted to study in Athens at university but her parents did not permit it as none of her older sisters had been given the opportunity. She married a Deryneian and moved there after her marriage. She has three young children. Before her marriage (in the mid-1990s) she worked as a receptionist in a tourist hotel. In 2001 she worked in the home and in the winter season with her husband in their market garden. She has kin in Australia and England.

Anna, aged 60. Born in Deryneia. She was the youngest daughter of 10 siblings. Four of her siblings emigrated to Melbourne. She completed elementary school and then worked at her family's market garden until her arranged marriage. She had six children; two of her daughters have divorced. She has worked as an agricultural labourer, in factories and in hotels as a kitchen hand and a chamber maid. She currently works during the tourist season as a cleaner in a hotel. With her sister she visited Australian kin in the early 2000s. She also has kin in Canada and Greece.

Anthi, aged 73. Born in Deryneia. She completed elementary school and later did a sewing apprenticeship. She worked as a seamstress for 10 years. Her marriage was arranged by her father (a priest) and she has six children. In 1974 they lost their family farm. They later started a market garden in Deryneia and she continues to assist her children during the winter months in their market gardens, as well as caring for her grandchildren. Four of her brothers emigrated to Australia between the 1940s and 1960s. She has visited Australia once.

Christalleni, aged 32. Born in a village close to Deryneia. She completed three years of secondary school. She worked in a shop in the tourist area of Agia Napa where she met her Deryneian husband who was a customer. She has four young children, two of whom attended elementary school. In 2001 she worked at home and also did part-time work at her parents' grocery. Prior to this, she had worked with her husband during the winter season at their market garden. In the 1990s Christalleni with her husband and children visited her husband's Australian kin.

Chrystalla, aged 75. Born in a village close to Deryneia. Her marriage was arranged by male kin. She has twelve children, four of whom live in Deryneia and the rest in other parts of Cyprus. All of her children are married and her youngest son married a Bulgarian. She is now retired but has worked as an agricultural labourer and also with her husband (who died in the late 1960s) at their market garden. In 1974 she lost her home and market garden in Kato Deryneia and became a refugee. She now resides in a flat behind her son's family house. She has kin in Australia, England and South Africa.

Despina, aged 71. Born in Deryneia. She left elementary school in the second last year due to illness. After she recovered she worked in her family's market garden until her arranged marriage at 20 years old. She worked with her husband Evan at their market garden and later Evan set up a shop in Varosha. In 1974 they lost the business and market garden. They re-established a market garden on land her father gave to her after the war. Her husband took paid work elsewhere, whilst Despina ran the market garden, until they gave it to a son for his bride-wealth. She continues to work on her son's plot and supervises his staff of foreign women agricultural workers. She had four children. Her eldest son divorced a foreigner but is now remarried. Four siblings live in Australia and she has visited them once. She also has kin in Canada and Greece.

Despoulla, aged 73. Born in a village close to Deryneia. She completed elementary school and later did an apprenticeship as a seamstress. Her marriage to a Deryneian was arranged and after they wed, both lived and worked on a farm outside Deryneia for 15 years. Later they built a house in Varosha which was taken in the 1974 war. She has six children (five of whom are married). She has kin in Australia, England and South Africa.

Eirini, aged 66. Born in Deryneia. She completed five years of elementary school. She left school to care for her younger siblings and later did a sewing apprenticeship. After her arranged marriage she worked with her husband on their market garden. In 1974 they lost their agricultural land and were unable to provide their eldest daughter with a dowry house. They gave their own house to their daughter while they moved to the family farm. Years later they built their own flat at the rear of the daughter's house. She has five children. Eirini with her sister visited their Australian siblings in the early 2000s. She also has kin in Canada and Greece.

Eleftheria, aged 39. Born in Deryneia. She completed secondary school and worked in her family's business. At 18 she fell in love with a non-Cypriot but her family refused to let her marry. A few years later she started dating a local Deryneian boy whom her parents pressured her to marry. After her marriage they set up a business in the tourist area with her dowry and later sold it to her brother. Since then she grows vegetables on a small plot beside her home and sells them to locals. She also works part-time in the retail industry. She has three children. She has kin in Australia, Canada and Greece.

Eleni, aged 68. Born in Deryneia. She was pulled out of elementary school in the fourth year to look after her younger brother while her mother worked in the fields. After her older siblings migrated to Australia she went to work at her parents' market garden until her arranged marriage. Her father-in-law arranged the marriage of his two sons to Eleni and her older sister, and they were engaged on the same day. After marriage she worked with her husband on their bride-wealth land. In the 1974 war their market garden was taken and later they re-established a farm on an overseas Australian sibling's plot. She was widowed in the late 1980s and went to work in the tourist area as a kitchen hand and then as a cleaner. She has four children. With her son she visited Australian kin in the 1990s. She also has kin in Greece and Canada.

Evaggelia, aged 34. Born in Deryneia. After completing secondary school she wanted to go on to tertiary education but her parents would not allow it. Instead she obtained employment in the textile industry. She has also worked at her family's market garden and later in the retail industry. At 19 years of age she was engaged and married in the same year because she was pregnant. Her marriage to Marios was arranged by male kin.

She has three children and runs a business with her husband. She has kin in Australia, Canada and Greece.

Flora, aged 47. Born in a village close to Deryneia. She completed her second year of secondary school. Her marriage to Deryneian-born Takis was arranged by male kin. In 1974 her parents and siblings became refugees, while Flora and her husband lost agricultural land. She worked with her parents and later with her husband in their market garden. In 2001 she worked in their family business. She has kin in Australia.

Kalliopi, aged 49. Born in a village close to Deryneia. She completed secondary school and then took work as a secretary. In 1974 her family became refugees and later moved to Deryneia, the village of her father (who died in the late 1960s). In 1975 her godfather sponsored her to live with him in England and she lived there for two years while she studied English and worked. While she was in England her diasporic kin arranged her betrothal with a Deryneian living in South Africa. When she returned to Cyprus her mother was financially struggling, with nine children, and Kalliopi agreed to the marriage. With little work in Cyprus she moved to South Africa with her husband where they ran a small business for six years. They have three children. They returned to Cyprus to have their children schooled there. In Cyprus she and her husband eventually set up a small business in the tourist area. She has kin in Australia, England and South Africa.

Katelou, aged 63. Born in Deryneia. She completed elementary school. Her marriage to Athamos was one of the few not arranged among her generation. She has three children. She has worked most of her life in her family market garden and continues to assist her husband during harvest times. She has kin in Australia whom she visited there for the first time in 2001.

Katerina, aged 34. Born in Deryneia. She completed secondary school but her parents would not allow her to go to university, so she went to work in her diasporic uncle's clothing factory in Deryneia. She has three children. She met her husband through her sister-in-law who planned their match. She now runs a business with her husband. She has kin in Australia and England.

Kleoniki, aged 35. Born in Deryneia. She completed her first year of secondary school and then took up a sewing apprenticeship. In 1990 she divorced her first husband and years later remarried. She has four children (three from her first marriage). She has had numerous jobs, including as a cleaner and in factories. In 2001 she worked at home and part-time as a cleaner. She has kin in Australia, Canada and Greece.

Margarita, aged 38. Born in Deryneia. She completed her first two years of secondary school. Initially, she worked with her parents in their market garden and later as a shop assistant in the tourist area. Her marriage was arranged by an aunt and her father-in-law. After her marriage she set up her own retail business with part of her dowry but closed it after a few years. She now works in her sister's business. She has three teenage children. She has kin in Australia, Canada and Greece.

Marilena, aged 25. Born in Deryneia. She completed elementary school, and when she was about to start secondary school her mother got seriously ill. She left school to look after her. A year later she did an apprenticeship as a hairdresser and worked to help support her family. She has worked in various jobs in the service industry, predominantly in the tourist areas close to Deryneia. She has three young children and

now works at home. She married at 18 years old while pregnant to a man almost twice her age. She has kin in Australia.

Nina, aged 22. Born in Deryneia. Her parents became refugees in 1974. She went to university in Greece and trained as a nurse. She now works at a local hospital. In 2001 she was married and given land in Deryneia by her parents. She hopes to use their wedding money for a deposit to build a house. Her oldest sister lives in Nicosia and her younger sister is studying in Greece. She has kin in Australia.

Stella, aged 47. Born in Deryneia. In 1973 she completed secondary school in Varosha and then obtained a university degree in Greece. She has four children. She has worked as a secretary and a teacher. In the early 1980s she opened her own business but it was unsuccessful so she returned to teaching. She was married at 24 years old (after a three year engagement) to a man eight years older than herself by an arranged marriage. In 1974 her parents lost their farm and could not provide her a dowry house. With the help of kin, her parents built a second storey on their house for Stella and her husband. She has kin in Australia.

Tasoulla, aged 44. Born in Deryneia. She completed two years of secondary school. She has worked in her brother's supermarket and also as a secretary. In 1974 her parents lost their livelihood and could not provide her with a dowry. Her marriage was arranged. She moved to South Africa with her husband where they had two sons and ran a small supermarket. They returned to Cyprus to have their children schooled. They had several businesses and in 2002 they sold a shop that Tasoulla ran and now she assists her husband in their business in the tourist area. She has three children. She has kin in Australia.

Main Male Informants Living in Cyprus: Bio-data record 2002

Athamos, aged 65. Born in Deryneia. He completed elementary school and worked on his family's agricultural plot. In the 1960s he spent two years working in England as a waiter. In the late 1980s he established a family business in Deryneia which is now run by his sons. He has three children. He continues to work as an agriculturalist. Four of his older siblings live in Australia and he visited them for the first time in 2001. He also has kin in Canada and Greece.

Charalambos, aged 54. Born in Deryneia, Cyprus. He completed secondary school and then worked as an agriculturalist. He was born in Deryneia and moved to his wife's (Athoulla) village in Famagusta after marriage. In 1974 he returned to Deryneia as a refugee. His parents and sister, with the assistance of Australian kin, helped him to re-establish himself in Deryneia. He now runs a farm. He has three daughters.

Christos, aged 45. Born in Deryneia. In the early 1990 he married Swedish-born Brigitte with whom he had a child. His ex-wife and child now live in Sweden. He remarried a local girl, Despo, and had a child. He is university educated and lived and worked in Europe for several years. He has taught languages and was co-owner of a tourist business with his brothers. He now works as an agriculturalist. He has kin in Australia.

Evan, aged 74. Born in a village close to Deryneia. He completed elementary school and worked at his parent's market garden. His marriage to Despina was arranged by male kin. After marriage Evan and his wife ran their own farm and two years later he set

up a shop in Varosha. They lost both businesses in 1974 and later re-established a market garden. In the 1980s he left agriculture and worked as an administration clerk. He is now retired. He had four children. He visited Australian kin in the 1990s.

Mitchos, aged 24. Born in Deryneia. He obtained a university degree at the University of Cyprus. He lives and works in Nicosia. In 2002 he was dating a girl from Deryneia. He has kin in Australia and England.

Pavlos, aged 41. Born in Deryneia. In 1974 his family lost their market garden and thus their livelihood. He completed secondary school and worked abroad for several years. He co-owns a business in Agia Napa with his brothers and also is a part-time agriculturalist. He is married to Androniki. He has kin in Australia.

Petros, aged 75. Born in Deryneia. He completed elementary school. He worked on his family's market garden until his early 20s when he found employment in Varsoha during the tourist season as a taxi driver and later a bus driver. After he married he set up a poultry farm with his wife which became a thriving business but they lost the farm in the 1974 war. After the war they took a government loan and set up a market garden which they worked on until the mid-1980s, when they gave it to their son as part of his bride-wealth. They then set up a small grocery shop beside their house but were unable to afford the upkeep of the site. He now works in the tourist industry. He visited Australian kin in the 1990s.

Sotos, aged 37. Born in Deryneia. He obtained a university degree from Greece. In 1974 his family lost their livelihood. He was co-owner of a tourist business with his brothers. Before 2001 he also ran his own market garden in the winter season. He met his wife Christalleni at a shop she worked at and after two dates, they were engaged. They have four children. He visited Australian kin with his family in the 1990s.

Stephanos, aged 24**.** Born in Deryneia. After completing secondary school he went to study in England where he obtained his accounting degree. On returning to Cyprus he went to work in his family's shop in the tourist area. In 2001 he was engaged and his fiancé was living in Nicosia where she was studying. He has kin in Australia, Canada, England and Greece.

Takis, aged 49. Born in Deryneia. He completed his second last year of secondary school and like all male informants of his age served a compulsory two years in the army. He also fought in the 1974 war. He has four children. He works as a full-time agriculturalist and also runs a local business with his wife Flora. He illegally (as a stowaway) visited Australian kin in the early 1970s.

Zaharias, aged 42. Born in Deryneia. He obtained a university degree in Europe. In 1974 his family lost their market garden. He worked at his family's market garden and then abroad, and was co-owner with his brothers in a tourist business. He was the only informant not married who lived in his own house in Deryneia. He has visited Australian kin twice.

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