Legacies of displacement: the memories and meanings of home among an extended Greek Cypriot family

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Abstract

This study explores the memories and meanings of home in my extended family, who were internally displaced following the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974. It is based on oral history interviews and field research in the houses of participants and of my own crossing to the family's place of origin. The study identifies three ideas of home, analysed in four different chapters. The first idea concerns 'being-at-home' in the post-1974 Greek Cypriot society and examines accounts concerning the interaction between refugee and non-refugee populations in the immediate period following displacement. The second idea relates to a relational association of home to the extended family and examines how my relatives interpret the effects of displacement on family life. The last idea of home regards the relationship between the property left behind, identity and belonging. The two chapters resulting from this relationship focus on the house of residence as home and the family orchards as home.

The thesis reveals how women were able to transcend the 'pains of displacement' through the housing arrangements they purposefully followed after 1974, recreating the setting and socialisation of the extended family that characterised their village in urban environments. Men on the contrary, while having secured employment in the service industry in cities, continued to practise their farming skills on land they bought or received in the south. They thus, established a 'farmer identity' representing the lost home that complemented their way of life in the urban and capitalist present.

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This thesis could not have been completed without the participation of all my family members. The final product stands as both a recognition of their contributions to this research and as gratitude and admiration for everything they have done for my generation, despite the hardships and losses they suffered.

I could not have done it without you!

A special mention goes to my parents and sister; a big thank you for supporting me throughout. Additionally, I wish to dedicate this thesis to my maternal grandparents, who died being displaced and without ever returning to their place of origin. 'While I could not hear from you, this whole thesis is for you!'

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Chapter 1. Introduction

The research problem that this study investigated concerned the way the memory of forced displacement exists in and influences family life in Cyprus. Studying the memory of displacement in a family does not however involve only the different ways family members recall displacement, but also the ways they position their sense of selves in relation to it and the ways it impacts the agency of family members. At the heart of this research problem was the notion that the features of identification with displacement and the influence on one's life are not necessarily linked to an individual's lived experience but can also transgress generations (Baronian et al, 2006). The significance of this study is, therefore, that it recognises and asserts that displacement and the efforts to deal with it can transcend generations and have transgenerational implications.

Building on the research problem, the study addresses three research questions. The first is concerned with the extent of interaction and communication about first-hand experiences of the flight and the invasion from parents to their children. This question concentrated on intergenerational transmission and the extent to which personal meanings regarding the event in one generation appear in the next one (Bar-On, 1995; Hass, 1996; Herman, 2015). The second topic under investigation concerned the exploration of the influence of displacement on one of the most private, yet, most significant social institutions, the family. The second research question paid attention to the different ways the family members remember, understand and relate to the

impacts of displacement on family relationships and the change from a rural, agrarian family setting to a modern, urban one (Damianakos, 1987; Argyrou, 1996). Lastly, the third research question dealt with the way family members remember and relate to two properties left behind in their places of origin. These were the home (i.e. the physical structure of the house as a place of residence) and the land. As literature in relation to Greek and Cypriot culture tells us, these properties are experienced through gender models or discourses, 'sets of ideas that inform the activity of each sex in a particular context' (Loizos and Papataxiarchis, 1991: 5). To this end, the memory and experience of these properties must be placed in the social and cultural context that stresses specific gender relations to these properties (Massey, 1994).

In many ways, the research interest in family life and displacement was born out of my own family history and relationships. My maternal extended family was displaced during the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus. My grandfather died 10 years afterwards while my grandmother lived the rest of her life as a refugee. All their eight children have been married, have their own families, and their children have different forms of attachment to our parents' past and places of origin. Furthermore, displacement has influenced the pattern of family life and relationships in different ways. The parallel presence of the personal experience and of the social, political, and historical setting of this eventually led me to choose my maternal extended family as my case study for this thesis. The theoretical and ethical implications of this choice are discussed in the Methodology chapter.

General background

It is undeniable that the social and behavioural sciences are currently experiencing a 'migration boom', with the upsurge in research on refugees and forced migration attesting to the topicality of the experience of migration (Baronian et al, 2006). Serious political and ethical issues have inevitably accompanied this upsurge, as studies have often neglected the struggles of these individuals to negotiate their identities in protracted exile. While the study of the individual experience of displacement has proliferated, research has often neglected the subjective negotiations of identity with which these individuals are confronted in the face of protracted exile (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al, 2014). If thought in relation to the 'forced displacement crises' seen all over the world, this issue can be of outmost significance in understanding the experience of displacement. With the biggest movement of people ever recorded across boundaries occurring during the current decade, the subjective, familial and transgenerational implications that such experiences present must be recognised and confronted, to the same extent that their political, diplomatic and economic counterparts are acknowledged and guide national agendas.

This study is an investigation into the memory of the experience of forced displacement and the ways those displaced, and their children, negotiate their subjectivities according to this experience. It examines how displacement has influenced the agency and subjectivity of these individuals and the extent to which this influence has had transgenerational implications. At the same time however, the study recognises that these subjectivities are formulated and negotiated in the context of social and cultural

forces – from political discourses to culturally-specific ideas about place – recognising, therefore, how displacement is a psychosocial experience, influenced by both the internal world of the individual and the world where he or she lives in (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000).

Two points in relation to the utilisation of the term displacement and the particularities of the Greek Cypriot case must be raised early on. First, Greek Cypriot displaced persons are not considered to have trespassed international borders, despite of the term 'refugees' often being used to designate them. As Roger Zetter has noted, the U.N. itself (Council Resolution 361) used the term 'refugee' as 'a convenient and realistic designation of social status and identity' (1999: 20). Moreover, the Cypriot government, media, scholarly literature, and those displaced themselves use the term 'refugee' [*prósfiyas*] to refer to these individuals rather than the more legally accurate term 'displaced' [*ektopismenos*]. In this study, I have chosen to refer to these individuals using the term 'refugees' for two reasons. First, to be consistent with prior scholarly literature on these individuals, and second, to be faithful to the language and category designation that my family members used for their persons.

At the same time, I employ the term 'displacement' rather than 'refugeehood' to refer to their experience. The term displacement is used in this thesis as a concept in an effort to capture the complex notions of de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation or dis-location and re-location (Baronian et al, 2006). The study argues that displacement is not merely about being forcibly expelled from a place but also the process of moving towards another one. The term 'displacement' is meant therefore to capture the

experience of protracted exile and the efforts to deal with losing a home and seeking to create a new one, recognising the significance of place and space in this experience.

The second point of consideration in relation to Greek Cypriot displacement has to do with the atypical case that it presents. Greek Cypriot refugees, akin to the economy of the society and country, have been extremely prosperous, despite their losses (Argyrou, 1996; Loizos, 2008). Many became economically affluent in the post-1974 society, and this affluence is reflected among members of my extended family. Most individual families own at least one holiday home in addition to their family residence, while all family members have had successful careers in various sectors of the economy. Nonetheless and as Zetter (1999) has argued, the dramatic social and economic changes of the society, the refugees' ambiguous identity as both 'insiders' and 'outsiders', and the political uncertainty over the feasibility of return, have left these individuals 'in flux', uncertain of where their belonging lies. As one of my uncles claimed during his interview, despite their successes and achievements, 'they are like ostriches' (*opos tous strouthokamilous*), hiding their heads in the sand so they do not see and realise that they belong somewhere else' (Petros interview: 8).[1]

Prior to proceeding to the presentation of the theoretical framework of the study, I wish to clarify that this is a study into the memory of displacement in one extended family which resides in the non-occupied south of the island. This means that Turkish Cypriot voices are largely absent from the analysis and represented only through the testimonies and personal meanings of the study's participants. This was a conscious choice, as I

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[1] The number refers to the page number in the transcript for each interview.

perceived the study as a quest into the memory of displacement in my own family, as a sort of exploration into the familial past and our history of displacement. A comparative study, therefore, was never my intention.

Theoretical framework

The starting point of this study is that it approaches memory as both a source and a subject of investigation. That is, it seeks evidence not only *of* memory and what is remembered, but also *about* memory, the how and why the past is remembered in one way or another (Tumblety, 2013; Erll, 2011a). This entails the investigation of multiple memorial sources. We construct a sense of the past from virtually everything, 'from the most mundane everyday objects, as well as from the most sacred totems' (Confino, 1997: 1388). For the purpose of this study, memory is examined in how it appears in a variety of different sources: from individual testimonies and everyday objects such as photographs, to political discourses, social actions and places and spaces such as neighbourhoods, orchards, and houses. Memory is recognised as 'a metahistorical category' that can subsume various mnemonic phenomena (Lee Klein, 2000). To reflect the diversity of engagement with memory, the study adopts a theoretical framework that has its roots in memory studies and the field of cultural history (Papataxiarchis and Paradellis, 1993; Confino, 1997; Erll, 2011a), with the following key aspects characterising its analysis.

First, the study departs from a focus on the political uses of memory and the actions and motivations of institutions and leading figures (see for example Young, 1993; Winter, 1995; Ashplant et al, 2015), and rather concentrates on the effects of memory

on the organisation and arrangements of social and cultural relationships (Papataxiarchis and Paradellis, 1993; Confino, 1997). More specifically, it focuses on the effects of memory on family life and relationships, the neighbourhood setting and the association between place and gender, acknowledging the kind of influential force memory can be for social practices such as marriage, childcare or dowry provision, as well as for cultural concepts regarding gender and place (Erll, 2011a).

In addition to its focus on the social and cultural aspect of memory, the study also recognises the existence of different memories in society and separate interpretations of historical events which can present different claims on memory (Confino, 1997). Of outmost significance here is the acknowledgment that these different claims to memory share specific relationships; memory is not simply constructed but it is contested (Hodgkin and Radstone, 2003; Ashplant et al, 2015). This aspect of memory became particularly manifest in the study's analysis of the ways a hegemonic public memory suppressed any type of memory that challenged or contradicted the representation of displacement by the former.

Lastly, the most crucial aspect of the theoretical framework of the study is that it focuses not on the representation of the past itself but on its reception. By reception this study denotes 'the transmission, diffusion and meaning' (Confino, 1997: 1395) of the memory of displacement or the way this memory is 'seen, heard, used, appropriated, made sense of, taken as an inspiration' (Törnquist-Plewa et al, 2017: 3; see also Kansteiner, 2002). As mentioned at the beginning of the introduction, under consideration here is not only how displacement is remembered but also how and why

this memory has different meanings for individuals and the way it has transgenerational implications. To this end, the study draws from oral history interviewing in its analysis of how the memory of displacement affects the subjectivities of family members and has come to influence agency and social action (see Methodology chapter).

With the analysis focusing on the transgenerational implications of the memory of displacement, the concept of generations is highly significant in relation to the theoretical framework of the study and one that must be clarified early on. By generation, the study connotes what Mary Fulbrook has defined as a collective 'assumed to have characteristics in common by virtue of common experiences at a particular life stage, particularly in periods of radical political and social change' (2008: 7). As Fulbrook notes, the term has had wider application in reference to 'second' and 'third' generations, where the 'key experiences or characteristic of the original group are held to have continuing implications for their children, irrespective of differences of age across members of any of these groups' (2008: 7).

Jürgen Reulecke comments that studying historical context with the generational approach allows us an integrative perspective that connects general social processes with the subjective perceptions and options for action for individuals (2010: 121). Nevertheless, the utilisation of the concept of generations in the context of displacement has been criticised by Loizos (2008), who argued that displacement is experienced very differently by individuals, with the generational approach merely creating an artificial cluster of people. This study offers a critique to Loizos' position since the creations of meaning, interpretations and memory among family members

indicate two different subjective generational positionings. The assumption, therefore, of a 'first' generation was because of the specific meanings, interpretations and memories these individuals had of displacement, while the term 'second' generation was meant to connote their children, who were born at various stages during protracted exile and have had different experiences of how displacement influenced the family (Edmunds and Turner, 2002; Wydra, 2018).

A last point of consideration for this theoretical framework is the relationship between the concept of generations and the reception of memory. Memory studies have relied in the notion that younger people receive memory messages transmitted by older generations, be that implicitly or explicitly (Törnquist-Plewa et al, 2017). Works such as those by Marianne Hirsch (1997, 2008, 2012), Dan Bar-On (1995; see also Bar-on et al, 1998) and Harald Welzer (2005, 2010) for example, have had a paradigmatic influence in transmission literature. Hirsch's elaboration of postmemory as the relationship that the 'generation after' has to the personal, collective, and cultural history of their predecessors was developed within the field of English and Comparative Literature and depended largely in the analysis of artistic and literary creations. Nevertheless, Hirsch had placed epistemological authority with the second generation, the experiences of historical eyewitnesses being 'telescoped' through the accounts of their children (Faimberg, 2005; Long, 2006). Conversely, works by psychologist Dan Bar-On and social psychologist Harald Welzer investigated the memory of the Holocaust across generations through individual interviews and family discussions in Jewish and German families, respectively. The present study builds on to these works and examines the transgenerational implications of displacement

through the accounts of both those displaced and their children. It elaborates both on how the lives of these refugees unravelled in relation to displacement, as well as to how their children related with the ways these influences unfolded. This theoretical element allowed for a more multifaceted investigation of the transgenerational effects of displacement and the way it is experienced differently.

Ever since Maurice Halbwachs wrote about the social frameworks of memory, the latter has been theorised as per its constant (re)formation through social interaction. As John Gillis (1994) has argued, memory, and its connection to our identity, are formed of shared subjectivity; things we think with, rather than things we think about. The most significant social institution guaranteeing interaction is of course the family, where interaction amongst members are characterised not merely by voluntary interpersonal relationships but by constant communication and emotional ties. As Astrid Erll argues, 'family memory is not simply "there" – it is not a mnemonic content stored in a family archive – but that, instead, versions of the familial past are fabricated collectively, again and again, in situ, through concrete acts of communication and interaction' (2011b: 313) and, if I may add, performative actions and agency. This study seeks to precisely investigate this: how the memory of displacement is (re)constructed in my extended family and the way family members use the experience of displacement to locate themselves in the Greek Cypriot society.

This study offers a unique example of historical and personal narrative-making, created by ordinary people in a common Greek Cypriot family and contextualised by a historian who is member of that same family. The testimonies provided by family

members are treated as mediated cultural processes rather than 'direct' historical experiences (Portelli, 2006; Rose Beard, 2017); this is a distinct characteristic of oral history where narratives are recognised as influenced by individual psychology, personal and familial histories, as well as public discourses and a general social context (Passerini, 1979; Hollway and Jefferson, 2000). At the same time, the study adds to the nature of knowledge of displacement in Cyprus through its specific focus of how one individual family dealt with its displacement. This is an alternative to recent Cypriot histories of displacement that have generally focused on the collective and political implications of displacement and protracted exile rather than its familial and personal understanding. The familial emphasis of the study is furthermore complemented by a generational aspect that portrays both the transgenerational and intergenerational influences of displacement. Lastly, I believe the study recognises and emphasises the resilience of Greek Cypriot refugees – rather than their losses and psychological trauma, as it shows how members of my extended family managed to transcend the pains of displacement through the application of positive and creative energy (Papadopoulos, 2002; Loizos, 2008).

Idea(s) of home

The idea of home and its contested meanings underlie the entire study. At the same time, this thesis problematises home by employing understandings and perspectives across different disciplines. First, a geographical perspective on home recognises it as a *place*, a site where we live and imbue with meanings and feelings, one that becomes a *spatial imagery* (Blunt, 2005; Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Brickell, 2012). Second, a

phenomenological perspective on home deriving from Sara Ahmed's (1999) work, which reconfigures the notion of home as a state of being, not bounded by a physical location but an active movement of becoming. Third and last, an understanding of home originating from sociology and anthropology that recognises its association with both space but, most importantly, the family (Hayden, 2002; O'Brien and Kyprianou, 2017).

As a geographical concept, home is a complex and multi-layered notion. As Blunt and Dowling (2006), contend, home is a place, the feelings and cultural meanings associated with that place, and the relationships between the two. They continue to comment that home should not be conflated with the idea of house or household, at the same time as we should recognise both the material aspect of home as well as its imaginative aspect (see also Papastergiadis, 1996; Rubenstain, 2001; Easthope, 2004). This last aspect has been emphasised also by authors such as Massey (1992, 1994, 2005) and Somerville (1992), who have argued that the actual - or real - and ideal - or remembered - concepts of home should be regarded as in tension rather than in opposition, an argument which resonates in the analysis of the last two chapters in this study. As various authors examining Greek Cypriot crossings to the north have argued, what many of these refugees experienced was a tension between the remembered and the encountered home, the 'idealised' past and the 'real' present (Loizos, 2008; Dikomitis, 2012; Bryant, 2010; Webster and Timothy, 2006; Constantinou and Hatay, 2010; Taylor, 2015). This study takes this tension a step further, by connecting the experience of homecoming and the tension between ideal and real home with the way place is embedded in specific social relationships and tied up with the social

construction of gender (Loizos and Papataxiarchis, 1991; Massey, 1994). As it will be argued, gender is highly significant in the experience of place in the Cypriot context and one which coloured the homecoming of family members.

Sara Ahmed's work (1999, 2000; see also Ahmed et al, 2003) has rejected the idea that home is a fixed and singular place, arguing that being home and being away are not oppositional experiences. As she contends, the notion of home can also contain movement and even strangers, depending on the different symbolic meanings we attach to different relationships. Home is identified as a state of being not bounded by physical location but rather an active movement of becoming (Ahmed, 1999, 2000; see also Ahmed et al, 2003). Following this understanding of home, Taylor (2015) has commented about the way Greek Cypriot refugees living in London used social networks and relationships in cultural centres and political organisations to construct a sense of home and belonging in exile. This study investigates this phenomenological understanding of home in connection to the way 'home-as-belonging' can be constructed through intergenerational transmission. Examining the experience of belonging to the post-1974 society, and specifically the extent of integration between the refugee and non-refugee populations, the study elaborates on how this 'home-as-belonging' was constructed via the extent of interaction regarding reception from refugees themselves to their children. To this end, the study portrays a consideration of 'home-as-belonging' beyond a single generation and reveals it as a transgenerational notion and emotion.

The last meaning of home this study adopts stems from mainly sociological and anthropological studies that connect home with kinship and the family. Home has often been theorised to symbolise family relationships and life courses enacted within specific spaces, with some authors even commenting that 'without the family a home is 'only a house'' (Mallett, 2004: 74; see also Jones, 2000; Hayden, 2002). The association between home and the family is nevertheless problematic, particularly in the Greek Cypriot traditional context. Traditional Greek Cypriot culture, while based on nuclear households, was also characterised by an increased interaction between the extended family (Loizos, 1975b, 1981). This is what the study engages with, investigating the relationship between home and family about what it defines as 'the modified extended family'. This is a type of family life contingent to the proximity of residence between individual households. To this end, the notions of kinship, place and belonging the study investigates are 'stretched out' to include both extended family members as well as an understanding of space beyond the nuclear household.

While home is by itself an undoubtedly multidimensional concept, the meanings of home for refugees acquire additional and conflicting interpretations. Literature on Greek Cypriot refugees has produced some in-depth insights into their ideas and (re)constructions of home, such as Peter Loizos' (1975b, 1981, 2008; see also Loizos 2009) village life trilogy, Rebecca Bryant's (2010) and Lisa Dikomitis' (2009, 2012) ethnographic studies into life in Cyprus after the 2003 opening of the checkpoints, Anne Jepson's (2006) study of refugees' gardening, Olga Demetriou's (2007, 2018) work on the subjectivity of refugees in a post-conflict context or Helen Taylor's (2015) study on the meanings of home for Cypriot refugees in London. This study adds and

extends to our understanding of home for Greek Cypriot refugees in three ways. First, it connects place and belonging in the context of refugee crossings with the social construction of gender in Cypriot culture. Second, it introduces an intergenerational dimension to the idea of 'home-as-belonging'. And third, it extends the connection between space and family to include members of the extended family and the space which they occupy.

Concluding, I would like to call attention to recent research in human geography which has suggested that the same way home is made, it can also be *un*made, as its material and/or symbolic aspects may be damaged or destroyed (Porteous and Smith, 2001; Baxter and Brickell, 2014). This study suggests that the experience of displacement undoubtedly involves a home *un*making, as displacement damages many aspects of home, both in a material and a symbolic sense. The pain of uprooting and the loss of the physical aspects of home was accompanied with the disruption of a way of life loaded with symbolism and signification. At the same time however, the study suggests that the case of my extended family presents a process of home *re*making, where material aspects and symbolic elements of the lost home were restored and reproduced in exile. The notion of home *re*making captures the resilience of my family members and the efforts to move forward from their losses, at the same time as it recognises the way the lost home colours family life in the present and our contemporary way of life.

A short summary of the Cyprus conflict

A short summary of the history of the Cyprus conflict is essential for situating this study in its historical context. Cyprus gained its independence from Britain in 1960,

following a colonial rule that had begun in 1878 as the British had acquired the island from its previous conquerors, the Ottomans. The British colonial rule had seen the rise of conflicting nationalist imaginations in the two largest communities on the island, imaginations which were accompanied with diverging imaginings of a body politic (Bryant, 2002, 2004; Argyrou, 2017). On the one hand, the Greek Cypriots, the vast majority on the island, strove for *enosis* and their union with Greece; the Turkish Cypriots, on the other hand, who had settled on the island with Ottoman conquest, demanded *taksim*, the partition of the island and a union of one part with Turkey (Bryant, 2004; Papadakis et al, 2006; Argyrou, 2017). The ethnic groups lived in various areas of the island peacefully, mainly in mono-ethnic villages (Bakshy, 2012). As Loizos (2008) has documented however, mixed villages also existed, but often with separate ethnic neighbourhoods.

Intercommunal relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots deteriorated drastically in the 1950's as Greek Cypriots begun to actively pursue *enosis* with an anti-colonial movement against Britain (Bakshi, 2012; Argyrou, 2017). In the 1950's, EOKA (National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters), a nationalist guerilla organisation, was established with the purpose of uniting Cyprus with Greece, while Turkish Cypriots countered with the formation of TMT (Turkish Resistance Organisation), which was often also used by the British to advance their policies (Papadakis, 2005; Bozkurt and Trimikliniotis, 2012). The ethnic groups' opposing aims, and the British policies of divide and rule, eventually culminated in the EOKA anti-colonial armed campaign (1955-1959). The 'national struggle' as it has come to be known for Greek Cypriots, was a revolt against colonial Britain, conducted in order to gain independence and

unifying the island with Greece (Vassiliadou, 2002). After four years of fierce and violent confrontations, the political rulers of the two main communities of the island, and of Britain, Turkey and Greece agreed on independence for Cyprus in 1960 (Faustmann, 2008). The Republic of Cyprus was established with a power-sharing constitution intended to safeguard the rights of both ethnic groups, and with Britain, Greece and Turkey as its guarantors (Attalides, 1979; Scott, 2002). With the aims of both communities not being fulfilled, the newly-established Republic of Cyprus was seen as 'the reluctant Republic' (Xydis, 1973).

Nevertheless, both ethnic groups continued to pursue their aims after 1960 (Papadakis, 2003). The agreed Constitution and the troubled nature of power-sharing soon provoked the first political disputes which led to intercommunal strife (Faustmann, 2008). The period of 1963 to 1974 was characterised by intercommunal violence, with Turkish Cypriots suffering the majority of losses and gathering themselves in enclaves, the largest in Nicosia (Bryant, 2010; Bakshi, 2012). Right-wing extremist pro-*enosis* elements in the Greek Cypriot population mounted a bloody campaign against both Turkish Cypriots and communists, with victims being silenced and violence reaching epic proportions (Demetriou, 2012). In 1964, the UN (United Nations) came to the island in order to guard the 'Green Line' which separated the two communities along Nicosia, establishing the demilitarised Buffer Zone (or 'Dead Zone' as is known in Greek Cypriot colloquialism) (Papadakis, 2005). Greek Cypriot psychoanalyst Catia Galatariotou (2008) has termed this period as the 'psychopolitics of disintegration', as Cypriot social atmosphere disintegrated into great uncertainty and fear. Intercommunal violence became common, with various threats, shootings, abductions, attempts of

arson, massacres and communal burials, and the forced displacement of numerous Turkish Cypriots from their villages taking place. The events of this period still remain a sensitive topic in contemporary Cypriot political culture. As Julie Scott has maintained, 'the period from 1960 to 1974' is 'hotly debated, and the terms of the debate highly politicised' (2002: 101).

While by 1967 the two communities had begun negotiations towards solution to the political deadlock, that year also saw a military junta (the Colonels' dictatorship) taking power by force in Greece. Archbishop Makarios, the Greek Cypriot political leader and President of the Republic, begun distancing Cyprus from Greece and the ideal of *enosis* (Faustmann, 2008). The right-wing extremist pro-*enosis* elements of the Greek Cypriot population formed EOKA B, seeing this as betrayal towards the desired goal. On the 15th of July 1974, Makarios 'was overthrown in a *coup*, with Nicos Sampson, who had a reputation for acts of violence against Turkish Cypriots from the EOKA years' (Bakshi, 2012: 483) being installed in power. His rule lasted for a mere five days. On the 20th of July, Turkey invaded and proceeded to control an area between Kyrenia and Nicosia (Attalides, 1979; Faustmann and Varnavas, 2009). On the 14th of August, following failed UN negotiations, Turkey lunched a second offensive and effectively divided the island. Greek Cypriots living in the north of the island escaped to the south *en masse* while Turkish Cypriots living in the south moved to the north (Loizos, 1981, 2008; Argyrou, 2017). Many Greek Cypriots became missing persons (Sant Cassia, 2007). The geographical result of the invasion was the occupation of 36 percent of the island's territory by Turkey, about 2 percent of the land becoming a cease-fire zone controlled by the UN, and the remaining 62 percent coming under the jurisdiction of

the Greek Cypriots (Loizos, 2008). The Green Line became a militarised *de facto* border separating the two zones along ethnic lines, while 'political insecurity, fear of violence and potential war' were 'issues that the people had to live with on an everyday basis' (Vassiliadou, 2002: 461).

The events of 1974 deeply marked the Cypriot political, institutional, social, and cultural structure. The political scene in the Greek Cypriot community after 1974 became polarised, with the two main parties, the right-wing DISY (Democratic Rally) and the Communist AKEL (Uprising Party of the Working People), each controlling about one-third of the votes (Papadakis, 2003). Greek Cypriots in general continued to be inclined towards Greece and their Greek identity, despite what many perceived (especially the leftist Party AKEL) as betrayal from the Greek junta and the Greek people (Peristianis, 1996). AKEL had also accused DISY of harbouring coupists, as the latter claimed to represent EOKA and provided a political haven for the EOKA B insurgents (Papadakis, 2003). Turkish Cypriots, conversely, who had initially welcomed the Turkish army as liberators, gradually became disillusioned with Turkey's political control and the arrival of Turkish settlers (Papadakis et al, 2006). Political power was monopolised by the right-wing, with the main two parties DP (Democratic Party) and the UBP (National Unity Party) controlling political life (Papadakis, 2003). The Turkish Cypriot right saw 1974 as the victorious culmination of a long period of Turkish Cypriot struggle and the eventual establishment of a Turkish Cypriot state as the solution to the Cyprus Problem (Papadakis, 2003, 2005). Despite these claims by the Turkish Cypriot authorities, the Greek Cypriot-controlled Republic of Cyprus has remained the only politically recognised entity on the island, with the

self-proclaimed 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus', established in 1983, being internationally recognised only by Turkey (Scott, 2002; Papadakis, 2003; Bakshi, 2012).

As Bryant has documented, a politics of remembrance emerged in the Greek Cypriot side, which was oriented towards return to a lost home, lost village and a moment in time prior to the division, insisting 'on the temporariness of the present and the future as a return to the past' (2014: 690; see also 2012). At the same time, Turkish Cypriot histories engaged in a politics of forgetting of the life and struggles prior to 1974, optimistic of a future without Greeks (Bryant, 2012, 2014). The Greek Cypriot society would experience a period of intense social and cultural transformations, linked to every element of social life.[2] What was a traditional rural society was suddenly transformed into a developing and flourishing services economy, leading many to comment on the 'Cypriot economic miracle' (Christodoulou, 1991; Papadakis et al, 2006). Turkish Cypriot economy, nonetheless, has remained dependent on Turkey and largely stagnant (Bryant, 2004, 2012; Navaro-Yashin, 2012).

Since 1974 there have been two main efforts to settle the Cyprus dispute, the first in 2004 and the second in 2017. The 2004 efforts towards a federal, bicommunal, bizonal solution concluded in referenda in the communities under the auspices of the UN (Faustmann, 2008; Faustmann and Varnavas, 2009). The UN brokered 'Annan-Plan', was rejected in the Greek Cypriot side by 76 percent and accepted by the Turkish Cypriots by 66 percent. During this period, two other significant events occurred.

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[2] For an overview, see Loizos (1981, 2008), Argyrou (1996) and Papadakis (2005).

Firstly in 2003, the Turkish Cypriot authorities opened the checkpoints dividing the two communities. Members of the two communities had the opportunity to cross to the other side for the first time since 1974 (Dikomitis, 2005, 2009; Demetriou 2007; Bryant, 2010). In addition, May 2004 saw the accession of Cyprus to the EU (European Union). While Cyprus entered as a complete geographical entity, EU law would apply only where the official Republic of Cyprus had jurisdiction and control (Argyrou, 2017). The entry to the EU largely reduced the anxiety of Greek Cypriots over renewed hostilities and a reinvigoration of the conflict, while accession, the fear of violence has diminished significantly (Galatariotou, 2008).

A new round of negotiations took place in 2015 and 2017 between Greek Cypriot President Nicos Anastasiades and Turkish Cypriot leader Mustafa Akıncı. Following various activities and negotiations between the two leaders, and the agreement of numerous confidence-building measures, they met in Mont Pèlerin, Switzerland in 2016. The negotiations between the two sides moved to Crans-Montana, where in July 2017 it was announced that negotiations had broken down, due to disagreements over Turkish insistence on military intervention rights.

The protracted exile of Greek Cypriot refugees has become a representation of the political uncertainty connected with the dispute and a symbol of suffering for the entire Greek Cypriot community (Bryant, 2008, 2012; Loizos, 2008; Demetriou, 2012). In this research project, I have sought to divert the analysis away from the representation and the symbolism of the memory of displacement and towards its transmission, diffusion, and contested meanings. While the representation of the memory of

displacement has received a lot of scholarly attention, the way it is transmitted and contested in the individual psychology has remained largely unexamined. Such refocus contributes to the literature on Cypriot refugees in an additional way: the emphasis on the familial experience of displacement and the changing patterns of family life because of displacement. While family life has gained some attention by scholarly literature (see Loizos, 1981; Sant Cassia, 2007), it has never been the sole topic of investigation by research. Is return to the place of origin for these family members still a possibility or has it faded into an unattainable myth? Is it something still sought, or has it been lost through the passage of time? And more importantly, how are the answers to these questions related to efforts for a solution to the Cyprus conflict?
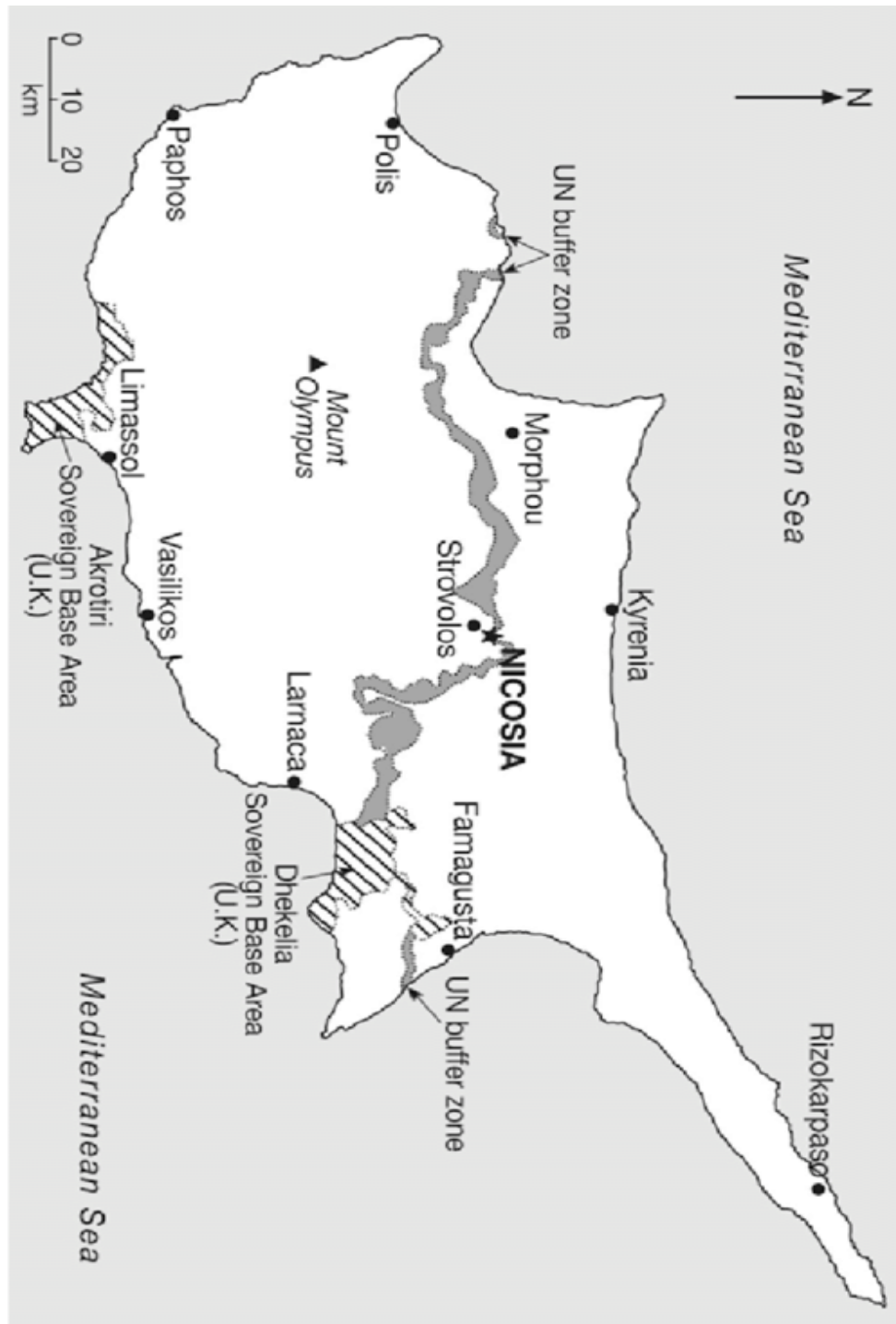
Figure 1: Map of Cyprus showing main cities and the north-south divide (Oktay, 2007: 231)
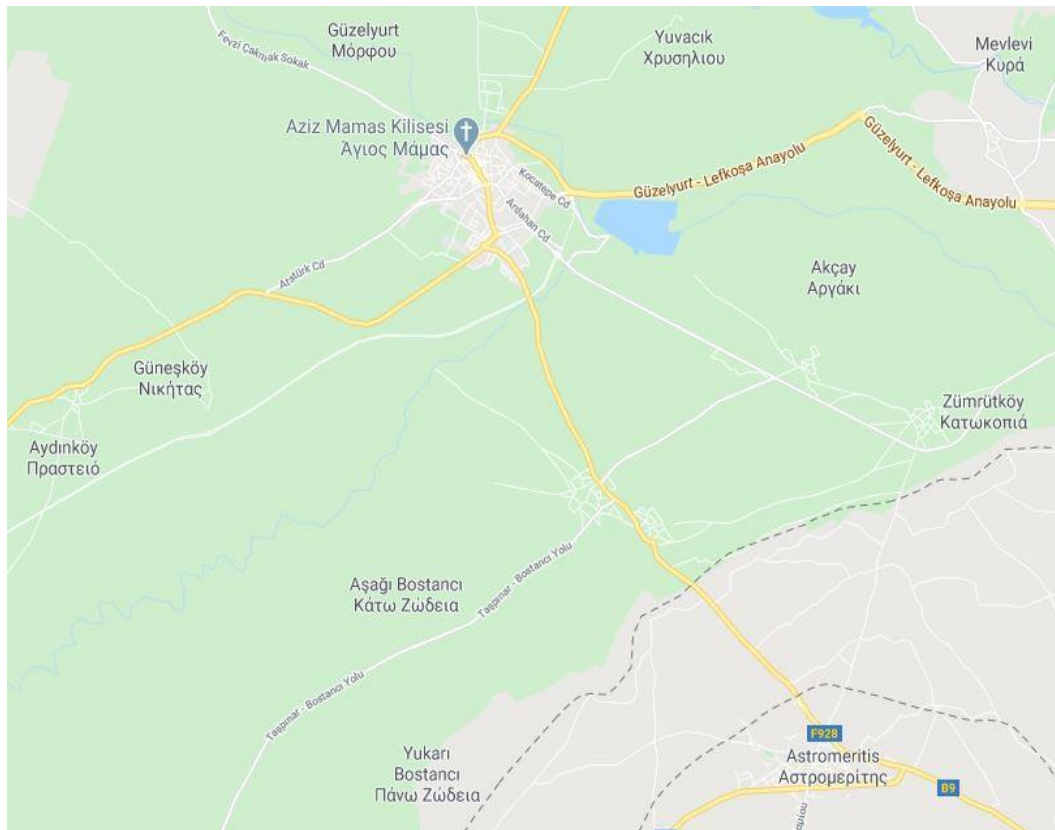
Figure 2: A map of the Morphou region and its neighbouring villages. Members of my extended family originate from Astromeritis (Αστρομερίτης), which is the only village located in the territory of the Republic of Cyprus, Kato Zodhia (Κάτω Ζώδεια/Aşağı Bostancı), Katokopia (Κατωκοπια/Zümrütköy) and Prastio (Πραστειο/Aydınköy). (maps.google)
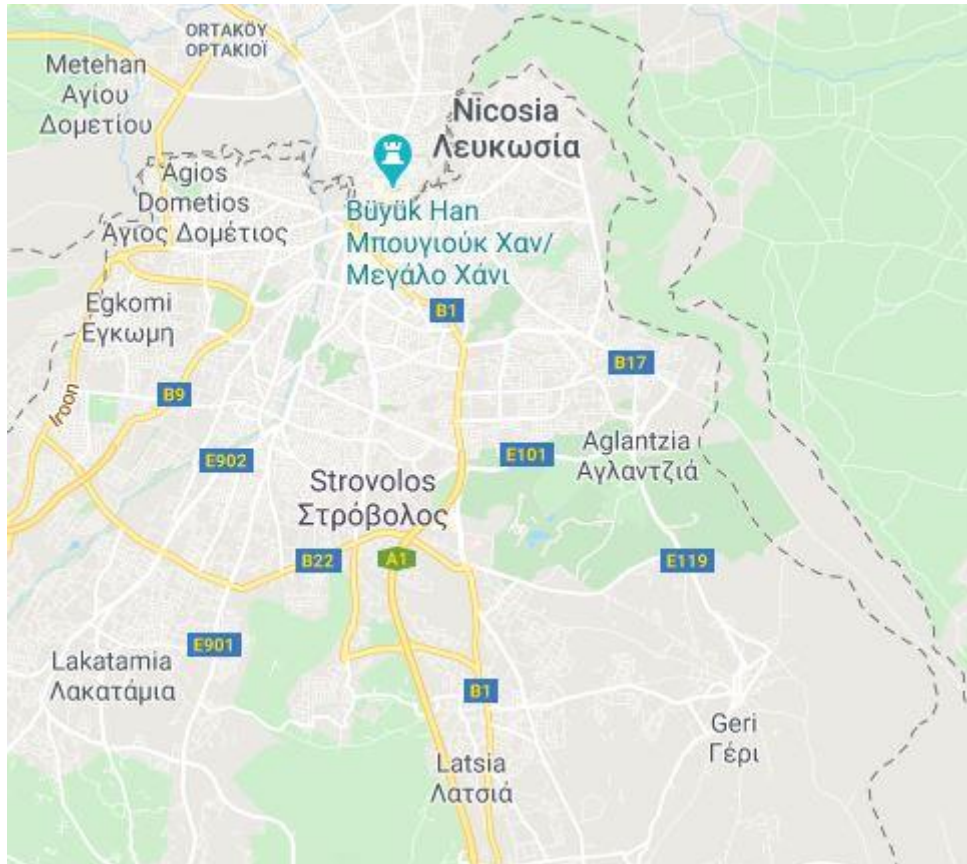
Figure 3: A map of Nicosia (Λευκωσία), where most of my family members relocated following 1974. My mother and two of her sisters relocated in the northeast side of the city, where their oldest sister had moved prior to 1974. Another sister relocated first to Strovolos (Στρόβολος) and then to Lakatamia (Λακατάμια). (maps.google)

A note on the sociocultural context

For the reader to comprehend the way my extended family dealt with displacement, the study must be situated in a sociocultural context. This context relates to the geography and economy of the area of Morphou prior to 1974, the marriage and inheritance norms of the area, the housing arrangements following marriage and gender relations in Cypriot society. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Cypriot economy experienced major economic, political, and cultural transformations. As Paul Sant-Casia (1993) has documented, the land reform during the British colonial rule favoured the establishment of small-scale farming production rather than large estate owning, bringing about the privatisation of land towards a household model. As the household became the principal unit in agricultural development and production, family labour was used across the production process and became central to the public definitions of age and gender roles (Herzfeld, 1980a; Levine and Levine, 1985). The Second World War saw also the modernisation of agriculture, with farm machinery becoming more common, an increase in irrigation and the widespread use of scientific fertilisers (Loizos, 1975b, 1981).

Beginning with the 1930's, two major sociocultural transformations took place in Cyprus. First, the traditional subsistence economy, based on agriculture, cultivation and stock raising, begun subsiding into a 'cash, market economy based on irrigated, mechanized agriculture, light industry, and services, most notably tourism' (Argyrou, 1996: 7). Many Cypriots resident in rural areas begun to earn most of their living from non-agricultural activities but continued to own and work some land (Loizos, 1975b).

As Attalides (1979) reports, agriculture, forestry, and fishing went from 51% of the composition of employment in 1931 to 39% in 1967. This flight from agriculture was accompanied with a process of urbanisation, which saw many youngsters seeking employment in economic sectors in the newly established urban centres, particularly Nicosia and Limassol, with large parts of mountainous areas and rural villages losing inhabitants (Attalides, 1979; Pechoux, 1995; Argyrou, 1996). The population distribution pattern was transformed, with the distribution by age between urban and rural areas being reflective of the urban migration of young adults who sought to find employment in the cities.

As Pechoux (1995) ascertains, the exception to this pattern of urbanisation was the Morphou region, where the most productive agricultural land was located. Villages in the region exploited a rich irrigated land through the cropping of primarily citrus fruit, potatoes, carrots, and many other legumes (Loizos, 1975a). As Loizos (1975a) reports, the prosperity of the villages in the region made it a good place to stay in, with the population increasing during the 1950's and 60's rather than decreasing due to urbanisation. My extended family owned approximately 39,600 m2 of orchards with citrus trees (orange, lemon, and grapefruit) and 26,400 m2 of land, where the family grew barley and wheat. This land was not only situated in Zodhia but was also scattered about in other villages (for example in Argaki and in Morphou). My grandfather, furthermore, owned a large herd of sheep, in addition to acting as an estate agent, buying, and selling land all over the island. While both my grandparents were uneducated, all their children graduated from high school and had some form of post high-school qualification.

In his study of weddings as symbolic rituals, Vassos Argyrou has argued that village marriages in Cyprus marked the transition of actors from one social position to another, at the same time as they reproduced cultural categories and the inequalities of the social order, primarily between age groups (1996: 10). As he postulates, marriage signified the restructuring of power relations between the parents and the children, the youngsters becoming adults and establishing their own households. As Loizos and Papataxiarchis (1991) affirm, marriage was considered a necessary condition for procreation and the continuation of life, and in a metaphysical sense, important enough to be associated with naming patterns and beliefs about the fate of the soul (see also Kenna, 1976). Additionally, Argyrou ascertains marriages were characterised by an 'agonistic spirit' and 'operated as mechanisms of social ascendancy', enhancing 'prestige and moral authority' for families (1996: 10).

The transmission of property was highly linked with the institution of marriage, with parents wishing to transfer to each of their children upon marriage an appropriate share of the natal family property, usually consisting of two components: land, in the form of small plots, and houses (Loizos, 1975a; Sant Cassia, 1982). Marriages were arranged by parents in secrecy and through intermediaries, who discussed the matter and then communicated it to their children, with the latter having the power for veto in the choice of partner but rarely practising it (Loizos, 1975a). As Loizos asserts, marriage 'was an issue which reflected the prestige of the participating families' (1975a: 507) and for a family's child to be rejected as suitor would mean the loss of prestige for that family and would have also resulted in the bruising of relationships between the two families.

In terms of the marriage negotiations, the parents of the girl would usually agree to build her a house for the new household and transfer her a piece of cultivating land (Balwick, 1975; Loizos, 1975a). As Loizos has commented, 'it is quite clear that girls bring to the marriage on average four or five times as much as boys' (1975a: 509), with the latter expected to make some contribution to the house for certain things agreed by custom (paintwork, electrical fittings, etc.). As families would usually build houses for their daughters on land they already owned, it was quite common for girls to live within easy reach of their parents' house and often next door to their sisters (Loizos, 1975a). While the household was therefore nuclear, the interdependence of the extended family permeated social and family life. These post-marriage housing arrangements indicate that the area of Morphou during the 1960's was characterised by uxorilocality, where post-marital residence locates the married couple in the wife's domicile. This pattern of post-marital arrangements resulted in grooms moving to the houses that their bride's family provided, the latter typically situated near the households of the bride's relatives (Casselberry and Valavanes, 1976).

Lastly, a note on gender relations in Cyprus. As Myria Vassiliadou has observed, 'Cypriot women's voices were generally hidden under the patriarchal discourse of modernity' (2002: 460) in Cyprus and the pre-eminence of 'the national struggle'. Following from Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1989), Vassiliadou argues that the primary mode of oppression for women in Cyprus is the essentialised understanding of the public versus the private spheres; that is, the absolute supremacy of 'public' issues that relate to the ethnic conflict and politics that subsumes the 'private' domain, which is connected to family life, morality, and sexuality. As Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1989)

contend, for women in societies such as Cyprus it is practically impossible to concentrate on eliminating sexism and challenging patriarchy when other issues such the ethnic conflict are presented as of primary importance.

At the same time, and as Elena Skapoulli (2009) has observed, patriarchy in Cyprus was and still is, rooted in religious discourses dividing female and male roles, spaces, and behaviours, with concepts such as 'cleanliness', 'purity' and 'propriety' forming the discourses of female socialisation. In traditional Cypriot society, the expectations on women circulated around their roles as wives, mothers, and caregivers, with their personhood 'realised within the limits of kinship-phrased and domestically-oriented action' (Loizos and Papataxiarchis, 1991: 4). The idea of the 'household' (*nikokirio*) was the most significant element in terms of village gender relations: the house and the children were the primary concerns of the woman, while the man, despite being considered the household head (*nikokiris*), was more occupied with concerns beyond the household and with maintaining an active public profile (Loizos and Papataxiarchis, 1991; see also Loizos, 1985a; Argyrou, 1996; Eftychiou and Philippou, 2010).

With the modernisation of the island, women have of course had an increased access to education and incorporation to the labour force; at the same time however, the gendered division of labour continues within both the Cypriot economy and the house (Anthias, 2006). As Anthias contends, 'as more and more Cypriot women enter the labour force… some aspects of patriarchal control will be modified, but no great transformation has accompanied women's economic participation' (2006: 188) nor

their responsibility for household and child care. To this end, 'the "house", like the patriarchal, capitalist state, is a structure of oppression and domination' (Vassiliadou, 2004: 53) for Cypriot women.

The physical structure of the house has an added symbolic significance for gender relations in Cyprus. As Vassiliadou (2004) comments, the house is a place of cleanliness, which in turn is an indication of sexual purity and stands in opposition to the street, a place of sexual impurity and a euphemism for adultery (see also Dubisch, 1983; Argyrou, 1997). A clean, sexually modest woman and a clean house are thus 'mutually constitutive, interdependent symbolic terms, where one cannot exist without the other' (Vassiliadou, 2004: 53-54; see also Argyrou, 1996). With a woman's sexuality, cleanliness and propriety being important in the way she is judged in her everyday life, being a Cypriot woman carries with it certain 'prerequisites' involving conforming to sexual modesty and expectations of cleanliness (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1983; Argyrou, 1996; Vassiliadou, 2004). Like the domains of the 'private' and 'public', the house and the street are thus not hierarchically situated but interrelated and reflect discourses on sexuality and morality (du Boulay, 1974; Dubisch, 1986; Vassiliadou, 2004).

At the same time, while to a far less extent, daily socialisation still adheres to expecatations of honour and prestige, social norms that were carried forward from the traditional cultural regime. As Argyrou contends, 'honour and shame are two bandles of virtues appropriate for men and women respectively – the major characteristics of the former being virility and physical strength, and of the latter sexual modesty' (1996:

158). They are connected through their gendered understanding, that is the stigma that female immodesty might bring to male honour (Argyrou, 1996; Loizos and Papataxiarchis, 1991). While these ideals of honour and shame do not pervade social life to the extent that they did prior to the 1950's, they are still relevant in assessing social action. Their most common manifestation in today's Cypriot society would be adults scrutinising behaviour by youngsters with the proverb 'what would the neighbours or family members say about this?'

This study looks into the memories and meanings of home in a family of Greek Cypriot refugees. It places the experience of displacement at the centre of its analysis but at the same time proceeds to a more comprehensive elaboration of its transgenerational effects by examining testimonies by both refugees and their children. This theoretical framework stems from the critical reading of literature in relation to both the experience of Greek Cypriot displacement as well as the study of memory in the context of family life. The following literature review intends to evaluate theoretical and empirical claims of such research, and present how the theoretical framework of the study developed from such evaluation.

Chapter 2. Literature review

This study is situated at the intersection of three of the author's research interests: displacement, family life and memory. The following discussion will draw attention to debates and issues in each of these topics and evaluate theoretical and empirical claims produced by research in these fields. Moreover, this review portrays the multidisciplinary approach of the thesis, engaging with literature from various disciplines that have been influential in its analysis. The generational and familial approach to memory throughout the study has its roots in work conducted in cultural history (Confino, 1997; Greenberg, 2005; Reulecke, 2010), social psychology (Bar-On, 1995; Welzer, 2005, 2010), and concepts developed in literary criticism (Hirsch, 2012). At the same time, the relationship between memory, gender, and place identified in the last two chapters originate in literature in human geography (Massey, 1992, 1994; Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Ralph and Staeheli, 2011), social and cultural anthropology (Loizos and Papataxiarchis, 1991; Loizos, 1981, 2008; Argyrou, 1996; Dikomitis, 2012), and psychosocial studies (Papadopoulos, 2002).[3]

The review starts with a critical reading of works on Greek Cypriot refugees by authors such as Roger Zetter, Peter Loizos, Anne Jepson, and Lisa Dikomitis. The chapter then moves on to examine works on memory and its transmission, with specific focus on works by Marianne Hirsch, Harald Welzer and Dan Bar-On, whose research influenced the generational aspect of this research. The review then evaluates historical efforts to

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[3] Literature dealing with the topic of memory, gender and place was introduced in the sociocultural context and will be further examined in the introductions of the last two chapters.

define the diverse types of domestic organisation and their relationship to social change, seeking to outline and specify the kind of family life this study examines. Lastly, the review introduces the reader to the kind of ideological and official discourses that influenced the testimonies by family members, by examining literature on the historical narratives and official discourses on the island, and their notions of blame, trauma, and loss.

Forced displacement in Cyprus and the Greek Cypriot refugees

One third of the Greek Cypriot population of Cyprus was displaced in 1974 and have remained so for over forty years (Argyrou, 1996). Unlike many protracted exiles, most Greek Cypriot refugees have built new lives in the south and are considered to have been well-integrated by the Greek Cypriot authorities. The latter offered strong support to those displaced by means of a comprehensive housing programme and humanitarian relief, while their integration was facilitated by the post 1974 economic growth (Loizos, 1981; Zetter, 1992, 1994; Kliot and Mansfeld, 1994). A special status was granted to those displaced and their children, giving them access to a range of social and tax benefits.

Among the most well-known examinations of Greek Cypriot displacement have been Roger Zetter's studies (1991, 1992, 1994, 1999) into the social and cultural experience of displacement. His contribution to the understanding of the subjective experience of displacement in this study has been in his observations concerning the tension between the needs of exile and the aspirations of return. As he notices, while the desire for return is maintained, the economic success that refugees enjoyed following 1974 hinders the

realisation of this return should the possibility arise (Zetter, 1994; see also Bryant, 2014; Taylor, 2015). He connects the adjustment and integration of refugees in the south with a contrast in the different positions towards the 'myth of return', what he calls the 'reproduction' of the myth or its 'replacement' (Zetter, 1999). The former involves a resilient conviction for return and a wish to restore the past due to negative perceptions and conditions of the present situation. The past is mythologised to such an extent that it overwhelms the present. 'Replacement' of the myth conversely, involves the usage of the past in order to come to terms with the present, 'with the implication that new factors are intervening and modifying that hope', offering 'a greater element of rationality and reality' (Zetter, 1999: 15).

Zetter's observations are crucial in comprehending the uncertainty concerning return and the perplexity of the idea of home seen in testimonies by my family members. My uncle Giorgos, for example, questioned a possible return to his village Prastio because his grandchildren would remain in the south. This questioning of a possible return should not be interpreted as a break from one's homeland but as the result of a combination of different factors such as economic success post-1974, individual life course, etc. Accordingly, Giorgos contended that he would consider returning only if his extended family would somehow be transferred along with him to the village. The current social and familial conditions took precedence over aspirations of return, with this 'replacement' of the myth of return attesting to the atypical case that Greek Cypriot displacement is.

Another influential work has been Anne Jepson's (2006) analysis documenting the practice of gardening among refugees. Jepson commented on how gardeners 'would grow what they had grown at their home in the north', with women having an interest in flower cultivation (Jepson, 2006: 163). The private gardens of refugees were seen, Jepson argues, as the externalisation of memory from the 'lost home' into a concretised 'new home'; it is an act of social transformation located in the intimate location of the house garden. Jepson's argument concerning this transition informed the examination on how men kept practising their farming skills in the south, maintaining, and recreating a 'new home'. Women, by contrast, as they did not have any portable farming skills, felt the loss of the land and family orchards much harder than men as they had nothing to bring forward in relation to farming.

Moreover, Lisa Dikomitis' (2005, 2009, 2012) ethnographic studies on the 'place of desire' (a village in the north of the island), demonstrates how the two refugee populations construct the social and cultural meanings of home, identity and suffering. Dikomitis follows Greek Cypriots returning to the village upon the opening of the checkpoints in 2003, while studying at the same time the Turkish Cypriot community that has relocated to the village after 1974. Her elaboration on the stereotypical way the two ethnic communities on the island refer to each other resonated throughout the analysis concerning the home. Upon their return to the family home, my mother and aunts could not establish the meaningful connections they once had with their home due to its unclean and dirty nature, blaming its current occupants for its present state. Echoing Dikomitis' work, the study recognises how identity and hygiene become

inextricably connected in the way Greeks in Cyprus regard Turks as unclean and neglectful of the properties the former left behind.

Helen Taylor's (2015) work on the meanings of home for Cypriot refugees has also been significant for this study. As Chatzipanagiotidou comments, Taylor's work 'shows very effectively how on the one hand "home" is socially and culturally constructed' and experienced different by refugees, at the same time being 'cautious not to undermine the role sedentarist meanings of home play in refugees' pleas for rights and/or return' (2016: 154). Taylor identifies four analytical elements of home for Cypriot refugees. First, the spatial home and how the idea of home for these refugees can encompass a house, a village, Cyprus as an island and even a new house in Britain where her participants had relocated. Second, a temporal home and the longing for a home long lost, an element of home particularly connected with the post-2003 crossings of refugees to their former homes. Third, the material home and the way these refugees construct a home in London through food, gardening, smells and tastes. Last, the relational home and the way home is connected with social networks and relationships in cultural centres and political organisations in London.

The most influential work for this study has been Peter Loizos' Cypriot village trilogy (1975b, 1981, 2008). Loizos' work provides insights into life in the village prior to displacement, the immediate period after 1974, as well as its long-term repercussions to social life and health. His first ethnographic monograph 'The Greek Gift' (1975b) documented the everyday life and political culture in a Cypriot village, outlining how political agendas influenced and were experienced in village decisions and relations.

The work marked a departure towards a new way of looking at social stratifications, as it investigated the small setting of a village community at the same time as it placed the examined community beyond its everyday context. His insider status as a long distant relative to some of the villagers, allowed for a recording of the villagers' experiences in a both vivid and deeply moving way. In 'The Heart Grown Bitter' (1981), he followed those same villagers, refugees now, documenting the change in their perceived reality and self-definition. The book is a study of how these people dealt with dispossession and exile, and how they managed to build new lives for themselves. It emphasises the regional level of displacement by examining themes such as the disintegration of the social fabric of the village community, the disruption of the bond of the extended family, the reception of refugees by the recipient communities in the south, and the change in social and gender roles. The last book in what is perceived as Loizos' village-life trilogy, 'Iron in the Soul' (2008), documents the implications of displacement for physical health. Here, Loizos outlines a possible link between displacement and depressive illness, as the latter seemed higher among refugee villagers rather than non-refugee ones.

The influence of Loizos' work in the conduct of this study has been immense. The ascertainment of the importance of the family and village in the self-definition of individuals; the recognition of the particular losses and pains of women; the evaluation of the importance of the philosophy of life of Orthodox Christianity as comfort for displacement; the argument about a transcendence of the trauma of displacement through the application of positive energy; the past-present modality of time by which refugees experienced their returns to their places of origin, are just some ways that

Loizos' work informed this study. Additionally, his books are filled with quotes from the villagers themselves, offering a poignant insight into the experience of displacement. This element of Loizos' work I have tried to imitate in this study, as many quotes from the testimonies by family members are reproduced in the text.

Loizos' approach to life histories and the way they are experienced in relation to the socio-historical context can be understood as the life course approach to displacement. His work followed the way the lives of individuals unfolded in their village prior to displacement, the efforts to recover and rebuild in the immediate aftermath, as well as the long-term consequences to health. Set in the context of the changing structural and cultural context, the analysis also developed in consideration of the different effects of categories such as age, gender, and marital status (Loizos, 2008). The lives of refugees were considered as the negotiation between these individuals and the society of which they were part (Hunt, 2005).

Despite Loizos' immense influence in this study, the latter departed from the pure ethnographic account characterising his work by adding a generational element in its examination of the memory of displacement and its transgenerational effects. The study investigated both how those refugees reported on how their lives unravelled prior and following 1974, as well as how their children related to how these influences unfolded. Additionally, part of this examination incorporated an aspect of transmission about experiences the children had not lived. Accordingly, the concepts of memory and transmission have had an influential role in this theoretical framework and the next section proceeds to examine literature in relation to them.

Memory and its transmission

During the latter parts of the 20th century, memory studies emerged as a means of consolidating efforts to understand how the past is used and how it influences contemporary contexts (Berliner, 2005; Winter, 2007). Since its conception by Maurice Halbwachs, the social frameworks of memory have been a highly controversial concept, drawing interest from across the humanities and social sciences. Its areas of research have spread to include the different forms of memory in social frameworks, its relation to media technologies, its connection to history and identity, its role in politics and power, and its different modes of transmission (Kansteiner, 2002; Erll et al, 2010; Olick et al, 2011). Memory studies have therefore, become not only multidisciplinary but also multidirectional, inclusive of the faculty of being in time (Rothberg, 2009).

This section of the review discusses literature in relation to the transmission of memory and the different modes of this process. The types of transmission are typically classified according to the number of generations employed and are divided into intergenerational and transgenerational. The 20th century witnessed various studies and theorisations in the field of transmission, such as the division between communicative and cultural memory, and the distinction between *lieux de mémoire* ('sites of memory') and *milieux de mémoire* ('real environments of memory') (Assmann, 1995; Nora, 1989). Such works, as well as studies by historians such as Jay Winter (1995), Reinhardt Koselleck (2002) and James E. Young (1993, 2002), point to a cultural turn

in memory studies and a shift from the study of the social group to the study of its cultural production (Ashplant et al, 2015).

A shift in the study of memory in society came with the turn of the century, as literature moved away from the assumption that memory is the product of bounded cultures and moved towards the study of memory in transnational and non-traditional settings (Levy and Sznaider, 2006; Rothberg, 2009). The study of the transnational significance of the Holocaust for example became paramount. The upward movement towards the study of memory beyond the nation, was, however, accompanied by a downward one towards the study of more intimate social groups such as the family. This shift in scope inevitably produced changes as to how the study of memory was approached. The family, rather than being perceived as a bounded archive of memory characterised by relatedness, was now conceptualised as being constantly (re)constructed through communication, interaction and cultural influence (Erll, 2011b).

An important contribution within the field following this new approach has been literary theorist Marianne Hirsch's (2008, 2012) work with the concept of postmemory. Her paradigmatic elaboration describes how descendants of Holocaust survivors establish a deep connection with the parental past, one which they 'remember' by means of stories, images and behaviour they have grown up with (Hirsch, 2012). As J. J. Long (2006) argues, Hirsch postulates postmemory as both a subject position for the second generation and a structure of transmission. The former is defined by the second generation's position of 'after'. The inherited memories surrounding the event, not only risk to dislocate but threaten to evacuate one's own experience of 'now' and

personhood (Hirsch, 2012). Agency itself has taken the form of expressing that 'after', as Hirsch's eloquently shows with her analysis of works by second generation artists and authors. This subjective position heavily relies on a process of 'imagination and projection' (Hirsch, 2008: 114) which occurs within the generational psychology and is part of the process of 'remembering'.

Secondly, postmemory problematises the structure of memory *per se* by bringing attention to memories that are not one's own but still shape that person's sense of self through imagination. Its particularity is that it blends inter-, intra-, and transgenerational modes of transmission of traumatic knowledge and experience. Intergenerational transmission is delineated with an emphasis on the family as a privileged site of memory. The transgenerational mode is outlined through a reference to Aby Warburg's speculations about social memory and the 'preformed images already imprinted on our brain' (Hirsch, 2012: 42). This entails a broader repertoire of various cultural images based on which postmemory as structure thrusts onto its generation. The last mode of transmission, the intragenerational one, refers to Hirsch's assertion that postmemory also has an affiliative element, transmitted between people of the same generation (from the second generation to their contemporaries).

This study utilises the concept of postmemory as a descriptive device for the kind of knowledge, influence by historical narratives and understanding that the children of refugees exhibit in relation to their parents' histories. Rather than artistic creation, it seeks to locate the influence of postmemory in testimonies by these children. Departing from the Hirsch-ean epistemological foundations, the study places both refugees and

their children on the historical analytical stage, incorporating in its examination of the transgenerational effects of displacement the accounts by both generations. In this way, it compensates for the implicit devaluation of the experiences of historical eyewitnesses in Hirsch's conceptualisation of postmemory. As Long (2006) argues, postmemory offers epistemological authority to the second generation, devaluing the historical eyewitnesses' experiences and at the same time hollowing out the subjectivity of the second generation.

In solidifying this theoretical framework, studies by psychologists Harald Welzer (2005, 2010) and Dan Bar-On (1995; see also Bar-On et al, 1998) were highly influential. On the one hand, Harald Welzer focused on intergenerational 'memory making' in relation to the Nazi period in Germany, situating the family between biographical remembering and public remembrance (Erll, 2011b). As he commented, younger family members tended to block a negative past of their ancestors with the inclusion/imagination of positive elements (i.e. grandfather, rather than being a Nazi, helped or safeguarded Jews), stabilising a family narrative concerning the event independent of the public picture of Nationalist Socialism (Welzer, 2005). On the other hand, Dan Bar-On's biographical analysis of stories of the Holocaust along three generations accounted for the interplay between individual biography and wider social and cultural processes. As he comments, the avoidance of communication of difficult experiences by the historical eyewitnesses to their children produced a sort of silence and silencing in relation to such experiences (Bar-On, 1995). As a result, children tended to oversimplify the event and have difficulties in relating its importance for their family history.

Welzer's and Bar-On's studies were relevant in the investigation of experiences the second generation did not directly experience, such as the interaction between refugee and non-refugee populations following the war. While Welzer was concerned with a past that was morally dubious for the descendants, this particular past was problematic for the generation of refugees. The cross-generational examination of testimonies showed that refugees, wishing to guarantee a feeling of belonging in the post-1974 society for their children, did not disclose instances of discrimination they faced during that period. The children proceeded to fill their gaps of knowledge in a variety of different ways. Some of the children oversimplified the family's history of displacement and were greatly influenced by the official discourses, becoming embroiled in what Bar-On (1995) calls a 'vicious circle', where the attitudes towards the past become highly correlated to attitudes towards the present.

The works by Marianne Hirsch, Harald Welzer and Dan Bar-On were extremely influential in discussing the memory of displacement and its transmission. All three authors focus on family memory and how memories of a past are reconstructed and transformed in the family setting. As Hirsch maintains, the idiom of the family 'can become an accessible *lingua franca* easing identification and projection across distance and difference' (2012: 115). At the same time, such focus on the family allowed the exploration of the influence of displacement on one of the most important institutions of society. The next section proceeds to review literature in relation to the family and the influence of social change on family life.

Family life and social change

One of this study's research questions concerns the influence of displacement on family life and the institution of the family. To contextualise this question, the investigation must take in consideration the social transformation of Cypriot society and the increasing urbanisation, modernisation, demographic change, and other developments that followed 1974. This section reviews writings in relation to family life and the influence of social change, as well as defining and describing the kind of family life this study investigates.

Thornton and Fricke (1987) contend that changes outside and within the family are inextricably related, as social transformations by industrialisation, urbanisation, educational expansion, and demographic change have altered the structure of family life (see also Hareven, 1991; Janssens, 1993; Castells, 1997; Giddens, 2002). The role of industrialisation, urbanisation and migration are particularly relevant for this study, with sociological works concentrating on the shift in the form and structure of family life from a pre-industrial to an industrial society. Michael Young and Peter Willmott (1973, 2011) drafted a transformative process from a pre-industrial to a post-industrial family, arguing that the family's role as a unit of production declined in importance with industrialisation and urbanisation. This led to the establishment of independent nuclear households and the transformation of the domestic division of labour with joint conjugal roles (Young and Willmott, 1973). This topic was the subject of investigation for historical works as well. As Bernandes maintains, historical literature during the late 70's and early 80's sought to demonstrate how industrial societies developed to be

'more advanced' and how the nuclear family model somehow 'fitted' modern industrialisation (Shorter, 1975; Mitterauer and Sieder, 1982 cited in Bernandes, 1997). Like the above sociological analyses, such works suggested that industrialisation involved the gradual shift from the rural extended families to the rather isolated urban nuclear ones.

The 'unilinear, gradualist approach' (Zaretsky, 1988: 28) towards family life that the above studies adopt are contrary to the findings of this study. As the analysis herein shows, while the setting of the extended family and the relationships established in places of origin were heavily damaged by displacement, these networks were recreated and persisted into the post-industrial society that relatives moved to following 1974. Displacement was countered by a continuing interdependence and an emphasis on the relationships among the siblings' households and families. Nonetheless, the wider cultural context in which the family life under investigation takes place must be considered. Greek culture values family stability, harmonious neighbourhood relationships and sociability with one's kin, irrespective of the experience of displacement (Hirschon, 1988, 1996). As Hirschon (1988) argues however, while these values are not unique to refugees, they are endowed with fresh significance due to the experience of exile.

Hareven (1971, 1982, 1991) contends that domestic organisations are shaped and influenced by dynamics in the social context of which they are part and thus, should be examined in reference to such context and dynamics. The family life under investigation took place amidst significant social transformations. Urbanisation had

begun from the late 1940's and accelerated after 1974, with many Greek Cypriot refugee families migrating to urban areas (Loizos, 1981; Pechoux, 1995). The Greek Cypriot economy shifted towards manufacturing, trade, and services after 1974, as the invasion had caused the loss of important natural resources. In the context of these societal transformations, the study examines the development and alterations to one specific type of family life. This concerns what Philip Greven (1970) has termed the 'modified extended family', which consists of 'a kinship network of separate, but related, households', with the principal variable being 'not the structure of the household but the structure and extent of the extended kin group residing within the community' (Greven, 1970: 15-16). The setting under examination is, therefore, the housing arrangements of the extended kin and the web of connections these arrangements guarantee (Hareven, 1974). Yorburg offers an in-depth elaboration of the characteristics of the 'modified extended family'. As she contends, this type of family life is characterised by the following traits: a) independent economic resources in nuclear household units with a daily exchange of goods and services between them; b) strong psychological kin-network interdependence without excluding non-kin socialisation and support; and c) nuclear family autonomy but with strong kin-network influence in decision-making (1975: 6).

While the study of a specific family as a case study has broader significance and value, it is important to note that the history of one family's displacement cannot tell the story of all refugee families. This implies that the findings of this study should not be taken as an unquestionable pattern of the relationship between family and displacement. The development of family life and its cycle is contingent on a myriad of variables and the

influence of displacement multiplies this unpredictability. Accordingly, a serious assessment of the relationship between family life and displacement should keep in mind how varied this relationship might be, rather than how it 'fits' to a generalised and ideal model.

Historical narratives and discourses in Cyprus

In a remark that captures the nature of academic literature in Cyprus, Olga Demetriou (2006) has asserted that the mere presence of the dispute in Cyprus inevitably influences any kind of work produced in relation to its society. This last section of the literature review seeks to introduce the reader to the kind of ideological and official discourses that influenced testimonies by my family members, and especially the notions of blame, loss and trauma that characterised these narratives.

1974 was of course a milestone year for both the island and the development of the dispute, as it marked the socio-demographic partitioning of the island's ethnic populations (Michael, 2009). Early studies in the post-1974 era reflected this belief and concentrated on explaining how the events of 1974 developed, suggesting ways forward from the 'tragedy' that had befallen Cyprus (typically understood as the Greek Cypriot community). Most of these works originated from the disciplines of political science and international relations, with their scope focusing on official narratives and the political positions of the time (see Xydis, 1973; Bitsios, 1975; Markides, 1977; Attalides, 1979; Worsley and Kitromilides, 1979).

Peter Loizos' work marked a shift in the direction of a more humanistic approach towards the understanding of the Greek Cypriot society. From the end of the 20th century, sociohistorical literature shifted its examination towards the impact of the division on social and cultural aspects of life on the island, with the division itself not always explicitly under examination. The boundaries of analysis were brought closer to people's lives and the real-life experience of living in a divided country. The study of topics such as the development of identity and nationalism, historical narratives, education, or pain and suffering proliferated. In the context of these studies, the study of family life acquired its own share of significance.

One of the topics thoroughly examined during this period has been the development in various contexts of nationalism on the island, from the competing nature of communitarian nationalisms to historical narratives and education. Nicos Peristianis (1996) has studied the binary distinctions of ethnic and civic nationalisms present in both communities on the island. As he argued, in the Greek Cypriot community, the right and left ideologies emphasised a Helleno-centric and a Cypro-centric identity respectively, resulting in distinct nationalisms. In a later work moreover, he maintained that the left-right divide seems no longer appropriate to describe Greek Cypriot society (2008). Nonetheless, this influence of political ideologies was visible in testimonies by my family members. My uncle Petros, for example, narrated the interaction between refugee and non-refugee populations echoing the rhetoric of EDEK, the socialist party he supports. Reproducing a quote from a socialist rally found in Loizos' work, the study portrays how political ideologies still influence the way family members narrate displacement.

Other influential works have studied the competing historical narratives in both communities and the different processes of remembering and forgetting. As Bryant and Papadakis write, 'where an intense ethnonational conflict assumes *the* most central position as society's primary concern, … the conflict comes to colonise the emic categories of history, time and memory' (2012: 3). As they note, history itself has been engaged as an actor to the conflict, becoming resistant to challenge or revision (Bryant and Papadakis, 2012). Various analyses of the different ways such historical narratives appear in the Cypriot social space have taken place. Papadakis examined how these narratives materialise in history education and schoolbooks (2008), as well as in the struggle museums in the divided city of Nicosia (2005; see also Bryant, 2008 and Zembylas, 2014a). Work by Spyros Spyrou (2001, 2006a, 2006b) has examined the formation of national identity in children and how this intersects with education. His studies reveal how important the existence of a generalised and perplexing 'other' (the 'Turk') is in the self-definition of young Greek Cypriots.

Works such as those by Spyrou, Papadakis and Bryant have been influential in terms of their recognition of the Greek Cypriot historical narratives and their notions of blame, loss, and trauma. As Papadakis (2008) details, the Greek Cypriot historical narrative presented Greeks (of Cyprus) as the self and moral centre, with Turks as the main enemy and 'Other' who was responsible for the barbaric Turkish invasion of 1974. Of significance here is that the position of Turkish Cypriots remained unclear. These symbolic contours were evident throughout the testimonies by family members, with many commenting on the 'barbaric 'Turk' who had taken their homes'. It was, however, in testimonies by the second generation that the pervasiveness of this

narrative in the understanding of social life became particularly manifest. As the children had no first-hand experience of the conflict or of the 'Other' prior to 2003, their ideas and descriptions concerning various aspects of Cypriot social life were influenced by this historical narrative and the generalised and perplexing 'Turk' that Spyrou (2006a, 2006b) describes.

The last section of this review examined works in relation to historical narratives in the Greek Cypriot community and the notions of blame, loss, and trauma. Authors such as Papadakis, Bryant, and Spyrou have observed how these narratives have permeated social life in Cyprus and have influenced the construction of identity in various stages of individuals' lives. Testimonies by family members vividly portray this influence and is one that the reader will have the opportunity to appreciate. Luisa Passerini's (1979) comment about oral sources, and how they are dimensions of memory, ideological discourses, and subconscious desires, resonates through all the material.

As stated throughout this review, while Peter Loizos's trilogy was the point of departure for this study, it differs from it in many ways. These differences concern however, not only theoretical aspects but methodological as well. While Loizos' accounts were written with material collected during his extensive periods of fieldwork on the island, this study's material was collected during the one-year period of its fieldwork. The testimonies collected during this period, however, accounted for experiences of more than 50 years and with conceptions of time and space that were overly complex. The methodology chapter that follows intends to shed light on these complexities and the overall process of data collection.

Chapter 3. Methodology

This research is a study into the memory of displacement in an extended family of Greek Cypriot refugees. It engages with the concept of memory in a way that acknowledges and endorses its multidimensionality. As mentioned earlier, the study recognises memory as 'a metahistorical category', inclusive of the property of being in time and appearing in a variety of different sources, from individual testimonies to social actions and places and spaces. At the same time however, the primary method of data collection for the study was through oral or life history interviews.[4] As such, and because of the prominence of oral history as method, this chapter focuses on its choice as research methodology, as well as the way it relates to the theme of place and locality and its use of observation in creating histories, particularly photographs.

The first part of this chapter deals with oral history as a research methodology. Moreover, this section presents the problematic conceptions of sequence, time, and space that I enquired during the data collection and how my initial understanding of displacement affected the early structure of the thesis. The second section follows with an elaboration of the research design, where I discuss the choice of case study method, the formal setting and rationale of the interviews, and the ethical considerations behind the overall design. The third section considers the kind of knowledge produced from such design while the fourth section gives an account of the actual conduct of the study

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[4] As Penny Summerield (2019) comments, terms such oral histories, life stories, ego-documents, histories of the self, etc. are just some of the concepts utilised to denote similar things, i.e. the way personal narratives offer intimate aspects of the past.

and issues that I faced during the overall experience. The last section reports on the interpretative process and links back to the problematic of sequence.

Oral history as research methodology

The introduction to this study had stressed that displacement is not just an experience 'that happened' but it is one that is remembered, understood and interpreted by both those that were displaced from their villages as well as their children. As Holger Briel writes in relation to the outcome of an oral history program in Cyprus, the interviews revealed a 'sensitising of the young regarding the older generation's experiences, and, secondly, reassuring the old that their memories and inputs are still valued by society' (2013: 28). Briel's project documents then that oral history is a particularly well-placed methodology to capture various and sometimes even conflicting memories and interpretations. As Nyhan and Flinn comment, oral history does not sway away from the challenges of different and multiple interpretations, but rather 'allows the various memories and understandings to be explored and examined in depth' (2016: 22).

Alistair Thomson (2007) has argued that oral history has gone through four paradigmatic shifts in both its theory and its practice (see also Thomson, 1998; Perks and Thomson, 2016; Abrams, 2010). The earliest efforts concentrated on giving voice to those 'hidden from history', a commitment by early historians practising oral history to open up histories that were undocumented and remained hidden from the archive (Thompson, 2007). This paradigmatic shift however, came to be criticised in relation to what many traditional historians perceived as the 'unreliability of memory' and the way it is subject to physical deterioration or nostalgic and selective recollection (see

Hobsbawm, 1988). In response to these positivistic critiques, oral historians drew attention to the 'subjectivity of memory' as well as critically evaluated their methodologies. At this point in the chapter, I will deal only with the first response, which is particularly relevant for the section, returning to the second one when I will be elaborating on the nature of knowledge produced through the data in this study.

Perhaps the most famous polemic in favor of the subjectivty of memory has been Italian oral historian Alessandro Portelli. As he maintains, 'the result (of oral history) is narratives in which the boundary between what takes place outside the narrator and what happens inside… may be more elusive that in established written genres' (2006: 35). The subjectivty of memory moreover, provides clues not only about the meanings of historical experience but also about the relationships between past and present, between memory and personal identity, and between individual and collective identity (Perks and Thomson, 2016). This aspect of oral history also separates it from conventional social sciences interviewing. While the latter 'emphasises the social situatedness of research data' (Kvale, 1996: 14), oral histories concentrate on not only the context where histories unfold but also on subconscious desires and thoughts, the influence of discourse and ideology, and the relationship between historian and interviewee. Ulinke conventional interviews, oral histories are linked to the recording, preservation and interpretation of historical information based on the experiences or opinions regarding a particular phenomenon. The social and the personal are of equally importance, with the data telling 'us less about *events* than about their *meaning*' (Portelli, 2006: 36).

In this context, oral history became not simply a methodological approach but a central object of study, with memory, narrative and subjectivity becoming key themes of interest (Frisch, 2016; Grele, 2007). As Lynn Abrams comments, oral history is both a research methodology and the result of that research, with 'comprehending not just what is said, but also *how* it is said, *why* it is said and what it *means*' (2010: 1) being of equal importance. To this end, "remembering" as a practice of memory is 'distinct from ordinary recollection and is embodied in cultural practices such as story-telling' (James, 2006: 98), vital for the creation of meaning through narrative.

While storytelling is a vital medium in oral history, oral historians have utilised other means in their practice and analysis. This study was no different. Documents, artefacts and photographs are oftenly used by oral historians to augment their practice and analysis (Janesick, 2010). As Freund and Thomson write in relation to photography, these objects intersect with oral history at 'important epistemic points: evidence, memory, and storytelling' (2011: 2). They can be used as evidence, they require "memory work", and are able to tell a story. Freund and Thomson (2011) add that oral historians have generally used photographs in two ways: as documents of social history themselves or as triggers and stimulations of memory. In the context of this study, and the objects utilised in creating histories (Kidron, 2009), the former primarily applied. As the reader will observe, what is often questioned in the study - particularly with a specific photograph of my mother's photograph album - is not just what an object stands for (or what is depicted in photographs), 'but also *how* the producer depicted it, and how the interviewee as well as the interviewer use it in the context of social history'

(Freund and Thomson, 2011: 3; see also Kidron, 2009). Of significance is then the uses of these objects by the participants, as well as how I interpret the former.

At the same time, this study concerns the various meanings of home among my extended family, a topic which inevitably involves place and locality. As Riley and Harvey (2007) argue, oral historians have rarely engaged with how geographers understand place, while geographers have neglected the methodologies employed in oral history. This study is a step towards that direction, connecting the geographical understanding of place with people's experiences of and involvements with specific physical environments. The last two chapters of the thesis, along with the focus on the modified extended family and the neighborhood in chapter five, show how oral history and the geographical understanding of place can have active and interactive roles, and how the former can help us understand how people experience places and how they change perceptions and interpretations of these places (Trower, 2011). More specifically, the study draws from Doreen Massey's study of place as home and recognises that places are 'formed out of particular social relations which interact at particular locations' (1992: 12); these social relations are wider and go beyond the specific place; places are characterised by a power geometry; and that these social relations interact with historical shifts and alterations in the spatiality of place (see also Blunt and Dowling, 2006). As the last two chapters will portray, the social relations forming the places of the house and the land relate to the domestic model of gender, an ideal that encapsulates the values of marriage, informs the domestic and conjugal roles for both males and females, and provides standards for social life in general (Loizos and Papataxiarchis, 1991).

The reconstructive nature of oral history: sequence, time, and space

How were the particularities of oral history and its attention to memory and subjectivty reflected in testimonies about displacement? Renos Papadopoulos (2002) has argued that the predicament of displacement is multidimensional and produces a profound disorientation, precisely because refugees cannot pinpoint the exact nature of their loss. The testimonies about displacement collected for this study did not only reflect the subjectivity of memory, but also mirrored the kind of disorientation Papadopoulos discusses. They reflected the various meanings of displacement by family members, as well as the highly perplexing nature of their historical reconstruction, with misarranged categories of sequence, time, and space.

We have already seen that Portelli supports the idea that oral sources should be considered as narratives, as individuals narrativize their experiences in the form of storytelling (see also Sewell, 1992; Steinmetz, 1992). As Paul Cobley (2001) argues however, there are distinct differences between the concepts of 'narrative', 'story' and 'plot'. As he maintains, ''story' is the chain of all the events which are to be depicted. 'Plot' is the chain of causation which dictates that these events are somehow linked' (Cobley, 2001: 5). A 'narrative', in turn, is the 'telling' of events and the mode selected for that to take place (Cobley, 2001). Applying Cobley's concepts to the experience of displacement, the 'story' consisted of events such as the flight, employment, marriage, relocation, childbirth, children's adulthood and marriage, retirement etc. Nonetheless, the life course of refugees went or is going through these events in a variety of different ways and in different sequence. At the same time, these events occurred at different times and in different places (other events such as a spouse's death or health issues are

on occasion also present and extremely significant). This indicates that the 'plot' in 'narratives' of displacement could not have been sequential due to the complex nature of the experience of displacement itself.

While this non-sequential nature of the experience of displacement is something that this study can now assert, it had not approached displacement in a similar fashion in its initial stages. On the contrary, displacement was thought of as an experience one could narrate in terms of a sequential plot of events moving steadily from a beginning towards an end. As such, flight was thought to be followed by reconstruction and the inevitable eventuality of keeping the memory of what was left behind in the present. These three topics also influenced the interview design, as the latter was produced thinking of displacement in such linear and sequential way (see below). This anticipation of sequence eventually led me to think of the analytical chapters in terms of these three sequential topics - flight, reconstruction, and memory. The very first pre-emptive draft of the entire thesis thus included the three chapters of 'remembering displacement', 'remembering reconstruction', and 'memory of the village'.

The testimonies by family members were a reminder not only of the inherent complexity and reconstructive nature that oral sources possess but also of the disorientating experience of displacement. This disorientation was particularly evident in the overly complex conceptions of time and space that underlined all testimonies, which also made their interpretation highly problematic. Narrating the flight was interlinked with the experience of reconstruction in the south. Reconstruction was connected to ideas of 'return' to the north, in the form of both a crossing and an actual

return to settle there. Discussions of loss were constantly accentuated by a juxtaposition of what family members had left behind in 1974 and what they had encountered upon their crossings since 2003. Time and space were convoluted to such an extent that a place could be both 'there' and 'here', while the 'when' could have taken place in as many as six different time*s*.

In narratives about displacement and migration, one would expect the idea of space to be of particular significance, especially as it materialises in the complex relationship between place, identity and belonging, and the idea of 'home' (Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Blunt and Varley, 2004; Ralph and Staeheli, 2011). Testimonies by my family members were characterised by alternations in not only the type of home discussed but also that home's location. Home was a village, a neighbourhood, the family, a house, or the land. At the same time, all these were positioned both in the north and in the south of the island. This meant that these diverse ideas of home could be something stable (e.g. the physical aspect of the house) and, at the same time, something mobile, the latter in terms of both the type (e.g. the house, the family, the village, etc.) and the location in space (i.e. in the north and the south). During his interview, my uncle Giorgos called both his land in the north and his house in the south as 'home', a terminological confusion that was only resolved when he, frustrated by the mix-up, started referring to the former as 'my place' and the latter as 'my home'.

The transcendence of home in terms of space can be connected to two aspects in the lives of refugees: first, the actual adaptation and integration in the south, with all of them having built houses, raised families and on occasion, having cultivating land in

the south; and second, the permanent perceptions concerning their places of origin (Zetter, 1999). The understanding of home was like an elastic string that could extend towards two opposite directions, past and present (Papadopoulos, 2002). Family members seemed to understand displacement and home in terms of movement, in terms of where they had left from and where they have arrived (Creet, 2011).

If space was involved however, as movement, what does this imply for the idea of time? I was able to distinguish six different sets of time in testimonies by family members. The first was related to a 'pre-1974' time and dealt with life as it was experienced prior to displacement, a 'Golden Age' (see Argyrou, 1996). This involved topics as diverse as daily practices in the village or descriptions of events in relation to the 1955-1959 anti-colonial struggle or the 1963-1967 interethnic violence. Examples of this time included the way my uncle Petros discussed being responsible for the irrigation of the orchards prior to displacement.

A second set of time concerned '1974' and dealt with the precise experiences of the *coup d'état*, the invasion, and the flight (this time was conceptualised as '1974' even though chronologically the period of flight lasted until 1975). Testimonies by family members often separated this period of constant movement and insecurity from the period of complete resettlement in the south. The latter marked the beginning of the third set of time, which was concerned with 'post-1974' and detailed events such as marriage, childbearing, relocation, children's adulthood, etc. This time encompassed the longest period, as it began in 1975 and reached the conduct of the fieldwork in 2017. An example where the separation between '1974' and 'post-1974' times became

particularly noticeable was through my mother's narrative concerning her personal meanings of 1974. My mother concluded her description of the family's constant relocation after their flight with the remark 'and that is how our great adventure begun' (*ke etsi ksekinise I megali peripetia mas*) (Paraskevi interview: 2), noting the period following the family's eventual resettlement in Astromeritis as 'the great adventure' of protracted exile.

A fourth set of time was the 'interview time', which concerned the time that the narrative was being developed. This time was manifested through descriptions, attitudes and beliefs taking place 'in the present' as in comparison to other time*s*. My aunt Sofia, for example, in discussing the crossing in 2003, reported a change to the land and the orchards from 2003 to 'now': 'lately, your uncle has been… they removed the [orange] orchards and they have put pomegranate ones.' (Sofia interview: 11). The change in the orchards is reflected through a differentiation between 'interview time' and a general 'post-1974' time.

Borrowing from Paul Ricoeur, Cobley (2001) discusses two types of temporality, what he calls 'objective' and 'subjective' time. 'Objective' time always has been and will be, and co-exists with the universe, independent of human experience; 'subjective' time is the temporal passage experienced by humans through the passing of their lives (Cobley, 2001). The four sets of time described above fitted this twofold typology. They all took place both in 'objective' and 'subjective' time. The testimonies by my family members however, encompassed two sets of time that escaped this twofold typology, adding to the complexity of time in narrating the experience of displacement.

The first of these times was time as flash-forward, typically manifested as family members discussed a possible settlement to the Cyprus dispute and their personal responses to such settlement. My sister for example, reported that should a settlement be reached, she would probably be selling the property in the north, as she would not want to live next to Turks. This was a time developed in relation to both 'objective' and 'subjective' time, as family members not only looked forward in line with the narrated events but also to the way they would experience this future event. This narrative time had characteristics of what Mark Currie (2007) has termed 'prolepsis', an anticipation to future events within the framework of the narrated events. 'Prolepsis' emphasised therefore, *possibility* rather than imagination; it was a narrative time that *could* materialise, both in 'objective' and 'subjective' time.

The second of these times was a 'hypothetical' time, a set of time taking place outside of 'objective' time, yet still imagined as 'subjective'. This narrative time was employed in relation to discussions of how life for family members could have been different had the war and displacement never occurred. In an example that fully illustrates this hypothetical time, my aunt Eirini discussed the house she would have received as part of her dowry in their village Zodhia in a way that enacted the loss of something she never actually had.

As this section has shown, testimonies by family members were characterised by overly complex manifestations of time and space and offered accounts of displacement that were highly convoluted. As Portelli (2006) reminds us, oral sources do not necessarily tell us what people experienced but what they believed they were experiencing at the

time of narration. They reflect therefore the subjectivity of memory. Additionally, these accounts of displacement were not necessarily about facts that occurred in their life course. The way hypothetical time arose in testimonies was a demonstration that oral sources can speak about what the narrators desired to do/have, in addition to what they thought they were doing.

The research design: methods, case study and ethical issues

Research methods

In their introduction to the topic of interviewing in oral history, Perks and Thomson, borrowing from Studs Terkel and Tony Parker, argue that some of the most important aspects of interviewing are: establishing rapport and intimacy, listening and asking open-ended questions, not interrupting, allowing for pauses and silences, and above all remembering that 'people are not boring' (2016: 16). While these features of interviewing were important in the conduct of this study as well, its generational character added further aspects to its design. This section will proceed to examine the study's design and methods, focusing on the location, language of communication, strategy, and design of the interviews, as well as how I acquired data through means other than the participants' storytelling. The latter included observations in the houses of the participants and their use of objects such as photographs, stickers, books, etc., as well as my own crossing to the villages and area where the family originated from.

The first aspect of the interview considered was its location. I decided that all interviews should take place at the residence of the participants. This interview site

embodied the relationship between the participants and myself, as it captured my intimate insider positionality in relation to them (Finnegan, 2006; Taylor, 2011). I had been to their family houses on various occasions, and my presence there did not alter the familiar and comfortable surroundings. As such, this domestic environment ensured that they were at ease in discussing a sensitive topic such as displacement, while they were doing so with a member of their family in their own houses. Additionally, such interview locations provided me with the opportunity to document how displacement is represented in the domestic spaces of family members' houses. I was able to observe artefacts such as photographs, books, and stickers, and situate them in the context of the participants' identities and self-representations (Freund and Thomson, 2011).

The language of communication during the interviews was also an important element for consideration. The language of the interviews was Greek but, during the fieldwork, I realised that I had to set the questions as close to the linguistic version of Greek of individual interviewees. This was due to the different linguistic versions being highly correlated to the level of educational achievement. In general, the higher the level of educational achievement, the closer to standardised modern Greek the linguistic version would be. This linguistic particularity concerned however, only the historical eyewitnesses as their children had all received tertiary education. An example of this linguistic particularity was the interview with my father, who finished only primary education prior to moving to full-time employment. My father had difficulty in vocalising his thoughts in the standardised version of modern Greek. I noticed that the voice recorder and the interview setting, induced him to formalise our relationship and try to speak as if his audience was not only me but a much larger audience (Sarkar,

2012; Summerfield, 2019). To avoid this perceived pressure, I told him that nobody else would be hearing this discussion so he could speak in whichever way he found easier to express himself. After this prompting, he reverted to Greek Cypriot dialect and vernacular idioms to articulate his thoughts, which improved the flow of the interview.

Despite the importance of location and language of communication, the most decisive aspect in the collection of the oral testimonies was the strategy and planning regarding the fieldwork. Due to the large number of participants, I had decided to divide the fieldwork in four stages, where in each of the four stages I would interview all members of two nuclear families (eight nuclear families in total). Furthermore, because of the generational scope of the study, I resolved to interview members of individual nuclear families without lengthy intervals between the interviews, as I did not wish them to have the opportunity to discuss the subject of the study and influence each other's testimonies in any way. Additionally, as an aspect of the study focused on intergenerational transmission, I decided that everyone had to be interviewed by him/herself, without the presence of other family members and particularly of the other generation. Separate interviews allowed for the examination of correspondences or disruptions between memories and postmemories without the distortions that a family discussion could potentially induce.

The interviews themselves were designed as semi-structured and sought to capture the 'general pattern of orientation' of one's past and anticipated life' (Rosenthal, 1993: 3). They began with a short introduction and request towards the participants: '*I would like*

to hear the facts and experiences that were and are important to you. You may begin wherever you want with your answers. You may take as long as you want. I shall listen to you and not interrupt. I will simply take notes for any questions I may have afterwards.' This request would then be followed by the open-ended question: *'Can you tell me what 1974 means for you, the events and experiences that were and are important for you?*' This initial question intended to elicit a narrative about the meanings of 1974 for the participants, irrespective of generation, age or gender. The initial question was then followed by a combination of autobiographical and theme-specific questions, which were meant to guide individual participants into giving a chronological account of their lives according to pre-determined themes (Shopes, 1980). Participants were encouraged to elaborate on the following pre-determined subjects: the flight, the reception in the south, the influence of displacement to family relationships, marriage and new family, practices and rituals in relation to the memory of the village, and their opinions concerning government policies. On the one hand, the questions towards the refugee aimed to elicit information about their feelings concerning the experience of displacement. On the other hand, the questions towards their children aimed to investigate their knowledge of the experience of their parents.

While influenced by the interview designs of studies such as Dan Bar-On (1995), Harald Welzer (2005, 2010), Wendy Holloway and Tony Jefferson (2000, 2008), and Gabriele Rosenthal (2010), I cannot claim that the interviews for this study were of a true biographical narrative design. On the contrary, they imposed on the participants the pre-determined themes and expectations of sequence I had of their narratives. Nonetheless, this does not imply that the information presented in this study lacks

validity or accuracy (see below). Most interviews with refugees generated lengthy and rich storytelling, which transcended - or disregarded completely - the pre-determined interview design. Maria, Petros and Eirini, for example, in response to the first narrative question, spoke uninterrupted for more than half an hour and for a variety of different subjects that included also the topics noted in the theme-specific questions.

The testimonies by the children, however, were significantly affected by the imposition of pre-determined themes. As the bulk of questions related to the knowledge of their parents' experiences, most children had difficulty in integrating their own biographical information and feelings with these pre-determined themes. The research design had assumed what Hirsch (2012) claims of postmemory: that the experiences of the historical eyewitnesses had displaced, or even evacuated, the life stories of the children. Only two testimonies managed to escape from this assumption. These were the testimonies by my sister Andri and cousin Andreas. On the one hand, Andreas' testimony was characterised by various reflections on his responsibility towards his parents and the property in the north in relation to his identity in the present capitalist, urban economy. On the other hand, Andri's testimony was distinguished by meditations concerning her own shifting attachment to the family's property in the north and her role as an educator in the changing Cypriot society. It is of no surprise that these two testimonies were the ones mostly used in the analysis of testimonies by the second generation.

Apart from the storytelling by family members, the research design also included observations of the domesticity of displacement at their houses. These observations

attest to the way personal histories are multiple and porous, with the construction of the self being the project of multiple field practices rather than merely storytelling (Kidron, 2009; Sharp and Dowler, 2011; Freund and Thomson, 2011). Influenced by the vast number of ethnographic studies in relation to Cypriot displacement (see Loizos, 1981, 2008; Dikomitis, 2009, 2012; Bryant, 2010, 2012, 2014; Constantinou and Hatay, 2010; Constantinou, Demetriou and Hatay, 2012; Taylor, 2015), I observed and reported on how refugees remember their displacement through the presence of memorabilia in the domestic space as well as the person-object interaction after discussion about the object was initiated (see below). Such an approach is distinguished by an emphasis on primarily the family members' everyday interaction with memorabilia rather than the direct inquiry by the interviewer (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2011).

While the observations and field notes concerning the memorabilia were important for the analysis, I also wished to allow family members to verbalise their own personal meanings regarding these memorabilia (Freund and Thomson, 2011). Towards the end of the interview, I would ask concerning these domestic memorial practices, different according to the generation of the interviewee. To refugees, I would ask whether they have ways of keeping the memory of their village in the present and what do these mean for them. To their children, I would ask whether they recall any sort of memorabilia present in the family house and whether their parents communicated about these items and their meanings. These questions would often prompt family members to present me or point to memorabilia present in their houses (e.g. collections of photographs, books or even stickers) and try to explain what these items mean for them

in the context of the family's history of displacement. These observations of the domesticity of displacement concluded the interviews.

A last method of data collection involved my crossing in the summer of 2017 to the region of Morphou and the villages from where my family members originated. The decision for this crossing derived from a thought-provoking question posed by many family members during the interviews. As they were discussing the experience of crossing for them, all asked me whether I had crossed to see Morphou or had assumed that I had done so with them back in 2003 when they had all crossed together. Not having done so, I did consider arranging a crossing, if not merely to see of *what/which/whom* the memories and postmemories collected though this study were about. This crossing was conducted in the morning of the 9th of September, along with my uncle Petros and a friend of his with 'valid' driving insurance.[5] During the crossing, we drove by the family home in Zodhia and around the village, as my uncle would point to properties once owned by relatives, discussing them in reference to their owners (e.g. that *is/was* Christos' house – the tense would alternate). We then headed towards the family orchards in Morphou and by the seaside villages of Prastio and Xeros. We visited the ancient kingdom of Soloi, with my uncle saying that it was where school trips and events used to take place. Afterwards, we drove around the city of Morphou and visited the secondary school he had attended. Our next stop was a Turkish Cypriot friend of theirs in Argaki where we had coffee. Finally, we drove by the house of my aunt Eugenia in the village of Katokopia before heading back to the checkpoint.

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[5] The insurance for driving in the Cyprus Republic legally covers driving in the areas where Cyprus Republic Law has jurisdiction, thus excluding areas in the north of the island. If one wishes to drive there, s/he must buy insurance applicable in the north at the border.

While initially intended as more of an obligation to see the places that I would be writing about, parts of this study's analysis derived from the whole experience of crossing, both my own and of my uncle's. Similar to previous auto-ethnographic studies about - and with - Cypriot refugees (see Constantinou and Hatay, 2010; Constantinou, Demetriou and Hatay, 2012; Bryant, 2008, 2012; Dikomitis, 2009, 2012) and auto-ethnographic studies conducted in Greece (see Panourgia, 1995), this crossing was a way through which I was able to experience and be emotionally involved in a practice that has characterised Cypriot society since 2003. This crossing was both a participant-observation and a self-observational research, where my biography, experience, emotions, and relationships constituted data to be analysed in relation to the social context in question.

The choice of case study: why and whom?

The design of this research included a case study research into the memory of displacement and meanings of home in my extended family. As Yin states, 'a case study investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident' (2003: 13-14). The only way to have insights into how family members remember and interpret the influence of displacement was to study one. To this end, the adoption of a case study was not so much a methodological choice but a choice of what was to be studied (Taylor, 2013; Simons, 2014).

It is most certainly difficult for a researcher to offer a definite reasoning for the choice of a case study. This study is no different. After settling on the generational scope of

the research, I contemplated the choice of case study for some time. It was, however, difficult to disregard the parallel presence of the personal experience and of the social, political, and historical setting of what I wished to examine. I recall pondering the possibility of researching into my own family memory, wondering whether such a project would be feasible. On the one hand, I considered matters such as access to and consent from the participants, and how practical such issues would become. In addition, I could not overlook personal motivations such as paying homage to individuals who survived the hardships of displacement and provided for my generation with everything. On the other hand, I could not fail to notice issues in relation to my role as an insider researcher and the required objectivity of a doctoral project. These kinds of considerations were evaluated repeatedly for a period of more than a month. The constant dilemma I faced was if the personal had already become the sociohistorical, could the sociohistorical become the personal in return?

Despite all these personal meditations, the final and most important element in the choice of case study was the consent by my supervisor and the Chair of my Board. As I brought this subject forward to them, I was lucky enough to have my supervisor studying the same subject in his current research project and being sympathetic towards the idea. The Chair nonetheless, ascertained that in the occasion where I did proceed with such study, I had to make explicit two particular elements: first an acknowledgement of the particular kind of knowledge that such study provides; and second, the way I reach my interpretation of testimonies. The next subsection addresses the first aspect as part of this research design. The second is demonstrated throughout this study; firstly, through the inclusion of a variety of excerpts and the context in which

they were provided, and secondly, through the progressive presentation of the interpretative process. Eventually, both supervisor and Chair consented to my choice of case study. The sociohistorical had found its way back to the personal.

Certain case-selection criteria in relation to my maternal extended family were also relevant. The first was that my extended family typified the historical process under investigation (Perks and Thomson, 2016). Like most of the Greek Cypriot refugee population, they were a large, rural family, with an income based primarily on livestock and agriculture (Loizos, 1975a, 1975b; Loizos, 1981; Argyrou, 1996). Productive tasks within the family were differentiated according to age and gender. All the children of the family had or were meant to attain at least secondary education. Furthermore, most of their relatives lived in proximity and within the boundaries of their village and region. Lastly, the household's property would have eventually been passed on to the children, with the daughters receiving its largest share as dowry in accordance with the social norms of the region.

With displacement, life for family members was fundamentally altered. The different directions of their lives reflect the extent of social change that post-1974 Greek Cypriot society witnessed. Four of the six children of those displaced moved to Nicosia with their families, while the remaining two stayed in villages near Zodhia (one in Astromeritis and one in Peristerona). In terms of occupation, family members found employment in diverse sectors of the post-1974 expanding economy, some in the private sector some in the civil. Furthermore, the political allegiances of individual families and members reflect the political conditions of the post-1974 Greek Cypriot

community (Peristianis, 1996). Some families lean towards ethno-centric political tendencies, others towards leftist, while others are completely apolitical. Occasionally, political beliefs vary even within a nuclear family. Some family members have travelled extensively or lived abroad, being exposed to more multicultural environments. Others have never escaped a Greek-centred world (travelling only to Greece). All members of the family, therefore, have had different life experiences; their common denominator remains displacement.

On a last note, the identification of the two generations within the family was designated according to the embodied experience of the 1974 invasion. My parents and all my uncles and aunts were defined as 'historical eyewitnesses'. This generation was comprised of 14 members: the eight siblings from the nuclear family of my mother and their six living spouses, irrespective of whether they were refugees themselves. The 'second generation' in contrast, was comprised of their children who had been born after 1974, irrespective of differences in age. This generation included twelve individuals. Two children born in 1971 and 1973 were considered as '1.5 generation' (Suleiman, 2002). While they were alive at the time of the invasion, they were not able to make sense of, or have personal memories of the event. I had decided not to consider the spouses of married descendants as this would have increased the number of participants to a point where the feasibility of the research would be questioned.

As Laura Marcus comments, one must be 'sincere in the attempts to understand the self (in this case, the family) and explain that self to others' (1994: 3). That is something I have tried to accomplish in this subsection. This study collected testimonies from

various participants and moved beyond individualised versions of the past and towards subjects-in-relation, where each story became integrated into a collective one and looked towards the sociological implications of these stories (Davies and Gannon, 2006). At the same time, it was a project that was produced within the influence of my own structure of postmemory: the stories and behaviours I have inherited from my family and the cultural repertoire to which I was exposed growing up in the post-1974 Greek Cypriot society. While the historical project and my postmemory are not contradictory, the latter would often influence the former. Instances of this influence are reported throughout the thesis.

Ethical considerations

A research environment as that described in the above section unquestionably presents a range of ethical considerations and implications. Loizos (1994) has already raised issues with how his own role as a researcher with bonds of loyalty and kinship towards his research subjects modify the quality of the data gained and the insights it yields, at the same time as it raises ethical problems. Dikomitis (2012) and Panourgia (1995) also acknowledge that a researcher conducting fieldwork among relatives gains an immediate access to the informants, but at the same time, this type of research entails the danger of 'bruising the personal relationship'. These issues are related to the position and power of the researcher in the research study (Traianou, 2014). This subsection closes the research design section by explaining how I dealt with issues regarding access, informed consent, risk management, confidentiality, and anonymity. The ethical considerations put forward herein unveil the complexity inherent in conducting research into one's own family.

One is quick to apprehend that the first aspect in such research was that there was no need to negotiate any form of admittance to a social space to which I was already a member (Breen, 2007; Taylor, 2011). The participants were individuals I had known my entire life, individuals in whose homes I had already been on numerous occasions, and individuals whose lives were intertwined on various degrees with mine. One should not assume however, that access to them was simple and unequivocal. Throughout the fieldwork period, a gatekeeper was arranging the time and place for the interviews to take place, long before I even set foot in Cyprus for each individual fieldwork stage. This gatekeeper was none other than my mother, who facilitated access, occasionally even without my knowledge and approval. On some occasions, such arrangements even found me somewhat unprepared. The interviews with my aunt Eirini and her son Stelios for example, were conducted in our family house rather than theirs due to my mother's arrangements (the next sections deals more in depth with contingencies and alterations arising during the period of the fieldwork).

All family members, moreover, accepted and greeted my choice to study the family's history of displacement with enthusiasm. Some even saw a sense of pride and appreciation in that their voices and experiences would be kept in the historical record. It was, however, the examination of my proposal by the University of Essex Ethics Committee that revealed a concealed issue with consent: the personal relationship between researcher and participants seemed to entail a 'coercion to participate' as the participants would not have the opportunity to refuse participation. After discussions with my supervisor, I sought to mitigate this issue with additional verbal affirmations towards the participants prior to the interviews. These verbal affirmations took the form

of an ascertainment of the importance of consent and their right to withdraw, a reaffirmation that participation is voluntary and an assertion that in case of withdrawal or refusal to participate the study would not be affected in any way. The first person I interviewed was my mother Paraskevi. Prior to the interview, I tried to emphasise the voluntary nature of the testimony and all issues identified above. Her response was the following: 'oh, come on Christo… how could I refuse? I have paid for your education all these years and you think I will inhibit its completion now?' (*ate re Christo tora pou tha arnitho! Eplerona tosa xronia…*). At that moment I realised that, an element of coercion would be present and could not be alleviated, irrespective of my efforts to do so.

The sense of trust and familiarity infusing the research relationship did not cease at the verbal affirmations but influenced as well the signing of the consent forms. As I would hand out the forms prior to the interview, participants would often sign them without even reading the content. This raised concerns regarding the informed aspect of consent. In response to this, I tried verbally to inform them of the details of the study as specified on the information sheet and consent form. Despite this, however, the reply by family members was often a hurried and unbothered 'yes, yes… it is okay' (*ne, ne! en entaksi*). As such, from the second stage of the fieldwork, I added to the consent form a point clearly stating that for any published work I should obtain additional consent for the use of their personal information. It was a means to protect family members from any misjudgements regarding the nature of the research and in relation to how their information could be used.

In terms of anonymity and confidentiality, a matter raised by the University of Essex Ethics Committee was with the choice not to offer anonymity to the participants. This decision was taken however, after acknowledging that the study contains an autobiographical element and that referring to participants by their real names would add truth to subjectivity, both theirs and mine (Marcus, 1994). Anonymity would have been disingenuous and would have taken away the particularity of both the method and knowledge this study was about. Confidentiality was a different matter altogether. The intimate relationship between historian and participants often urged them to disclose facts about their lives, which they would have otherwise kept hidden. Instances of deviant or even illegal behaviour, or sensitive information in relation to family relationships, were mentioned during interviews. Nonetheless, I decided not to utilise any sort of information that could put the participants under any legal threat or that could jeopardise the current state of relationships between family members. It was a conscious choice, which recognised at the same time that I would be sacrificing information that would have otherwise been extremely useful for the study.

The above measure was part of the actions taken in relation to risk management. While there was not any type of physical risk involved, the possibilities of emotional risk were recognised early on. Eventually, the risks of such study did manifest in an actual emotional response in an occasion. This concerned the interview with my aunt Eirini who became emotional and broke down in discussing the marriage of her youngest sister Sotiroulla a few years after my grandfather was killed in a car accident. Eirini became distressed as she described the economic difficulties that the extended family faced after the death of their father and particularly with Sotiroulla's marriage. There

was an abrupt crying and grasping for air, as she communicated 'she did not have money [to pay] even for the venue'. My response was to allow her to calm down and recover emotionally, emphasising that it would be fine if she wished to interrupt the interview at that point. She asserted, however, that she wished to continue and finish her testimony.

The research design for this study influenced the entirety of the knowledge produced. The methods chosen, the specific case under investigation, and the ethical concerns behind my intimate insider positionality and vulnerability, placed the study somewhere in-between the major disciplines of literature and science. The study reflects therefore, a confluence between a collective biography and a sociological work (Marcus, 1994; Munslow and Rosenstone, 2004). Nevertheless, and despite of such association, it was fundamentally a doctoral dissertation, which sought to answer specific research questions. While it did contextualise my sense of self and family in the history of the relationship between family and displacement, it did so in a reflexive way and in line with social scientific inquiry (Aurell, 2015).

The 'intimate insider' and the 'vulnerable observer': reflections on the epistemology of knowledge and the data collection

Researching into one's own family undoubtedly constructs a specific kind of knowledge. Akemi Kikumura upholds that such enterprise exceeds the friction between insider and outsider perspectives, as 'both … have the possibility of distortions and preconceptions of social reality' (1986: 2). While in agreement with Kikumura, I believe one cannot explicate the particularities of conducting research into one's own family history simply by circumventing the insider-outsider dichotomy. In accepting

the personal as a legitimate part of the research, the researcher has to find the best way to make it appear (Behar, 1996). The family historian has therefore, to explicitly deal with what was both beneficial and difficult in researching one's own family and elaborate how he or she dealt with these characteristics of the research relationship.

The kind of relationship I shared with my participants is best described as what Jodie Taylor (2011) terms 'intimate insider': a researcher who conducts research 'in his or her own backyard' (see also Greene, 2014; Massaro and Cuoma, 2017).[6] Such research environment is not characterised by a mere familiarity, ease of interaction and understanding that typify insider research, but it is augmented by a mutual identification, emotional attachment and a personal history between researcher and participants that pre-dates the research arrangement (Taylor, 2011; Massaro and Cuoma, 2017). In this kind of research environment, Taylor continues, the researcher is and remains, a key participant within the field and thus he or she proceeds in a process of self-interpretation.

At the same time as I was an 'intimate insider', I was also a 'vulnerable observer' (Behar, 1996; Souto-Manning, 2006; Davids, 2014). This meant giving evidence of my emotional involvement with the research subject, my forms of engagement in studying a topic which is really part of me and the influence of my subjectivity on the process of knowledge production (Behar, 1996). Throughout this research then, I had to consider my own emotional involvement with the subject under investigation. At times,

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[6] At the same time, I must acknowledge that my relationships with distinct nuclear families and individual family members are quite dissimilar. With some, I have retained a strong intimacy, while with others the relationship resembles a formal kinship one.

this emotional involvement became immediately explicit. At times, it remained hidden and was something I had to resolve and understand as the study progressed. These considerations are also reflected in this written result of the study.

The ways of dealing with subjectivity vary widely. At first, one needs to recognise that the knowledge this study provides originates in my familiarity with the participants in very personal and intimate ways, which often influenced the way meaning was constructed within the interview setting. Hollway and Jefferson argue 'for the need to posit research subjects whose inner worlds' are influenced from their experiences of the world, 'and whose experiences of the world cannot be understood without knowledge of the way in which their inner worlds allow them to experience the outer world' (2000: 4; see also Hollway and Jefferson, 2008). While I chose not to proceed to the style of psychosocial interview which Hollway and Jefferson propose for, I believe the kind of intimate familiarity I shared with participants allowed for a similar at least comprehensive picture of participants' lives and opinions.

Hollway and Jefferson argue against a 'tell it like it is' approach in the interpretation of data and towards a more psychosocial analysis of collected information. What does this psychosocial analysis entail, however? First, it requires renouncing the idea that the text and narrative is an exact representation of the narrators' experiences (in relation to oral history, see Rose Beard, 2017). The text is merely a part of the whole and to capture the latter, attentiveness to further detail is requisite. On the one hand, analysis of narratives should take into consideration the biographies and personal histories of the narrators. To this end, one cannot but recognise the multiple levels of biographical

similarities between the narrators and me. I was familiar with their histories as, to a great extent, they were part of my own history. As Duncan Cartwright writes, 'understanding and the construction of meaning occur within a circle', in which 'what is already known, inevitably shapes further interpretation' (2004: 214). These multiple levels of identification permeated the interview setting and undoubtedly influenced the construction of meaning. This issue is connected also to the characteristics of oral history and the way oral historians have looked for interdisciplinary guidance to examine and reflect on their methodologies (i.e. the second response to positivistic criticisms of memory; see for example Figlio, 1988, 1998 and Roper, 2003 for the use of psychoanalytic techniques in oral history).

On the other hand, the same way that these oral histories were produced in relation to both my own and the narrators' biographies, they were also constructed in relation to our subjectivities. In oral history interviews, this often takes form in a heightened awareness of how intersubjectivity, in terms of the relationship between historian, interviewees and audience, informs the kind of knowledge oral history produces (Summerfield, 1998; Sarkar, 2012). History is a dialogic encounter and relationship where, in the efforts to reconstruct a past, it enlists emotions, both those of narrators and those of the historian (Roper, 2014). My own reactions and feeling towards the narratives were, therefore, part of the analysis and a way of comprehending what was being said and for which reasons. The analysis of the text itself, the prior and in-depth knowledge of the biography of the narrators, our biographical similarities and the way I 'responded' to the narratives, as well as the influences of different public discourses in the narratives, assisted in the interpretation and analysis of the data (Hollway and

Jefferson, 2000, 2008). These interpretative skills allowed for a more comprehensive picture of the lives and opinions of the participants and a more holistic understanding of their identities and self-descriptions.

Another influence on the knowledge produced, was my own experiences and exposure to the historical narratives and official discourses on the island. I lived in Cyprus for more than half of my life and during a period where these narratives and discourses were particularly pervasive. My high school was located right next to the Buffer Zone, while the football field in the school was literally within it. In one of the most vivid memories I have of my childhood, every time we wanted to play football, we needed to ask permission from the UN! The corridor that led to our classrooms had sandbags on the windows to protect students in case of any shootings. As a student, I participated in various demonstrations concerning the occupation of the island. During my military service, the slogan 'a Good Turk is a Dead Turk' (*Kalos Tourkos, Nekros Tourkos*) was heard throughout the campus, while officers were wearing t-shirts printed with the slogan itself. These experiences of the official discourses appeared during the fieldwork, particularly during the testimony with my cousin Marios. The chapter on family life presents how.

While the theoretical explications regarding this kind of knowledge are relevant, the best way to portray it is through an example that depicts the intimate insider positionality, the vulnerability on my part and the way they assisted in the interpretation of information. I will discuss an incident that occurred during the interview with my aunt Maria, where my sensitivity and vulnerability went beyond the traditional insider

knowledge and offered a deeper and multifaceted understanding of the testimony, despite of the resulting emotional upheaval on my part. The death of her husband in 1980 was a significant and sensitive event for Maria's life and I was conscious of the emotional reactions that this topic could infer. Furthermore, Maria is the woman who raised most of my cousins and me. We all attended her kindergarten school from a very young age, while we would return to the kindergarten each day during primary school and wait for our mothers to pick us up (the kindergarten school was less than five minutes' away from the primary school). She, therefore, has attained an unquestionably significant position in my life.

In her response to my first question about the personal meanings of 1974, Maria recounted the war experiences of her deceased husband in detail, reconstructing his behaviour and even emotions through her narrative. Her narrative concerning the experiences of 1974 was dominated by her husband's war involvement. She commented, among others, on the way he was enlisted during the invasion, the way he went to bid farewell to his parents, his transfer with a military truck to the battlefield, their bombing from Turkish planes, his fighting against and eventual escape from Turkish troops, his leg injury, and his more than 10 miles hike to re-join his military unit. At some point during the narration, she even paused to comment 'I am narrating them to you the same way he narrated them to me'. Her own presence in the story was only as she described her search with her father for him in hospitals, following his injury.

My prior knowledge of Maria's personal history, her husband's importance for her and my intimate identification with her, shaped how I both experienced and interpreted the narrative. On the one hand, as she opened her heart to me, I let myself empathise completely and let the story enmesh me. I recall that in the moment of narration, I felt I was observing the way the story and its events unfolded. I became an 'active' and vulnerable observant to my deceased uncle's experience, a man I had never met in my life. As my aunt narrated his experience of running through citrus orchards and keeping his head down to dodge the bullets fired at him, I somehow even 'imagined' the scent of citrus trees. I was 'floating' through the places Maria was narrating about, 'experiencing' the fear and anxiety he must have felt. This interview led me to appreciate the kind of psychic power oral history could possess. On the other hand, the uncanny experience of the storytelling and my prior knowledge of her past, led me to understand that the narrative concentrated on loss and mourning, as much as it longed for *his* memory (Behar, 1996). Maria had made sense of the study as a historiographical endeavour of keeping the family's past on the historical record. As a result, she sought to include her deceased husband in the family history, despite his corporal absence. Her narrative offered a voice for him, to guarantee that he was heard and recognised. During the development of the narrative, the mourned was 'heard' from the grave; he became an 'invited guest' in the narrated past (Coles, 2011).

The emotional arousal and experience during the interview were so shocking that I had to interrupt the data collection during that stage of the fieldwork. I have not yet grasped in full what I experienced during the interview with my aunt Maria. During discussions with my supervisor, we contemplated on whether the extent of empathy and mutual

identification had led me to such an uncanny experience. Indeed, perhaps 'uncanny' is the term to accurately describe the experience, as I had the impression that 'I was robbed of my own senses', experiencing someone else's experiences. While the case of the interview with my aunt Maria captures my vulnerability in terms of an emotional wearing, it also allowed me to go beyond the traditional insider knowledge and offered a deeper understanding of the subjectivity of the narrators.

While researching one's own family undeniably provides a specific kind of knowledge, it is not devoid of its own share of dilemmas. The most significant concern is the one raised by Kikumura (1986) about how assumptions of knowledge by both participants and the researcher of prior knowledge, can inevitably affect the subject under investigation. In social research literature, this concern has been interpreted as a 'loss of 'objectivity', particularly in terms of inadvertently making erroneous assumptions based on the researcher's prior knowledge and/or experience' (Breen, 2007: 163). This was an issue that transpired all too often during my fieldwork. Family members often assumed that I knew of events that had taken place when I was of age to remember, with the most obvious example being the crossing the family performed collectively in 2003. Despite clearly stipulating that they should not assume any kind of prior knowledge to any sort of event, many did so, which often led me to ask follow-up questions in search for clarifications.

One of the issues most difficult to handle during interviews was a disregard by participants of the interview setting. This often resulted, however, from my inability or reluctance to enforce it. On two occasions, the couple would remain in the same room

as I was interviewing them. These were the cases with Eleni and Michalis, and Petros and Eugenia. The first couple had asked whether it was acceptable for both to remain in the living room while conducting the interviews. It was during wintertime and they had one heater in the living room, with the central heating not turned on. I could not find the resolve to ask either to leave the room when the other was being interviewed. During interviews with the second couple, Petros sat in the room during Eugenia's interview, but she herself left to prepare lunch during her husband's interview.

Additionally, on two other occasions, the testimonies were collected through family discussions rather than individual interviews. The first concerned the family of Christakis, where a lack of time on their part resulted in a family discussion rather than individual interviews. The second was the testimony by Michalis' son Andreas, which was conducted in the presence of his father, who often tried to 'correct' Andreas' narration of events. The alteration of the interview setting in these occasions greatly affected the participants' testimonies, which resulted in their scarce utilisation throughout the thesis.

A last way my positionality manifests itself in the study is in the text of the thesis. This evolves around what Nadine Rentel calls the 'metadiscourse', the 'presence of the author behind the factual information presented and in the linguistic 'traces' he leaves in the text' (2012: 342). This section has asserted the role of my subjectivity in both the research endeavour and the information gathered. With such kind of knowledge, a question that inevitably arises concerns the way the 'I' presents itself in the text itself.

Should it be solitary in its efforts to be objective, or should it embrace the familial character of the study?

This study firstly locates the 'I' in the process of data collection (Nagy Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2006). A variety of excerpts from the testimonies and discussions are presented throughout the thesis. Nonetheless, these narratives were not produced in a vacuum. For the reader to appreciate the way meaning was a mutual construction, these excerpts must be accompanied by the sort of questioning that preceded them and their location within the overall context of the testimonies. Additionally, the study presents the performative aspects of the narration, the kind of gestures and body language that accompanied the narratives, as well as notes on my initial feelings and thoughts during the interviews. The 'I', thus, seeks to make explicit the way the data collection was a collaborative process. It portrays my active role during the interview, the way my questioning affected what was being discussed, my thoughts and ideas about the narrators, as well as my emotional reaction to the testimony (Behar, 1996; Davids, 2014).

The mutual construction of knowledge shaping the data collection, undoubtedly continued to have an influence during analysis and interpretation. Oral history presents a variety of interpretative challenges, even more so when the relationship between author and narrators is as intimate as the one in this research study. To portray these challenges, the thesis seeks to invite the reader in the interpretative process. My own subjectivity and biographical similarities were often utilised to assist in the analysis, and the study explicitly portrays how this reflexive 'I' aided in the data interpretation.

All these aspects of the interpretative process assisted in the production of a 'whole' picture of the narrators' identities and self-perception (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000, 2008). At the same time however, the reader can make his/her own judgements on the material, based on their own reading of the information provided in the text and of my relationship with family members.

While the representation of the 'I' in the research process and analysis seems quite straightforward, I initially struggled with the linguistic 'traces' of the familial relationship with the participants in the text. These participants had their own identities and names, but in addition, each one was characterised by a relationship with me. 'Paraskevi' was not simply a refugee family member; she was also my mother. 'Andri' was not simply her daughter; she was also my sister. How should then this aspect of the 'I' be alluded in the writing process? In initial drafts of chapters, I often referred to family members without the description of my relationship with them. I thought that a more solitary 'I' would seem more objective, despite of the analysis itself often relying on the particularity of the relationship between author and narrator. In discussing the final chapter with my supervisor, he asked whether Andri is my sister. My response was to awkwardly smile and confirm. I realised that I had removed the particularity of our relationship; to a certain extent, I was ashamed to have done so. In the final draft of the research study, the reader is informed of the relationship with narrators throughout the analysis.

In conclusion, I would like to assert that my role as an 'intimate insider' and a 'vulnerable observer' did shape the research encounter but has also shaped in return,

my sense of self. Four years after the beginning of this project, I find myself irrevocably fascinated and even involved with a kind of life I had never prior acknowledged or appreciated. The 'village life', the traditional form of life experienced in rural villages, was a kind of life I had never valued. As I could not reconnect to the village of my mother in the north however, I found myself (re)connecting to the village of my father in the south. During the last two years, I have stayed in the holiday house our family owns in the village of Astromeritis at least for two days every time I have returned to Cyprus (my stays lasted between a week and 10 days). This was something inconceivable for my pre-doctoral urban self who wished to be constantly 'connected'. On one of these occasions, I even accompanied my father for the irrigation of the family's olive trees, something I had never done before. I have started to call the trees 'my olive trees', while I once shouted at my mother in anger as she commented 'perhaps it is time we take them out' (uproot them). While I cannot foresee how this newfound relationship with village life will develop, I believe it illustrates how this doctoral study has influenced my individual life and became an integral part of my sense of self (Behar, 1996).

Conducting the research: the fieldwork experience

The fieldwork took place during the academic year 2016-2017. Its location was Cyprus where most of my extended family resides. It was divided into four stages, where in each stage I would interview family members of two nuclear families. The families examined at each stage were decided along with the gatekeeper in consideration of the

availability of family members, the number of members per nuclear family, and the ease of access per family (i.e. place of residence).
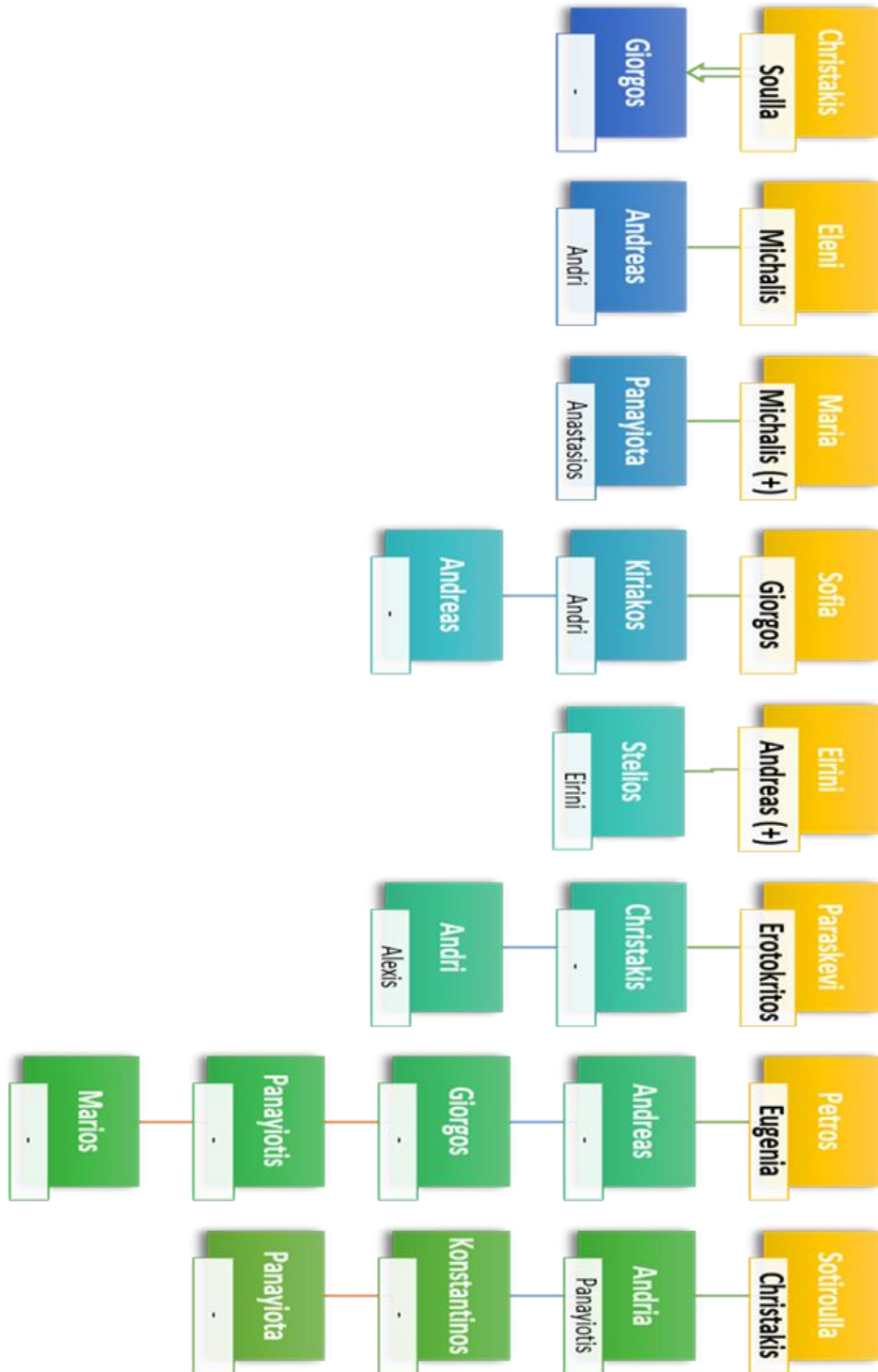
Figure 4: A family tree of my extended family. The names of my mother's nuclear family are in the first row (in yellow), with the names of their spouses in the immediate box below. The names of their children and of their own spouses are in the boxes below (in blue and green).

The first stage of the fieldwork took place in September 2016, during which I collected testimonies from my own family and that of my aunt Sofia, whose family house is located directly next to ours. My mother Paraskevi, uncle Giorgos and aunt Sofia were retired at the time and were home for large parts of the day. I held their interviews with each one individually. My sister Andri used to come to the family home after work to pick up her son who my mother took care during mornings. I interviewed her on one of these afternoons. Likewise, I interviewed my father on an afternoon after he had finished work. I held the interview with my cousin Kiriakos in my family home, during a day in which he had come to pick up his children from his mother who was looking after them. He proposed the above arrangement due to his busy schedule, to which I had no reservations. The interview with my cousin Andreas was held in his own apartment.

The second stage of the fieldwork occurred during January 2017, where I collected testimonies from the families of my aunts Eleni and Eirini. The interviews conducted during this stage of the fieldwork presented the most modifications to the interview setting than any other. Eleni and Michalis were interviewed while they were both present in the room. The interview with their son Andreas took place at his home, with Michalis driving me there, as I had never been to Andreas' house. Andreas' testimony ended up being a family discussion between him, his father Michalis and his wife Andri. Michalis would often 'correct' Andreas' recollections, greatly affecting his narrative, while Andri would often comment on her own experiences as a child of refugees. This family discussion revealed the importance of holding individual generational interviews as Michalis' 'corrections' pervaded Andreas' account, while

Andri's own experiences of displacement often caused her husband's account to go off on a tangent.

The alterations during this stage of the fieldwork continued with the interviews with my aunt Eirini and her son Stelios. These interviews revealed the importance of holding the interviews at the place of residence of the narrators, as my mother had arranged with them for their interviews to take place in our family home rather than theirs. With both Eirini and Stelios, I had difficulty in initiating discussions regarding domestic memorial practices, with my questions feeling a bit 'out of place'. I came to realise then that discussing domestic memorial practices acquires a different meaning depending on the context in which it is situated.

The third stage of the fieldwork took place during March 2017, where I collected testimonies from the families of my aunts Sotiroulla and Maria. Following interviews with Sotiroulla, her two daughters Andria and Panayiota, and my aunt Maria, I decided to interrupt the fieldwork due to my emotional reactions during the interview with the latter. I resolved to collect testimonies by my uncle Christakis and cousin Panayiota during the last stage of the fieldwork. This experience led me to appreciate the psychic power of oral history and acknowledge the emotional luggage that it often carries.

The last stage of the fieldwork took place during September 2017. I had planned to collect testimonies from the families of my uncles Christakis and Petros, hold the two interviews I had to postpone from the previous stage and then cross to the region of Morphou. I collected the testimonies by Christakis and Panayiota, which had been transferred from the previous stage, individually. The testimonies from Christakis'

family were collected in the form of a family discussion at his son's restaurant, as they had informed me that September was a busy period for them, and they would have time only for some hours. The interviews with Petros and his wife Eugenia were conducted in their family home. During his interview, Petros volunteered to accompany me to Morphou and be my guide during the crossing. Out of their four sons, I managed to collect testimonies from two, Andreas and Marios. The interview with Andreas was the only one conducted in a public rather than a domestic environment, as we met in a café in Nicosia after his work. Marios was the only underage participant in the study and for his testimony, I gained consent from him and both his parents. I did not manage to collect testimonies from Giorgos and Panayiotis as the former lives in Lesbos while the latter was unavailable for an interview during the time I was there. The fieldwork was concluded with the crossing to Morphou.

During the few days I had free in Cyprus following all interviews, I could have also interviewed Konstantinos, Sotiroulla's son. The feeling and sense of relief as I turned the recorder off during the interview with Andreas (the last interview conducted) led me, however, to conclude the data collection at that point. The overall fieldwork experience was physically and mentally exhausting. First, the large number of interviews conducted was wearing. Second, the constant alterations to the interview setting by my participants and my inability to enforce it became frustrating. This inability was a supplementary element of the intimate relationship I shared with my participants and was a counterweight to the kind of knowledge produced from the interviews. Last, the kind of confidential and sensitive information (e.g. illegal activity from one of my aunts or details regarding the arranged marriages of two couples),

which I often could not share with anyone, meant that I often had to carry the burden by myself.

A last point of consideration is that, while the fieldwork officially took place during the academic year 2016-2017, it never actually concluded. This ability to return to the fieldwork whenever is perhaps the greatest advantage of conducting research into one's own family. New information can arise from ordinary family discussions, or something missed can draw attention in a regular family visit. Data collection is not simply prolonged, but it never ceases (Taylor, 2011). Approximately six months after the conclusion of the fieldwork, I visited my aunt Eirini at her home. As I was walking through the house, I noticed a sticker stack on my cousin's Stelios former study desk which read '*I ♥ Zwdeia*'. The data collection was, therefore, an ongoing process to the very moment this study was written up.

Data analysis and organisation of thesis

At the end of the fieldwork, I had collected oral testimonies from twenty-five individuals and had performed observations at eight family homes and a crossing to the Morphou region. While twenty-five testimonies were collected, the discussion largely relies on a specific number of interviews. More explicitly, the spouses' interviews were eventually not used very much as the analysis was narrowed down to the experience of displacement of my mother's nuclear family. At the same time however, some testimonies by spouses (i.e. by my father and uncle Giorgos) appear more than testimonies by other spouses, as they were particularly relevant to specific topics. Additionally, most testimonies by the second generation were not detailed enough to

offer adequate insight into their personal meanings of displacement and home. To this end, the study largely relies on two testimonies (i.e. by my sister Andri and cousin Andreas) that were the most elaborate about displacement and its transgenerational effects.

All interviews were recorded with an mp3 recorder and later transcribed in Greek on Microsoft Word documents. The coding of the interviews was conducted through annotation in the Word documents and then I used cross-reference codes (e.g. 'reception', 'house', 'land', etc.) to identify themes that ran across all testimonies (see Appendix G). From thereon, the analysis involved the in-depth and minute exploration of relatively small passages of text in connection to these themes across all testimonies. In addition to this textual analysis, to each annotation on the Word documents were added comments regarding the orality of the text (e.g. punctuation, pace of narrative, pauses, etc.), any interview notes that I had kept regarding my own feelings and reactions towards the narration, and specific biographical information regarding the narrator that had to be considered for the specific theme. Through this supplementary information, the interpretation was expanded to include not only textual analysis but a more psychosocial exploration, with the orality of sources, biographical information of participants and intersubjectivity coming under investigation as well. Before writing up each chapter finally, I would paste all excerpts and analysis relevant for a topic on a different Word document and prepare a paper outline for the writing up.

Since the transcript conventions used for the interviews took in consideration vocal information and prose details (e.g. long pause, voice raise or drop, etc.), these had to

also be presented in the excerpts. In this way, the study recognises Portelli's (2006) assertion that oral histories are first and foremost oral, and the historian should pay attention to aspects such as punctuation, pace of narratives and pauses as much as the text. In the excerpts presented throughout the study, information regarding the orality of narratives are offered in brackets and in italics (e.g. (*information regarding orality*)). In addition, the study also provides transliterations in Greek of some phrases and words; these are marked by square brackets and the text in italics (e.g. [*transliteration*]). In cases where some text is omitted, these are marked with (…). Lastly, any additional information included in the transcripts is marked by ordinary text in square brackets (e.g. [additional information]).

A last point of consideration is that while this data speaks for the subjectivities of the people that elaborated it, it also often stands for wider patterns among Greek Cypriot refugees. As the family typifies the historical process under investigation, the study's conclusions can often be generalised towards general patterns of behaviour, such as the way religion acts as a navigation device in constructing meaning for displacement or the way residential proximity is particularly salient for refugees.

My first effort to draft this study was influenced by my initial understanding of displacement as a linear, sequential process. The subjects of 'flight', 'reconstruction' and 'memory of the village' were thought of as sequential and consecutive. Narratives of displacement, however, could not be linear as displacement itself is not a linear experience. Narratives in relation to the loss of property were entangled with narratives concerning housing arrangements and the descriptions of crossing as a practice of

memory. Narratives of the familial response to the flight were interweaved with the way housing arrangements developed. The overall pre-determined sequence proved inadequate to capture the complexity of narratives of displacement.

A secondary reading of the collected data deduced three sets of new subjects. These were the initial interaction between refugee and non-refugee populations, the influence of displacement on family life, and the relationship between property and belonging. These subjects had however, a very distinct difference between them. Firstly, the initial interaction with the non-refugee population occurred in a period prior to the birth of the children. As a result, they could only have access to it by means of transfer, with the analysis of testimonies adhering to the theoretical framework of intergenerational transmission. Secondly, the influence of displacement on family life was a theme that involved both the transfer of knowledge and lived experiences. The children have lived through the way displacement influenced family relationships and have had an embodied experience of family life. Yet, this lived experience was interwoven with what they had heard from their parents concerning family life prior to the invasion. Lastly, the narratives concerning property and its different meanings were constructed according to a social and cultural context that stresses specific gender relations and expectations of behaviour connected to place. To this end, narratives concerning property by both generations must be seen in the context of cultural norms governing expectations of behaviour and emotional attachment.

The first subject is concerned with the initial interaction with the non-refugee population. Narratives were concerned with both the flight itself as well as the diverse

kinds of behaviours with which historical eyewitnesses were confronted, in the communities in the south. The refugee generation recounted instances of caring and sympathetic behaviour towards them, as well as instances of contempt and/or denigration. Nonetheless, the second generation imagined this reception in a positive light, which indicated the existence of discrepancies between the two sets of testimonies. The chapter resulting from the analysis of this subject investigated both the different drivers of memory (for refugees) and of postmemory (for their children), and the reasons for the apparent discrepancies between the two sets of testimonies.

The second theme is associated with the influence of displacement on family life. The family was the 'first memory', the entry point for the narration of what displacement means for family members, irrespective of generation. The chapter resulting from the analysis of this subject investigates how the two generations understand the influence of displacement on family life in the places of origin as well as its influence on how family life currently takes place. The first part involves an investigation into intergenerational transmission, while the second elaborates on the lived experience of family life. As the chapter argues, displacement acted as a bulwark against pressures of urbanisation post-dislocation, while the current manifestation of family life is recognised as both the result and defence against the pressures of displacement. Additionally, the second generation identified sorts of transmission in their own understanding of family life.

The third subject concerns the relationship between property and belonging. This third subject emerged in relation to two places, the place of residence ('the house') and the

farming land ('the land'), with each idea analysed in different chapters. As these chapters reveal, different sensibilities towards these two properties appear, sensibilities that are correlated to gender relations and transcend generations. The transcendence was connected however, to the culturally defined understanding of space associated with gender and the socially defined roles with which it is related.

Chapter 4. Reception and its cross-generational discrepancies

In their reflections on the anthropological study of forced displacement, Harrell-Bond and Voutira (1992) comment on the adaptation to new and often radically different social and material conditions for both refugees and their hosts. They go on to comment on the assumption by policy-makers that movement 'within a region requires less 'cultural' adjustment' as hosts and displaced populations share a language and a history' (Harrell-Bond and Voutira 1992: 7). Their argument focuses on how such policymakers presuppose that internal displacement mitigates the challenges of exile and decreases the possibility of tensions between displaced populations and their hosts. Harrell-Bond and Voutira's (1992) argument is that a shared culture may alleviate the challenges of exile without eliminating it, but one may question the ability of internal displacement to eradicate the possibility of tension between refugee and non-refugee populations.

This chapter considers the memory and postmemory of a specific characteristic of the overall history of Greek Cypriot displacement. This concerns how Greek Cypriot refugees were initially received in areas in the south that remained under the control of the Republic of Cyprus. The interaction between refugee and non-refugee populations during this period is what I refer to here as 'reception'. In his accounts of Greek Cypriot displacement, Peter Loizos (1981, 2008) has documented various examples of the different ways refugees were received in the south. While he strongly suggests that the

government officially adopted a politics of incorporation in relation to those displaced, the examples he offers throughout his work, portray an image of reception more in agreement with Roger Zetter's argument that Greek Cypriot refugees were 'both insiders and outsiders in the south – incorporated yet excluded' (1999: 3). This is in line with Brubaker's (2010) argument that while those displaced have been well-integrated into the overall Greek Cypriot society, there are certain dimensions by which they remain 'outsiders' (Brubaker, 2010).[7]

This chapter explores the meanings of reception in my extended family, with an emphasis on how personal meanings concerning reception in testimonies by the refugee generation, have been transmitted (or not) to their children. The refugees remembered their interaction with the non-refugee population in a variety of different ways, their narratives detailing instances of both generosity and discrimination. Nonetheless, very few of the children's testimonies contained information about how their parents were received in the south, and those that did, described it in a rather positive light. The argument of this chapter is in the formation of an intergenerational reticence in relation to negative aspects of the experience of reception. The use of the term 'reticence' is meant to denote the unwillingness to speak about an aspect of one's history, despite knowledge and comprehension. Its employment here seeks to capture deficiencies in the way experiences and memories, by the refugee generation related to negative aspects of reception, were handed down to their children. The chapter investigates both the different drivers of memory (for historical eyewitnesses) and of postmemory (for their children), and the reasons for the apparent discrepancies between the two sets of

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[7] Brubaker (2010) refers to the discursive, relational and enactment levels, which will be discussed later.

testimonies. The chapter postulates that, on the one hand, refugees tended not to directly disclose negative aspects of their experience of reception with the aim of cultivating a feeling of belonging in the 'new' Greek Cypriot society for their children. On the other hand, the accounts by the children were characterised by influences of the official discourses, their own biographies, and their interpretation of family dynamics, which shaped how they related to the family's history of displacement.

The reference to official discourses indicates that while the discussion focuses on accounts of reception, one should not overlook that Greek Cypriot displacement occurred in the context of a military assault and occupation by Turkey. In many respects, this assault and its social and cultural understanding has overshadowed all areas of social life on the island ever since. The representation of victimhood (and suffering) in the Greek Cypriot community was evocative of an absence or wound and anticipated a healing 'in a future where all wrongs are set right' (Bryant and Papadakis, 2012: 8). To do so, national identification and the unity of all Greek Cypriots, in the face of the danger that Turkey presented was encouraged (Loizos, 2008; Papadakis, 2008; Bryant, 2012). As Loizos asserted, 'a great deal of what was written and said in Southern Cyprus for many years', depended on 'the story of the victimisation of *all* Greek Cypriots' (2008: 57).

Prior to proceeding with the intergenerational analysis of testimonies by family members, an important point must be raised. As Rebecca Brubaker (2010) argues, while those displaced are well integrated into the overall Greek Cypriot society (through full citizenship, common culture, religion, and language), there are certain

dimensions by which they remain 'outsiders'. These dimensions concern the 'discursive' level, the common patterns of speech and designations describing individuals (i.e. ascribing names such as 'refugee' and 'non-refugee'); the 'relational' level, the patterns of interactions and networks between people; and the 'enactment' level, the ways in which individuals practice their identities (Brubaker, 2010: 5-6). These dimensions of differentiation were enacted by my family members during their testimonies and must be considered in relation to the personal histories of displacement and the level of integration in the Greek Cypriot society in the present.

Lastly, a more in-depth history of the family's period of flight must be offered so the reader is familiar with the events and experiences mentioned. It must be noted nevertheless that this itinerary is faithful to memories by the historical eyewitnesses and may not capture the 'true' experience of flight for the family. On the first night of their flight, the family took refuge in the village of Evrychou, on the mountain hills of Troodos, hosted by a friend of my grandfather. Large parts of the extended family also sought shelter in the same location with two of my grandfather's brothers staying in the same house. Due to the overcrowding, the family stayed in Evrychou only for a night. The next day, family members recall setting off towards Troodos, only to be directed by military guards in the road towards the small village of Sina Oros. In this village, an unknown family hosted them for approximately a month. Their extended kin found shelter in the same village. Following Sina Oros and prompted by his third brother, my grandfather moved his family to the mountain peaks of Troodos, where they squatted in an empty house for some months. At this point, the extended kin seem to have dispersed, as the other families relocated to where each had other relatives.

During the family's stay in Troodos, the Cypriot society resumed its regular functioning. My grandfather found work at the Water Development Department in Nicosia and had to commute daily to work. The three youngest children of the family had not yet finished high school and had to attend one, once those reopened. With the closest school being in Kakopetria, which was along the way to Nicosia, my grandfather and the three children moved to a small house in the village. In Kakopetria, they lived next to the eldest child of the family Christakis, who was married and resided in the village of Astromeritis prior to the invasion. Christakis had fled his house as the Turkish army was advancing and had settled in Kakopetria for some time. As Astromeritis was eventually not occupied by Turkish troops, Christakis returned to his house near the end of November; the entire family followed him soon after. The family initially stayed in Christakis' house for some months and afterwards rented a house in the same neighbourhood. With the mobilization of the government's rehousing programme, the family secured a self-build scheme for a house in Astromeritis. The scheme included concessionary government grants and loans for a property built according to prescribed plans on serviced government land (Zetter, 1991). As both Zetter (1991) and Loizos (2008) assert, this type of arrangement was offered to families who wanted to reside in close density to previous cultural preferences and mirrored pre-1974 housing processes. By the end of 1975, the house had been finished and the family had officially 'relocated' to Astromeritis.

The embodied experience of flight and narratives of reception

Literature concerning integration of refugees has all too often proceeded in the assumption that the more similar the host population is to those displaced, the more likely the latter will be welcomed in the society and a feeling of 'belonging' will emerge (Kunz, 1981; Chimni, 2004). Indeed, during the early stages of Greek Cypriot displacement, many instances of real generosity from the host communities were reported, such as opening their homes to those displaced, sharing school hours, paying higher taxes, etc. (Loizos, 1981; Zetter, 1999; Brubaker, 2010). Nevertheless, while testimonies by the refugee generation in my extended family included many such instances, their narratives of reception were not only confined to experiences of generosity but included also experiences of discrimination and exploitation. This section investigates testimonies by the historical eyewitnesses and the way they reported on their reception in the south. Forty years after their flight, family members spoke in contrasting ways about their reception. What were the drivers for the different ways these memories unravelled and what do these contrasting accounts tell us about the internal aspect of displacement?

This section presents narratives of reception from five testimonies, those by Maria, Sofia, Sotiroulla, Eirini and Petros. Each comprehended reception according to their own mental material, biography, and the stage in the life course when the flight occurred. Additionally, it has to be clarified that my personal knowledge of the flight prior to this research study was limited to fragmented and disjointed stories that I could not piece together to have a complete image of how the family experienced the flight.

To this end, many of the narratives of reception presented hereafter (especially those describing maltreatment), were surprising to me, due to both the official discourse to which I was exposed and my own position in the Greek Cypriot society. Some of my reactions to the narratives, attest to this surprise.

The first testimony to be examined is by my aunt Maria. An important element of her testimony was the use of religious vocabulary to explain diverse incidents throughout her life. Religion has been an aspect of utmost significance in Maria's life, with her understanding of religion being not merely as a way of viewing the world, but as a source of power for the self. During her emotional description of the hardships she endured throughout her husband's sickness and death, she concluded by raising her voice and assertively exclaiming: 'but as I loved God, and I was connected with the divine, I managed to remain standing' (Maria interview: 5). Religion is something she has internalized, and which has led to a feeling of proximity to the divine, both in an emotional and a psychic sense. At the same time however, this religious vocabulary and the personal meanings accompanying it must be contextualised in Greek Cypriot culture and the experience of Greek Cypriot refugees. As Roudometof (2011) describes, the philosophy of life of Easter Orthodox Christianity is integrated into the fabric of Modern Greek identity, establishing the latter as a fixed socio-cultural (even political) identity. For Greek-speaking displaced populations, this philosophy of life attained a conscious and eminent role in the self-understanding and self-image as 'refugee', as it provided a framework which 'gave meaning to particular losses and offered a degree of comfort' (Loizos, 2008: 113; Hirschon, 1988).

In the first excerpt from Maria's testimony, she is responding to the question pertaining to the meanings of 1974 for her and the way she relates to the invasion. Her overall response was an uninterrupted narrative of approximately 40 minutes, where she described first her husband's war experiences and subsequently the family's itinerary of displacement. The following excerpt illustrates the encounter between their own family and that of their hosts in Sina Oros following their redirection by the military towards the small village.

> 'We were in the car and we stopped on a road… and a woman comes and asks me 'would you like to come to my house?' (*Short pause and raises her voice*) We did not know what to say [*den exerame tin a poume*] (*astounded voice*). It was a miracle. It was a miracle indeed (*assertively*). Miss Erasmeia, this was her name, she tells me: 'it's been three, four days that cars filled with people are passing, refugees, but my husband was not allowing me to take them in. (…) Now he has seen that you stopped here and Pantelis [her husband] told me to come to ask you if you would like to come to our house?' (*Short pause*) I have the shivers now that I am remembering it [*sikonete I trixa mou tora pou to thimamai*]. Those people were truly our benefactors. We went… they loved us as if they were our relatives (*assertively*).' (Maria interview: 3)

The story of the host family in Sina Oros was one underlined by the extensive usage of theological vocabulary to describe their hospitality. Outlining Maria's narrative were emotions of appreciation and gratitude for the generosity this family showed towards them. The members of this family, identified by name, were recognised as kind and compassionate, as their 'benefactors'. Maria even interrupted her narration to proclaim

her emotional investment in the kindness showed by the family, stressing that 'she has the shivers in recalling them'. The only way she can then fully capture her appreciation, is by assigning them with a divine characteristic through the term 'miracle'. Religion becomes a navigation device where she constructs meaning for the hardships of displacement and the generosity of this family (Weber, 1991). Through this divine characteristic, Maria brings together her own sense of self and the identity of the host family. The narrative eventually culminates in a declaration of this connection through a re-imagining of their relationship into a familial one: 'they loved us as if they were our own relatives'. The relationship is extended from simply benefactors to relatives.

Reception was, nonetheless, a complex experience for Maria, comprised of diverse encounters with host communities. One such concerned the family's reception in Astromeritis and more precisely her mother's treatment at the packaging factory in the village where she went to seek work. In the following excerpt, she is responding to a question concerning the way her parents experienced displacement.

> 'Your grandmother always had workers (*stutters*)… women to help her. Women in the house to help her wash, women to help her in the orchards. All the time she had workers and… (*Slower pace and voice drops*) [Then] she was going as one [worker] and sometimes they complained about her these 'gentlemen' in Astromeritis and she would come home crying (*tremble in voice*). She went to work in a packaging factory that packed carrots, and that 'gentleman' from Astromeritis … (*interrupts narrative and changes tone of voice*) God rest his soul now, he died [*o Theos na anapafsi tin psixi tou tora, epethane*] … (*reverts to earlier tone of voice*) he saddened her. He told her: 'you should go to the

orchards, do not come in the packaging factory'. And she cried,

she came home crying, your grandmother (*tremble in voice*).'

(Maria interview: 9)

The incident Maria documented was characterised by unfairness and discrimination towards her mother and her farming background, which was directly connected to her identity as a refugee. She described an individual at the packaging factory belittling her mother by suggesting she could only be employed in the orchards, keeping her on the sidelines of a developing labour force. At the same time, this excerpt asserted the social status that the family used to have in their village of origin and the loss of that status from displacement. Maria described how her mother used to have women working for her, affirming the prestige and wealth attached to the family. Displacement brought about the complete alteration to that social position, with her mother being employed for other people, rather than employing others.

Two important elements emerging from the narrative are the projection of the discriminating behaviour towards a generalised 'other' and the namelessness characterising the actors. On the one hand, Maria projected the negative behaviour towards a generalised group of 'gentlemen in Astromeritis', even prior to describing the specific case of discrimination. This pre-emptive projection suggests that other instances of discrimination might have occurred as well in the village. On the other hand, both the description of the case of reception at the packaging factory and the projection to the generalised 'other' are characterised by an ironic namelessness. Maria refers to the individual at the factory as the 'gentleman' despite obviously knowing his identity. The namelessness of all these characters also reveals their role in the story. If

names are embedded with meaning and coded with identity, the ironic emphasis on namelessness meant that Maria purposefully took away the identity of these individuals (Montoya, Vasquez, and Martínez, 2014). The same way they had sought to keep her mother on the sidelines of the labour force and of the community, she had kept them on the sidelines of the story and of the historical record.

The philosophy of life of Orthodox Christianity was something evident in this second excerpt as well, but in an entirely different context. It revealed internal conflicts in how Maria feels about and understands reception in Astromeritis, which I connected with my own emotional reactions during the narrative. In Greek culture, the recitation of the prayer and blessing 'God rest the soul' is a memorial performance carried out when one refers to a deceased person in an everyday environment. As Maria was avidly narrating the kind of discrimination towards my grandmother, she instigated in me a feeling of contempt towards the individual at the packaging factory. When she interrupted her narrative for the religious prayer 'God rest his soul' however, I felt unease in respect of how her narrative had made me feel. The recitation of the prayer felt out of context and difficult to grasp in the surrounding circumstances of its expression. While it fitted the manifestation of her subjectivity, it was a prayer for an individual she was criticising and whom she had narratively guided me to disdain as well. While the prayer was a sign by which she wished to ascertain the image of the spiritual and religiously committed person she has attained throughout her life, this claim of spirituality and selflessness came in the context of condemning this individual for his treatment of refugees and her mother. It was an occasion where the narrative revealed contradictions in how she understands reception and expressed her internal

conflicts towards the latter. While she spoke as a selfless and forgiving Orthodox Christian, she seemed to hold feelings of bitterness and resentment towards the way her mother was treated by the community.

Maria offered opposing accounts to reception, which were characterised by contradictory emotional involvements. Her sister Sofia, conversely, interpreted reception in quite a different way. While her narrative similarly maintained contrasting accounts, these were placed in the context of a reservoir of meanings regarding the condition of the family during the period of flight as opposed to the affluent life in the village prior to displacement and the kind of prosperity they have had following it. In discussing this period of the family history, she often spoke of '*katantia*', a Greek word whose direct English translation would be 'abjection'. Both accounts of reception presented in the excerpts below concentrated on this abject condition of the family, with the interaction between hosts and refugees becoming secondary in terms of significance.

The first excerpt presented, forms part of Sofia's response to a question in relation to her memories of the first day of displacement. While her answer begun from the day of the flight, she eventually continued to describe the family's entire itinerary, up until the construction of the house in Astromeritis. Like the excerpt by her sister Maria, the excerpt below details the initial contact with the family in Sina Oros.

> 'There as we were, a woman came. (*Short pause*) A woman saw
> us and pitied us [*elipithiken mas*]. And she told us 'come I will
> put you in my home'. We went. She gave us a room that woman.
> We put two mattresses on the floor, and we were sleeping [*she

makes a vertical sign with her hand] … vertically. So, we could all fit. Erm… because we were many. We were six siblings, our father and our mother. (*Short pause*) We stayed there for a month more or less. She was a very kind woman (*assertively*), we stayed for a month, her house was good… but (*assertively*) she had put more people in, and she gave one room for each [per family]. And she stayed in a room with her own children. She took her children out of their rooms; she gave a room to us, a room to another family and a room to another family. And she stayed in one room herself. (*Short pause*) We stayed for a month and afterwards… we could not anymore.' (Sofia interview: 2)

Sofia's description of this event lacked the emotional displays of gratitude and appreciation towards the family that distinguished Maria's account. Conversely, what characterised her narrative was an emphasis on the condition of her own family, with various insinuations concerning the state they were before and the state they found themselves in during the flight. With the primary focus of the narrative being the family's suffering and misfortunes, the hospitality by the family and the woman's act of generosity became merely a response, a reaction to the family's inability to take care of their own selves. As Sofia claims, the woman 'pitied them' and invited them in her house. Her wording and expressions indicated that this behaviour became secondary in comparison to the transgression and threatening of the family's state of being. As the narrative unfolded, the benevolent characteristics of the family emerged. Sofia acknowledged their selfless nature, with their generosity even taking precedence over their own comfort (taking her own children out of room to host more families). Nevertheless, and despite this acknowledgment, the description of the family's generosity was narratively interweaved with its consequences. Sofia highlighted that

while this woman was truly kind, to the extent of taking her own children out of their rooms, the resulting overpopulation of the house led to her own family's discomfort. The assertive 'but' that interrupted the narration of this kindness indicated that, while the caring nature of this family was important, Sofia's primary concern lay with the consequences of this kindness and the repercussions towards her own family's well-being.

The second excerpt from Sofia's testimony concerns an experience at the village of Kakopetria, a neighbouring village to Sina Oros. Following a question regarding the social environment after their displacement, she mentioned that Sina Oros was such a small village that it did not even have supermarkets and as such, they had to walk to Kakopetria for any kind of shopping they needed.

> 'We were going to Kakopetria to buy something. We were going, I recall… in a shop (*stutters*)… we needed shoes. And we went to a shop to buy shoes (*voice breaks*). (*Suddenly raises voice*) Since we did not have (*afou den eixame*) (*complaining tone accompanied with an uneasy smile*). And I recall (*short pause*) … whatever old shoes that shop had, it put them out so people [refugees] would buy them (*short pause*) … and in double price (*se diplasia timi*) (*assertively*). They did not even think (*accusatory tone*) that we left, and we did not have any money.'
> (Sofia interview: 3)

What stood out during the above narration was Sofia's sudden assertion of their deprivation and the manner through which this was expressed. This reaffirmation of deficiency through the phrase 'since we did not have' sounded like a confirmation of

the validity of her claims, as if she thought what she was describing was so striking and dramatic that I would challenge its veracity. It seemed that at that moment, Sofia interpreted the family's condition as a break in the perception of the self. This break transcended time and concerned both the affluent state of the family prior to displacement but also the current financial success she perceived the family to have in the present.

Sofia was, however, quick to change the tone of her narrative, with the specific features of the reception in Kakopetria emerging. This reception was characterised by instances of exploitation by the host community. She narrated about the selling of old stock and the increase in prices, being critical of the way these shop-owners tried to exploit refugees. Nonetheless, like the description of the reception by the family in Sina Oros, what is significant for Sofia is not the exploitation itself but the hopeless condition in which refugees and her family found themselves. When she raised her voice assertively, she was not accusing these shop-owners of simply exploitation but of the non-recognition of the hopeless state they were. The type of interaction between hosts and refugees became supplementary information in relation to the condition of the family. In a similar, yet more aggravated manner to her sister Maria then, this understanding of reception is eventually expressed in the projection of the behaviour of these shop-owners to the village itself, accusing 'it' of exploitation and discrimination. The excerpt below presents Sofia's closing statement to the same question.

> 'It was certainly (*short pause*) … and Kakopetria, it tried
> whatever old [products] it had, their shops, their supermarkets, to

sell to the people [refugees] (*assertively*)… and very expensive (*assertively*). Very expensive. And they did not even think [*kai oute na skeftoun*] (*aggressive tone of voice and lost for words*) … Our village were very affluent families. We had; we were not poor (*short pause*). (*Continues from earlier sentence*) that we needed their pity and they should have helped us. They simply wanted to gain on our backs [*pano sti rashi mas*], to gain more money for themselves.' (Sofia interview: 4)

During this narration, Sofia showed signs of frustration towards the shop-owners of Kakopetria for the way they treated refugees. These emotions were explicitly expressed in the sentence 'and they did not even think', which was communicated through a hostile tone of voice and was abruptly interrupted by her unwillingness to continue. Her frustration was displayed in her conviction that these villagers did not empathise with their loss but responded to it with greed and avarice. At this point, Sofia points to the status that the family had in their village of origin and her disbelief towards the response by the villagers. She found this response extremely difficult to comprehend, even forty years afterwards. These emotions of frustration and resentment became manifest in the way she relocated them on to an abstract 'it' that represented the community of the village (Bollas, 2017). As she maintained, ''it' tried, whatever old 'it' had' to sell'. This was an instance of psychological projection, where the threatening aspects of the entire community and Sofia's own emotions about their treatment, were projected towards a constructed object (Segal, 1986).

The third testimony presented in this section is by my aunt Eirini. Eirini is also a widow, as her husband Andreas passed away in 2015. During the interview, I was concerned

about her emotional reactions whenever Andreas became visible in the story, as his death had occurred only two years previously. Nonetheless, she managed to keep her composure in discussing him throughout the interview, despite Andreas' role and that of his family being quite visible in the narrative of reception. The following two excerpts are part of her response to a question regarding the meaning of displacement for her family. They document the role of her marriage in the kind of hardships her family faced with displacement. More precisely, the excerpts focus on the act of gossiping by elderly female villagers and the way it affected Eirini's capacity to start her family.

> 'I, okay, (*short pause*) Andreas took me as wife. It was a village and they were saying to my mother-in-law (*imitates irreverent tone of voice*) 'You took in the refugee [*epeires tin prosfiga*] [in this context, the phrasal verb 'take in' denotes 'allow to marry'] and she has nothing'. And my mother-in-law was listening to them (*assertively*). And they told her (*imitates irreverent tone*) 'they won't give you land so you can build'. (*Short pause and continues in explanatory tone of voice*) Andreas already owned land for a house, his own. (*Reverts back to irreverent tone*) 'They won't give you help so you can build'. And my mother-in-law responded to them. (*Short pause*) You know, these old grandmothers who sit in alleys and gossip (*explanatory tone of voice*). My mother-in-law responded, 'if they do not give her, we will build the house' [*tha to ktisoume emeis*].' (Eirini interview: 7)

The act of gossiping is understood in this context as an act of discrimination. For Eirini, this slander targeted her marriage to a villager and opposed the actual integration

between refugee and non-refugee populations. It was intended as a demarcation of the boundaries between the two groups and objected to any efforts towards their integration. For these elderly female villagers, inter-marriage was something to be avoided, for it would place their co-villagers in a disadvantageous position. Their beliefs concentrated on the fact that the bride's family were unable to fulfil their cultural obligations to provide for a house for the new household. While the content of this gossiping was discriminatory, an additional familiarity with Cypriot rural culture indicates that the demarcation of the community appears also in the gossiping's performative act. While the gossip's content was Eirini and her marriage to Andreas, its direction was Eirini's mother-in-law, a villager of the same community, one that these women considered an 'insider'. The right to gossip and participate in the discussion lies only with her mother-in-law. In this sense, gossiping serves to mark off membership of the group, differentiating 'insiders' from 'outsiders' (Gluckman, 1963). The demarcation of the community through gossiping concerned therefore, not only the content of the gossip but also amongst whom it was performed.

Following this description of the gossiping in the village, Eirini switched to discuss the arrangements between her own family and of Andreas in relation to the construction of a house. She recounts that, following her marriage, she applied to the Governmental Service for state assistance towards the construction, only for the application to be denied. In the second excerpt below, she reflects on her father asking for the reasons of this denial and the response he received from the Service.

> '… your grandfather went to ask (*short pause*) why they did not
> give us any help from the Service, and they responded: 'but her

mother-in-law said that she will build the house for her. Why do you need the help?' (*Raises tone of voice in anger*) They went and betrayed [*epeian kai eprodosan*] (*assertively*) what my mother-in-law said to them… somebody went and told it inside [to the Service]. And your grandfather came and said to me: 'did your mother-in-law say such thing? That if they do not give assistance, they will build the house by themselves'. I told him: 'I don't know, I will ask her (*loud and expressive voice*). I don't know, she did not tell me anything.' And I went and I asked her (*tone of voice drops and talks in a respectful voice*): 'Mother, have you said anything to anyone that if we do not get assistance you will built the house? That you have money and you will build the house?' She says to me (*continues very assertively*): 'yes I have told them. What, will I leave them to make fun of me?' [*enna tes afiko na me peripezoun?*]' (Eirini interview: 7-8)

What emerged from the second excerpt of Eirini's narrative of reception were both the definition of the act as 'betrayal' as well as the act by Eirini's mother-in-law. On the one hand, the violation of the presumptive unity that should have characterised the community in this moment of difficulty was for her inexplicable. Eirini's initial narrative was underlined by her belief that these elderly women misled her mother-in-law and even misguided the Governmental Service, all at the expense of her own welfare. Their actions left her without any form of assistance towards the construction of her family house and reliant on the family of her husband. On the other hand, Eirini portrays a respect and appreciation towards Andreas' family, particularly the mother-in-law, through the changes in her tone of voice as she imitates their discussion. These changes attest to the high regard she has of her mother-in-law's actions and the way the cultural norm of honour is interweaved with these actions. As many anthropological

works on Greek culture describe, honour does not demonstrate an individualistic behaviour or a condition of social isolation; 'on the contrary, by the very insistence on having respect paid, one is exhibiting conformity to a socially sanctioned ideal' (Herzfeld, 1980c: 341). Eirini's description of her mother-in-law is an affirmation of her respect towards her and towards the insistence of having respect paid. While this insistence was towards the elderly women of the village, the affirmation of honour was typically associated with men. Eirini's narrative, thus, is related to gender and power in the rural setting of Astromeritis.

Nevertheless, Eirini's narrative of reception as depicted above must be situated in the context of her biography. The community of Astromeritis has been a community into which she was married, where she raised her son in and where she still resides. Some level of emotional involvement in the community inevitably emerged. This emotional involvement was symbolically manifested through the role of the mother-in-law and her importance throughout the narrative. While a woman from the same community and participating in the communal affairs that discriminated against Eirini (gossiping), she still defended and treated her with love and care. The mother-in-law seemed to compensate for the discriminatory aspect of gossiping from the elderly women. Eirini's account of reception, thus, integrated different experiences of interaction with the non-refugee population. She acknowledged a plurality in the kinds of interaction, an inevitability of demarcation due to the fundamental alteration of the social environment, as well as a generous welcoming having the capacity to undermine any instances of discrimination. The support by Andreas' family and the large period she has lived there, have led to the establishment of relationships in the community and a

feeling of belonging, even after Andreas' death. These integrated accounts of reception were meant therefore, to facilitate the positioning of her identity as part of the community.

The diverse accounts to reception characterising all the testimonies presented until now were also observed in the testimony by the youngest amongst the siblings, Sotiroulla. Sotiroulla was one of the three children who had to attend the high school in Kakopetria with its reopening and had to move to the village with her father. The following excerpt forms part of her response to a question concerning the experience of displacement. It involved many descriptions befitting a teen's account, one of which concerned attending high school.

> 'Middle of October school started, and we had to go to school. Your uncle Petros, your mom and I (*lively tone*). (…) And grandfather Andreas was working in Nicosia. (…) We had to rent a house also (*stutters*)… in Kakopetria so we could go easier to school. (…) And we were going to school (*animated tone*). The only problem in school was that (*pace of narrative becomes slower and tone of voice drops*) we, refugees, had to go only during the afternoon. Locals were supposed to go during the morning and us during the afternoon and night. (*Reverts back to ordinary tone of voice*) Later because the Principal was a refugee. 'No', he told them, (*affirmatory tone of voice*) 'we will do one week morning we will go and one week afternoon. You will not be going [in the morning] only you'. And we were going one week during the morning and one week during the afternoon.' (Sotiroulla interview: 4)

Sotiroulla's narrative of reception had similar contradictions to her sisters' accounts. On the one hand, she understood the community of the village as self-centred and discriminatory, considering only their own comfort at the expense of refugees. She constructed her narrative on the presumption that from the moment school started, the locals were selfish to the extent that they wished for their children to attend school in the morning with refugee children having to attend in the afternoons and evenings. Her narrative had an element of restlessness towards the discomfort and uneasiness this arrangement brought about. On the other hand, Sotiroulla accounted for the denial of this discrimination and an occasion where an individual stood up for refugee children and defended them. This individual was the school's Principal, who identified displacement as part of the reality of the school and did not allow the continuation of discrimination. Sotiroulla's narrative idealised and strongly identified with him through a process of 'labelling', where the agency in denying discrimination was assigned to his identity as a 'refugee' rather than as a characteristic of his subjectivity. While, therefore, the account of reception identified by Sotiroulla documented discrimination, it also reported on its denial and defence for refugee children by one of their own.

Sotiroulla's account of reception in the school contradicted reports concerning host communities willingly sharing school hours with refugees (Brubaker, 2010). Her narrative rather presented reception in the school by dividing the actors of the story. The 'heroes' were the refugee children and the Principal, as both were identified by their common identity as refugees. The 'antagonist' was the host community that sought to discriminate against the children. This interpretation had elements of a

psychological splitting, a process by which 'good' is separated from the 'bad' with the intention of keeping the 'good' uncontaminated (Segal, 1992). Contrary to her elder sister Eirini, Sotiroulla failed to bring together the diverse experience of reception and proceeded in a complete splitting of the Greek Cypriot society.

While all narratives of reception by historical eyewitnesses seen up to now asserted a differentiation from the Greek Cypriot society on a variety of different levels, one specific testimony stood out for its non-adherence to this norm. This was the testimony by my uncle Petros, which was underscored by what he perceived as a trustworthy and credible source, the discourse of the Social Democratic Party (EDEK) of which he is a member (Van Dijk, 2001). EDEK's discourse has been quite critical of the political choices Greek Cypriots have made during the latter half of the 20th century, a criticism that was reflected in Petros' overall testimony (Mavratsas, 1997). Notwithstanding this criticism, the Party's rhetoric never abandoned the idea of national unity against the external enemy, Turkey. In his account of Greek Cypriot refugees, Loizos describes a socialist rally in 1974 and the rhetoric employed by an EDEK politician:

> 'They all faced a bitter struggle, he told them, but the position of Cypriot refugees was not a matter of 'human misfortune', or a turn of fate, but a pre-mediated crime – attempted genocide. This the Greek Cypriots would militantly oppose, refusing both to be demoralised and to be divided into 'refugees' and 'non-refugees' (Loizos, 1981: 138-139).

Similar semantic contours underlined Petros' narrative of reception. More specifically, his account sought to generalise the reception they received in Sina Oros as a meta-

ethical position of national unity for the entire Greek Cypriot society. In the following excerpt, he is responding to a question in relation to life in the village during the period between the two phases of the invasion. After a short description of the emotional regime of the period however, he jumped to the second phase of the invasion, their flight from Zodhia and their search for shelter.

'There were some people who put us in their house. (*Continues by reflecting on the experience*) And it is spectacular and remarkable because, us, I think we might not have done it. It was the house of a man that had a family with three children. He had two bedrooms, the man (*short pause*) … a small sitting room, and a kitchen. That was his house (*assertive tone*). And he had a large storeroom in the back that had sheep inside or something. For an entire day, he stood cleaning the storeroom. He took the sheep out or what he had. He cleaned. (*Continues in assertive tone and with raised voice*) And what did he do? He went to live with his family in the back and he gave us the house. (*Extended pause*) What does this mean (*rhetorical question, with body leaning forward and voice acquiring a lecturing tone*)? That people in Cyprus have human decency [*anthropia*] (*assertively*).' (Petros interview: 4)

The features characterising Petros' account of reception were the role of the man and the remarkable hospitality by this family. On the one hand, Petros' account was the only one focusing on the hospitality of the man rather than of the woman, associating reception to the patriarchal system of ideas that defined Cypriot society of the time. While elements of this patriarchal system were evident in Maria's narrative as well (the woman had to gain permission from her husband to host the family), Petros' narrative granted agency to the man of the house that none of his sisters' narratives did. On the

other hand, Petros' description of the house of their host was highlighted by an acknowledgement that, while the family was not affluent, their hospitality was beyond remarkable. This was ascertained by his reflections on the likelihood that his family would have proceeded to such kind of hospitality had they been in a similar position. In concluding his description of this family's hospitality lastly, he noted that they even went out of their own house and offered it to them. What followed this description was a rhetorical question over the meaning of the family's hospitality. The articulation of this rhetorical question was marked by his voice acquiring a lecturing tone, as if the information to be provided was to be unquestionable. This information concerned the generalisation and extension of the behaviour of the specific family towards the entire Greek Cypriot population, establishing it as typical and as norm. This typicality was formulated with the term 'human decency', a term denoting a meta-ethical position applying for the entire population. The term sought to confirm the solidarity between refugee and non-refugee populations and declare it as a general truth. It adhered to the political rhetoric identified above by verifying the morality of Greek Cypriots and their determination to fight collectively against displacement. It is a term that asserts that Greek Cypriots were anything but 'demoralised', with the interaction between refugees and non-refugees characterised by decency and rapport.

The accounts of reception seen in this first section, have portrayed different efforts by narrators to position their identities in the Greek Cypriot society, both discursively and in the relationships constructed. On the one hand, the language employed was characterised by a dichotomy between 'refugees' and 'hosts', despite the different kinds of reception designated. The benevolent family in Sina Oros, the factory owner,

the elderly women in Astromeritis, or the shop owners in Kakopetria were all categorised as 'hosts' and were differentiated from the 'refugee' self. On the other hand, the subjective positioning of identities manifested itself in different ways in the narratives. Petros' identity as a refugee did not contradict or in any way challenge the one as a Greek Cypriot in the post-1974 society. Sofia's account of reception was absorbed in the condition of her family, without establishing any sort of relationship with any other actor in the story. Sotiroulla by contrast, proceeded to split her experience and assert her identity as a refugee. Eirini sought to negotiate her own position in the village community by integrating the types of reception she encountered. Maria lastly, while presenting opposing accounts of reception, showed signs of bitterness towards the way her family was treated following displacement.

These subjective positions of identity and the dimensions of differentiation enacted are related to the extent of integration and the perception of belonging in the Greek Cypriot society. Eirini sought to negotiate the positioning of her identity due to her emotional involvement in the community of Astromeritis. Sotiroulla seemed to be the sibling least willing to identify with the rest of the Greek Cypriot society. Petros' testimony was the one where differentiation between refugee and non-refugee populations was the weakest and the identification with the general Greek Cypriot society the strongest. Nonetheless and like the rest of the testimonies by the refugee generation, it represented the different experiences of refugees and the diverse ways through which they position themselves in relation to the present-day realities of Cyprus. Roger Zetter (1999) had argued that refugees were both insiders and outsiders in their host communities, at times guests - or outcasts - and at times members. Based on the narratives of reception

by the refugee generation, this uneven and perplexing social position still underpins self-identities to this day.

(Re)constructing reception: postmemories of the interaction between refugee and non-refugee populations

The second section of this chapter will consider the extent to which the personal meanings of reception, by the historical eyewitnesses, were transmitted to their children. The chapter investigates the different drivers that shaped the postmemories by the second generation and the way these descendants relate to their parents' histories. The section presents testimonies by my cousins Panayiota, Maria's daughter; Kiriakos, Sofia's son; Andria, Sotiroulla's daughter; and Stelios, Eirini's son. Testimonies by Petros' sons unfortunately contained little to no information in relation to the subject of reception. Nonetheless, the testimonies presented epitomise the different ways the second generation constructed and imagined the reception in accordance to diverse drivers of postmemory, on occasion biographical, on occasion sociological and political.

In order to locate these drivers of postmemorial reconstruction, one must contextualise them within the mechanisms of memory transmission that followed 1974. Roger Zetter has contended that the response to displacement by Cypriot refugees 'was to dedicate their physical, emotional and cultural energy… to their children' (1999: 14). Refugees placed their attention to their children and in guaranteeing for their success in every possible level. A common proverb heard from refugees was that 'they wanted to give to their children what they themselves were deprived of'. This included amongst other,

material items, leisure activities and educational opportunities that were provided despite the deprivation such provision often created for the refugee generation. Following 1974 for example, demand for education increased rapidly, with the number of Greek Cypriots attending school increasing to 94% in 1986 as opposed to 75% in 1960 (Solsten, 1991). Tertiary education vastly improved, with approximately 88% of secondary school graduates in the 1980's enrolling for university education (Solsten, 1991). As Zetter (1999) states however, concentrating on the future often meant that refugees avoided direct references to their losses or any difficult experiences during their flight and interaction with the non-refugee population. Family life among refugee families was characterised by a future-oriented rhetoric. As Bar-On (1995) has shown in relation to Jewish families, however, the avoidance of communicating difficult experiences produces a sort of silence and silencing in relation to such experiences: parents did not talk, and children did not ask. In the case of Greek Cypriot refugees, parents did not talk of experiences of maltreatment and the children seemed ignorant about such experiences. Additionally, the official discourse these children were exposed, propagated the national unity of the entire Greek Cypriot community against Turkey.

The first testimony to be examined is the one by Panayiota, Maria's daughter. Panayiota's interview took place in the kitchen of her house, with her children regularly intruding on the conversation. The following excerpt forms part of her response to a question in relation to her knowledge regarding her parents' respective displacements. She began her narrative referring to some information regarding her father's war experiences and then shifted to discuss the flight of her maternal family.

'For my father until here. Erm, after (*hesitates to continue*)… that period the first after displacement [she meant flight], it did not occur [*den etiche*] that I discuss it, even with my aunts (*continues with a somewhat detached tone of voice*) or to learn either where they went or how they ended up. For my mother I know (*assertively*) that they gathered them, they went, they left… They did not get anything apart from a bag with some silverware. That they went in Sina Oros near Evrychou. (*Short pause and stutters*) They stayed in a house in Sina Oros. (…) That they stayed afterwards in Troodos. That they went down to Astromeritis. Okay, basically it was this; the how they became refugees.' (Panayiota interview: 2)

In discussing reception, Panayiota began her narrative with a self-assuring tone that, although it acknowledged her limited knowledge of the family's displacement, wished to ascertain at the same time that she had no liability towards this lack of knowledge. This waiver of responsibility became evident with the phrase 'it did not occur', placing accountability for the lack of such knowledge in the (lack of) private culture of remembering within her extended family (Welzer, 2008). As she claims, 'it did not occur' to discuss the first period of the flight with any of her aunts, which resulted in her having only a very abstract knowledge of this period. Nonetheless, traces of intergenerational transmission were evident in her narrative, as Panayiota was able to account for the villages in which the family took shelter as well as the fact that they had left with just a bag of silverware (something corroborated through testimonies by historical eyewitnesses). While elements of the family's experience of reception were present in Panayiota's narrative, these were accompanied by an urge to distance herself

from a mode of relevance, a way of relating her own personal meanings and identity, to the history of displacement of the family.

Panayiota seemed to oversimplify the family's experience of reception in an effort to distance herself from the family's entire history of displacement (Bar-On, 1995). While elements of intergenerational transmission were evident in her narrative of reception, she de-emphasised any knowledge she might have had by claiming she had not been exposed to in-depth information regarding that first period of displacement. Additionally, she sought to waive any responsibility for this absence of information by blaming the private culture of remembering and its deficiency. This oversimplification of the experience of reception followed however, other instances in her testimony where Panayiota tried to distance herself from the family's history of displacement. She had offered for example, the following flat response to the first question regarding her personal meanings of 1974: 'You mean to describe what my mother told me. From my mother. As I did not live them' (Panayiota interview: 1).[8] Similar to her description of reception, Panayiota's response here was an effort to distance herself from the relevance of displacement for her identity. To this end, she oversimplified elements of the family's history of displacement, including the experience of reception. This oversimplification and efforts to distance herself indicated that Panayiota has not managed to find a way of relating her identity to the family's history of displacement and has remained quite distant from it.

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[8] Another occasion where Panayiota tried to distance herself from the family's history of displacement was through her comment that while her mother believes that her father's sickness was due to his war experiences and pain of uprootedness, for her 'there can be no proof of such claim' (Panayiota interview, 1).

Panayiota's narrative of reception pointed to a difficulty of relating her identity to the family's history of displacement. A different relevance to the latter appeared however, in the testimony by my cousin Andria, Sotiroulla's daughter. Andria's narrative of reception designated that she was capable of developing a mode of relevance to the family's history, at the same time as it made evident the avoidance of historical eyewitnesses to communicate difficult experiences regarding their interaction with the non-refugee population. In the following excerpt, Andria is responding to a question regarding her knowledge of the environment of her parents following displacement.

> 'My mother, from what I remember, they went on the mountains and were wandering for some days in the mountains, (*continues assertively*) but in houses. They stayed in houses; they were hosted. Erm (*hesitates to continue*) … I do not remember that good, but from what she told me, because our aunts had houses on this side, and uncle Christakis, and aunt Eleni and aunt Maria; no aunt Maria did not have (*immediately recants*). They were in the houses of first-degree relatives. Later they rented some houses until they built the house that they stayed (*stutters*) some years later in Astromeritis. This I remember. She told me of course that they were hosted by good families and they laid them beds on the floor and they slept. And many relatives together, not only the family of my mother… This is what I remember for my mother (*assertively*).' (Andria interview: 2)

Andria's narrative of reception incorporated many elements of stories heard by the refugee generation regarding their interaction with the non-refugee population. Many of Andria's aunts and her mother, spoke about hosts laying beds on the floor for the family to sleep on or of the extended family struggling to maintain a sense of coherence

during this first phase of displacement. What however, stood out in Andria's account of reception was the sentence by which she initiated her response. This first sentence not only confirmed an intergenerational transfer of knowledge but also an ability to differentiate between the experiences of flight for her parents. This confirmation and differentiation came in the form of Andria's emphasis on how her mother's family had stayed 'in houses hosted by other people'. The assertive 'but' that preceded this description of her mother's flight stood as juxtaposition and differentiation from the experience of her father Christos. My uncle Christos had fled from his village Assia all by himself, separated from his family members and had lived for several months in a temporary campsite for refugees in Larnaca. Andria's emphasis on her mother's family 'staying in houses' indicated that a private form of communication about their respective displacements did take place and that she was able to differentiate between the two.

Nonetheless, apart from the portrayal of knowledge regarding the experiences of flight of her parents, Andria's narrative also reflected the mechanism of intergenerational transmission in Greek Cypriot families. The refugee generation tended not to disclose any negative aspects of their reception to their children in order to guarantee their full integration in the Greek Cypriot society and a feeling of hope and trust. While my aunt Sotiroulla had strongly identified a discriminating experience at the school in Kakopetria, Andria's narrative had concentrated on descriptions of 'good families', with the adjective 'good' assigning a moral quality that is welcoming towards refugees. Consequently, Andria's understanding of reception was characterised by a filtering of the experience of reception that took place within the private culture of remembrance.

As such, while Andria's extensive knowledge in relation to her parents' experiences showed that she was capable of developing a relevance to their histories of displacement, this relevance was filtered by the non-communication of any negative experiences of the interaction between refugee and non-refugee populations.

A different attitude towards reception characterised the testimony by Kiriakos, Sofia's son. Kiriakos' interview took place at my family home, on an afternoon where he had come to pick up his children from his mother who looks after them during the week. As the interview was conducted at about 7.00 pm on a Thursday evening, it was to no surprise that it was the shortest interview in the entire study. Knowing that both he and his children would have been tired and with his house being approximately a 40-minutes' drive, I consciously did not push for further elaborations during the testimony. Nevertheless, an excerpt from his testimony captures in detail how the absence of intergenerational transfer of knowledge was often filled through the influence of the official public discourse. The following excerpt represents a discussion during the interview, with the first question focusing on his knowledge about his parents' displacement.

> **K:** 'That which I know is that in 1974 (*hesitates to continue*) there
> was an invasion of the Turks in Cyprus and (*short pause*) many
> of our compatriots [*sinpatriotes mas*] were displaced from their
> villages and their towns. Due to the war of course (*assertively*).
> They were forced to abandon their (*hesitates to continue*) lands,
> their father lands [*ta patria edafi*] … and they came to the free
> areas [*stis eleftheres perioxes*]. A Dead Zone was created. And
> until 2004 not one of us, Greek Cypriot, could have gone to the

Turkish-held areas [*Tourkokratoumenes perioches*], the 'so called' (*in challenging tone of voice*). And in 2004 when they opened the checkpoints and there is (*stutters*) a conventional communication.'

C: 'Do you know anything about their environment after their flight?'

K: 'I know that they lived very difficult (*short pause*), very difficult years. More specifically, my father I think he told me… (*interrupts narrative and raises voice*) my mother also of course, that they left with the clothes they had on them (*assertively*). And they stayed; they were hosted (*assertively*) in houses of different people in the free areas. Who from their good discretion they hosted them free (*assertively*).' (Kiriakos interview: 1)

Kiriakos started his narrative with the phrase 'that which I know', proclaiming that his knowledge around this topic is limited, not allowing any room for follow-up questions. What followed this confirmation was a redirection of his narration towards an abstract historical reconstruction heavily influenced by the official public discourse. Examples of this influence were an emphasis on the collective self as the victim of Turkish aggression, and a reference to the southern territories of Cyprus as 'the free areas' and to the northern territories as 'Turkish-held'. On the one hand, the collective self is identified with the reference to 1974 being an event that a 'lot of our compatriots' had to endure, with Greek Cypriots constructed as a singular victim of Turkish aggression. Additionally, he claimed that no Greek Cypriot, 'us', could cross to the other side up until 2004. On the other hand, the references to 'free' and 'Turkish-held' areas relate to the political and diplomatic aspect of the official discourse. As Bryant (2012) discusses, the constant reference to the northern areas of the island as 'occupied' was

a means through which the self-proclaimed 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' was discursively denied existence. Kiriakos' initial answer was thus, heavily influenced by the rhetoric of the official public discourse.

Following this abstract historical reconstruction, I recall being frustrated with the way Kiriakos' narrative lacked any connection to the familial history. I decided to ask a question that was specifically directed towards the experience of reception and his parents' environment following their flight. As he began answering the question, he sought to assert elements of intergenerational transmission from his parents. He spoke about his father and mother discussing leaving with nothing, and assertively proclaimed that different people hosted them 'for free'. What was clearly an element of intergenerational transfer of knowledge, however, was infused with the modern understanding of life in the urban, capitalist Greek Cypriot society and the unity of all Greek Cypriots proclaimed by the official discourse. As he sought to corroborate and verify the latter, he defined the hospitality he described in its commercial aspect, narrowing its focus on the economic dimension. By stating that hosts hosted refugees 'for free', denying for themselves the basic element of hospitality, he sought to substantiate the unity amongst all Greek Cypriots. To reject any remuneration for hospitality became the ultimate proof of the unity amongst the Greek Cypriot community.

Kiriakos' account of reception was characterised by both a simplification of the family's history of displacement, as well as an insertion of information from the official public discourse and his lived experience of the social world of a modern, capitalist

economy (Zetter, 1999). This resulted in his attitude towards an aspect of his parents' past to be highly correlated to general/public attitudes towards the present (Bar-On, 1995), the latter connected both to his lived experience and to his exposure to the official discourse and political symbolism. Born and raised in what appeared to him a fully integrated Greek Cypriot society and influenced by the social and political situation in which he grew up, he could only imagine a kind of reception that ascertained this perception. While his mother had fervently described instances of exploitation, this knowledge seemed to be subsumed by his insertion of external information and his own lived experience. The way Kiriakos narrated the family's history and experience of reception was merely a means of positioning and defining his place in the present-day reality of Cyprus (Bar-On, 1995).

The last account concerning reception by a second generation is by Stelios, Eirini's son. Stelios' account of reception was guided by his reflections about the positioning of the self, his identity and the role of the village of Astromeritis in his life. It is an account that largely reflects the complexity of growing up in the post-1974 Greek Cypriot society for descendants who have intimate relationships with members from both refugee and non-refugee populations. The following discussion took place following a question on whether his mother had talked to him about the period of the flight.

> **S:** 'Very few things Christo (*assertively*). What did she tell me?
> She told me that they had hard times. That they all slept in one
> room. So, think about how they were; they were all one on top of
> the other [*o enas pano ston allo*] (*explanatory tone of voice*). (…)

In the beginning, they rented I believe (*hesitates to continue*) or they hosted them in the beginning. From what I remember, she told me. They hosted them in Astromeritis and afterwards they gave them a house from the government, that which grandmother had, and they were staying.'

C: 'That house, do you remember how it happened and they went in?'

S: 'No, she did not tell me such details (*assertively*). I just know that they stayed; they were hosted in the Cultural Centre by *Astromethkianoi* [villagers from Astromeritis]. (*Continues assertively*) I do not know whether they rented it out to them, or they hosted them. In the beginning, I think they hosted them, afterwards they rented, something like this. I am not entirely sure though.' (Stelios interview: 1-2)

Stelios initiated his narrative of reception wishing to affirm a lack of in-depth knowledge due to an insufficiency of a private culture of remembering. Nonetheless, his response did not show a complete apathy towards the family's experience of reception. He tried to reconstruct some elements of this experience, but his reconstruction was quite confusing and blurred. He tried to identify the kind of hospitality they received but he was unclear whether the family had rented or whether they were hosted somewhere. Despite this obscurity in terms of the family's history of displacement, Stelios did show signs of a mode of relevance to his mother's flight. He challenged me to imagine the way they were all sleeping in one room and rationalised about 'sleeping on top of each other'. His tone of voice and explanations suggested that he comprehended that this period was quite difficult for them, while he was able to locate its relevance in the general history of the family.

A prominent aspect of Stelios' narrative of reception was the role of the village of Astromeritis. Stelios was born and raised in the village, with his father's side coming from there. As such, he was emotionally invested in its community. The previous section portrayed how his mother Eirini presented opposing accounts about her reception in Astromeritis but proceeded in integrating these and recognising that she was exposed to both compassionate and discriminating behaviour. These integrated accounts of reception facilitated the positioning of her identity in a community where she has managed to establish relationships. Stelios' narrative of reception demonstrated a similar attitude towards reconstructing the experience of reception of refugees in the village. The most obvious example was his comment about the family being hosted in the Cultural Centre in Astromeritis, which was only built in 1993 and thus, did not exist in 1974-75. Stelios' elaboration of reception was an imaginative account seeking to present reception in a positive light, in line with his ideas about the self and the position of the village in his life. Through his account, Stelios reconstructed his story of creation. Refugees represented his mother while the community of the village represented his father. What Stelios is narrating is the way the two parts of his sense of self came together, with the account representative of a scenario of how his father and his side of the family welcomed his mother and her family. Lastly, as a person who consciously identifies with the community of the village, to imagine any negative characteristic for it would have deeply damaged his own conception of self.

In analysing Stelios' narrative, I understood that his mode of relevance to the family's history was like mine prior to this research. I had not any detailed knowledge regarding my mother's experience of reception in the village of Astromeritis (where also my

father is from), but I could not imagine it in any negative way. My father's whole family came from the village, while a positive outlook characterised my experience of the extended family life there. To this extent, Stelios' narrative of reception is one that reflects the complexity of growing up in the post-1974 Greek Cypriot society, having intimate relationships with members from both the refugee and non-refugee populations. Despite the absence of an in-depth knowledge of the family's whereabouts in the immediate period of their flight, he recreated the experience of reception in line with his own identity. In this sort of connection to the family's history, reception could only be reconstructed in a positive light. Despite the absence of any thorough knowledge regarding his mother's experience, Stelios' postmemorial reconstruction allowed him to develop a partial mode of relevance to the experience of reception and the family's history of displacement.

The analysis in this section has shown that the narration of reception is connected to whether the second generation has found a mode of relevance to the family's history of displacement and their own position in the post-1974 Greek Cypriot society. Andria and Stelios showed an ability to connect their own lives and identities with this history and the experience of reception for their parents. Each had of course a quite different level of knowledge and understanding of this experience, but nonetheless their postmemorial reconstructions involved the family's history of displacement and related it to their identities. Kiriakos simplified the family's history and inserted in his narrative a variety of information from the official discourse and his lived experience in a modern capitalist society. His narrative of reception was correlated to perceptions of the present and thus was a means by which he defined his place not according to the family's

history of displacement but in line with the present-day reality of Cyprus. Lastly, Panayiota's narrative of reception oversimplified the history of displacement of the family and tried to distant herself from it. She seemed to have difficulties in locating a mode of relevance in connection to the experience of reception and to her family's history of displacement.

Despite these differences, a common denominator in all narratives of reception by the second generation was the absence of any negative descriptions of the interaction between refugee and non-refugee populations. If their parents had offered varied accounts of their reception that included occasions of both hospitality and discrimination, why were the accounts of the second generation deprived of such variety? The answer to this question is complex and involves what the last section of this chapter outlines as an intergenerational reticence in relation to the reception of refugees by host communities. This intergenerational reticence was coupled with the permeation of the discourse of national unity in the social articulation of the encounter between refugee and non-refugee populations.

Conclusion: Intergenerational reticence and transgenerational repression

The different experiences of reception chronicled in testimonies by the refugee generation were the initial point of reference in this chapter. The analysis has shown that these narratives delineate different ways of locating one's place amongst the Greek Cypriot society. Roger Zetter (1999) had argued that refugees were both insiders and outsiders in their host communities, at times guests - or outcasts - and at times

members. This perplexing social position also became visible in testimonies by my family members as in discussing reception, they presented opposing accounts and conflicting interpretations of the latter, enacting diverse dimensions of differentiation. Instances of generous hospitality as well as discrimination and exploitation were revealed, with the drivers behind these memories being connected to the degree of integration and subjective positioning of identity.

Testimonies by their children, however, were characterised by an absence of any reference to experiences of maltreatment by the non-refugee population. A conclusion one can attain from these accounts concerns the intergenerational acts of transfer of negative experiences of reception from the parents to the children. Dan Bar-On (1995) has described the process by which Holocaust survivors tried to 'spare' their children from the horrors they experienced with the symbolism of a first layer of a wall. The children, seeing their parents holding back in expressing their experiences, responded by not asking, thus raising the second layer of a 'double wall' (Bar-On, 1995). In the case of Cyprus however, this non-transmission of experiences of maltreatment was not due to a 'double wall' but due to a reticence on the part of the refugee generation. By reticence, the chapter denotes the unwillingness and hesitation to speak about this negative aspect of their reception, despite its knowledge and comprehension. The aim of this reticence was of course to cultivate a feeling of belonging, hope and trust among the second generation that they were full members of the society in which they were growing up.

Following displacement, many refugees focused on the need to rebuild and reinvent themselves as productive citizens. As Loizos asserts, there was an 'application of creative energy to negative circumstances, which became in several ways a transcendence' (1981: 42). This focus on action led to an ability to give meaning to their lives, the will to live, to start a family and be an active part of the modernising Greek Cypriot society (Litvak-Hirsch and Bar-On, 2006). To this end, caring for the future of their children became a priority. Loizos quotes a refugee saying: 'The only thing is that our children may one day manage it' (1981: 185). The best way children would gain a sense of belonging in this society, however, was by feeling accepted and safe in the community where they were being raised. As Yuval-Davis maintains, belonging is a narrative that people tell themselves about emotional investment that reflects their desire for attachment and 'functions as a projection of a future trajectory' (2006: 202). In order to attain such a future trajectory in the post-1974 Greek Cypriot society, children of refugees had to feel safely part of it, with no fear of discrimination or exploitation. To transmit subjective feelings of undesirability and rejection would have inhibited the children's integration and feeling of belonging. The most obvious way to guarantee this feeling of belonging for their children was to avoid disclosing any information regarding such negative aspects of interaction with the non-refugee population.

Occurring at the same time as this avoidance of communication was the influence of an official discourse generating a cumulative traumatisation for the Greek Cypriot community (Welzer, 2008). The Greek Cypriot history would become more victimised from generation to generation, as the socio-cultural messages to which younger

generations were exposed, cultivated emotions of fear and anger towards Turkey and in the process homogenised the collective memory and identity of the community. The national type of remembering focused on the internal cohesion of the Greek Cypriot community and the aggression of the Turkish army. In a public context therefore, intra-communal conflict or tension was concealed under the call for national unity of the entire population.

Chapter 5. The disruption and rebuilding of the extended family

How people confront mass displacement has attained a significant amount of academic attention in recent years. Liisa Mallki (1995) has identified three levels at which diverse experiences of displacement can be examined: the individual, the familial and the collective. Such delineation of different levels of analysis was intended as a tool for the better understanding and appreciation of the various experiences of displacement and loss and aimed to recognise and highlight the heterogeneity of these experiences (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al, 2014). One has nevertheless, to question whether this multilevel delineation has succeeded in its purpose. In their analysis of forced displacement and refugee studies, Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al (2014) have argued that the Western discourse of refugee studies has tended to focus on the individualistic experiences of displacement, often paying little attention to other perspectives. This argument begs the question of whether an important frame of reference and social institution such as the family has been adequately dealt with in research concerning displacement.

This chapter examines how members of my extended family reconstruct the effects of displacement on family life and how this effect is perceived across generations. The first section investigates the intergenerational transmission of meanings regarding the influence of displacement on the fabric of family life in the village. The second section then considers how, in the face of protracted exile, members of the refugee generation

utilised the family network as support and managed to rebuild a similar type of family life to the one they had in the village. This section firstly reconstructs the practices by which this rebuilding took place. It then examines how members of the refugee generation relate to this 'restored family life' and its importance, as well as the extent to which elements of this 'restored family life' have influenced the comprehension of family life for the second generation.

The rebuilding of the extended family life took place through three different practices. The first was the housing arrangements following displacement and the kind of family life they provided. The second is related to 'koubaria', a Greek colloquial word denoting a ritual and symbolic type of kinship connected with marriage and baptizing ceremonies (Bloch and Guggenheim, 1981; Pitt-Rivers, 1976). The last concerns the childcare practices that members of the refugee generation followed, which had the effect of strengthening intra-generational relationships amongst the second generation.

The type of family life in the village can be defined as the 'modified extended family' (Greven, 1970). This kind of family life is contingent to the 'extent of the extended kin group residing within the community' (Greven, 1970: 16). As studies in this form of family life have shown, the modified extended family life is characterised by frequent interaction by choice and due to close distance, immediate affective bonds and a connection by means of mutual aid and social activities (Troll 1971; Bengtson and Cutler 1976). In the neighbourhood where my family lived, lived also their paternal grandparents and the families of two of their paternal uncles. Their maternal grandparents, the families of three paternal aunts and two maternal uncles and the

family of their maternal aunt also lived in the village of Zodhia. Various other relatives also resided in the village, confirming Peter Loizos' (1981) assertion that life in rural Cyprus 'faced inwards', oriented towards the family group and fellow villagers.

Lastly, it is important to note that this chapter explicitly portrays the way the lives of my family members unfolded under the restraints and opportunities presented by displacement, their social relations and the configuration between displacement and the life stage at which they experienced the latter (Elder Jr. et al, 2003). Displacement is contextualised as a decisive factor in the social trajectories of marriage, family, and relocation, which have themselves affected the way family life unravelled. Family life is elaborated herein as a process rather than a static stage of familial arrangements (Hammel, 1972). This acknowledges the fluidity in the structure of domestic groups in relation to events such as forced displacement and the awareness of an inter-relationship between human agency, historical event, and social relations.

Displacement and the disruption of village family life

Family life was the principal and primary mode through which family members, independent of generation, interpreted and related to displacement. The refugee generation accounted for how their immediate surroundings and daily environment were irreversibly disrupted with 1974. The second generation seemed to comprehend how significant the disruption was for their parents' family life in the village. The pervasiveness of this theme in the testimonies by both the refugees and second generation is precisely why it warrants our consideration.

This section firstly introduces how the disruption to the modified extended family became evident in testimonies by the refugee generation. It presents and elaborates on three testimonies, those by my uncle Petros, my aunt Sofia and my mother Paraskevi. While in different ways, an association between the modified extended family and their ideas of belonging underscored their narratives.

Figure 5: Photographs of the neighbourhood where the family lived in Zodhia taken by the author during his crossing in 2017. On the left, the family house is the one with a motorcycle at its doorstep. In the plot to its right was located the house of one of the paternal uncles (the building was demolished following 1974). The photograph on the right depicts the houses of the paternal grandparents and of another paternal uncle. They are adjacent to the family house.

Petros' testimony was one where the disruption to family life was made particularly explicit and was connected to the way of life in the village. The following excerpt presents his response to the first question of the interview concerning how he understands 1974 and its consequence on his life.

'Until 74, I was 16 years old. We lived a discreet life. A calm life, in the village. (*Abruptly raises voice*) and suddenly (*short pause*), everything was overthrown (*assertively*). And how were they overthrown? (*Short pause*) Our family was a farming family. We dealt with orchards, we dealt with your grandfather's flock. We went to school. These… These were [elements] of the simple life of the village, of Cyprus. Like the older generation knew it and how we found it. Now (*Short pause*) … the invasion and the war overthrew these things completely (*assertively*). How were they overthrown? Firstly (*stutters and loses words*), from the familial point of view, all the families were disrupted. Because (*short pause*) leaving from a village, the families, the way they were before… some went in one place, some went somewhere else. So, the bond of the family, the way we knew it, was lost (*assertively*). Each went with their own family and tried to survive.' (Petros interview: 1)

Petros began his narrative with a reference to the way of life in the village, 'the discreet and calm life' that characterised his childhood and adolescent years. It was a life dominated by agricultural production, animal husbandry and school. Taking care of the orchards and the flock included tasks and activities which ensued throughout the year and which occupied a large part of life in the village. At the age of 16, Petros had already been responsible for many tasks associated with the family's orchards such as irrigation and harvesting. These tasks, as he contended, formed part of a life that was transmitted to them, a way of life their parents and grandparents lived by and one in which they were born and brought up. His overall tone and unpacking of personal meanings seemed to suggest that for him, this was a happier, healthier, and more fulfilled way of life. It was a way of life he treasured and still cherished. In identifying

how displacement altered this way of life, the damage to the setting of the modified extended family was of outmost significance in Petros' narrative. Displacement was interpreted as such an ordeal precisely because it had wrecked the way family life was experienced. It had interrupted the normal order of things, 'the way things were' and 'the way they knew it'.

My aunt Sofia comprehended displacement in a similar manner to her brother Petros. Contrary to the latter however, Sofia's narrative focused on the relationships that the modified extended family produced, rather than its setting. The following excerpt was her response when invited to discuss life in the village prior to displacement.

> 'Our life was very good. We lived in our village, we had all our relatives close by, our siblings (*short pause*)… our grandmothers, our grandfathers, our uncles and our aunts, our cousins… Eh (*sighs and pauses*), after 1974 we were all dispersed, (*stutters and struggles to find words*)… we did not meet with our cousins, with our uncles, with our grandmothers (*sounds remorseful*). Each one went on different directions…' (Sofia interview: 1)

Sofia's narrative about her social world in the village asserted the importance of 'closeness' among the extended family members. The term 'close', however, was utilised not only to capture a proximity in spatial terms but also a proximity in terms of relationships. This relational proximity dominated her experiences in the village. An additional consideration was that Sofia did not assign these social relationships and emotional investment only to her person but proceeded to extend it collectively with the possessive pronoun 'our'. She allocated this affinity and belonging in a plural form, incorporating her siblings to her understanding of belonging. By doing so, she

collectivised the experience of participation and by extension, the identification with the extended family (Nájera, 2018).

The declarations of belonging by my aunt Sofia enacted her understanding of belonging and the kind of loss that displacement brought about. This loss was 'not an actual physical object but rather a bundle of varied experiences and impressions', all associated with her social relationships with the extended family (Rozińska, 2011: 31). These experiences and impressions were a guarantee of identity, not just in its end form but also in the process and foundations of its development (Rozińska, 2011). For her, this process of identity and belonging were challenged by displacement and the discontinuity of the extended family.

The last testimony by a historical eyewitness is by my mother Paraskevi. My mother discussed the relationship between displacement and family life in the context of the family's relocation and adjustment in the village of Astromeritis. Like her sister Sofia, her idea of the relationship between family life in the village and displacement focused on the identity and belonging that the former provided. The following excerpt presents her response to a question in connection to the way she experienced the relocation to a new village.

> 'Okay (*prolonged*), as we knew the village… (*Interrupts narrative*) there was our brother married there and we used to go, and we knew the village… we adjusted. We could not do otherwise (*sounds apologetic*). We had to adjust. We made friends, we made… (*Interrupts narrative and continues with remorseful voice*) All the relatives were lost, there were no

relatives. There was only our brother, who was married there and the in-laws. There was no other relative. All the relatives were in Limassol, Larnaca… that we were like siblings (*assertively*). We were lost!' (Paraskevi interview: 2)

My mother's narrative concerning displacement and the extended family can be divided in two parts. In the first part, she documented the reception in the community of Astromeritis, detailing the family's networks in the community and the way they assisted them in adjusting to life after displacement. In the second part of the excerpt, she focused on the loss of the extended family and the difficulties to confront this loss. In the act of recognising their social networks, she abruptly changed her tone of voice and spoke of the loss of extended kin. This abrupt change in tone also signalled the emotional significance of this loss. With the phrase 'all relatives were lost', she affirmed a feeling of isolation that followed displacement, despite the possibilities for integration in the community. As she claimed, the proximity of residence of one sibling and the ability to make new friends were not enough to make her feel part of the community. Her belonging was located with the extended family. In the closing remarks of her narrative, she proceeded to reimagine the kinship relationship with these individuals as 'siblings', reasserting that her belonging lays with the extended family.

The testimonies by members of the refugee generation suggest that displacement was a social and cultural problem of great magnitude, specifically due to its effects on family life. The setting of the modified extended family and its role in the sense of belonging and self-identity, underscored these testimonies. Identity, Zofia Rozińska (2011) recognises, is a concept at the foundations of the migration and displacement

experience. Was this challenge to self-identity and belonging something transmitted to their children, however? This section now moves to examine how the second generation related to the relationship between family life and displacement, and their meanings regarding the family life in the village and the effect of displacement.

The second generation displayed a similar understanding to the kind of disruption displacement was for their parents' family life, with testimonies by Marios, Petros' son, Andreas, Sofia's son, and my sister Andri attesting to this understanding. Andreas' understanding of this disruption went beyond localising it towards his mother and connected it with his own ability to establish relationships with now distant relatives. For him, therefore, the disruption to family life in the village was not only a meaning transmitted from his mother but a lived experience throughout his own life.

Marios is the youngest amongst the second generation and the power relation between him and me was manifest during the interview. His father had been very vocal about the influences of displacement on village life and subconsciously, I expected Marios' understanding of displacement to have similar features. Five minutes into the interview, I asked him what he thinks 'displacement means for his family'. Following the question, he looked puzzled and hesitated to answer. After a few seconds pondering, he asked 'that is?' [*diladi*] (A phrase more in line with 'what do you mean'). I rephrased my question and asked again, 'what do you think your father, or your mother mean when they say, 'I am a refugee'?' His response was short and flat: 'it means they are not living in the place where they were born; in their family home… eh… it means… this.' Marios' reply was very bland and lacked the kind of strong associations between

displacement and the village that Petros had made. Inevitably, I found the response

unsatisfying and a feeling of frustration took over me. Both his parents, as well as his

two oldest brothers, with whom I was more acquainted, were very vocal and expressive

about displacement and their identities as refugees and second generation, respectively.

Slightly annoyed and disappointed by Marios' answer, I rephrased the question once

more, with the ensuing result being a stereotypical hypothetical setting, accompanied

by a leading question.

> 'Okay… (*I continue very assertively*) imagine that 'the Turk'
> comes, as you are sitting in this very moment, in this very house
> where you were raised, that it has been 16 years now (*short
> pause*)… and he kicks you out (*assertively*). What do you think
> you will feel? That thing that your parents felt as well?' (Marios
> interview: 2)

As a researcher at the doctoral level, I am ashamed of allowing my emotions to

influence the interview to this extent and for complementing my questioning with the

social imagination and discursive 'othering' of Cypriot official discourses. My line of

questioning was filled with over-generalised stereotypes regarding the abstract 'other'

in the form of 'the Turk' (Spyrou, 2006a). Nonetheless, this line of questioning allowed

the interview to move beyond the intergenerational reticence and the influence of

official discourses. Marios' response to my questioning mirrored his father's

associations between the extended family and the village setting.

> 'That I will never (*stutters*)… fear will overtake me. You do not
> know if you will meet again your own [*an tha ksanadis tous
> dikous sou*]. You do not know what the purpose is of those who

have kicked you out. So, there is an uncertainty for the future,
over what will happen.' (Marios interview: 2)

Marios' response to the question expressed thoughts and concerns that were largely influenced by his present interactions and experience of family life. Raised in the village of Peristerona, Marios' social world comprised his aunt's family living near their family home and his maternal grandmother living in the same house as his nuclear family. With the reference to 'not seeing again your own', Marios related displacement to the type of family life he associates with the village he currently lives. Like his father, the extended family and the village setting were interconnected. It was the first postmemory and the way he constructively imagined what it means to be a refugee.

The second testimony by a second generation I present here, is the one by my sister Andri. Andri understood the relationship between family life and displacement quite differently from our mother. While the latter had associated the extended family with the identity and belonging it provided, Andri connected displacement with the collapse of communication that followed the invasion. Following a question regarding her knowledge of her mother's environment after the flight, she initially focused on the lack of funds and loss of property, and eventually spoke about the whereabouts of members of the extended family.

(*Discussing about money and property*) … 'But how much cash would you have on you (*asks rhetorically*)? Banks were not working, I think (*hypothesises*), until they saw what would happen. Phones they did not have, and so, many times (*short pause*)… if they got lost in the process of flight and until all relatives came here… until they saw who are fine and who are not

> (*short pause*). Okay, these are what we heard; that they had a
> period, some days of anxiety until they saw that all were fine,
> until everyone came. Okay.' (Andri interview: 2)

Andri's testimony was characterised by moments where she would think aloud and rationalise as she proceeded with her narration. The account in the above excerpt was no different. The discussions about the lack of cash, banks being closed, and not having phones, were eventually linked to the extended family. This association indicated that Andri does understand the significance of the extended kin for her family, albeit different from our mother. She placed the significance of the extended family in the context of the collapse of communication on the island following the invasion, with the disorder that followed becoming a filter through which she asserted the importance of the extended kin.

The last testimony by a descendant is by Andreas, Sofia's son. Andreas understood the influence of displacement in a similar way to his mother. He focused on the kind of identity and belonging the modified extended family provided and how displacement disrupted this continuity. The following excerpt forms part of his response to a question in relation to what he perceives to be the influence of displacement on family life.

> 'It [the family] was affected first of all in that they left from the
> village, the parents, they left from where they were all together.
> You were (*stutters and struggles to find words*) … They were
> dispersed (*assertively*). Which is this about displacement. I did
> not tell you this before because (*sounds undetermined*) … Where
> they were all growing up in a village or at least close, they were
> dispersed all over Cyprus.' (Andreas interview: 6)

Andreas' narrative emphasised both the proximity of housing arrangements and the kind of interaction this proximity provided. The phrase 'all together' expresses the daily interactions and strong family ties his mother and other family members enjoyed in the village. Like his mother, the term 'close' captured more than just spatial closeness. It delineated a setting and context that provided for the establishment of a sense of belonging. Andreas recognised that what displacement eradicated was precisely this provision of identity. The repetition of the term 'dispersion' was meant to capture both the dispersal of individuals that formed the extended family but also the sense of belonging that they were associated with.

An important element in Andreas' testimony was that he comprehended this disruption to identity and socialisation as something affecting not only his mother but also himself. The disruption to family life was not merely a meaning transmitted from his mother but a lived experience. Resuming his narrative of the influence of displacement on family life, he remarked:

> 'So it [displacement] affected [us] in that some uncles, aunts and cousins, I would not see them for years. So it has affected contact with relatives (*assertively*). Also everyday contact… with others we would not meet as often as there was some distance, in different regions. So it has affected regular and everyday contact.'
> (Andreas interview: 6)

In this excerpt, Andreas extended the consequences of displacement to the way he perceives family life in the present. He adopted the experience of loss of the extended kin and of disruption of the modified extended family and made it his own. Distance

from kin was constructed as his own experience, as something that affected his own identity and belonging. Andreas' account was thus, underlined by a belief that the injury brought about by displacement had transgenerational repercussions and was not only limited to the way the parental generation experienced family life.

The testimonies by the second generation, portrayed here, depict how the children have largely inherited the personal meanings of their parents concerning family life in the village. They comprehend and appreciate the kind of ordeal displacement was for their parents, by locating its primary injury in the disruption of the modified extended family. Andreas not only inherited these meanings but also shared the experience, establishing transgenerational consequences to the disruption of the extended family. Displacement came to be an injury not only to the way of life of his parents, but also to him personally.

This first section has shown that displacement was a threat to family life. How did my extended family recover from such severe injury to their way of life? How did they adapt to the loss of family life in the village? The second part of this chapter portrays how a supportive intra-family environment amongst the siblings permitted the reconstruction of a similar kind of family life in the urban environment of Nicosia. A kind of restorative nostalgia came into effect rebuilding what was lost and patching up the injury to family life caused by displacement (Boym, 2001).

Rebuilding the extended family: intra-familial support and the restoration of family life

As Tamara Hareven (1974) maintains, individuals live through a variety of patterns of family structures and organisations during their life cycle, with the points of transition from one family type to another depending on the economic situation and cultural context. In the Greek Cypriot rural context, the most important point of this transition was marriage, a rite of passage in the life cycle representing the creation of a new household and the expansion of the structure of the modified extended family. Displacement, nevertheless, left many families in a difficult situation. Most of these families were agrarian, with the loss of their lands having a devastating effect on their livelihoods. While agriculture was more than 20% of the GDP at the end of 1960's, it was reduced to a mere 7% by late 1980's (Attalides, 1979). Moreover, in the immediate years following the invasion (1974-1976) unemployment in the Greek Cypriot community was in the range of 40% (Solsten, 1991). The economic conditions these families found themselves in, coupled with the scarcity of land in the post-invasion period, placed considerable constraints on newly married couples from refugee families.

Displacement brought about an intense social change where family life, its values and obligations experienced significant pressures (Argyrou, 1996). Peter Loizos (2008) has argued that older people who had been greatly involved in the pre-1974 rural environment had to step back and allow their mature children to take the burdens of family provision. Many of these older people faced considerable challenges in adjusting to exile, especially in the context of a rapidly modernizing economy and

society, and the increasing exposure to a globalising world. In my extended family, the older children Christakis, Eleni and Maria were a great source of support for their younger siblings. Sofia and Eirini had temporarily lost their jobs in the Cyprus Police, while Petros, Paraskevi and Sotiroulla were still in high school. As Maria maintained in her testimony: 'our parents were farmers and had invested all their wealth on land and orchards. They did not have cash in hand. And so [those of] us, who were working, we helped each other' (Maria interview: 8). Additionally, apart from the financial difficulties and constraints brought about by displacement, the siblings had to also deal with the death of my grandfather in 1981 in a car accident. At this point, what De Haene, et al. (2010) call the 'parentification of the children' took place, as the children who had already been married and settled took up the responsibilities their parents had towards their younger siblings and even their mother.

With the family's resettlement in Astromeritis, the single daughters were expected to find husbands among villagers unfamiliar to them and to provide dowry in conditions where their family owned nothing. Several of the testimonies by the refugee generation revealed the important role of the older brother Christakis in the marriages of his sisters and in the negotiations between the families. During the discussion with Christakis' family, his wife Soulla emphasized this role by commenting that if not for him, none of them would have got married. My uncle Christakis himself described extensively his role in the arrangement of the marriages of Maria, Sofia, Eirini and Paraskevi. While the former had been engaged prior to displacement, the others had arranged marriages after 1974. Eventually, both Eirini and Paraskevi were married to villagers

from Astromeritis, while Sofia was married to another refugee with whose family Christakis was familiar.

Other than finding husbands for their single sisters, the older and settled siblings took up responsibilities towards the provision of some sort of dowry. This was particularly the case with the marriage of Sotiroulla, the only daughter to be married after the death of my grandfather. At marriage, the family of the bride were expected to offer land and household items for the new couple to start their household. During her account of her marriage, Sotiroulla highlighted the support and assistance she received from her older siblings for her wedding.

> [*Discussing in detail the day of her wedding*] 'Ah! (*In exhilarated voice*) … and something else that had a big impression on me Christo. Because we did not have any money, anywhere, so we could pay the venue for the night (*in apologetic voice*)… they gave me (*short pause*), your uncle Andreas and Eirini 200 pounds and 200 Maria and I paid the venue. Your aunt Eleni gave me 500 pounds; at that time, it was 2,000 (*in assertive voice*), and I made… I saved it and she told me 'you will make your furniture'. Because grandfather Andreas made them their furniture. For your mother, her living room, your aunt Sofia's, and your aunt's Eirini's… (…) And your aunt Eleni gave me 500 pounds so I make my living room (*smiles*). My first living room when I came to my house in 1989, it was the money from your aunt Eleni (*raises voice emotionally*). So, you see how much love we have amongst us (*smiles*).' (Sotiroulla interview: 9)

While the emphasis in Sotiroulla's account was on monetary support, her emotional reactions indicated that this support allowed her to begin her family and household. All

the expenses and responsibilities she accounts for were responsibilities that would have otherwise rested with her parents. Her emotional reactions were underlined by the recognition of this support and the gratitude and appreciation she has towards her siblings for taking up this responsibility and assisting her in the early days of her newly established family.

This supportive intra-familial environment is best captured through Eleni's narrative about her relationship with her sisters following displacement. As she claims, 'it [the relationship] changed as per the duty I thought I had (assertively). As [I was] older, I had the impression that I was obliged to assist as much as I could' (Eleni interview: 8-9). Eleni placed emphasis on a perceived duty that arose in her as an obligation to support. Family duty, as Janet Finch reminds us, 'is a prescriptive concept, locked into a particular view of the moral order of the social world, not an empirical description of what happens in practice' (Finch, 1989: 8). As such, what Eleni prescribes as duty is an emotional and moral commitment of family members to each other and the loyalty developed towards family life in the aftermath of displacement and the death of their father. It is not limited to financial assistance or support but describes the dimension of family cohesion and the 'emotional bonding that family members have towards one another' (Olson, 2000: 145).

Amid this supportive intra-familial environment, members of the extended family proceeded to patch up family life and reconstruct a similar type of family life to the one they had in their village. This reconstruction of the extended family had elements of a restorative nostalgia. As Svetlana Boym (2001) contends, restorative nostalgia

underlines *nóstos*, the idea of home itself (rather than the ache for its loss) and attempts trans-historically to reconstruct it. This chapter identifies three devices through which this form of nostalgia materialised. The first concerns the relocation and housing arrangements of siblings (the sisters) and their families following displacement in Nicosia. The second restorative device was 'koubaria', a term intended to capture a symbolic type of kinship established by religious ceremonies. The last device was the childcare practices members of the refugee generation followed, which had the effect of strengthening intra-generational relationships amongst the second generation.

Housing and the restoration of rural lives in an urban setting

This subsection demonstrates how both *despite* and *because* of the economic constraints they faced, family members constructed their houses in a way that resembled the housing arrangements they were familiar with in their village, recreating both the physical setting of the modified extended family and the associated family life between the newly formed families. The purpose of this subsection is, therefore, twofold: first, to reconstruct how these housing arrangements transpired, and second, to explore the personal meanings family members have of these arrangements and the associated family life. The discussion focusses only on testimonies by the spouses of the siblings and their children. In doing so, it illustrates how individuals, with no prior knowledge amongst themselves, comprehend the residential proximity and family life, at the same time as it examines how the second generation perceives this type of family life.

The housing arrangements described were established during an accelerated rate of urbanisation following 1974. The modern and diversified economy that developed in this period valued an educated workforce, with many educated young Cypriots moving to the cities for employment (Argyrou, 1996). Many refugees and their families would move to the urban centres in the hope of securing employment. Members of my extended family were no different, with four out of the five siblings that left Zodhia moving to Nicosia for employment and securing work in the developing services industry. With land in Nicosia, that was located close to the Buffer Zone, being cheap and financially accessible, the housing arrangements described, took place less than two miles from the ceasefire zone.

Only two of the eight siblings of my maternal family had built their own houses prior to 1974. The elder brother Christakis, whose wife was from Astromeritis, moved and built a house there. The elder sister Eleni had moved to Nicosia, from where her husband came. Maria, the third child, was engaged prior to displacement and married a year afterwards. She moved to Nicosia in 1978, where she was able to buy an apartment. Of the remaining five children, four were women. The family had to provide all four with some sort of dowry upon their marriage and preferably a house. The shortage of funds however, placed considerable financial constraints on all four daughters and the extended family.

In 1977, Sofia and Eirini, the two sisters employed in the Cyprus Police and working in Nicosia, bought a plot of land together in Nicosia with the intention of building houses side by side. The plot had cost them 7,000 Cypriot pounds and was situated in

Pallouriotissa, an area of Nicosia close to the Buffer Zone and less than 1.5 miles away from where their older sister Eleni lived. The vicinity between this plot and the house of Eleni was highly significant for the sisters. My mother Paraskevi, who would eventually build in the same location, noted during her testimony:

> 'With my two elder sisters, as we had a difference in age with one ten and with the other six [years], in the village, we did not get together so much (*sounds remorseful*). Let us say they were older, my older sister (*short pause*) … she was married, and I was 11 years old (*assertively*). (…) We did not have a relationship (*struggles to express herself*) … as friends [*den ihame shesi filiki*]. We only had a (*short pause*) … sibling relationship (*with uneasy voice*). Well after displacement, because we all came to Nicosia, and our sister, who was in Nicosia (*short pause*) … she was in Nicosia from before (*assertively*)… she helped us (*difficulty to express herself*) … let us say. Her house was nearby. And so we got together when we got married, when we had our children, we got together and it has become (*difficulty to express herself*) … Even though we have differences in age, we are together all the time (*smiles and sounds grateful*).' (Paraskevi interview: 3)

My mother emphasised that the proximity of residence with my aunt Eleni enhanced the families' relationships after displacement. As she contends, at the time when they resided in Zodhia, the difference in age had not allowed them to establish a strong bond as Eleni was married and moved away when she was only 11. Nonetheless, Eleni became a great source of support during her sisters' relocation and settlement in Nicosia. This support led to the refinement of their relationship, with differences in age becoming irrelevant. While my mother had difficulty finding the appropriate words,

her efforts to express her personal meanings indicated a transformation in the sibling

relationship that was of immense importance for her.
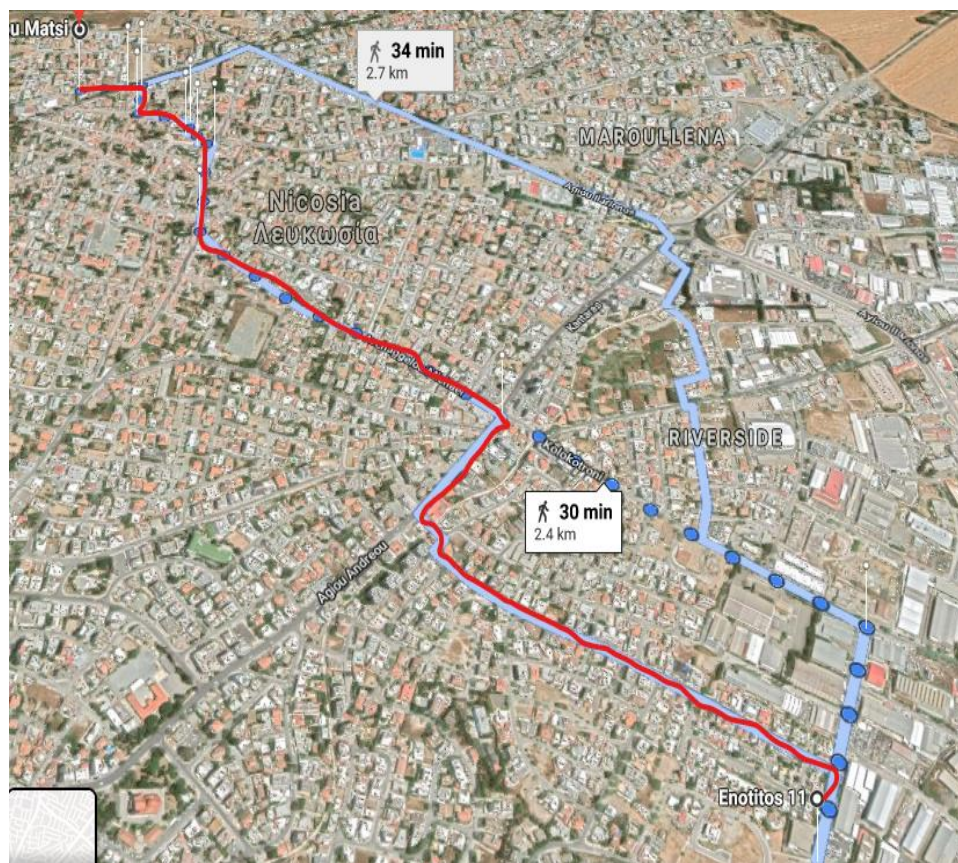
Figure 6: Map with the distance between the house of Eleni and the houses of Sofia, Eirini, Paraskevi and Sotiroulla. The distance is 2.4 kilometres or 1.5 miles. It takes approximately 30 minutes to walk to Eleni's house or seven minutes by car. Eleni's house is located directly next to the Buffer zone. (maps.google.com)

My mother's narrative suggested that the strengthening of the relationship between the

sisters corresponded to the establishment of their households. As she claims, their

relationship was strengthened by the sharing of and assistance towards the increasing

responsibilities that come along with their newly formed families. Sofia, Sotiroulla and

Paraskevi, the sisters who eventually built their houses close to Eleni, all spoke about

different ways this sharing of responsibilities occurred, offering examples such as

doing each other's shopping, drying each other's washing, taking care of each other's houses, arranging holidays together or looking after each other's children. All sisters asserted that the proximity of residence had a major part in this sharing of responsibilities, affirming Janet Finch's position that 'it is [in] families which see each other frequently where one finds more practical support' (1989: 31).

Eirini and Sofia were in different situations prior to the acquisition of the plot. While both were employed, Sofia had just been engaged to Giorgos while Eirini was still single. Sofia and Giorgos were married in 1978 and resided for a time in Peristerona, where Giorgos' parents had relocated after their displacement, and later moved to an apartment in Nicosia. An important consideration in the acquisition of the plot was Giorgos' active sharing in the cost. As Eirini proclaimed during her testimony: 'When your uncle Giorgos started getting more money from his work at the bank, we said to buy a plot of land together. And we found this plot' (Eirini interview: 8) Two important features emerge from Eirini's recognition concerning Giorgos' contribution in the acquisition of the plot. On the one hand, this recognition implicitly acknowledged the economic constraints the sisters faced in acquiring the property. On the other hand, it also illustrated that the cultural norms relevant to dowry at the time, had receded in importance, with the economic conditions of refugee families attaining more significance.

Giorgos and Sofia begun building their house on their half of the plot in 1980. During this period, the help and support by Sofia's family – both the direct and the extended

kin – towards the construction of the house was crucial. During his interview, Giorgos commented on the manual work they put in digging the foundations of their house.

> **G:** 'In the meantime, your aunts (*short pause*) … (*Continues in animating voice*) Paraskevi, Petros, Sotiroulla (*short pause*) … they helped us as we were building (*assertively*).'
> **C:** 'What do you mean 'they helped you'?'
> **G:** 'Because Charalambos, their cousin who was a builder (*short pause*) … Until we dug the foundations, before giving it to contractors (*short pause*) … he helped us, and we were building; we were making clay and carried bricks for him. And everybody helped (*in appreciative voice*).' (Giorgos interview: 13)

Giorgos acknowledged that the assistance by Sofia's family allowed them to keep their costs low and only at a later stage to employ contractors. The support Giorgos identifies was vital in both the construction of the physical house but also in the symbolic beginning of the family. To this end, Giorgos allocates a decisive role to the extended family for the beginning of their new family.

In 1980, Eirini became engaged to Andreas, who was from Astromeritis and wished to reside in the village after their marriage. Andreas was a police officer in a neighbouring village and his father owned a coffee shop in Astromeritis, which Andreas helped him manage during weekends. During the marriage negotiations, Eirini communicated to them that her investment in the plot in Nicosia restrained her ability to provide towards a house and dowry. At that point, my grandfather suggested buying Eirini's share of the plot as dowry for my mother and aunt Sotiroulla.

… 'They [Andreas and his family] wanted to build in Astromeritis. I told them, 'I do not have any money because I gave my money for the plot' (*in remorseful voice*). But your grandfather told me then, 'perhaps we can give you the money you gave' (*interrupts her narrative*) … Because I did not even manage to pay the first deposit [to the bank for the loan], it was a little before I was engaged. (*Continues in assertive voice as her father*) 'We will give you the money you gave, and you will have no claim to the plot and the younger daughters can get it'. So, your mother and Sotiroulla could build.' (Eirini interview: 8)

Eirini then explained that after discussions with her mother-in-law, the latter suggested a different arrangement: 'No (*assertively*), she told me, 'since you gave the money, leave it there. Let the girls pay the rest of the loan you got [Eirini had paid 1,500 pounds in cash and had received a loan of 2,000] and you will build on the ground floor' (Eirini interview: 8). What transpired following Eirini's engagement and dowry negotiations was the redistribution of the ownership of the plot between Eirini, Paraskevi, and Sofia with Giorgos. Each would come to own a third to the plot, with my mother receiving her share as dowry paid by her father. Sotiroulla was eventually not included in these arrangements.

A crucial aspect of these new arrangements was Eirini's mother-in-law's suggestion about building houses for the sisters on top of one other. This practice laid the foundations for the restoration of the modified extended family in the urban space of Nicosia. Nonetheless, both my aunt Eirini and my mother recognised that this practice had its roots in the economic condition of the family, and it was a way to alleviate some of the expenses for building houses. As my mother maintained: 'our father bought us

half a plot, because we could not buy something more (*apologetic tone*). And (*short pause*) … we build one on top of the other. Floors… each one has a floor (*told with an uneasy smile*)' (Paraskevi interview: 4). These housing arrangements would prove extremely significant for the kind of family life the sisters' families would establish, as it guaranteed a daily interaction between family members.

My parents were married in 1983. While my father was from Astromeritis, he worked in Nicosia and therefore agreed to relocate to the city and build a house there. In that year, Eirini laid the foundations for her own house and raised its stilts so that my parents would be able to start building their own. Our house was finished by 1986, the year that my aunt Sotiroulla was married as well. Sotiroulla was the only daughter to be married after the death of their father in 1983 and was thus the only one not to receive any kind of assistance from their parents. In such a helpless situation the support among the siblings acquired even more significance. Eirini and my mother allowed Sotiroulla to build a third floor on top of them, despite not being part of the initial housing arrangements. As my aunt Eirini explained during her testimony:

> 'When your aunt Sotiroulla was about to be married, your
> mother and I (*interrupts narrative*) … even though your aunt
> Sotiroulla did not give any money for the plot. Your mom and I
> gave the money (*assertively*). We gave her the right to build on
> top of us. And she built on top of us, your aunt Sotiroulla (*in
> pleasant tone of voice*).' (Eirini interview: 9)

The decision to allow Sotiroulla to build on top of their own property was a decision that confirms the loyalty, commitment and responsibility family members had towards

one another (Olson, 2000). My aunt Sotiroulla herself detailed the kind of support she received from my mother while she was building her house: 'when we were building, your mother helped us a lot, as she was here (*shows with her hands towards the floor*). She cooked for the builders and they ate downstairs. Later when I was going to move in, she went and bought me various things for the house' (Sotiroulla interview: 10). According to Sotiroulla, the proximity of residence guaranteed this kind of support, as my mother was able to cook for the builders or buy various items for her household. She closed her description of the construction of her house with the following phrase: 'this is it (*assertively*), we were very united (*in female plural form*) as siblings' (Sotiroulla interview: 10). While her narrative had concentrated on the difficulties and struggles her husband and she had to face, she concluded with a phrase that delineated how they had managed to overcome these.

The first part of this subsection dealt with the restoration of the setting of the modified extended family in an urban setting in Nicosia. The families of Sotiroulla and Paraskevi reside on top of each other, the family of Sofia adjacent, and Eleni's family in a house less than two miles away. The sisters proceeded to construct houses that resembled and were 'coloured' by their housing arrangements prior to their displacement. These restorative practices can be seen in terms of what Svetlana Boym (2001) calls restorative nostalgia. As the name implies, restorative nostalgia seeks to re-establish a longed-for past and involves the 'transhistorical reconstruction of the lost home' (Boym, 2001: xviii). As Boym (2001) argues, restorative nostalgia fills up temporal distance and displacement through making available the desired object and allowing a 'return home'. What the sisters desired was the family life associated with

the setting of the modified extended family. In reconstructing and restoring the setting, they were able to relieve the way things were 'back in the village' and 'return home' to a family life and lifestyle they considered lost.

Another interesting aspect of restorative nostalgia is that it 'does not think of itself as nostalgia, but rather as truth and tradition' (Boym, 2001: xviii). For both the sisters and family members, the reconstruction of rural lives in an urban setting was not considered as a longing and recreation for something lost, but rather as 'the way things are'. I myself realised the restorative feature entailed in these housing arrangements only when stated during a conference presentation. The reconstruction of the setting automatically implies a continuity with the past that my family members and I, often do not appreciate. This restorative aspect of housing arrangements seems to us 'normal' and as tradition, simply because it is a general cultural norm among Greeks and Greek Cypriots. My two aunts from my father's side for example, have built houses in Astromeritis next to each other, on land that they received as dowry from my paternal grandparents. Are these housing arrangements therefore, different from those in my maternal extended family?

As Renee Hirschon postulates (1988), Greek culture places great emphasis on social continuity, typically expressed through a concern in preserving family stability, maintaining harmonious neighbourhood relationships, and protecting values such as family life, differentiation of generations and sociability (Hirschon, 1988). In her study of Asia Minor Greek refugees, she comments that these values were particularly salient in the refugee community of Kokkinia, an urban quarter in Piraeus. She asserts,

nevertheless, that while these values 'are not unique to refugees, it is highly probable that their experiences have endowed this type of life with fresh significance' (1988: 107). One could argue therefore, that while the kind of housing arrangements described in this section may not be unique to Greek Cypriot refugees, they should be seen in the context of their displacement and the rapid social transformations that Cyprus experienced following 1974. On the one hand, as many of my family members have testified, the extended family did confront economic constraints in the period following 1974. The shortage of funds did not allow the family to buy more than one plot, which eventually led to three of the sisters, building one on top of the other, rather than adjacent to each other, as they would have done in the village. On the other hand, these housing arrangements offered a sense of security and assurance in the context of the urban life into which the families moved. An aphorism I have heard various times from family members is 'you cannot exchange the feeling that having 'your own' next to you gives you'. The proximity of residence provides an assurance that you can always rely on the individuals around you, enhancing the well-being of everyday life, especially in the context of urban life.

Figure 7: The houses of my aunts Sofia, Eirini, Sotiroulla and my family house. Sofia's house appears on the right. To its left on the ground floor, Eirini's house which she rents out. Above it is our family house and Sotiroulla's house. All four are three-bedroom houses. Photograph from the author.

What does it mean however, to have your extended kin so close to you? What are the personal meanings family members attach to this proximity of residence? This section continues to investigate how these housing arrangements influenced the perception of family life among the newly formed families. It explores these meanings in testimonies by the spouses of the siblings and their children, illustrating therefore, how individuals with no prior knowledge amongst themselves comprehend how family life developed as well as the extent to which this idea of family life has been transmitted to the second generation.

This section will firstly portray narratives concerning family life from the testimonies by my father Erotokritos and my uncle Giorgos, as the importance of residential

proximity became particularly manifest in their testimonies. My father referred to the everyday interaction he has with the families around him, as something that has fundamentally modified the way he perceives family life. Following a question in relation to the way he understands the family relationships among his wife's side of the family by comparison with his own, he replied:

> 'So, the family from my wife's side, I come every day (*interrupts narrative himself*) … not every day, every hour (*assertively*) in contact with them. We are constantly together our houses are close. While with my own family, only during weekends I have the opportunity (*short pause*) … and sometimes I might not talk with somebody even for a month (*sounds regretful*), except when we call with each other. Perhaps on occasion for some gatherings for birthdays we all get together.' (Erotokritos interview: 5)

In the above excerpt, my father explained that the proximity of residence with the families surrounding him has generated a type of familiarity that became inextricably weaved with the everyday experience of life. The emphasis on the phrase 'every hour' rather than 'every day', pointed to a nature of interaction that is beyond quotidian. Contact with these individuals has become a recurrent aspect of life and has led to the attainment of a very private type of familiarity. It is however, in comparing this relationship with the families of his own siblings that he constructed proximity as the most important differentiation between the two. While it is commonly assumed that men are less likely to seek and maintain ties with their siblings in adulthood (White and Riedmann, 1992), my father attributed the weakening of the relationship with his siblings and their families to distance. His account was underlined by the belief that the

proximity of my mother's siblings and their families has undeniably led to the establishment of intimacy with them, by contrast with his siblings' families from who he has become estranged. The geographical distance has kept their families far and the relationships lacking the intimacy that he has established with his wife's sisters and families.

My uncle Giorgos also spoke about this proximity of residence. The following excerpt presents the closing lines of his testimony and captures the complexity of cultural discourses of locality in Cyprus (Hadjiyanni, 2002). Giorgos used the words 'home' and 'place' interchangeably during his narrative and with no clear signification to them. The last question in the interview, which concerned his personal meanings of the word 'home', portrays this complexity.

> 'When I say that 'I am going home' for example, I mean that I will be coming home (*short pause*) … here, now (*assertively*). But (*short pause followed by increased tone of voice*) … when I say about my place, not my home (*interrupts his narrative*) … Because the question could have been a bit different… (*Continues in assertive tone of voice*) I have never said that my place is Nicosia. If I ever said such thing, let my tongue be cut (*raises tone of voice*). If they told me now [however] you can go to your home [the word used in reference to his village] and it would be like it is here, now [he waves his hands around showing the houses]… I would say yes.' (Giorgos interview: 18)

Giorgos' narrative delineated the way the housing arrangements and family life have become interwoven with his idea of home and his belonging. While *his* place was associated with his village of origin, *his* home was a consideration of a time span of

more than 40 years and directly connected with the family life experienced during this period. Nonetheless, and despite the assertion of belonging in this way of life, Giorgos had the urge to proclaim that his place of origin was none other than his village. He emotionally cried out 'let my tongue be cut' for any occasion he had called his current place of residence as his origin. Through this outcry, Giorgos sought atonement for the fact that the origins and his village had become of secondary importance.

Giorgos' excerpt perfectly captures a tension in the process of thinking about home and its relation to place. It presents us with his internal conflict between the feeling that home is the secure centre of all things and of life, and the realisation that 'this' home is just a home among many (Fox, 2016). Rather than transcending places, Giorgos' idea of home is a tension between the places of his past and his present, of his memory and his experience. At the end, the present seems to prevail. Following a question in relation to the way he perceives his village in the present, Giorgos spoke about the urge to return and the passing of time, with his narrative reflecting on the importance of family life and housing arrangements for his identity.

> 'As time passes, (*interrupts narrative*) … And imagine, I was much younger than you. Kiriakos [his eldest son] is 37 years old and I was 20. Imagine (*in assertive and amazed voice*) … how many years have passed? If I have a son who is 37 years old and I was 20 years old, single, in the village. (*Small pause in the narrative and change in tone of voice*) We do not have that urge anymore [to return] (*in apologetic voice*). What? Will I now start building a house in Zodhia? I do not know whether I am correct but what would I do with it (*sounds remorseful*)? (…) I do not know (*in discouraging voice*). Will I go and reside in Prastio [his

village] and Giorgos and Myronas [his grandchildren] will be
here?' (Giorgos interview: 18)

Giorgos' narrative was underlined by the realisation of the passing of time and an accompanied affirmation of the significance of his family. His narrative underscored how far away, both in time and in space, he has come from 1974. He was 20 years old when he left the village; he was 62 years old and living in Nicosia at the time of the interview. This reflection on the passing of time was accompanied by an affirmation of the prominent role of family relationships in how he perceived his life. His narrative was an evolving story that functioned to designate the significance of the family. This story extended from the past to the future, from experiences of family life in the past and present, to anticipated ones. This 'prolepsis', a time as fast-forward, was strongly asserted with the rhetorical question regarding returning to live in his place of origin with his grandchildren staying behind. Giorgos' idea of family life was, therefore, fundamental to his sense of self and was oriented not towards the past but towards the present and future.

Janet Finch (1989) writes that it is women that have more incentive to maintain good relationships with family, for such good relationships provide for practical support later in life. While we cannot deny this instrumentalist idea of family relationships, it nonetheless, fails to account for the emotional investment that family relationships often produce, irrespective of gender. As the excerpts by my father and my uncle Giorgos portray, both have become quite emotionally invested in these family relationships, with the everyday experience of interaction undoubtedly shaping their idea of belonging and identity.

How does the second generation perceive these housing arrangements? While the children were born after the houses were completed, their whole lives have unfolded in this environment. A life living in this environment has undeniably influenced the way they perceive family life. My sister Andri, in responding to a question regarding how she perceives the relationship between her mother and aunts, replied the following:

> 'I know they are very tight (*assertively*). They cooperate, they talk about everything. They help each other in order to solve whatever problem. They have never fought, either for property or for anything else. (*Short pause*) And this thing they have transmitted to us as well. Even their houses that they live now, is one on top of the other (*assertively*) … and even me, when they bought me an apartment, they bought me one attached to my cousin. (*Short pause*) It is a security (*stresses word*), a relationship, which will never change.' (Andri interview: 5)

In her initial response, Andri offered various descriptions of how she notices the relationships between her mother and her aunts. Accordingly, what followed this description was an affirmation of a transmission of this family life to the second generation. Andri recounted that her mother and aunt Sotiroulla bought apartments for her and her cousin Andria next to each other, in a similar way that they had built their own houses. By reporting on this act, Andri suggested that the refugee generation have conveyed this sort of family life to them, hoping for a transmission of the relationships they themselves enjoy. To this extent, the relationships developed among the second generation were contingent on their physical proximity and their housing arrangements, something transmitted from their parents.

An additional aspect of Andri's account was her emphasis on an idea of security that the proximity of residence provided. This proximity guaranteed an assurance that you can always rely on the individuals around you, enhancing the quality of life in the context of urban life. While life in the city can be characterised by impersonal ties, formality, and self-interest, having your family kin in your vicinity guarantees that interactions are personal and embedded with emotional investment and appreciation. Moreover, Andri's beliefs about the proximity of residence and family relationships appeared in her response to a follow up question, which concerned a comparison between the relationships amongst our mother and father's families.

> 'I believe yes (*assertively*). Yes, they do have good relationships and I cannot say that they fight or something, but they are not so (*hesitates to finish sentence*) … substantially connected. What I mean (*short pause*) … it is different if you see the other person almost every day (*interrupts narrative*) … Not almost, every day (*assertively*) they meet, every day. One is inside the house of the other… Relationships from the other side of the family are a bit (*hesitates to continue*) … relationships of need while these are relationships of love. (…) It is this (*assertively*); that no matter whether I need you or not, you are adjacent, you are one!' (Andri interview: 5-6)

Antri's comparison between the families of our mother and father was grounded on a distinction between instrumental relations and relations of love. While her understanding and definition of these relationships might be somewhat overstated, this distinction was based on the residential proximity between the families. In need of asserting the importance of this proximity, she downplayed the kind of relationships

members in our father's family have. She built this differentiation on daily interaction, in the constant contact and communication that exists among our mother's family. Private space seemed non-existent, with one being in the house of the other more than frequently. There are no instrumental reasons in this interaction but merely the need to communicate with each other. As Andri concluded, the proximity of residence has not only brought them close, it has made them one and the same.

This section considered the restoration of the setting of the modified extended family and its associated family life. It elaborated both on the reconstruction of the housing arrangements as well as the personal meanings family members have of them. Its underlying argument was that both *despite* and *because* of economic constraints they faced, members of the refugee generation constructed their houses in a way that resembled the housing arrangements in their village. Additionally, the section portrayed how the second generation have taken up both this family life and its resulting relationships, with the acquisition of apartments adjacent to each other producing a similar kind of emotional proximity.

These housing arrangements were not the only way the refugee generation managed to restore family life following displacement. Testimonies by family members revealed two additional ways this was performed. The first of these pertained to the practice of 'koubaria', a ritual and symbolic type of kinship connected with baptising ceremonies that was largely kept within the family. The second moreover, concerned the childcare practices the refugee generation followed to raise their children, which facilitated building relationships amongst the second generation.

The intra-familial practice of 'koubaria'

'Koubaria' is a term intended to capture a type of symbolic kinship created between individuals and families through the church ceremonies of baptism and marriage (Panagakos, 2003). As studies into Mediterranean societies have shown, 'koubaria' is an institution that creates or solidifies social relationships, a sort of 'ritualised personal relations' (Eisenstadt, 1956: 90). The present discussion concentrates on an aspect of this relationship, the baptising of children or what in many Western cultures is known as godparenting. What separates 'koubaria' from this traditional understanding of godparenting, however, is that the parents are not just offering the rights for the spiritual destiny of the child to individuals distinct from its biological ones, but also are ascribing a symbolic kinship relationship to a foreigner (the godparent) by bringing this outsider 'in the family' (Bloch and Guggenheim, 1981).

The practice of 'koubaria' is a significant institutional symbol for Greek Cypriots, particularly those people from rural areas of the island. As anthropological studies have shown, the retaining of 'koubaria' within the village was a common practice among rural communities in the Mediterranean, with the baptising of the child seen as its official membership in the local community (Bloch and Guggenheim, 1981). Baptising was considered as a characteristic of village life and the way the child was symbolically brought into the community of the village and the extended family.

1974 brought about the rapid urbanisation and modernisation of Cyprus, with many refugees and their families taking refuge in the new urban centres. In my maternal extended family, five out of the eight siblings relocated to Nicosia. Moving to the city

meant an exposure to a modern lifestyle and the establishment of social relations outside the extended family circle. In these modern social pressures and amidst these new social relationships, the refugee generation offered the baptising of their children not to people they met in their new social surrounding but among the extended family. This practice resonates with Roger Zetter's (1999) argument that refugees sought to sustain the continuity of their social and cultural inventory through weddings, funerals, or child rearing. An important point he raises, nonetheless, is that 'whereas the physical and material symbols *of a home* are mainly used to relate to the past, the social and institutional symbols represent the future' (Zetter, 1999: 8-9).

My extended family has largely sustained the practice of 'koubari*es*' (in plural) within its members, the refugee generation baptising each other's children. This practice has also been taken up by the second generation in relation to their own children. The intra-familial sustaining of 'koubaria' was a subject of discussion appearing only in the testimony by my sister Andri. Nonetheless, it warrants consideration as Andri believed it to be a practice with the intention of preserving the family life established following displacement and solidifying the relationships between the extended family. The following excerpt is from Andri's account of the way she perceives the relationship between her mother and her sisters.

'They are so tight that many times they give each other their children to baptise (*assertively*). So, aunt Eirini gave her child to Andreas, who is the son of her sister [Eleni]. My mother gave to my Godmother [Sotiroulla] that is her sister. My Godmother gave her child to Panayiota who is the daughter of her sister [Maria]. Panayiota gave her children to us [one to Andri and another to

Andria]. (*Short pause*) And the reason why they do this thing is so that they retain relationships. Because you give your child for baptising to somebody that you know will be close to you (*assertively*). This is proof to the kind of relationships that exist. These koubaries [in plural].' (Andri interview: 5)

Andri's response described in-depth the cross-familial (between individual nuclear families) and intra-familial (in terms of the extended family) practice of 'koubaria', mentioning various examples by name. As she developed her narrative however, 'koubaria' was recognised as more than just proof of the relationship. She recognised it as a guarantor for the participation and involvement of family members in the extended family, as a practice connected with solidifying these social relations. 'Koubaria', according to Andri, acted as a form of assurance to the continuation of this family life, as one offers such a role only to people that he or she trusts and knows. To maintain this responsibility within the extended family, acts as a confirmation to the continuity of interaction between its members. This understanding of 'koubaria' sees it as a practice that both feeds and feeds from the already established relationships within the extended family.

Andri's argument that 'one offers the role of 'koubaria' only to those they know will be close', must be seen in the context of the urban environment of Nicosia. The urban mode of life has been sociologically described with characteristics such as 'the substitution of secondary for primary contacts… and the undermining of the traditional basis of social solidarity' (Bell and Boat, 1957: 391). The instrumentalist and self-interest relationships are of course qualitatively different from the relationships with kin. Andri then comments that the offering of the spiritual upbringing of her child is a

responsibility that she would entrust only to family members. She symbolically constructs 'koubaria' as a safeguarding practice against the impersonal relations of the urban environment and a guarantee for the maintenance of interaction with her kin for the future. To this end, the two godparents of her children are her husband's sister and me.

This subsection focused on the intra-familial practice of 'koubaria' among my extended family. It argued that it was a practice initiated by the refugee generation in order to conserve the family life established after displacement. As Andri commented moreover, this practice has been passed down to the children themselves, as they have continued to offer each other the symbolic role of 'koubaria'. 'Koubaria' is an institution that strengthens and in return is strengthened by the existing family relationships and family life.

Childcare and intergenerational relationships

The last device by which members of the refugee generation restored the extended family were the childcare practices they followed in the urban environment of Nicosia. Rural childcare practices stress the need of young children to be near their mothers or other female members of their family (LeVine, 1977). These were the childcare practices the refugee generation were raised by and practices they reconstructed following their displacement. This reconstruction took place through the kindergarten school of my aunt Maria, as family relations continued to govern childcare practices, in a way that resembled practices in the village.

Maria had been a kindergarten teacher prior to 1974. The family had helped her to build her own school in Zodhia, while members of the family often helped her manage it (e.g. Christakis would drive around neighbouring villages to collect children in the morning and Eirini would help her with cleaning and various other chores). She had named the school 'Manoulla', which in colloquial Greek means 'Mommy'. After displacement, Maria and her husband settled in the village of Peristerona. Maria rented a property in the village and opened a new school with the same name. After her husband Michalakis was diagnosed with leukaemia in 1978, the couple moved to Nicosia for better treatment. Maria rented a property in Akropoli (an area of Nicosia) and opened a school for the third time. She eventually managed to buy the property outright and owned it until 2002 and her retirement.

Studies have shown that childcare costs can often deter female labour participation, while the availability of formal or informal childcare can have positive effects on mothers' labour entry (Del Boca and Vuri, 2007). This was precisely why Maria and her kindergarten school were helpful for her sisters who relocated to Nicosia. My sister and I, and all our cousins living in Nicosia, attended the school free of charge until we attended primary school. While this arrangement might seem ordinary, it is much more complex than it appears. Akropoli, where Maria's kindergarten school was located, is approximately five kilometres (three miles) away from our houses. The 15-minute drive was not easy for any of our parents, as their places of work were in different areas of Nicosia. Furthermore, they were often stuck in traffic as Akropoli was in the business hub of Nicosia. Nonetheless, family relationships and the provision of free childcare in the difficult period following displacement outweighed these discomforts.

Additionally, this childcare and provision did not end as we moved to primary school but continued until we were 13 years old and of an age to take care of ourselves. My sister, our cousins and I, all attended a primary school in Akropoli close to the kindergarten, despite having one 350 metres behind our houses. After school finished, we were expected to walk to the kindergarten, where we would eat lunch, do our homework, and wait for one of our parents to come to pick us and take us home. Family relationships thus, did not only govern childcare practices but influenced where we attended school.

This section will present two testimonies where the importance of the school became manifest. These were the testimonies by my aunt Sofia and Maria's daughter, Panayiota. These testimonies portray both the importance of these childcare practices for the refugee generation, as well as their significance for the second generation. My aunt Sofia discussed the significance of the kindergarten school in terms of her family's move from Peristerona, where they resided with her parents-in-law following her marriage to Nicosia. Giorgos and Sofia initially rented a flat in Akropoli, close to Maria's school, until they built their house in Pallouriotissa.

> 'I gave birth to my first child in Peristerona. My mother-in-law raised him until he was 18 months old and then we moved to Nicosia. There we bought (*stutters*)… we rented a flat; 55 pounds in 1980, it was very expensive. In Akropolis. It was close (*assertively*). When my elder sister managed to get herself together [following the death of her husband], she rented a house there close by and that is the reason why we went also there, at a short distance. And she opened the kindergarten school… so we

can take the children. After two years (*short pause*), we were for

two and a half years there. We bought a plot in Pallouriotissa and

we build.' (Sofia interview: 3)

Parenting and childcare are inevitably a complicated and demanding role, even more so for refugee families. When Giorgos and Sofia lived in Peristerona, Sofia's mother-in-law cared for her first son. This form of childcare was typical amongst rural communities, as available female family members would tend to the children, with childcare originating in the intimacy of family relationships. Nonetheless, as both Giorgos and Sofia worked in Nicosia, they soon decided to move to the city. Maria and the location of the kindergarten school had a vital role in this decision, particularly where to rent an apartment until they built their own house. Giorgos and Sofia chose Akropolis, despite the rent being awfully expensive in that area. As Sofia confirms, they had gone there because her sister and the kindergarten school were there. The free provision of childcare by a family member became the most significant factor in their decision, with the ability to take her child in her sister's school outweighing both the cost of the apartment itself and the worries of non-parental childcare. The provision of childcare from Maria allowed them to conserve both money and time, as they worked and built their house at the same time (as we have seen, Giorgos built part of the house with the help of other family members). Extended family intra-familial childcare was, therefore, significant for the relocation of Sofia's family to Nicosia.

While for the refugee generation, the kindergarten school was seen as a source of support towards childcare, for the second generation it has attained a very different role. This role became evident in the testimony by my cousin Panayiota and her

personal meanings regarding her mother's school. Panayiota perceived the school as a nest where the second generation gathered and where family relationships were formed. In the following excerpt, she is responding to a question regarding the significance of her mother's kindergarten school.

> 'It was the nucleus the school [*itan o pirinas to nipiagogio*] (*assertively*). Everything circulated around it. Because all the cousins were raised in that school. It was a place of interaction, (*raises tone of voice*) the reasons for interaction. The reason for the close relationships (*assertively*). Perhaps had you not been coming to the extent you came; we would not have the relationships that we have. It was the only reason that while you were away, we would meet. We would meet daily (*assertively*). Otherwise, we would not meet. From the moment you went to secondary school it started to rather fade away, to become weekly or even monthly. The kindergarten school was the location and the reason [of us forming] an [intimate] relationship (*assertively*). [It was the location] of interaction… that we could not escape (*animating tone of voice*). [Panayiota seems to suggest that because of our parents' constraints, we were 'forced' to attend the school and as such build our relationship]' (Panayiota interview: 8)

Panayiota perceived her mother's school as not only a place and location, but also as the mechanism for interaction amongst the second generation. She saw the distance between the families of Paraskevi, Sotiroulla and Sofia as leaving her disadvantaged in terms of family life and relationships. What mitigated for this distance was the kindergarten school and the interaction she had through it. As she contended, while we had a family life built around the proximity of residence, she had to depend on the

kindergarten school for interaction with us. For her the school was a nest, a symbol of where the second generation grew and established its relationships. It represented the assembly point, whilst at the same time it symbolised the commitment of the second generation to the familial relationship. Panayiota understood this symbolic and metaphorical notion of the school as an institutional means by which 'we' (as the second generation of refugees) sustained our familial and social inventory (Zetter, 1999).

Nonetheless, at the same time as she recognised its importance, Panayiota acknowledged its functioning to be contingent to the life cycle of the second generation. This emotionally loaded symbol transformed as we grew older. As we moved to secondary school, our parents chose to send us to our local institute, as we no longer needed Maria's supervision. Inevitably, this transformation had repercussions for the interaction among the second generation. On the back of these alterations to the intra-generational relationships however, 'koubaria' was employed to accommodate the sifting relationships. Panayiota offered the baptism of her first two children to my sister Andri and cousin Andria. These restoring devices cooperated in reconstructing but also transmitting the extended family life.

This chapter has concentrated on the disruption of the modified extended family in the village and the restoring of a similar kind of extended family in the urban environment of Nicosia. Testimonies by both the refugee generation and their children attested to a severe disruption to the fabric of family life that had existed in the village. On the back of this disruption however, the supportive intra-familial environment that the refugee

generation inherited, allowed for the rebuilding of a similar type of family life in Nicosia. Three devices were utilised in the restoration of this family life, which had elements of what Svetlana Boym (2001) has called 'restorative nostalgia'. The transhistorical reconstruction of the lost home sought to inculcate values and norms in a way that it implied a continuity with the lost past (Boym, 2001: xviii-42). Members of the refugee generation built their houses in a way that resembled housing arrangements in their village, recreating a similar type of family life. At the same time, they retained the ritual and symbolic kinship of 'koubaria' within the extended family, as they would have done in the village. This symbolic kinship actively nourished and in return was nourished by the existing relationships among family members. Lastly, the childcare practices that the refugee generation followed, resembled the practices they would have adhered to in the village. Maria's kindergarten school proved extremely important for the families of her sisters that moved to Nicosia, while at the same time it provided for a place and mechanism where the second generation met and interacted. All three devices managed to recreate a family life that resembled the setting of the modified extended family in the village and maintained and transmitted the relationships the refugee generation had built.

The analysis in this chapter showed that displacement, urbanisation and modernisation did not result in the annihilation of the traditional values family members were brought up in their villages, but rather in their preservation and transformation. The extended family, its associated family life and the relationships that one has in this family, were to a great extent reproduced following displacement and relocation to the south. Displacement acted therefore, as bulwark to pressures of urbanisation. While

discussions concerning urbanisation and social change raise the argument that urbanisation often results in family breakdown (Murdock, 1949; Young and Willmott, 1973), the analysis in this chapter has shown that displacement and its resulting economic restraints acted as a defence to these pressures of urbanisation. Many of the functions of the family such as childcare and socialisation for its members, have not been disrupted but have been recreated in the urban setting of the city. To this end, the relationship between the modified extended family, urbanisation and displacement is not necessarily detrimental for the former.

Chapter 6. Gender and 'the home': the contested meanings of the house

In his introduction to the concept of home, Michael Allen Fox states that 'whatever else it might be, home is a place' (2016: 15; see also Blunt and Dowling, 2006). He then proposes that we must stretch our meaning of place to capture what home really means. The previous two chapters stretched their notions of place, as they investigated home in the context of the belonging to the Greek Cypriot society after 1974 and its association with the family and the space where it inhabits. This chapter in turn, deals with a place whose placement is more precise. The notion of home for this chapter refers to the house as a place of residence, an idea of home as 'the inside or enclosed domain' representing 'a comfortable, secure and safe space' (Mallett, 2004: 71; see also Dubisch, 1986; Blunt and Dowling, 2006).

In the analysis of how Greek Cypriot refugees contemplate and narrate the loss of their houses in the north, the chapter engages with understandings and theorisations of place originating in human geography (Trower, 2011). As Doreen Massey contends, 'social phenomena and space are constituted out of social relations, that is the spatial is social relations 'stretched out'' (1994: 2). To this end, specific ways of thinking and narrating about space and place relate to specific constructions of gender relations (Massey, 1994). Cultural geographers have examined the relationship between the house and women in a variety of different cultural contexts, from Mexico, to Britain, and to South-East Asia (see Blunt, 2005; Llewellyn, 2004; Varley, 2000). In the Greek context,

Loizos and Papataxiarchis have called the dominant - rural - gender relations as the domestic model of gender, an ideal that encapsulates the values of marriage, informs the domestic and conjugal roles for both males and females, and provides standards for social life in general (1991: 5; see also Dubisch, 1986; Hirschon, 1988). They continue by noting that the idea of the household (*nikokirio*) is of primary significance for the regulation of marriage and the importance of the house derives from it:

> 'The house and the children are the imperative concerns around which married women organise their lives. Men's attachment is more flexible and indirect since their destiny is more ambiguous and overshadowed by extrahousehold concerns.' (Loizos and Papataxiarchis, 1991: 6)

The significance of the house as space and place reflects the social relationships in the Cypriot domestic model of gender (see Cockburn, 2004; Vassiliadou, 2004). As Vassiliadou, borrowing from Dubisch, writes, the house is 'highly symbolic as… it is a place of cleanliness and purity as opposed to the street which is dirty' (2004: 53; see also Argyrou, 1997). The Cypriot woman is expected to keep the house clean and in order, with this ability also reflecting her character and identity (Vassiliadou, 2004; Skapoulli, 2009). These expectations on domestic cleanliness still hold considerable value in both rural and urban settings, despite shifts and reconstructions of its symbolic significance due to more women entering the labour force (Anthias, 2006). A woman's interest is in keeping a high standard of cleanliness and order in her household, regardless of any other commitments (Vassiliadou, 2004). Failing to do so would mean subjectivation to gossip concerning her commitment to the family and the home (Anthias, 2006; Cowan, 1991).

The argument of this chapter is that the femininity associated with the house has coloured the personal meanings that family members have in relation to its loss. To portray these 'gendered' meanings, the chapter utilises Renos Papadopoulos' (2002) work on the meaning of home for refugees and his concept of 'nostalgic disorientation'. Borrowing from Papadopoulos (2002), this chapter depicts how family members related to houses in the north through three different dimensions. First, the way family members spoke about these houses as both the origins and destinations of their persons. Second, how family members' nostalgic yearning for a reconnection with these houses took form in the physical/material aspects and/or in the more general and abstract (even imaginary) inhabited spaces of these houses. And lastly, the experience of the two moments of 'house-coming', the physical return through the crossing in 2003 and the psychological one, i.e. whether they managed to re-establish meaningful connections in terms of those houses or not.

The chapter argues that women related to the loss of the houses in a multidimensional level, by contrast to the men whose meanings of this loss was limited by its feminine nature. Central to the comprehension of this loss was the institution of dowry and its implications for marriage and post-marital relationships in rural societies (Loizos, 1975b, 1981; Galaní-Moutáfi, 1993; Cockburn, 2004). Additionally, the chapter portrays how the condition of the house (i.e. being 'dirty') upon the crossing in 2003 acted as an agent of dissociation between women and the house as property. Lastly, the 'house-coming' and its emotional after effects were much more evident in testimonies by female family members than those by males. These variations were to a certain extent, observed also in testimonies by the children, as some elements appearing in

accounts by refugees were recurrent. Female children sought to empathise and comprehend the way female refugees experienced the house left behind. Male children, conversely, were unable to do so.

A last point of consideration concerns the influence of the checkpoints' opening in 2003 and the encounters with the spaces and places in the north since then. These encounters inevitably left their mark on how family members, irrespective of generation, constructed their narratives about these houses. For the refugees, their narratives arose through a juxtaposition between the memories of the past and the impressions of the present, what Loizos (2008) has called the 'past-present' modality of time (see also Dikomitis, 2005, 2012; Constantinou and Hatay, 2010; Constantinou, Demetriou and Hatay, 2012; Bryant, 2010).[9] The second generation moreover, spoke about a disparity between the image of these houses created by stories from the parents and grandparents in contrast to the physical reality of what stood in front of them. Inevitably, this crossing coloured the testimonies by all family members, with narratives about these houses being entangled in the different modalities of time experienced during the crossings, between the real and ideal house, the actual and remembered one (Mallett, 2004; Al-Ali and Koser, 2002; Blunt and Dowling, 2006).

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[9] In his 2008 book, Loizos examined the crossings performed by refugees back to their places of origin. He describes the appearance of two different modalities of time during these crossings: (a) a 'past-present' modality, where memories of the past are impressed upon perceptions of the present; and (b) a 'present-present' modality, where the perceptions of the present are faithful to sensory information.

The meanings of the house for refugees: directions, entities and 'house-comings'

The house as origins and destinations

Roger Zetter (1998) has commented that houses in rural Cypriot communities were often considered the symbol of family line, of economic success and social standing (see also Loizos, 1975b; Argyrou, 1996). Tradition called for the father to build houses for his daughters on land he already owned, with the daughters themselves seen as the housemakers and often, as house-owners (Cockburn, 2004; Papataxiarchis, 1991). The institution of dowry, a social norm at the core of the analysis in this section, had the capability to connect past, present and future, allowing the houses to transcend time and link generations.

A common assumption among the literature is that the home is associated with the origins of where we come from, our past (Papadopoulos, 2002). As Wampole (2016) explains, this idea supports our subjective need to feel connected with something apart from the self. This need is met with assumptions concerning roots, a connection with ancestors that is ubiquitous and cannot be denied. This idea became particularly significant in the testimony by my uncle Petros. The following excerpt forms part of his concluding statement, where he responds to a question regarding his ideas about what a house means.

> 'The house is the basis of the family. It is the roots of your existence (*assertively*).… We are a society where each person wanted their house to be their root. This thing existed before and in time people tried to make a house again.… That is why this

thing happened to us (*downbeat*). Because we have lost our root

(*in regretful tone of voice*).' (Petros interview: 16)

The concept of rootedness articulates a belief in an already established past that is 'there' and undeniable. As Tuan describes, the condition of rootedness entails the 'long habitation in one locality', an 'incuriosity toward the world at large and an insensitivity toward the flow of time' (1980: 4). Petros' narrative is concerning a mental conception of the house and describing a condition of the self where one is rooted to the house, where the definition of the self and its subjective wholeness come only by means of this connection. This kind of introversion, with life 'facing inwards', as Loizos (1981) has described Cypriot rural life, was the kind of life refugees lived in their villages prior to displacement (see also Argyrou, 1996; Davis Hanson, 2000). It was a way of life where the village was their entire world, consuming both subjective time and place. To this end, the family house was understood as providing roots both through time and space, as entrenching the family and its members in this particular place and providing them with a past (Morley, 2000). Without the house, one is unable to acknowledge his or her own existence in reference to the past.

For my uncle Petros, protracted exile brought about an abrupt end to any association with the houses in the north as roots. He upheld that this uprooting produced a sickness of the soul, a spiritual malaise. He lamented about 'the thing that has happened to us' (Petros interview: 16), with the 'us' remaining quite abstract in the narrative. He seemed to suggest that Greek Cypriot refugees have forgotten where their roots lay and thus have forgotten their places of belonging. The loss of association to these roots, it seemed to him, also engendered a fading away of the willingness to return. As such,

the meaning of these houses and the areas in the north as a future destination has been lost.

Contrary to Petros, my mother commented on the family house in the north in relation to her mother rather than the abstract metaphor of roots. In discussing the significance of the property in the north to her, she upheld the house's feminine nature, calling it 'the house of her mother', and connected it with her own childhood years and her memories of growing up. Of interest was that, while my grandmother was identified as the house-owner, my mother recognised that the housebuilders were her father and paternal grandfather. This contradiction can be related to what Cockburn (2004; see also Herzfield, 1991) describes as the ambiguity of house ownership: while men would build the houses, women were their owners, marking the conjugal relation and asserting the feminine association of the house.

In line with the association of the idea of the house as origins to the institution of dowry, its notion as destination was also connected to the institution of dowry. This was particularly manifest in the testimony by my aunt Eirini, where following an initial question regarding what 1974 meant for her, she offered an elaborate account of the family's history of displacement, taking us from the moment of the flight to approximately five years afterwards. Towards the end of this narrative, she commented on the obstacles she and her sisters faced in terms of finding spouses.

> '…we were working. Slowly, slowly. We were thinking 'who will come to take us [in terms of marriage] now (*in concerned voice*)? Without land, without a house, without nothing' (*in*

> *distressed voice*). We had nothing (*den eihame tipote*)
> (*assertively*). We only had a job.' (Eirini interview: 2)

While these reflections were followed by a description of the years when she and her sisters were eventually married, here she emphasised their difficulties in finding spouses. At first, this narrative does not concern the future but the past, as the language Eirini employs talks of losses that have transpired ('we had nothing'). However, Eirini and most of her sisters had not yet married by 1974, the houses that she discusses being ones they would have eventually received as dowry from their parents. Her reflections on the loss of a house took place in a 'hypothetical time', a time that never actually occurred but which she imagined as experienced. Her narrative was a subjective enactment of the loss of a house she never objectively had. Starting in the immediate aftermath of displacement, Eirini narrated a history that went back in time and looked forward towards protracted exile, contemplating the deprivation of a prospective house and its symbolic value as dowry.

The institution of dowry reflected the significance of women's ownership of the house and was an indication of the kind of status women had within the household (Cockburn, 2004; Galaní-Moutáfi, 1993). The loss of a prospective house would result in significant alterations to marital and gender relations. Eirini's re-enactment of this loss recognised both the difficulty in meeting cultural obligations but also a deficit and shortfall in terms of marital and gender relations. She had been the only female sibling to remain in a rural environment because her husband wished to do so. Additionally, she felt indebted to her mother-in-law due to taking all the responsibility for building 'her' own house. Eirini's description supports Loizos' (1981) contention that the loss

of their houses, either the ones they already had or were meant to have, left women vulnerable, like snails without shells.

As Dubisch comments, dowry played an important role in shaping the physical setting where domestic life was lived and offered women 'a culturally recognised right to a say-so in household affairs, a right acknowledged by husband, wife and the community at large' (1986: 16; see also Loizos and Papataxiarchis, 1991). Displacement disrupted this sense of power and questioned the ability not only of finding spouses but also of the kind of relationships they would enjoy with their prospective husbands and their future families. The absence of a house meant that women would be indebted and feel an obligation to their husbands and their families, an obligation signifying an alteration in gender relations, and in extent, domestic affairs. This loss signified a loss in what Herzfeld (1991) calls the articulation of a poetics of womanhood in the context of gender relations. This is an argument that can be placed in the context of a comment often spoken by female members of the displaced generation: they were all lucky to have husbands who were good and coming from good families.

The way in which refugees related to the loss of the house can be connected to their attitudes towards the house itself. My uncle Petros spoke about the houses in the north as the roots where Greek Cypriots come from but to which they have lost their urge to return. His ideas about the loss of the house are rather abstract, illustrated through the metaphor of rootedness. Both my mother's and Eirini's meanings about the loss of the house, however, are personal and cultural-specific, linking this loss with family and the symbolic power related to its ownership. While for the women the house is a feminine

space with its loss being personal, for Petros, the house is a connection with a past which is general and abstract but also that seems to have faded in importance.

The house as nostalgic yearning – materiality versus immateriality

In his analysis of the idea of home in Homer's 'Odyssey', Papadopoulos (2002) states that each person experiences and expresses loss in a personalised way. For Odysseus, nostalgic yearning took the form, not of seeing his palace itself but in seeing the smoke rising from the palace. Smoke symbolised an intangible entity, the general and abstract (even imaginary) signification of home, while the palace itself was its physical and material representation. This section seeks to apply this differentiation to the idea of the house. On the one hand, it portrays how female members sought to re-connect with their house in the north through both its material and immaterial aspect. The encountered difficulties and obstacles in the way left this process incomplete. Male refugees, conversely, associated to the house in the north through a rather abstract, non-figurative element, unable to re-establish associations to its material aspect.

Most Western thought has theorised the importance of place as per its relationship to identity and belonging, with a focus on the experience of place for either the single individual or the collective self (Liotta, 2009; Rozińska, 2011). In my uncle Petros' testimony however, the house escaped this rigid connection between place and belonging. Like Odysseus' smoke, he described the house as possessing a soul, the spiritual aspect of existence. As he maintained, 'they are not soulless these things (instructive voice). They are alive, they have soul' (*ehoun psishi*) (Petros interview: 16). The house became alive and part of the family, the bulwark of its values, customs,

and norms (Papataxiarchis and Paradellis, 1993; Kautantzoglou, 1996). His instructive tone during the narrative indicated a motivation for teaching this notion to younger generations. My identity as his nephew and a similar age to his sons, allowed him to perceive me as a general representation of the second generation and teach me concerning 'our own roots to the land'.

As Zetter (1999) explains, the nostalgic yearning for return is typically constructed towards an idealised version of home, overlaid with abstractness and imagination (see also Al-Rasheed, 1994; Manning, 2017). Petros' account exemplified this nostalgic yearning, as the only meaningful associations he could establish were towards the abstract idea of 'the house's soul', an unstable and abstract representation. Accordingly, both he and my uncle Giorgos had difficulty in finding meaningful connections to the physical aspect of the house. In describing his journey back to his village in 2003, Giorgos offered the following description to his return: 'I went to my house (*pauses*); it made no impression on me (*disengaged tone of voice*). Very different. There was nothing inside (*sounds indifferent*)' (Giorgos interview: 8). As he described his return, Giorgos seemed dissociated from the meanings he once had of the house. The word 'nothing' and his overall body language as he uttered it (shrugging his shoulders) attested to a disengagement from its previous meanings. While Petros had ascertained a nostalgic yearning through an idealised version of the house as 'having a soul', Giorgos seemed entirely dissociated from it.

The female members of the family had quite different associations to the way they experienced their family house. In one of the most interesting accounts in relation to

the return there, my mother spoke in reference to a mirror the family owned and left behind during their flight, which she found upon her return, albeit in the house opposite theirs.

> **PP:** 'Erm… we had a mirror which was written on it 'kalimera' [*καλημέρα*; good morning], painted. Somebody had made it for grandfather, and it was a very special thing (*appreciative voice*). A mirror that was written on it 'kalimera', with painted things. (*Changes tone of voice*) And we entered the house and we did not find anything ours…. Erm, afterwards we entered the house across (*apenanti*) [from their own]. We entered the house across where she [the resident of the opposite house was a Turkish Cypriot elderly woman] called us 'come, come here'. And we entered and we saw the mirror with the 'kalimera' in the house of the grandmother (*sto spiti tis giagias*) [in colloquial Greek, an elderly woman is called 'grandmother'] across the street. Of the grandmother across our house. The Turkish Cypriot grandmother that stayed there (*assertively*).'
>
> **CP:** 'Had she taken the mirror from your house?'
>
> **PP:** (*Continues in animating voice*) 'She had taken it from the house across [she means their own house] and had put it on top… we went to the toilet and it was inside. And we told her: 'this is ours' (*joyfully*).'
>
> **CP:** 'Erm… did you not want to get it (*surprised tone*)?'
>
> **PP:** 'No. We did not want to get it. I took its picture and I have it until now (*compassionate voice*).' (Paraskevi interview: 11)

My mother's account concerning the discovery of the mirror was characterised by various emotional changes to her tone. Her initial description of the mirror indicated an appreciation of the kind of arduous detail and work in the mirror's design, and the

fact that it was handed to their family as a gift. Wishing to assert its significance for the family, she repeatedly referred to it as 'a very special thing'.

Figure 8: The photograph of the mirror that my mother took during her return to Zodhia. It is kept amongst many other photographs from the journey of return in the family's photograph archive. Photograph by the author.

Following the description of the mirror, my mother moved on to recount the experience of their crossing in 2003 and the return to their neighbourhood in Zodhia. She ascertained that while they did not find anything 'theirs' in their own house, they found the mirror in the house opposite to theirs. This misplacement is of course particularly important in how my mother situates her belonging in relation to the materiality of the house. Her belonging was suddenly reversed away from the physical structure of the house, which had nothing of theirs, and towards the mirror, despite its misplacement.

Their own house becomes 'the house across', a dissociated entity. Identity and belonging suddenly shift towards the mirror, represented in the joyful tone in her voice and her clear emotional investment in the object itself. Unlike the house's structure, the mirror provided a direct connection to the past. Its circulation and movement to a different location had not tainted neither the mirror's identity nor how she herself experienced and related to it.

In her account of a similar story, Rebecca Bryant (2010; see also Bryant, 2014) describes the discovery by a Turkish Cypriot family of a chest that they had lost prior to 1974. As they returned to the village following Greek Cypriot displacement, an elderly woman of the family identified the chest's original ownership with the same family that had re-appropriated it. Bryant calls such items 'history's remainders, pieces of a past that do not fit, and hence reminders of a past that is unfinished' (2010: 149). Such description captures the story of my mother's mirror, with the only difference being that the mirror did not 'return home'. While its ownership was identified with the family, my mother's reaction to the follow-up question of why they did not take it back indicated that either they could not find the courage to request it or the elderly woman did not allow them to do so. The mirror's connection with the identity of the family was not one she was fully able to re-embrace but one that she proceeded to make anew, as a form of healing and re-creation (Fox, 2016). By photographing it, my mother sought to re-embed the connection between the mirror and the family in a different object. As Rose (2003) and Tolia-Kelly (2004) contend, photographs can be used in the domestic space as memory traces, and this is what my mother sought to accomplish through the photographic act. This photograph now associates what had once been

experienced physically, a tangible part of the family's history, identity and belonging (Barthes, 2000).

While my mother was able to find something with which she re-established a kind of association to their house, my aunt Eleni's account of her return illustrated a dissociation from the house due to the many alterations to its physical space. Eleni was the first to return to Zodhia in 2003 after the opening of the border. Following a question regarding the decision to return, she described in detail both the preparation for the crossing and the journey itself. In the following excerpt, she describes her arrival to the house, reminiscing and contrasting the way she recalled it with what she encountered upon her return:

> 'As we were entering, there was a long corridor with two rooms on one side and two on the other. And in the middle, we had it divided: there was a living room in the front and dining room, and we had a table in the back and a fridge. And I see the door completely closed and lived (*sounds surprised*) … They had made a door towards the road (*assertively*)… where there was the window. The window they had made it a door and there lived another family (*disapproving voice*). It lived one family on one side and another on the other side.' (Eleni interview: 5)

Eleni's narrative was characterised by a juxtaposition between how her family kept the house and what she encountered upon her return. The 'past-present' modality that she narrated suggested an ambivalence and inconsistency regarding the way she remembered this space and what she encountered upon her return, similar to what Dikomitis (2012), Webster and Timothy (2006) and Constantinou and Hatay (2010)

discuss in relation to pilgrimages of return by both Greek and Turkish Cypriots. She re-enacted the shock and astonishment she had experienced during the moment of return. The space where she had lived the early years of her life had become smaller, not only because she had grown into an adult herself, but because the physical space had changed. The shift in tone and body language, reconstructed the shock and bewilderment of this alteration. Her response to this was a condemnation, both towards the change of the physical space but also towards the purpose of this alteration. Where once their family lived, now lived two.

As the oldest female sibling, Eleni often assisted her mother in taking care of the house and her younger siblings. In the absence of her mother, who chose not to return, Eleni symbolically assumed the role of the guardian of the physical well-being of the house (Vassiliadou, 2004). Her response to its current condition reflected the response of a woman who, rather than finding fulfilment upon her return, became disoriented by the area she encountered. Her memories of the way the space and the furniture were set up did not correspond to her physical experience of space upon her return. Rather than a re-affirmation of the connection between place, identity and belonging, the alterations to the physical aspect resulted in damaging the association between the house and her past.

The narratives presented by my mother and Eleni indicated that both encountered difficulties in re-establishing meaningful connections to their family house. My mother, while accounting for the discovery of the mirror, admitted also that she had to re-embed the association between object and identity into a different object, with the

former remaining behind. My aunt Eleni, moreover, was unsuccessful in establishing any form of association as the perception of the present did not correspond at all to the memories of the past. Nevertheless, these narratives concerning the failure to re-establish meaningful connections through the house's material aspect should also be seen in relation to narratives concerning its symbolic aspect. The latter clearly revealed the functional and symbolic link of houses to women, particularly in relation to cleanliness and the act of keeping the house clean and orderly. As Juliet du Boulay (1974) contended and Vassiliadou (2004) affirms, the woman was meant to epitomize in her actions the symbolic aspect of both the property and herself: cleanliness and morality.

The female members of my extended family connected the notion of cleanliness to the conjugal roles associated with the domestic model of gender and the symbolism connected with the two ethnic groups in Cyprus. As Lisa Dikomitis (2005, 2012) argues, Greeks in Cyprus see Turks as unclean and neglectful of the properties the former left behind. Quoting one of her study participants, she describes how the perception of the identity of the village itself was altered due to the change of its inhabitants: 'Dirty Turks. The village was not clean. *Tourkika*. (Turkish) They turned the village into a Turkish village' (Dikomitis, 2012: 74). According to Dikomitis, this belief typifies the way Greek Cypriots see the Turkish population of Cyprus. For a village to be 'Turkified', it signified that it had become filthy and dirty. Identity and hygiene thus become inextricably connected. This form of stereotyping theorises a widely held, yet oversimplified, belief towards 'the Turks', with dirtiness seen as a derogatory generalisation of group qualities that reflects the prejudices of the group

that actually proceeds to stereotype (Adorno, et al., 1950; see also Zembylas, 2014b; Tsimouris, 2015).

In her theorisation of dirtiness, Mary Douglas (1966) notes that the latter is a description with strong moral and symbolic connotations. In discourses of dirtiness, the term is remarkably close to denoting 'not entirely human… a transgression of norms that is more emotionally charged than simple *ethnic* difference' (Kuipers, 2000: 167). Yet, 'filthy Turk' is a common term of abuse across cultures and not only in the Cypriot context. As Kuipers (2000) states, the stereotype of the 'dirty Turks' originated as a marker of cultural difference as well as a designation of socio-economic status. On the one hand, Western cultures have often seen Turkey through patronising representations of the Orient, wishing to assert both difference and power over its symbol (Said, 2003; Argyrou, 1996). On the other hand, in many societies where Turkish minorities lived, Cyprus included, they were seen as the poor or of a lower class, constructing the stereotype of the 'filthy Turk' in line with the 'smelly' working classes.

The notions of cleanliness and dirtiness presented in this section were the result of a juxtaposition between the memories of the house prior to 1974 and its experience upon return in 2003. The stereotyping in family members' narratives did not concern only the collective belief concerning 'the filthy Turks' but was also subjectively reconstructed depending on the context in which it was used. Dirtiness and cleanliness were categorisations that could apply according to the context in which they were utilised, and were not fixed on a collective group such as 'the Turks'. The most obvious example of this re-construction of the stereotype was in the testimony by my aunt Eleni,

where she described being invited by the Turkish Cypriot elderly woman who lived across the street to their family house (the one in whose house they had located the mirror).

> 'There was a grandmother who spoke Greek and invited us to her house. 'Come', she told us, and she took us in and she offered us sweets as well. That grandmother (*stutters*)… we wanted to go to the toilet and… (*changes tone of voice and talks pejoratively*) in there [in relation to their own house] there was not, in our house. (*Continues in condemnatory tone of voice*) But they had not even left the doors so [refers to the alterations in the physical aspect of the house]… (*Changes tone of voice to more rousing one*) She had a European toilet (*Evropaiki toualeta*) [in contrast to a squat toilet, which in colloquial Greek we call 'Turkish' toilet], and, on top of the toilet, she even had a hand-made towel. A very clean grandmother (*mia poli kathari giagia*) (*assertively*).' (Eleni interview: 5-6)

The excerpt captures how Eleni re-constructed the stereotype of the 'dirty Turk'. She proclaims that this elderly woman spoke Greek, which seemed to suggest that she was of a more civilised level of development than the 'ordinary', uneducated Turk (Killoran, 1998). Second, the elderly woman is described as very welcoming and hospitable, adhering to the stereotype of how Cypriots are often seen. Eleni separates this woman from the Turkish population and focuses her identification on the latter aspect of the label; 'Cypriot'. Last, Eleni acknowledged the elderly woman as modern through the kind of toilet she had in her house, with the woman separated from the 'backwarded Turks' and the low hygiene levels of the squat toilets. All these modes of re-constructing the sterotype are eventually summed-up by the adjective 'very clean'.

This is of course an unusual example of the use of the notions of dirtiness and cleanliness and reveals what Argyrou (1996) discusses as the various modes of symbolic domination in Cyprus. Eleni seemed to proceed in this re-construction of the stereotype in order to separate this elderly woman and her house from the current occupants of their own house. In a different part of her testimony, she used the notion of dirtiness to condemn the latter for allowing their family house to reach its current condition. The notion of dirtiness became the means through which she channelled the detestation towards these occupants and the way they had left the house. The following excerpt presents a passage that directly followed her narrative concerning the alterations to the physical space of the house. It demonstrates her efforts to differentiate and negotiate between a 'clean self' and a 'dirty other'.

> 'They made the courtyard a mess. There were rabbits, chicken; you could not even step into the courtyard (*disapproving tone of voice*). How they lived in that place, I do not understand (*condescending tone*). I thought the sky had come down and had fallen upon my head (*enomiza pos epesen o ouranos stin tzefali mou*) (*assertively*). But the house that we used to have it clean like (*hesitates to continue*) … is this a house?' (Eleni interview: 5)

The description of the courtyard and the tone in Eleni's voice signified an accusation towards the current condition of the house and the hostility towards its current occupants for allowing it to reach this point (Bryden, 2004). After a short account of what she encountered in the courtyard, the rest of the narrative stands as proof to her efforts to distinguish her sense of self from them. On the one hand, she looked down

upon them and questioned their capacity to live in the current condition of the house. On the other hand, she sought to ascertain the shock and astonishment she endured during that moment, by enacting a phrase, which in colloquial Cypriot dialect signifies an unexpected occurrence and a hysterical belief that the world is coming to an end. Her subjective experience of the house felt as if disaster had arrived, as if the world had actually ended. To capture all these emotions, she eventually concluded with a differentiation between the condition of the house in the past (its condition when she resided in it) from that of the present, rooted in the categories of cleanliness and dirtiness. This differentiation constructs the self as fundamentally different from the other, to the extent that she concludes with challenging the very nature and ontology of the structure that the current occupants live in: 'is this a house?'. This questioning is an act of detest and dislike towards the current occupants and the dirty state they have made of the house.

My aunt Eleni utilised the notions of cleanliness and dirtiness in a different and rather atypical way. Rather than embodying them in an oversimplified stereotypical belief towards 'the dirty Turks' that Spyros Spyrou (2006a, 2006b) describes in relation to Cypriot children, she utilised them as means to navigate through her experience of crossing. She constructed and deconstructed these categorisations according to her personal experience, recognising that stereotypical generalisations fail to precisely capture the identity of the other. Rather than simply applying these steretypical categorisations to her experience of return, she utilised the latter to reconstruct her understanding and differentiation between the two notions and their association with the two ethnic groups.

 Contrary to Eleni, my aunt Sofia rigidly adhered to the stereotypical belief concerning 'the Turks' as an ethnic group, applying this stereotype to her experience of return.

> 'She was a very dirty lady (*condescending tone of voice*). Very dirty (*assertively*). Once I entered and I saw the situation in our house… 'Mother Mary' (*Panayia mou*), I say (*short pause followed by a astonished rise in tone of voice*), 'what have they done to it?'. She had chicken in the courtyard (*disapproving tone*). (*Continues assertively and in rousing tone*) We had the courtyard fenced, with apricots and grapes (*short pause*)… we had it good (*ixamen to kalo*). Once you stepped down from the house, there were chicken (*short pause*)… (*raises tone assertively*) chicken in the house (*kotes mes' to spiti*)! There were cages. As soon as I saw them I became disoriented. I started crying.' (Sofia interview: 12)

Sofia's narrative begun with an affirmation of the category of difference between self and other, 'clean' and 'dirty'. This category of difference sought to dissolve any possible links between the original and current occupants. The notions of cleanliness and dirtiness are not simply designations of hygienic states but construct identities for both the self and other, standing as proof of their dissimilarity. Following this proclamation of difference, Sofia sought to apprehend the actual dirty nature of the house, both through the employment of religious vocabulary and through a juxtaposition between past and present. On the one hand, her narrative portrays the current condition of the house akin to sacrilege, going against the ordinary order of things and the divine. By re-enacting the religious invocation during the testimony, she wished to confirm her shock in relation to the house's condition, similar to the kind of

theodocies du Boulay (1991) and Hirschon-Filippaki (1996) ascribe for the use of religious vocabulary in Greek contexts. On the other hand, the juxtaposition between past and present attended to a further distinction between self and other. The past was characterised by the 'good' condition the house was under their care. The present was defined by the appalling circumstances she encountered. This juxtaposition eventually led to an emotional overwhelming, as Sofia confesses becoming disoriented and coming to tears.[10]

The narratives by my aunts Eleni and Sofia were produced in relation to their return in 2003 and by emphasising the existing conditions of the house rather than their memories of it prior to 1974. They thus underscored the notion of dirtiness rather than of cleanliness, with the latter becoming visible only in the juxtaposition between past and present. Their younger sister Sotiroulla conversely, highlighted the notion of cleanliness by stressing how their mother took care of the house prior to 1974. Her narrative emphasised female domestic work, the symbol of femininity and the mode by which this work symbolised the house and the family.

> 'Because we considered our houses the best. That was my
> impression; let us say. There was my house, the clean one, the
> well cared for, the freshly painted one (*admiring tone of voice*).
> Every Easter or Christmas, grandmother used to make
> everything crystal clear. My neighbourhood, in which the houses
> used to come so nicely inside (*abstract description*). (…) And

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[10] An important point of consideration is that Sofia's reactions displeased the occupants of the house to the extent that they did not allow the rest of her sisters to enter. Sofia's family was the first to arrive at the house on a day where all the female members of the displaced generation and their families crossed together. Apart from Eleni, who had crossed on a previous occasion, the rest of her siblings had to wait approximately a year to be allowed entry to the house.

everything was so perfect (*nostalgic voice*).' (Sotiroulla interview: 13)

Sotiroulla's narrative was absorbed in the nostalgic reminiscence of how the house and their neighbourhood used to be. Cleanliness was a category that stood out as a characteristic of the women in her family and of their identity. The neighbourhood itself was elegant and had a charm, with 'everything being perfect'. Her narrative was a lament 'for the loss of an enchanted world with clear borders and values' (Boym, 2001: 8), the latter delineated by cleanliness as a spiritual embodiment of belonging. This idealised and mythologised version of home was 'overlaid with an… imagined realm… to the extent that the physical and symbolic past of 1974 can never be reclaimed' (Zetter, 1999: 4-7). To this end, the nostalgic tone in Sotiroulla's voice is both an idealisation and a mourning of a past to which one is impossible to return.

As Roger Zetter comments, 'the spatial geography of the village is defined not just in terms of the built form' (1999: 11) but incorporates all abstract elements that defined life prior to 1974. In relation to the house in the north, this spatial geography combined both physical realities such as mirrors, corridors, and courtyards, as well as aspects of the house that escaped a materiality. The notion of cleanliness was the women's 'Odyssean smoke', that element of home through which they could establish belonging. Domestic work and the agency involved in it, provided an association with the house that only the women could comprehend. In the testimonies presented in this section, this form of agency appeared in two different ways. First, in the way their mother would apply this form of agency and have their house 'crystal-clear'. This was a condition that represented the identity of the family but also the 'reality of women's power' in

the domestic realm of the house in rural Cyprus (Cockburn, 2004; Skapoulli, 2009). Second, in the way the current occupants, in the absence of the rightful female owners, have failed to properly apply agency in cleaning and have let their house become dirty and uninhabited. All sisters acknowledged that the house had become unrecognisable as the absence of the female right owners had disturbed its conventional identity. Both the affirmation of agency and the recognition of its absence, indicated, therefore, the symbolic association between the woman and the house in respects to domestic work and the symbolic values of cleanliness and dirtiness.

The corporal and psychological experience of 'house-coming'

Descriptions in the above subsections have included many illustrations of the physical return to the houses in the north as well as the different way family members recounted these. 'Returning home' however, or in the case of this chapter returning to the house, deals also with the efforts to re-establish meaningful connections to the latter. The analysis has demonstrated that while male family members avoided or had difficulty in establishing connections to their family house in the north, female ones attempted to but were prevented from doing so due to alterations in both the physical and the symbolic aspects of their house in Zodhia. This subsection proceeds to elaborate on two further accounts that portray the diverse psychological experience of 'house-coming' according to gender.

The accounts by both my uncles Giorgos and Petros attested to the avoidance or difficulty in establishing connections between houses and identity. On the one hand, Giorgos referred to his return with a mere sentence and claimed, 'there was nothing

there'. He was quick to shift the topic of discussion to the orchards, an act which indicated a dissociation from the house left behind. On the other hand, during his testimony, Petros spoke about 'the urge to go and see the house he was born in' without, however, detailing in any way his experience of return there. Moreover, during our crossing to Zodhia, we merely drove by the house and through the neighbourhood, not even stepping out of the car. I recall that as we arrived by the road the house was in, he stayed silent for a moment, trying to confirm if we were in the correct location. After a couple of seconds, he ascertained the location by saying 'this is our house' and asked his friend to turn left towards the *cul-de-sac* where the house was located. I recall being excited and preparing to film (rather than photograph) the whole experience. We drove by the house slowly. The door was open. I struggled to see inside and apprehend anything I could. I was not successful. As we headed towards the end of the *cul-de-sac*, I hoped we would park and try to enter the house. We did not. My uncle asked his friend to just turn the car around and drive by once more. As we passed by the house for the second time, he pointed at it saying 'this is it. Number two' (the house number). As we drove by the door for the second time, the door was shut. The current occupants of the house had symbolically refused us entry.

I struggled to comprehend why my uncle Petros did not wish even to attempt to enter the house. The overall experience and his behaviour indicated that he had difficulty in re-establishing a connection to it, with the only affirmation of connection being the possessive 'our'. His response to viewing the house was short of the sensations, memories, and actions that one would expect to characterise a return home, as it lacked effort in confirming identity and belonging. His reaction to this difficulty seemed to be

a repression of the negative feelings that the failure to re-establish meanings brought about. This repression of emotionality on Petros' part made the overall experience of 'house-coming' quite dull for me, as it felt like a drive-by, akin to an expedition to a place with no personal meanings.

Figure 9: Photograph taken by the author during his crossing. Petros' extending arm, pointing to the house, is clearly discernible.

A different depiction of 'house-coming' is portrayed in the testimony by my aunt Sofia. Her narrative of return stressed her inability to recognise the house and the neighbourhood due to the changes in the surroundings and environment. This inability, as she explained, led to an adverse effect on her mental and physical health.

'We entered the village and I could not find our house. Because they were so in ruins, so (*stammers*)… we could not find it (*remorseful tone of voice*). And we were going around, and I could not find the house (s*hort pause*). I saw my uncle, the brother of my father, whose house was next to us, inside this

place [she meant inside a plot of land]. Because I could not understand (*overwhelmed tone of voice and shrugs shoulders*). (*Continues deliberating*) Because there was the house of one uncle, of uncle Loizos. Then our house, then of uncle Yiannis, and then of our grandmother's (*assertively*). They demolished the first, of uncle's Loizos. They demolished also the one opposite us, and I could not understand when (*stammers*)… We were going around, and I could not understand where it was (*overwhelmed tone of voice*). I saw my uncle Yiannis and I say to your uncle, 'Giorgo, this is our house because this is my uncle' (*in spirited voice*). We stepped out. My uncle Yiannis was there. Me, something happened to me (*overwhelmed and stammers*) … I was crying. My uncle hugged me: 'My daughter, do not cry for God's sake'. I say to him 'Uncle, but I could not understand where to go'. I could not understand (*assertively*). I lived 21 years [there] and we do not know where our house is (*overwhelming tone of voice*)? We do not understand it.' (Sofia interview: 12)

Home can provide an evaluation of life in the context of a place, with people making clear mental connections between place and their identity (Rozińska, 2011). For my extended family, this place was not just the house but the entire space of the neighbourhood. The connection with this space was evident in the way Sofia assertively described the positions of the houses of relatives within the neighbourhood. Her recollections attested to a kind of perceived familiarity, a familiarity that does not depend on an actual exposure to the place but is rather internal to the individual, one that Sofia carried with her through life (Craig et al, 2012).

Displacement however, brought about the violent interruption of the continuity of the family's presence in this specified space. This violent interruption was reflected in Sofia's description of her return. What occurred during her crossing was not a mere 'past-present' modality of the experience of 'housecoming', but a complete desynchronisation between memory and experience caused by protracted exile and the denial of access to the family house for over 30 years (see Bryant 2010, 2012 for similar reports). The perceived familiarity could not match the actual exposure to space, with Sofia's identity completely disconnected from what she perceived through her eyes.

Of importance is that Sofia could recognise the space of the neighbourhood and her house only through the presence of her uncle. As she narrated this experience, she admitted to being overwhelmed by the experience and breaking down in tears. Such overwhelming is reflected also in her narrative, as she started stepping in and out of different subjective positions (her own and her uncle's) detectable by the alterations in her tone of voice. Her uncle acquired the role of the consoler, while Sofia, in his arms, mourned her dissociation from the space. The relationship between house and gender became once more visible as Sofia, the woman, succumbed to her emotions. Her uncle, the man, begged her to get a grip and exercise self-control. She concluded her narrative with a grievance, a lament about the fact that, having lived in that house for 21 years, she was unable of recognising it.

Sofia's 'house-coming' was obviously affected by the fragmented re-consolidation between place and identity. The lament and cries she described were evidence towards a psychological shock, an ache and injury that scarred her soul.

'Look, if you go (*interrupts narrative*)… if you consider that I went and I left from there [from the North] and I went to the hospital because I had (*stammers*)… something like an allergy. I became all red (*egina olokotsini*) (*assertively*). They had to inject me with something. The stress was so much, the, the (*stammers*)… I do not know what happened to me. We could not find our house. We were going around (*sounds upset*). I do not, I do not (*lost for words*) … know. It was a great shock. Great shock (*assertively*). You could not understand the places there, the people… Oh Mother Mary, I could not understand (*distressed tone and lamenting*).' (Sofia interview: 11)

This description attests to the distressing experience 'house-coming' was for Sofia, exposing us to the agony and sorrow she felt. This distress was so severe that it produced a physical reaction evident on her body. Her spoken narrative re-enacted these emotional responses, as she was often lost for words with various breaks in her voice. The last phrase would eventually capture this anguish completely as she lamented once more the non-recognition of the house, ready to burst in tears. Other female members of the family reported similar psychological reactions. My mother for example, detailed how she had 'lost her voice' for several days following her journey back. What do these sorts of psychological reactions denote for the women, however?

My uncle Petros had also been unable to re-establish the meaningful connections he once had to the house, but his 'house-coming' was short of the sensations and emotionality we saw in Sofia's narrative. My interpretation of these different psychological reactions was that, while he had repressed the negative impulses that the inability for re-association had instil, the women expressed them through intense

emotions of shame and guilt. As Tangney and Dearing argue, 'shame and guilt are among our most private, intimate experiences' as, 'in the face of transgression or error, the self turns towards the self', guiding 'our behaviour and influence *about* who we are in our own eyes' (2002: 2; see also Tangey et al, 1996). Accordingly, in the face of the inability to re-associate with the house, the women became shameful and guilty. This place, which was explicitly associated with the feminine identity, became unknown. The inability to re-establish meaningful connections with the house meant that their role and identity as women from Zodhia, had become obsolete.

This section portrayed the multidimensionality of the idea of the house and its relation to gender. It firstly identified the important role of the institution of dowry in how the houses in the north were seen both as the origins and as the associated goals of women. It also examined how women strived to re-connect with their house upon their return but were unable to do so due to its 'unclean' condition. Cleanliness was understood as an affirmation of the association between house and women. It took form in both my grandmother's agency and its denial, the latter seen through the current dirty condition of the house in the absence of its rightful owners. This inability to re-connect with the house and re-establish meaningful connections, represented the psychological 'house-coming' by family members. Petros however, repressed these negative impulses, while the women expressed them to the extent that they reached physical manifestations. As Ralph and Staeheli comment, 'while belonging is a subjective feeling… it is also socially defined', speaking 'not so much to the feeling of identification and familiarity, as it does to experiences of inclusion and very often, exclusion (2011: 523; see also Fincher, 2004; Blunt and Dowling, 2006). What refugees experienced in their 'house-

coming' was precisely this exclusion, an inability to re-establish meaningful connections with a place that once was a home.

The meanings of the house for the second generation

In his elaboration of the construction of a myth of return from Greek Cypriot refugees, Roger Zetter has argued that the second generation had 'no direct personal experience of the physical form and the symbolism from which their parents … constructed the myth' (1999: 17). Writing prior to the opening of the borders in 2003, he contended that a possible 'return' for them would be very dissimilar to that of their parents, as their possible motivations would be curiosity and a wish to give expression to a symbolic entity of something they had become familiar with though their parents' stories (Zetter, 1999). The accounts by the second generation in my extended family confirmed Zetter's thesis as they were nothing like their parents' emotional narratives of home. As a result, the analysis of testimonies by the second generation according to Papadopoulos' (2002) multidimensional elaboration of home for refugees was practically unfeasible.

This section presents testimonies by two members of the second generation and the way they related to the return to the houses in the north. These two descendants were my sister Andri, and my cousin Andreas, Sofia's son. The choice behind these testimonies is twofold. First, they were the only ones to engage in a discussion about their own personal meanings about their experience of 'house-coming'. Second, they are testimonies by a male and a female descendant respectively, allowing us to examine

the extent to which the 'gendered' meanings of the house transcend generational boundaries.

As a child born and raised in the urban economy of Nicosia, my sister had never seen Zodhia prior to the family's journey there in 2003. 17 years old at the time, her experience of the journey has undoubtedly coloured the way she perceives the family house in the north and the way she reported on it in her testimony. The following excerpt captures her account of the experience of 'house-coming'.

> 'We were lucky. In the house of grandmother (*short pause*) …
> We were lucky when we went to grandmother's house. There
> was a woman who was very kind and she gave us a thing that I
> remember grandmother used to have (*very slow-paced*). She
> gave it to us, and we brought it back. Something that said 'kalos
> irthate' [*καλώς ήρθατε*, welcome] or … I remember she had
> given us something that belonged to the house. (*Continues by
> raising tone of voice*) Or, if she had not given it to us, she had
> shown it to us, and they were very emotional because it was
> something that belonged to their grandfather and their mother
> (*assertively*). I recall this memory (*assertively*). (…) (*Describes
> the living conditions in the house*) They lived approximately 20
> people inside there (*derogative tone of voice*). This is what made
> an impression to us, that there were many, many people living in
> the house.' (Andri interview: 3)

Andri's account of 'house-coming' had various discrepancies in comparison to the way refugees accounted for the same experience. Nonetheless, her description adhered to the latter's accounts in various ways as well. Contrary to Zetter's (1999) contention

that the second generation merely wished to see the house in the strict sense of the physical entity, Andri's narrative represented an impulse and effort to comprehend the house in the broader context it was associated by female refugees. Her narrative attested to the desire and at the same time, the impossibility of completely grasping the multidimensional context that refugees experienced the house (Hirsch, 2012).

The most important aspect of Andri's narrative was her clear association between the family house and women. Her narrative begun with an assertion and recognition of ownership that was assigned to the female line of past generations. This account was similar to the way our mother had understood the origins of the house, as she had also constructed an image of the house as 'the house of grandmother'. Woman and house were again perceived as spiritually and symbolically connected, faithful to the cultural context of rural Cyprus, despite Andri having grown up in the urban environment of Nicosia (Argyrou, 1996). Nonetheless, this connection between woman and house in Andri's narrative can be explained in various ways. First, the fact that our maternal grandfather had died prior to our birth, which led Andri to be familiar only with our maternal grandmother. Her personal association of displacement to past generations (beyond our parents) could therefore be done only in relation to our grandmother. Second, a sort of comprehension of the rural cultural context and the relationship between woman, domesticity, and houses. This stemmed from her experience of her paternal grandparents who lived in the village of Astromeritis. Last, her own experience of family life in Nicosia, where the extended family has maintained practices that resembled a rural setting, despite urbanisation. Amongst our relatives, women were (and still are) responsible for the majority of decision-making, household tasks and

childcare (for grandchildren), maintaining therefore, the 'reality of power' in the domestic realm. All these influences indicate that Andri inherited an understanding of the gendered cultural context of place, one she applied in her narrative to describe 'house-coming'.

In addition to the association of the house to women, Andri portrayed an understanding of the importance of physical objects for the re-establishment of a meaningful connection between the family house and identity. She recognised how important the discovery of the mirror was for our mother and aunts and recalled that it resulted in an enthusiasm and excitement amongst them. Her narration stood as proof of an awareness of the mirror's significance as a connecting point between physical entity and identity. While not recalling its precise wording ('welcome' rather than 'good morning'), she seemed to have absorbed its significance from the reactions of the displaced generation. Indeed, Andri was the only child to discuss this discovery in-depth, the same way that our mother was the only historical eyewitness to have commented on it.

The second testimony presented in relation to the return to the houses in the north is by my cousin Andreas. He was 21 years old at the time of the crossing, with his reactions to the 'house-coming' were quite different to Andri's. Two excerpts from his testimony are presented, where he testifies to both his desire to 'put an image to the story' as he terms it, but also his unease with his mother's reactions during her own experience of 'house-coming'. Both excerpts are part of his response to a question concerning the experience of crossing along with his parents in 2003.

'It was the first time that my father and mother went. Therefore, I went with them. I took them (*assertively*). I was driving and they were sitting in the back. Okay, for me it was (*hesitates to continue*)… there was an anxiety to see where they lived, all those things that I was told by my grandfather and grandmother [he speaks of his paternal grandparents] in particular, the stories to see them as images. Because when I was a child I lived it (*hesitates to continue*) … all children we listen to stories by grandparents. If you do not know, where those stories took place, the ideas in the mind of a child are very different.' (Andreas interview: 2)

Andreas' description of the stories he heard from his grandparents and of the urge to 'put an image to the story' exemplify what Marianne Hirsch (2012) has conceptualised as postmemory. He does not describe an inherited trauma but a form of agency towards a reconnection with the historical past. For him, it took the form of a yearning to bridge the stories he heard about 'the home' left behind with fact and reality and his own experience. This yearning acquired a significant position in the narrative as he asserted his own form of agency during the return ('I took them, I drove') as well as the experience of listening stories from his relatives that created a sense that this lost home was his own past ('when I was a child I lived it'). These forms of postmemory, of the yearning to experience the lost home as his own, documented the strong feeling of connection with the history of past generations. This reconnection with the past for Andreas did not come in the form of an artistic creation (Hirsch, 2012). It was rather the act of traversing a border that he could not prior traverse that allowed him to reconnect with home. The crossing made possible the bridging of the past and

contemporary reality. In the second excerpt below, Andreas documented his emotional reactions upon the encounter with the house where his mother grew up.

> 'In any case, with this mentality I went. Erm, I had queries to answer. Most of all, however, it was my parents that were (*hesitates to continue*) … let us say shocked. For example, my mother. This left an impression to me. From her anxiety, she could not find her house. And she cried and she could not find her house. I started to laugh hysterically because I considered it funny at that moment. But I can understand it because… okay (*remorseful tone of voice*). What she has surpassed and how many years have gone, that she lived; I could understand her. Okay, we found them, they saw them. I expected very different.'
> (Andreas interview: 2)

I recall that as Andreas was describing his response to his mother's reactions, I became quite displeased and offended. A feeling of restlessness took over me, one that was not alleviated either by his remorseful tone or by the obvious regret towards his reaction during the interview. As I later contemplated on this feeling of restlessness, I came to understand that it was connected to Andreas' narration. While I was quite displeased with both his narrative and his emotional reactions, I soon came to understand that they did not reflect an indifference towards his mother's agony but were the result of defence mechanisms towards his own anxiety. One would expect that seeing one's mother cry would arouse similar feelings in oneself. Andreas' response to his mother's reactions, however, was a defence mechanism that urged him to act in a way opposite to his mother. His re-enactment of this response during his testimony, followed by the

admission of regret, indicated that retrospectively he was ashamed of the way he had behaved and acted.

While Andreas regretted his response to his mother's reaction, he was at the same time unable to establish any meaningful association to the house. Contrary to Andri, who had sought to comprehend the experience of return for the displaced generation, he distanced himself from it. As he describes, while 'we' had found it, only 'they' saw it. He seemed to distance his subjectivity from the family house, proclaiming that what he witnessed had nothing to do with what he expected. Story and imagination were proven to be far away from reality. The corporal experience of 'return' was for him disappointing, declaring the absence of any kind of relationship to the house where his mother was born.

Apart from his mother's house however, during the crossing Andreas had also visited his father's house. In the excerpt that follows, he described his father's reactions upon his own return to his house.

> 'My father. My father saw his house. He was not overwhelmed
> for his house. (*Quick to change topic of discussion*) But (*short*
> *pause*) … (*Continues with low tone of voice*) I saw my father cry
> for the first time when he went to his orchard. There he became
> emotional (*hesitates to continue*) … because the house was not
> his, it was of his parents.' (Andreas interview: 2)

In the narration of the above excerpt, Andreas' tone was not opposite to his parent's experience (as in the case of his mother) but rather replicated his father's emotional reaction. Giorgos's reaction to his 'house-coming' was indeed unassuming, with Andreas duplicating this reaction through the phrase 'not overwhelmed'. He was quick to change topic and counter the unassuming depiction of his father's 'house-coming' with what he saw in the orchard. In the orchard he saw his father 'cry for the first time' (this analysis follows in the next chapter). He closes his narrative with a defense concerning his father's reactions towards his 'house-coming'. The house was his grandparents, not his father's. Andreas suggests that the house is not the origins of his father's person but belongs to his grandparents. The link between generations, therefore, is disrupted.

Andreas' account of return reflects I believe, the dynamics within his family, as well as the way these dynamics are intertwined with the 'gendered' association of the idea of the house. On the one hand, the family power structure leans towards Giorgos rather than Sofia, with the former having the ability to control and influence decisions within the household. Andreas' narrative reflected this family power structure, with his attachment inclining towards his father's experience of return rather than his mother's. Intertwined with the latter, on the other hand, is the 'gendered' association of the idea of the house. Andreas' narrative lacked an understanding of the feminine association of the house. While my sister had recognised that the house was 'the house of her grandmother', building a meaningful association across generations through its feminine character, Andreas dissociated the house from such feminine categorisation.

As a result, the house was stranded in a time of the past where there was no connection either to the generation of his parents or to his.

The testimonies presented in this section portrayed the different ways the house was experienced by the second generation. On the one hand, we have seen Andri's efforts to understand and relate to the multidimensional context the house was experienced by the female members of the displaced generation. One could argue that her postmemory manifested itself in her willingness to relate, to empathise and to comprehend this multidimensional context. Andreas, on the other hand, was unable to establish meaningful connections with the family house. Influenced by his father's reactions towards his own house and his interpretation of family dynamics, Andreas was unable to establish any association with what he perceived as the feminine idea of the house.

Chapter 7. Gender and the land: the contested meanings of the family orchards

In their review of literature on the relationship between place, identity and belonging, Ralph and Staeheli have argued that 'just as home should not be presumed to be singular, migrant identity should not be presumed to be singular or fixed to a singular home' (2011: 521; see also Blunt and Dowling, 2006). If understandings of home shift according to different perspectives then, could home not be constructed and imagined as different places, providing different identities and different sorts of belongings? This argument ran through the analysis in the last chapter and is echoed in the present one. More precisely, the present chapter looks into the relationship between gender and the land as an idea of home, in the context of gender and expectations of behaviour associated with farming practices.

The previous chapter focused on the way the domestic realm of the house was linked to women both functionally and symbolically, and the way this cultural context influenced the testimonies by family members. This chapter in turn, concentrates on the public realm of Cypriot rural social life, of which the land and family orchards were considered a fundamental aspect. In this context, the nexus between family farming and gender relations is of primary significance. As Chrysanthi Charatsari (2014; see also Charatsari and Papadaki-Klavdianou, 2017) writes in relation to the Thessaly region in Greece, farm families were highly patriarchal, with women marginalised in the effective control of the land. The man was considered as 'the farmer', while a highly hierarchical relationship between gender relations and rural agricultural development

existed, from gender gaps in land control, to decision-making and labour (Bock and Shortall, 2006, 2017; Radel et al, 2017). Women would enter and engage in farming practices through specific kinship relations (i.e. as wives, mothers, or daughters), with the farming occupation linked to men's social roles and the image of masculinity (Loizos, 1975b; Bock and Shortall, 2006).

The question arising in consideration of this cultural context concerns the way it influenced both the personal meanings that family members have, in relation to the loss of their land in the north, as well as whether they persisted in their farming practices following displacement. Similar to the idea of the house and its connection with domestic work as a form of agency, the idea of the land was connected with farming practices. This chapter shows that the refugee generation were sensitive towards the land based on what they perceived to be the masculine nature of rural agricultural production. Female members of the refugee generation understood the land concentrated on the system of inheritance and land's ownership. Male family members' testimonies and their farming practices following displacement, accounted for a re-rooting of the identity of 'the farmer' in the south. These different accounts indicated that, contrary to what one would expect, women once more were the ones mostly affected by the loss of home.

Testimonies by the second generation, moreover, circulated around the idea of responsibility of ownership of the land. While Andri relinquished this responsibility, Andreas retained it. Accordingly, she defended her choice by arguing that this kind of outlook towards the land in the north, characterises her entire generation. Andreas,

conversely, admitted he could not renounce the land despite his inability to work it as a farmer. The latter's testimony focused on different kind of legacies from 1974, namely the disruption of the provisions for agricultural training and education. This usually would have taken place within families and from father to son. As such, the testimonies by the second generation were formulated in the context of familial and societal expectations, and the shifting cultural understandings concerning masculinity.

Prior to proceeding in the analysis of how the land and family orchards appeared in testimonies by members of my extended family, a short discussion of rural cultural norms in Cyprus now follows. Prior to 1974, the household was the principal unit in agricultural development and production, with family labour used across the production process, becoming central to the public definitions of age and gender roles (Loizos and Papataxiarchis, 1991; Welz, 2015). Men were considered as having the main responsibility towards farming and were seen as 'primary farmers' (Loizos, 1981; Bock and Shortall, 2006). Women's work was devalued, with their tasks seen as their responsibility in their roles towards the head of the household (Loizos, 1981; Loizos and Papataxiarchis, 1991; Brandth, 2002). As many refugees commented in relation to the agricultural division of labour, 'their mother helped their father', being 'his assistant' in a rather hierarchical relationship of production. While men, therefore, came to be specialised in fieldwork, women would eventually be more concerned and associated with the domestic sphere and household tasks (Loizos and Papataxiarchis, 1991).

As Loizos (1975b, 1981) has documented, 20th century Cypriot agriculture was rapidly modernised with the introduction of tractors. Ploughs and tractors dominated agricultural production in the Morphou region. The modernisation of agriculture did not alter gender roles but rather asserted them (Saugeres, 2002; Charatsari, 2014; Welz, 2015). Men and their social identities as farmers were still linked to masculinity (Papataxiarchis, 1991). A man's pride and symbolism of his masculinity was no longer his oxen but the tractor. As Loizos explains, 'the pride of possession which men felt over their oxen [in proto-agrarian rural Cyprus] was usually transferred to their tractors' (1981: 21).

The meanings of the land for refugees: directions, entities and 'land-comings'

The land and its practices as origins and destinations

Similar to the idea of the house, the land has often been associated with the origins and source of a person's self. The land's association to origins was connected to a symbolic blend of masculinity, farming, and fatherhood, seen in the context of inheritance norms in rural Cyprus (Loizos, 1975b; Argyrou, 1996). In the area of Morphou, where my family members were from, daughters were meant to receive most of their father's land upon marriage, with marrying all daughters was seen as vital to a household's prestige (Loizos, 1975a; Balwick, 1975). Sons were responsible for farming and managing the land along with their fathers and would have received their own share (although considerably smaller) of their father's land. An interesting point of consideration was that in discussing the land in the north, all family members spoke of inheritance and not dowry. My interpretation of this was that the utilisation of the former term seemed

to imply a more personal and private form of endowment, one not necessarily shared with one's spouse.

Accounts concerning the origins of the land, were connected to the role of the head of the household, typically understood to be the father, in accumulating and managing the land for the family. Following a question in relation to life in the village prior to displacement, my uncle Giorgos spoke about the sacrifices his father made towards the accumulation of the household's land. He spoke of 'times that he did not have money, not even for a coffee in the coffee-shop, as he would constantly invest in land' (Giorgos interview: 1). Rather than a form of material deprivation, this figure of speech should be seen as accentuating his father's sacrifices for the household's land in the form of his absence from the village's public life. As Papataxiarchis (1991) maintains in relation to male commensality, coffee-shops were considered a fundamental aspect of public life in rural communities, with socialisation in such places seen as imperative in the cultural image of masculinity (see also Cowan, 1991). Access to such public spaces was vital for opportunities to address and be addressed, as part of the village community (typically among men), and discuss issues about the community, farming, politics, etc. (Iveson, 2007). Giorgos constructed an image of his father as an individual who often sacrificed participation in such public spaces, giving up his own public image for the sake of his family and household.

The same symbolic blend of masculinity, farming and fatherhood appeared in the testimony by my aunt Maria. For her, the origins of home were the 'tears and sweat' of her father towards the accumulation of the land. In her discussion of the land in the

north, Maria was quick to note that she had not yet transferred its ownership to her daughter Panayiota. As she proclaimed, 'whilst I am alive, the land that my father gave me, irrigated with his sweat and tear, I want it to remain under my control' (Maria interview: 10). The symbolism of the 'sweat and tears' connoted the agency of her father, while the psychology of the symbol itself (the reasons for which it is employed) became a proof of identity (Petocz, 2004). The 'sweat and tears' stood as evidence of the connection between the land and her own subjectivity. In the same way that she is the daughter of her father and carries his blood, the land carries his tears and sweat, making Maria and the land irrevocably connected. The 'sweat and tears' are not limited to physical struggles but assert a bond between land and family, acting as an affirmation of identity similar to descriptions of gardening by Jepson (2006) and Bhatti (2006). Any denial or non-consideration of this land would mean the rejection of both her father's work and the family's identity.

While land was passed down to the next generation mainly via the daughters, the connection to the previous generation was maintained through the image of the male parent, the breadwinner. In the cultural context of rural Cyprus, the ability to transfer an adequate amount of land to one's children speaks directly to the idea of fatherhood. It is an ascertainment of the male parent's ability to provide for his children and of the fulfilment of the cultural requirement of providing for one's children (Goodsell et al, 2011). The symbol of the land thus acquires a direction meant to connect the children with their father through its transmission.

The centrality of the system of inheritance did not only concern the land in the north as the origins of family members, but also as their desired destination. This was, however, the case only with testimonies by female members of the family, who linked their goals with the idea of the land to the system of inheritance and the transfer of the land to their children. The gendered identity of agricultural practices and education conversely, differentiated the desired destination for male family members, as they connected their own goals with the idea of the land to farming practices in the south rather than the north.

The testimonies by my aunts Maria and Sotiroulla captured the way the system of inheritance and the transfer of the land was construed as the desired destination for female family members. Both spoke about the inheritance of the land in the north by their children with scepticism, uncertain of whether the latter would be willing to take up this responsibility of ownership. They seemed doubtful of the kind of obligations such ownership entailed and how their children would respond to it. Maria, in discussing the transfer of her property to her daughter Panayiota, admitted that she had done so for everything she owns in the south but not for what she owns in the north. As she explained:

> '…what my father gave me in Zodhia, I have not transferred to
> her. For one reason (*assertively*). Because if there is a solution
> and is not a good one, I know that I will resist (*raises voice*). Our
> children that do not know those places, they might sign it off,
> only to relieve themselves.' (Maria interview: 10)

Maria's narrative reflected her concerns over the relationship of the second generation with the land in the north. She sounded apprehensive of the lack of knowledge by the children, acknowledging that this absence undermined their comprehension of the significance of the land. Her concerns represented an anxiety over a possible break between the land's significance, its recognition as the origins of the family and the responsibility of its ownership across generations. For Maria, the second generation only knew the physical form of the land, having seen it in 2003. The symbolism and meanings associated with it remained inaccessible for them, lost with displacement and the modernisation of life in Cyprus (Zetter, 1999). As they have no comprehension of what their grandfather sacrificed to accumulate this land, they cannot appreciate the symbolic importance of its inheritance either. These meanings have been left drifting between the traditional values that guided rural society, its inheritance norms, and the modernising urban environment to which the displaced generation moved after 1974. Maria's anxieties are connected to the nexus between land and identity and the possible break that this nexus has suffered in the second generation.

Similar concerns regarding the relationship of the second generation to the land appeared in the testimony by my aunt Sotiroulla. In a response to a question regarding the meanings of the land she owns in the north, she spoke emphatically about the land's inheritance and the responsibility of ownership for her children.

> 'And I tell them: 'if I listen (*interrupts narrative*) … (*continues in condemnatory voice*) if I am alive and you try to sell it, it is like you are killing me. For me, it is the property that was given by my father. I shall give it to you. You should give it to your

children and them to their children.' Like it has always been
(*nostalgic voice*).' (Sotiroulla interview: 17)

Similar to her sister Maria, Sotiroulla wished to hold on to the responsibility of
ownership of the land but at the same time articulated an anxiety over a break between
the land's recognition as the origins of the family and the duty for its ownership across
generations. Her narrative resonated with Herzfeld's (1980a; see also Rousset, 2013)
account of beliefs relating to the inalienability of the land in rural Greece, with any
possible sale considered to be an act of disrespect towards ancestral owners. The
anxiety over the duty of ownership was expressed with a caution and alert towards her
children: rejecting the ownership of the land and selling it would mean killing her. In
her efforts to assert the inalienability of the land, she associates a biological death to a
symbolic one, the former one a metaphor for the latter. A sale of the land would bring
about the symbolic uprooting from her father and ancestors, eradicating the connection
between self and past. As she concludes her narrative, Sotiroulla expresses a yearning
for the system of inheritance and the moral order that it took place in. She is nostalgic
about the way things were, but at the same time is doubtful about the possibility of this
moral order enduring. The nostalgic voice with which she speaks the phrase 'like it has
always been' symbolises her scepticism towards the very statement she is uttering. The
same thing that she wished for is the same thing she doubted.

The testimonies by Maria and Sotiroulla attested to the way the system of inheritance
and land transfer were constructed as the origins and the destinations the idea of the
land could attain. Land was both something inherited from previous generations (the
male parent) but also something to transfer to the next ones, despite of the reservations

concerning the latter. Nonetheless, a different idea of the land was located in the testimony by my uncle Giorgos, one located in farming practices in the south rather than the actual land left in the north. Following their displacement, Giorgos and his brothers bought a plot of land together, which they farmed collectively as a family. As Giorgos ascertained, this plot and the farming practices associated with it secured the relationships among the brothers.

> **GT:** 'In the meantime (*excited voice*), something that unites us a lot, us brothers; we have a common plot (*assertively*). Have you ever come there Christo?'
>
> **CP:** 'In *Analiontas*? I came, of course I came (*assertively*)! Two-three times at least!'
>
> **GP:** 'Also when we built the house you came? [I nod assertively] …. So… that plot, it is quite a large plot, 40,200 m^2. We bought it all four of us together. After the war. And when we got older, we decided to divide it and each one got his own share. And we still meet there. That is the reason why I say that it unites us.'
> (Giorgos interview: 10)

The plot of land Giorgos refers to has become in recent years a place of gathering. A big feast is arranged every Easter Sunday where family members from both his and his wife's extended families gather to celebrate. The plot itself is full of citrus trees and various other fruits and vegetables, and Giorgos and Sofia have built a small house there that functions as a holiday residence. In the above excerpt, he expounded on the acquisition and farming practices associated with this plot as a form of collective agency by himself and his brothers, an agency that maintained and reinforced their relationships as siblings. Similar to the housing arrangements between his wife and her

sisters, the farming practices he followed with his brothers were a form of restorative nostalgia, trans-historically reconstructing their lost home (Boym, 2001). These restorative practices were not self-conscious 'acts of memory', as those described by Bardenstein (1999) in relation to Palestinian and Israeli refugees, but rather subconscious and guided by the need to re-root. The void left by the loss of the farming land in the north was filled by the acquisition and farming of new land in the south. Land and its relationship with the identity of the family was not something left in the north, but something restored through the acquisition and farming of this plot in the south. As a result, the land is not only something left in the north (a regressive aspect) but also something reinstated in the south (a progressive aspect), the latter safeguarding the relationship between land and family identity.

My aunt Sofia had similar interpretations regarding the plot that Giorgos and his brothers bought together.

> 'That plot made them very connected because they would go every Saturday (*assertively*) that they were not working. Always (*raises voice*), they had to go and meet at the plot. This plot united them a lot because (*short pause*) … well, they were not close to each other, their houses had distance between them. But they were united because of that plot.' (Giorgos interview: 7)

Sofia's narrative confirmed that the plot and the farming practices associated with it allowed Giorgos and his brothers to maintain their relationships despite displacement. She ascertained that while displacement brought about the disruption in the proximity between them, the plot facilitated the preservation of their ties and relationships. An

important aspect in Sofia's narrative is her recognition that Giorgos and his brothers were not really farmers by occupation but were rather invested in the identity of the farmer as that was brought forward from the rural society they were born and raised. All of them had jobs and roles in the modern Cypriot society, roles that kept them apart during the week. Their common investment in the identity of the farmer however, something carried from their rural background, brought them together during the weekends. Their investment in a common identity, no matter how fictional it might be, and the practices brought forward from their rural background, allowed them to retain and recover their relationships despite displacement.

An interesting aspect in Sofia's narrative is that, throughout her description, she remains an 'outsider', not claiming any sort of relationship to the plot or its cultivating practices. This aspect of her narrative can be linked to the masculine nature of farming practices in rural societies. This notion was evident also in the testimonies by my uncle Petros and mother Paraskevi. On the one hand, in discussing life prior to displacement, my uncle Petros spoke about the succession of responsibility for the family orchards in the family: 'my father occupied himself with other businesses as well, so my task during the summer was to take care of the orchards, to irrigate them, to do these type of chores' (Petros interview: 3). One can discern that the responsibility for the family orchards circumvented both my grandmother and aunts and was assigned to the next available male family member (his older brother had married and moved away). As the duties for the orchards were carried from father to son, the practice of farming was constructed and ascertained as masculine. This imagery of farming involved a

construction of rural masculinity clearly associated with power and authority (Argyrou, 1996; Campbell and Bell, 2009; Brandth, 2002).

The testimony by my mother on the other hand, confirmed this masculine nature of farming practices and the kind of sensibilities that this form of agency promoted (or not) in an individual. Responding to a question concerning the land in the north, she distanced herself from it on the grounds of the tasks of its proper cultivation.

> 'Now I do not feel them as mine (*remorseful voice*). Because I did not take care of them. I was not old enough prior to the war…. Because I was young. I went and I helped my mother and father… but I did not know (*assertively*). After the war, my father told me 'this orchard is yours'…. I do not even know where they are.' (Paraskevi interview: 9)

My mother spoke not only of her identity as a woman but also of her age in relation to the farming practices of the land. Her identities as a daughter and of a young age intertwined to affirm her minimal role in the family's agricultural production (Bock and Shortall, 2006; Levine and Levine, 1985). Her concluding statement summed up what she believed to be the absence of a familiarity towards the family orchards. She acknowledged that due to her position in relation to the family farming practices and the long period that has transpired since 1974, she does not even know of their location. The absence of agency led to the lack of a familiarity with it, which has challenged the very way she perceives the land in the north in the present.

All testimonies by the displaced generation and their constructions of the idea of the land symbolically demarcated it as a masculine place, in line with the cultural context

of family farming and agricultural production. The origins associated with the land found form in a symbolic blend of the images of masculinity, farming, and fatherhood. The destinations associated with the symbol of the land, moreover, held a significance related to the cultural context of masculine farming practices that allowed men to recover from the loss of their land in the north. For Giorgos and his brothers, the land is associated with recovery and restoration; it is not only something left in the north, but something connected with family identity, one that was not eradicated by displacement but carried forward. For the women conversely, the land was left in the north and in danger of being 'lost' not only materially but symbolically as well, with the women being sceptical and concerned of their children's capacity to receive the rich meanings they have of this land.

These narratives concerning the land have major implications regarding the relationship between displacement and gender. While one would expect men to have suffered the most and become disoriented from the loss of their farming land, women were the ones unable to mitigate this loss, despite their low level of association to its farming practices. This interpretation contradicts the depiction of migrant farmers in John Steinback's novel 'Grapes of Wrath' (1939), where men had to move away from the agricultural and towards domestic space, a movement hinting at 'the failure of patriarchal protections and the refuge offered by both matriarchal nurturing and the constant value of domestic space' (Williamson, 2011: 45). Contrary to Steinbeck's efforts to assert these potentially restorative effects of matriarchal collectivism, the accounts presented herein showed that men were able to re-root masculinity to the land and recover the association to it. This is connected also to the patriarchal nature of

Greek Cypriot society. The women, conversely, were left uprooted and facing immense difficulties in ascertaining their connection to the land. Apart from 'snails without shells', they were left also as trees without roots.

The materiality and immateriality of the land in the north and the re-establishment of meanings

Christy Wampole (2016) has contended that the idea of home can surface as a figure of various associations (see also Blunt and Dowling, 2006). One can be 'at home' if they acknowledge their role as part of a family, of a group or even of a region. The latter association became explicitly clear in testimonies by the displaced generation, particularly in their efforts to demonstate the rich and productive land from where they originated in comparison to other areas in Cyprus. The 'fertility of their land' as they described it, while related to the material provision of food and housing, was mostly understood in line with a regional allegiance and a symbolism capturing aesthetic, sacred and intangible value.

A testimony which exemplifies this imagery of the rich and productive land of the region of Morphou was Giorgos', who compared Morphou with other areas in Cyprus in his discussion of the distribution of the damages suffered by the invasion.

> 'In the meantime, Morphou was the most fertile area of Cyprus
> (*instructive tone of voice*). This is unquestionable, nobody can
> deny this, it was the most fertile area (*assertively*).... Zodhia,
> Prasteio both of us [talking about himself and his wife].... What
> to say (*struggles to find words to explain wealth of land*)? Should
> I say that a plot of 13,400 m^2 in our villages, either in Prasteio,
> or in Zodhia, or in Morphou, you could buy a village

(*assertively*)? If you sold it! Seriously (*raises tone of voice*)! You could buy a village (*assertively*)! Back then, never mind how they are now (*nostalgic and disillusioned voice*). They were priceless. And you go (*emotional and struggles to find words*) … what was Paphos? Or Paralimni? Or Larnaca (*sounds frustrated and talks with a belittling voice*)?' (Giorgos interview: 4-5)

Morphou was indeed one of the richest agricultural areas of Cyprus, known particularly for citrus fruits, apples, vegetables, and melons. In Giorgos' narrative however, the richness of the land is a representation of not only terrestrial fertility but a symbolism of the territory and region itself, differentiating Morphou from other areas of Cyprus (Jepson, 2006; Loizos, 2009). He utilised this symbolism to compare their region with areas in the south that have been developed since 1974, mapping out a symbolic binary placing 'the fertile land' of Morphou against the 'sterile land' in the south. This dissimilarity in the immaterial value of the land marked what Giorgos' understood to be the greatest injustice of displacement: the distribution of the damages suffered from displacement among the entire Greek Cypriot population. His testimony was characterized by the utter belief that such distribution never occurred. The value of what they owned and lost in the north was incomparable to what they encountered in the south, whereas they, as refugees, were required to pay exaggerated prices to its owners for the acquisition of the sterile southern land.

Eleni had a similar understanding concerning the land in Morphou. The imagery of the rich land and fertility was however, not restricted to the land and soil, but integrated with the community and its inhabitants. Following a question concerning the

government's actions in respect to refugees, she also spoke of the distribution of the damages suffered by the invasion and the government institution responsible for it.

> 'There was a great prosperity. They [inhabitants of Morphou] would sell a piece of land and would build a house. You understand (*raises tone of voice*)? The people had no problems, and more on our side [she means the area of Morphou]. Mesaoria [the area east of Nicosia] was not as much. Mesaoria was poor. Varosia was [rich], Karpasia had [wealth], Kyrenia, Morphou… Us, we had water [for irrigation], we had trees, we had orange trees… we had fertile soil.' (Eleni interview: 12)

Once more, the land (as soil) and the trees assumed a significance beyond a material entity. The land received acclaim for what it provided for its inhabitants, a 'rich' lifestyle for the entire community. The soil, the trees, the water, as well as the people, became integrated in a symbolic entity that represented the entire region's prosperity and wealth. The land and the water were seen as the basis for growing, not only of material elements such as trees, but also nourished the community. Such prosperity led to a sort of primordial sense of belonging and rootedness (Jepson, 2006).

A significant distinction between the narratives of Giorgos and Eleni was located in the kind of regions they compared and contrasted Morphou with, respectively. Eleni, rather than comparing their region with the territories in the south in which refugees took shelter after displacement, proceeded to compare Morphou with other territories that have also come under Turkish occupation. While Giorgos had construed his narrative with the intent of emphasising the unequal distribution of damages between those displaced and those not, Eleni emphasised the differences between refugees as a

collective, accentuating a belief that the losses and damages suffered were dissimilar amongst them. The juxtaposition between their own region and other regions of Cyprus served both as a declaration of their regional allegiance and their region's superiority, as well as an affirmation of their belief that the distribution of damages amongst the entire population has not been equal, with their own losses being the heaviest.

The narratives by Giorgos and Eleni focused on a symbolic idea of the land and of their region, producing an image for the latter as a cluster of spaces, which had a particular significance in the ways in which they related to and narrated their past (Kappler, 2017: 132). This imagery was a manifestation of the way they viewed the world and the way they experienced and narrated their histories (Bardenstein, 1999; Clark, 2018). The latter led them to affirm their regional allegiance to Morphou at the expense of other areas in the island, an allegiance that could only be directed, however, towards a symbolic and intangible entity. It was an entity existing in their memories and an allegiance towards a region in essence left at a different point in time. This mnemonic region in its material essence was no longer accessible.

Eleni's narrative supports the existence of a connecting link between the symbolic entity and a more material and physical aspect of the land. This connecting link was located in the imagery of trees and the particularisation of that image in orange trees. The orange trees, as they appear in Eleni's narrative, become a liminal place that lead from the immateriality and symbolism of the region to the physical reference of the land (Jepson, 2006). They were a metaphor for the richness of the land but at the same time a physical element, producing fruits, juice, etc. Indeed, Morphou as a region was

and still is known for its citrus trees. It hosted an annual Orange Festival (this festival is still organised by the Turkish Cypriot community), while 51% of Cyprus' citrus fruits prior to 1974 were produced in the region (PRIO, 2011). The orange trees were a symbolic expression representing both the material elements of the land and a symbolism of the richness of the entire region.

In the following section, two testimonies by family members are presented where the physical element of the trees and the soil became particularly apparent. This is followed by a discussion of my experience of the crossing to the family orchards with my uncle Petros. The two testimonies were by my mother Paraskevi and aunt Sofia, whose narratives concerning the materiality of the land indicated estrangement. My mother's narrative was one in which my own assumptions and self-schema concerning the land intruded into the interview. Having reviewed a variety of literature concerning the return of Greek Cypriot refugees to their places of origin, I had anticipated that similar practices as those described by Dikomitis (2012) and Loizos (2008) would appear in testimonies by my relatives. As my mother described her return to Zodhia, these assumptions appeared in my questioning. In the following excerpt, she is responding to a question in relation to what she would have taken with her as memorabilia had she been leaving Zodhia today.

> **PP:** 'What would it remind me of (*pondering rhetorically*)? I might have taken something so it reminds me of (*interrupts narrative*)… but what would you take (*raises voice*)? Would you take the soil? Would you take the house? What else? These are the memories of the village. The place (*assertively*)! Not the things.'

> **CP:** 'The soil? What do you mean? You took when you went back?'
>
> **PP:** 'Erm, we touched it, I might not have brought it back but… we felt, we touched everywhere, so we feel… that they are ours.'
>
> (Paraskevi interview: 11)

My mother's initial rhetorical questioning exemplified the tension between conceptualisations of the idea of home as something mobile or something stable, as something tangible or something symbolic (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011; Blunt and Dowling, 2006). As she pondered on the capacity of possessions to act as 'connective markers to geographical nodes of identification', she questioned whether any material aspect could guarantee a connection with identity and belonging (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011: 519). To this question, she offered an immediate response. The feeling of identity and belonging is not transferable to any kind of possessions as it is a bundle of various intangible experiences, memories of the village as 'place' in the most abstract sense (Rozińska, 2011).

In Dikomitis' (2012) ethnographic account of Greek Cypriots returning to their places of origins, she describes refugees bringing back soil from their villages so they could place it on the graves of their parents who had died prior to the opening of the checkpoints. Influenced by such literature, I noticed my mother's reference to the soil and asked specifically whether she had brought back any soil. Her response was once more a rebuff of the materiality of the land. For her, identity and belonging were not something conferred with the possession of a material aspect such as soil but something obtained only through the positioning of the self in the context of both the particular

place (its materiality) and the social relations that characterised that place (its relational and symbolic aspects), something impossible to attain in the present.

While my mother's narrative represented her reflections concerning the ability of the materiality of the land to ascertain subjective belonging, my aunt Sofia symbolically constructed an alienation connected to a change of the material aspect of the family orchards. In her discussion of her return to the orchards during 2003, she commented on her encounter with the current 'owner' of the orchards, who denied her their ownership.

> 'Afterwards we went to the orchards. Our orchards were good (*lively voice*)! And they were (*stops narrative*) … did you go as well when we went? [I nod negatively] You did not go? There were my sisters. It was me, Aunt Maria and your mom. And we were walking on the road; some were going on one side and others on the other. As we were walking straight to find the orchards (*change in voice denoting an unpleasant experience*), there was a man, with a Mercedes and a cigar (*ironic voice*). And I turned to him and I say: 'These are our orchards' (*lively voice*). (*Raises voice abruptly and imitates deep manly voice*) 'They were', he says to me. 'They were, now mine'. We were afraid (*surprised*). It was a Turk that was so savage. Oh (*raises voice abruptly and imitates deep manly voice*) Mother Mary we were afraid. We have never been there again. (*Short pause*) Lately your uncle has been (*tone of voice drops*). They removed the orchards [she means the orange trees] and they put pomegranate trees. They removed the orchards that we had and they put pomegranate trees (*dismayed voice*).' (Sofia interview: 11)

The backward, dirty, and impure 'Turk' is an imagery and notion permeating Greek Cypriot culture. Greek Cypriots are symbolically constructed as clean and pure, while 'the Turks' emerge as the other who is inferior based on those characteristics (Bryant, 2004; Argyrou, 2007). For the imagery of the land, the other is not a 'filthy Turk' but the disdainful and disrespectful current occupant of the property. His arrival was marked in Sofia's narrative by irony and contempt, her facial expressions and tone of voice belittling and degrading this 'other'. The comments on the Mercedes and the cigar were derogatory and depreciating rather than symbolic signs of grandeur (considering that Sofia's family are very affluent, her remarks concerning the Mercedes and the cigar should not be seen as envious of this person). Their emotional response was fear, with Sofia using religious vocabulary to defend her sense of self from his disrespect. The denial of ownership of the land is extremely important for Sofia. The 'other' did not merely occupy physically their property but denied their ownership and affirmed his control over it.

Following the description of this encounter, Sofia gloomily declares that they have not returned there ever since. At this point, the materiality of the orchards became extremely important as it becomes the foundation for Sofia's estrangement from the conception of the land. 'Their own' orange orchards have been removed and have been replaced by pomegranate trees. This alteration, moreover, is one Sofia did not experience directly but was communicated by her husband. This change alienates the land from her and the family's identity. While the orange orchards were 'their own', the pomegranate trees that replaced them are completely alien to her. Identity, both her own and of the family's, is desynchronised from the material aspect of the land. 'Their'

orange orchards have been removed, and along with them, her connection with that land.

Sofia narratively constructed her alienation from the family orchards through three dimensions: a denial of ownership, a change in the material aspect of the family orchards, and the physical in-experience of that change. A different relationship to the material aspect of the land was the one I observed during my crossing with my uncle Petros. The latter seemed to retain an emotional investment in the materiality of the land, in spite of the alterations he witnessed. The plot where the orchards stood was situated in the town of Morphou. Petros had no problems identifying the plot, as he recalled it was located directly opposite a large water reservoir. As soon as he noticed the reservoir, he asked his friend to turn left into the plot. At that very moment he cheerfully exclaimed 'here they are, our orchards', raising his hands towards the horizon. In my eyesight were pomegranate trees, as far as I could see.

Petros requested that we drive through the field. While both he and his friend had ordinary jobs as civil servants, they were still invested in the identity of the farmer and the land as they had their own plots in Peristerona. As we drove through the orchards, they started commenting on the irrigation techniques they were noticing. While my knowledge of agricultural production and the vocabulary related to it was limited, I was able to recognise remarks about furrow irrigation. As the car stopped for a minute in front of the water-well located at the back of the orchard, both noted the way water was carried through the field and the kind of water-tyres 'they' were using. I found it extremely interesting that neither of them spoke of the Turkish 'owner' of the land or

clarified who 'they' actually were. It was as if they were more concerned with the agricultural techniques (from the water-well to the water-tyres) rather than ownership, with physical aspects of farming rather than proprietorship of the land. The third-person plural of 'they' seemed to symbolise the farmer identity, who similar to them, took care of the land. Ethnicity and animosity at that moment were not important, with the identity of the farmer taking precedence. And indeed, the experience in the orchards was one of the few occasions where both Petros and his friend did not speak with a degrading voice about what they were experiencing through the crossing.

As we started heading towards the road, an event occurred that, I believe captured the different sensibilities towards the land and the family orchards. Halfway through the orchard, Petros asked his friend to stop the car. He got out (the only occasion throughout the whole homecoming where he got out of the car) and reached up to collect pomegranate fruits from a tree. I recall being stunned and afraid as he did so, for I had heard from my aunts about their encounter with the current 'owner'. His friend was guiding him to collect the ripest ones. He collected about seven or eight as his friend urged him to hurry up. To that Petros calmly, yet with a distrustful voice, responded: 'it is fine, they are our orchards after all'. As he returned to the car, he handed me the pomegranate fruits and we drove off.

Figure 10: A photograph of my uncle Petros collecting pomegranate fruits during our return to the land in Morphou and the family orchards.

The different responses to the physical aspect of the land have multiple implications. On the one hand, they revealed the complex association between the land itself and ownership. For Sofia, the denial of ownership caused a feeling of alienation from the physical elements of the land. This alienation was illustrated through her proclamation that she has not gone back ever since. Eventually, this alienation culminated in her complete subjective estrangement through her reference of the alteration to the orchards. For Petros however, the relationship between physical aspect of the land and its ownership is entirely different. The farming practices and elements such as the water-well and water-tyres allowed him to build a connection between past and present, between the farming identity he inherited from the rural society of Zodhia and the one he symbolically practices in the present (he is no longer a farmer but a government

employee practicing farming). At the same time however, his act of collecting the pomegranate fruits were symbolic in relation to the current 'occupant'. While the latter had remained obscure throughout their discussion concerning farming practices, it is in relation to ownership that Petros asserts that these orchards are 'our own'. Picking the pomegranate trees was an aggressive act, a symbolic 'theft' with the intent of depriving the 'other' his labour and property. Accompanying this symbolic 'theft' was Petros' oral affirmation of his family's ownership of the orchards. The orchards belonged to our family, both in the moment we first encountered them and in the moment we were leaving them behind.

The symbolic 'theft' of the pomegranate fruits designated my uncle's conviction that this land is still his, signifying at the same time that he is up for a fight against the occupant. Additionally, however, his overall reaction indicated that he still experiences the pain of loss and has not entirely moved on, despite having farming land and enacting the farming identity in the south. The 'theft' was an assertion of ownership that symbolically gave us (he handed the fruits to me) every right to collect those fruits and carry them with us back to the south. Ownership was not only something affirmed but also something transmitted to the second generation and me.

The different responses to the physical aspects of the land reflected the cultural context where the land and practices associated with it were experienced. The loss of the physical property for the women meant that they had lost their inheritance and had nothing to bring with them to the south. Their connection with the land as home rested mainly in its understanding as inherited property. The men however, understood the

land as home that escaped a specific placement (i.e. in the north). Men were also able to practise their farming identities in the south, as agricultural skills are not only connected with the land in the north but are portable.

The corporal and psychological experience of 'land-coming'

Throughout this chapter, various examples of the different ways family members recounted their visit to the land were documented. Sofia's 'land-coming' was marked by the denial of ownership and her subsequent estrangement from the idea of home associated with the land. During my uncle Petros' and my 'land-coming' conversely, he sought to assert ownership of the orchards through a symbolic 'theft', a form of retribution for what he no longer has. This section presents an additional testimony that represents how the physical and psychological 'land-coming' were experienced for not just the narrator but for a multiplicity of individuals. It concerns Giorgos, who in the presence of his wife Sofia (he had called her to bring some photographs from their bedroom, with Sofia remaining for some time with us), described both his own return to his orchards and the return of Sofia and her sisters to theirs.

> **G:** '…and afterwards we went to the orchards. She was blessing a different orchard your aunt (*laughs and makes fun*). In any case. Never mind. Never mind.'
> **C:** 'I don't understand (*perplexed*).'
> **S:** 'Your aunt Maria (*apologetic voice*).'
> **G:** 'Your aunt Maria had brought with her a *kapnistiri* (a clay censer used in Greek Orthodox religious rituals), and so… and she brought it and she was blessing a different orchard, the one next to (theirs). They understood it afterwards of course, and they blessed that as well.'

S: 'Yes, but the disorientation was…'

G: 'So, we went.... I was crying… this reaction [points to his face as his eyes are in tears].'

S: 'When he went to his orchard and he saw that his orchard was good, he was crying like a little baby (*assertively*). Because they had told him that it had dried out. And when he went and saw it that it was still good, he was crying.'

G: 'They were mistaken (*smiling*).' (Giorgos interview: 7-8)

Giorgos's narrative about 'land-coming' accounted for two different experiences, one for himself and another for his wife's family. The kind of homecoming he described for his wife's family was entertaining for him, as he joked about their inability to locate their orchard. My reaction to this account was astonishment, for none of the female family members interviewed at that time had talked about this incident (my mother and Sofia). Sofia's reaction to her husband's comments indicated a sort of embarrassment, as she quickly moved to defend both her and her sisters' reaction.

What does this inability to physically identify the orchards actually mean, however, in the context of 'land-coming'? First, their journey back to their origins became problematic and challenging. The inability to promptly recognise the location of the land as home is different to the description of Sofia being unable to recognise the family house. In that case, she was unable to recognise the house due to the alterations in the physical surroundings, eventually comprehending the structure through its relation to a person (i.e. her uncle). When they visited their orchards in 2003, the physical space and the tangible entity had not yet been altered. The orchards still consisted of citrus trees and the water reservoir that Petros used in 2017 to identify them during our own

crossing still stood there. Much of the surroundings they had associated the land with were also still present. Their inability to recognise the place indicated that the corresponding psychological 'land-coming', the recognition and re-establishment of meaning and identity made possible through the physical return home, remained incomplete and inadequate. What this experience details is a symbolic idea of homelessness. Homelessness in this sense, 'is ideologically constructed as the absence of home and therefore derivative from the ideological construction of home' (Somerville, 1992: 530; see also Kissoon, 2015). All the women faced extreme difficulties in their efforts to re-establish the meaningful connections they once had with the land. The homelessness described is therefore, more in line with the challenge – not eradication - to the meaningfulness and source of identity that home is ideologically constructed to provide (Somerville, 1992).

The second experience of 'land-coming' that Giorgos's narrative accounted for was his own, in his family orchards. In this version of 'land-coming', physical and psychological homecoming attained different significations than those elaborated above. Of great significance is that Giorgos was actually unable to describe the experience himself. Being emotionally overwhelmed, he re-enacted his response of his return to the orchards during the interview. With tears in his eyes, he pointed to his face saying 'this was my reaction'. At that point Sofia took over, describing the experience. Contrary to her husband's description of her own and Maria's 'land-coming', Sofia's description had no elements of irony towards his emotional response. The references to 'crying like a baby' were not meant to belittle Giorgos but rather to affirm the extent of his emotions, the contentment and gratification that he experienced during that

moment. He was crying because his orchards were 'good'. Whilst people had told him that it had dried out, 'others' had taken care of it. At that moment, who the 'other' is, is of no importance. What was important was that it had been taken care of and was still in its full capacity to produce.

The kind of 'land-coming' that the excerpt above detailed, mirrors the one we saw earlier with Petros. The physical return to the land and their orchards was accompanied by the psychological re-establishment of the meanings associated with it. Indeed, for both Giorgos and Petros, these meanings were connected with the material aspect of the land, and the fact that the orchards were 'good' and able to produce. Petros sought to collect the fruits and be reconnected with the land. Giorgos became emotionally overwhelmed upon seeing that the trees were 'good'. The farming identity takes precedence, affirming the associated meanings they once had of home, allowing for a kind of rediscovery and assertion of the meanings and identity they once had with the land.

The meanings of the land for the second generation

The analysis of the chapter thus far has indicated that the land as an idea of home was experienced differently by members of the displaced generation. These different experiences were correlated to the social and cultural construction of the land as a gendered space, with the appropriate emotional expectations placed on family members influencing their testimonies. How did these cultural constructions and emotional expectations about the experience of the land influence the understanding of the land

for the descendants? Did the gendered expectations and sensibilities that appeared in testimonies by the displaced generation also appear in testimonies by their children?

Similar to the idea of the house, the narratives concerning the land by descendants by no means reverberated the accounts offered by their parents. Nonetheless, the different cultural and familial expectations concerning the land did appear in the testimonies by the children. This section seeks to illustrate these expectations by presenting once more the testimonies by my sister Andri and cousin Andreas. In this way the reader will be able to discern the different sorts of cultural and familial expectations surrounding the experience of home (the differences between the house and the land), and how Andri and Andreas navigated these expectations.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Andreas had joined his parents in their crossing to their respective villages. In his efforts to assert his own form of agency in this return, he had emphasised that he was the one to drive them there. In his narrative of the experience of 'house-coming', he was bewildered by his mother's reaction of being unable to identify her house. He had laughed hysterically at her reaction, which was his own psychic defence against the emotional overload he was witnessing. His own experience of the house was an affirmation of incompatibility to what he had imagined: 'I expected very differently'. He faced difficulties therefore in establishing meanings associated with the place and affirming his own identity in connection to the house.

The narrative of his father's reaction to his return to the land and his own experience of the land were, however, different to his reaction to the house. The following excerpt

is Andrea's description of his father's visit to his orchard, which directly followed the narrative about the house.

> '…but I saw my father cry for the first time when he went to his orchard (*voice and pace drop*). So there, I saw him being anxious and cry because (*short pause*) … there is where he grew up, there (*pauses*)… he told me: 'these trees I planted them, I dug them'.'
> (Andreas interview: 3)

In the excerpt above, Andreas recounted an experience that placed the interaction with his father in an idea of fatherhood with which he was not accustomed. His description placed the father-son relationship out of the urban and capitalist environment and into a relationship built on appreciation of the land, a rural father-son relationship (Levine and Levine, 1985; Arditti et al, 2014). As Andreas talked about the trees and the various farming practices and techniques, such as plantation and digging, he was recreating the discussion with his own father, in an idea of fatherhood in the rural cultural context. The experience of the physical elements of the land such as the trees, as well as the farming techniques shared by his father, had allowed Andreas to be exposed to an idea of the land that he had never been exposed before, to a father-son relationship that from the rural past of Greek Cypriot society.

Interestingly enough, it did not matter that Andreas was unable and does not know how to work the land. Having grown up into the urban culture of Nicosia and having studied and worked in the banking sector all his adult life, he was never exposed to the kind of life his father had had. He nonetheless acknowledged that he could not sell the land as that would ruin the relationship he has with his parents, betraying both the property

itself and their identity. Following a question in relation to how he feels about the property in the north in the present, he responded:

> 'I feel that I do not want to sell them (*assertive voice*). I do not feel that I can utilise them, as the way we have grown up, the way we work (*short pause*) … I am not a person who would go and cultivate the land. Because it is land that is for cultivation, not for any other use. Therefore, I cannot have a gain myself. But to sell them (*rhetorical question*)? I do not want to sell them because I feel I would betray the property of my parents, which they gave me, which they have been deprived of for so many years.' (Andreas interview: 11)

Andreas' narrative of the land placed him between the societal and the familial expectations regarding the land and family orchards. The urban capitalist society he currently lives in never allowed him to actually learn how to work the land. Yet, the relationships with his parents would not allow him to renounce the land's ownership. While not having received any sort of agricultural training, he recognised and accepted his responsibility of ownership. Torn between the two, he asserts that while he is unable to farm the land, he would never renounce its ownership. This understanding of the goal associated with the land was more in line with the way his aunts Maria and Sotiroulla had spoken about the land.

Nonetheless, the gendered provisions of training that characterised rural agricultural Cypriot society were disturbed by displacement and the modernisation of society. The prosperity that Greek Cypriot society saw following 1974 meant that agriculture had become a small if not insignificant part of its economy (Argyrou, 1996). As a successful

banker, Andreas had difficulty in locating a role for the land in his life. While his father had established the farmer's identity as a leisure identity through which he practised a connection to the past, he himself had never been exposed to it.

At the same time however, his account of 'land-coming' indicated that his physical 'return' to the family orchards was accompanied by a realisation of his father's becoming and belonging in that same space, and his own connection with the latter. The detailed description of the land and the father-son interaction in an entirely different cultural context allowed him to ascertain his own connection to that place. As a result, Andreas' experience of the land can be said to be characterised by the tension between the societal expectations and prosperity of a modernised capitalist society and the expectations placed upon him by family relationships and his perceived responsibility of ownership.

Andri's experience of the land was quite different from the experience that Andreas described. Her account concerning the land contained many contradictions, primarily related to her idea of ownership. It thus echoed the way many female members of the displaced generation related to the land. The first excerpt presented, concerns her account of the family's collective crossing, as that occurred after the opening of the checkpoints in 2003. In the excerpt, she describes concerns and mistrust towards the 'other', as well as her overall experience of the 'return' to the family orchards.

> 'Okay, that which I recall, because we went as soon as the checkpoints opened… (*Continues in heightened and instructive voice*) the 'you shall not eat anything, you shall not drink anything from the occupied land' [Andri here recalls the public

discourse about consuming anything from the north]. And we took many things, as we were afraid… because no matter what you say, a mistrust towards the Turkish Cypriots that they want to harm us (*hesitates to continue*) … And we had taken everything with us. Even to go to toilet, we would not go and we went to the fields. Even to eat I remember, we sat in a plot that was ours. Orange trees it had, if I remember well.' (Andri interview: 3)

The first part of Andri's narrative underlined the initial concerns and mistrust towards the Turkish Cypriots that many Greek Cypriots had and some still have, during their crossings. This mistrust became visible through the reverberation of the public rhetoric of the time, of not consuming anything produced in the north. Andri's narrative was filled with references to the nature of the 'other' that one cannot trust, whose food and drink would probably poison the self (Argyrou, 2007, Spyrou, 2006b). In this conceptual basis of the relationship between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, the 'other' both constructs and symbolises not only itself but also its opposite, the self. The 'dirty and treacherous Turkish other' will purposefully try to poison and harm the 'clean and innocent Greek self'.

I recall that during my crossing with Petros, we stopped at a bakery in the south prior to our crossing. He had filled a bag with various types of pastries and had bought at least two bottles of water for each. I assumed he did not want to buy anything from the north. Yet, as we arrived in the orchard, he collected the pomegranate fruits from the trees, despite being produced by somebody else. He perceived them as 'ours'. This idea of ownership appeared also in Andri's testimony. The land and the orange trees are

associated with the identity of the family. While they had brought everything to eat with them from the south, according to Andri, the family sat to consume it in a plot that 'was theirs', identified by the fruits that it provides.[11] Identity and belonging are therefore clearly related to the land.

While the excerpt above remains in line with the ideas of the land communicated by various members of the displaced generation, Andri's comments in other parts of her testimony directly contradicted her narrative above. Two more excerpts from Andri's testimony are presented, wherein she rejects the responsibility of ownership that her aunts Maria and Sotiroulla were sceptical about in respects to the second generation. In the first excerpt, Andri is discussing the ownership of the land and the absence of sensitivity in relation to it, both connected to the lack of memories and experiences.

> 'I suppose that, had I had that land I would consider it like Astromeritis, which is my second home. But I have not lived it (*assertively*). I consider as my second home Astromeritis. That is where we grew up, that is where we have our experiences as children (*assertively*). That is where our grandparents were situated [both from our mother's and our father's side], that is where we would go when we were young to play (*assertively*). Therefore, in order to connect to something you have to have memories… in order to connect with it.' (Andri interview: 12)

The second excerpt from Andri's testimony raised considerations in relation to life experiences at a personal level and the kind of sensibilities that one develops in relation

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[11] This was an event described only by Andri. According to her, the family sat in the orchards to eat what they had brought from the south. At the same time, however, this was the crossing where the current occupant of the land came to assert his ownership of the land to our mother and aunts.

to place (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). While the experience of 'return' was one shared with various other members of the extended family; for Andri personal life experiences are what guarantee a specific place with associated personal meaning. That was precisely what she lacked in relation to the land in the north. The lack of life experiences is eventually related to ownership. As she started her narrative with the phrase 'had I owned that land', she indicated that the lack of personal experience in the context of that land has led her to doubt its very ownership.

These doubts are eventually materialised in the abandonment of the responsibility of its ownership. In the third and last excerpt from Andri's testimony, she rejects the belief of the inalienability of the land (that one should never sell it) and confesses that she sees the land merely as per its monetary value.

> 'But I believe that this thing [the land] I have not lived it; I do
> not feel it as mine [enough] so I can claim it (*apologetic voice*).
> I see those things [the land and orchards] purely economically
> (*apologetic voice*). And I believe our entire generation is like this
> (*assertively*).' (Andri interview: 9)

In the above excerpt, the intergenerational meanings associated with the land seem to have completed their course. In the same way that our mother does not feel connected with the orchards, having forgotten even their location, Andri acknowledges that she feels entirely disconnected from the land as well. The land is simply an economic asset. The fears and concerns by her aunts take form in her acknowledgment that she feels no responsibility towards ownership. The lack of personal experience led to the absence of associated meanings to the land and the eventual relinquishment of the responsibility

of ownership. At the same time, however, she seemed to acknowledge that this abandonment of responsibility is something for which she might be criticised. In her comment about the entire second generation being like this, she is presenting a defence towards any criticism that may be targeted towards her.

The two testimonies by Andri and Andreas are different in their understandings and associations of the land. On the one hand, Andri acknowledged that a lack of personal experience led to the relinquishment of the responsibility of ownership, something that her aunts had concerns about. On the other hand, Andreas' testimony revealed that despite the absence of personal experience of the land, he had developed a more nuanced understanding of its idea as home. In line with the goal of the land as home, he ascertained that he has inherited the responsibility and duty of ownership of the property. At the same time however, the masculine nature of agricultural production and his father's personal meanings concerning the land were disrupted. The changing nature and prosperity of the Cypriot society and our family disrupted the transmission of meanings associated with the cultivation of the land and has left its idea of home somewhere in-between (Argyrou, 1996; Loizos, 2009). Living in a modernised Greek Cypriot society, however, does not necessarily mean leaving behind the idea of the land as home. The paradox of Greek Cypriot displacement is that becoming a member in this modernising and successful society does not enable one to leave this idea of home behind entirely, as elements of it travel with us, and we are unable to shrug them off (Allen Fox, 2016).

Conclusion

This thesis was an investigation into how displacement is remembered in the context of family life and how it has influenced the individuals comprising that family. Its greatest contribution to the study of displacement in Cyprus was its focus on an individual family and the ways it has dealt with its displacement and protracted exile, an alternative to traditional studies of Cypriot displacement which have generally focused on the political and societal levels of analysis. The study showed how aspects of everyday familial life such as housing arrangements, practices of childcare and inheritance patterns have been influenced and guided by a lost home, as well as the way this lost home has coloured the experience of life in contemporary Cyprus and the establishment of a new home. Moreover, the investigation focused on the transgenerational implications of displacement, and the connection between memory, meanings of family and property, issues which have been generally neglected in literature on Cyprus in favour of the political dimension of memory. The focus on one family, then, coupled with an emphasis on the influence of displacement on social and cultural arrangements constitute the main contributions of this thesis to the nature of knowledge on Cypriot displacement.

Nonetheless, the thesis has made contributions to the knowledge about displacement in Cyprus and forced migration more generally in four additional ways. First, it acknowledged the multidimensionality of the concept of home and its various contested meanings. The first meaning of home identified in the study was related to 'being at

home', a relational concept and '(stative) verb rather than a noun, a state of being' (Mallet, 2004: 79). This meaning of home was connected to the people one encounters in his or her surroundings. As I was writing up the chapter on reception, I had initially thought of it as standing out from the rest, as being concerned with the transfer of meanings rather than the meanings themselves. Nonetheless, I eventually came to understand that this chapter concerned the way ''homes' always involve encounters between those who stay, those who arrive and those who leave' (Ahmed, 1999: 340), or in the case of Cyprus, those who were in the south and those who fled from the north. The meaning concerning reception and its intergenerational reticence represented therefore, the relational realm from which refugees and their children ventured into the Greek Cypriot society. This meaning of home was grounded less in place and more in the kind of activities and interactions that occurred and took place in that specific place, the post-1974 Greek Cypriot society.

The second meaning of home was brought forward through the chapter on family life and the modified extended family. This idea of home concerned not only the relational aspect of family relationships but how, in the Cypriot context, these are embedded in a place, i.e. the neighbourhood. This idea of home symbolised the development of relationships in the context of a particular space, the coming together of individual life courses in a collective familial way situated in space. This idea of home was also symbolically connected with efforts to maintain, enact, and promote relationships that family members built throughout protracted exile.

The last idea of home introduced in this thesis, concerned the social relations occurring in specific locations and the social and emotional effects arising from interaction in these locations: the houses and the land left behind with displacement. As the analysis portrayed, this idea of home can encompass both cultural norms as well as individual fantasies concerning roles, occupations, and socialisation (Mallett, 2004). It showed how gendered cultural norms and cultural perceptions of space could influence the understandings and meanings by family members concerning these spaces. An interesting aspect of these ideas of home was that they problematised the dichotomy of the private and public spheres. According to Blunt and Dowling (2006), home tends to usually represent the private domain – the house – where one is comfortable, secure and safe, contrary to the public domain which is an imposing, dangerous space associated with work, engagements and relationships that are non-kin related. What the study portrayed was that equalising and conflating home with the house reduces the former and does not recognise that space and the relationships developed in relation to it are provisional and in flux (Massey, 1992). To this end, the distinction between private and public spheres might not be able to capture conceptions of land and space that escape the 'simple property-based formula of house + identifiable parcel of land that prevails in cultures dominated by commerce, capitalism and the real estate industry' (Allen Fox, 2016: 9).

A further contribution of this thesis was the reconsideration of the gendered pains of displacement put forward by Loizos (1981). Loizos had contended that women had the worse time as refugees because they were more isolated, which led them to think about their losses all the time. Greek Cypriot culture made women 'house-bound', placing

them in the house, protected from strangers, with their socialisation being in the context of the compact community of kin, friends, and neighbours (Loizos, 1981). Displacement and the disruption of this way of life made women vulnerable and dependent, facing difficulties in establishing new relationships and staying indoors in a house that was not home. Contrary to women, men had to master their grief and actively seek ways to support those who depended on them (Loizos, 2008). This led many to be strengthened by circumstance, as they would seek employment in sectors unknown to them or work for a wage, something seen as diminishing their status in their places of origin. While women daily expressively mourned the loss of a type of life, men remained silent, keeping in line with the cultural – patriarchal - expectations of restrain and control.

Approximately 40 years following their flight, the study portrayed how these different responses to displacement affected the lives of my family members in the *longue durée*. Female members of my extended family, on the one hand, managed to escape the particular pains that Loizos associated with refugee women. Their new housing arrangements were coloured by their village's norms, as they proceeded to establish relationships and socialisation in the context of the compact community of kin they enjoyed in the village. Additionally, none of the women had built their own family house in the village and thus none had established the meaningful connections with 'their family house' that my grandmother had probably established. While the female members of my extended family were able to re-root themselves in the post-1974 society via their houses and a re-established socialisation, men on the other hand, re-rooted themselves through the kind of social actions they brought forward from their

places of origin. While all men had 'modern' jobs fitting the Cypriot society of the 21st century, they also developed a sort of leisure identity through their farming practices in the south. This leisure identity represented their way of life prior to 1974 and complemented their way of life in the modern and capitalist present day.

The above consideration regarding the case of my extended family leads to a third contribution of this thesis, albeit to the theoretical knowledge regarding displacement. Recent research in human geography has put forward the concept of home *un*making or *domicide* to describe how material and/or symbolic aspects of home may be damaged or destroyed (Porteous and Smith, 2001; Baxter and Brickell, 2014). This study has shown that displacement undoubtedly involves the *un*making of various ideas of home, at the same as it suggested that the case of my extended family presents a form of home *re*making. On the one hand, the pain of uprooting and the loss of the physical aspects of home was accompanied with the disruption of a way of life loaded with symbolism and signification. The loss of the village, the land, the house, and the neighbourhood were followed by the symbolic loss of ideas such as the family or the connection between property and subjectivity. On the other hand, the study also portrayed how members of my extended family nostalgically *re*made home. The concept of home *re*making captures the idea that home in protracted exile was not constructed out of thin air but was coloured by the meanings and associations brought forward from the home that was lost. Material aspects of home such as housing arrangements and family orchards reconstructed symbolic aspects of home such as the modified extended family and place-person association. To this end, the notion of home *re*making captures the resilience of my family members and the efforts to move

forward from their losses. The adversity of displacement led them to transmute their negative experiences in a positive way, finding new strengths and experiencing a transformative renewal (Papadopoulos, 2007). As Papadopoulos (2007) comments, accounts of such strength of spirit challenge the tendency to pathologize suffering. The experience of my extended family portrays how in spite of many hardships, they not only rebuilt what they had lost but also went beyond the social meanings and identities they once had.

The last contribution of this thesis pertains to a reconsideration of Loizos' (2008) problematisations of the usage of the concept of generation. Loizos argued that displacement is experienced very differently by individuals, with the generational approach merely creating an artificial cluster of people that does not really exist. The generational approach, however, does not concern tangible entities but rather mental (Reulecke, 2010). As the study has portrayed, the creations of meaning, interpretations and memory among family members indicate two different subjective generational positionings. The 'first' generation are characterized by a subjective embeddedness in the way of life pre-1974, with notions such as the neighbourhood, the family, the femininity of the house and the masculinity of farming practices being of primary significance for their self-understanding and identity. The 'second' generation, moreover, were influenced by the modernisation of Cypriot society and the urban life they had become accustomed to. For certain, some did have a form of understanding of notions such as the relationship between family and neighbourhood, an understanding that mainly stemmed from their own experience of family life in urban Cyprus. Nonetheless, most had difficulty in comprehending and relating notions such

as the femininity of the house or the masculine nature of farming practices with their own subjective positioning. To this end, in the application of the generational approach, one has to take seriously the subjective generational positioning of people during their lives, including the associated creations of meaning, interpretation and memory, and recognise this subjective positioning as historically influential phenomena (Reulecke, 2010).

Recommendations for further research

This study has raised some important points regarding the nature of home both in Cyprus and more generally. First, while the study engaged in the integration of oral history methodologies with the way human geographers understand place and space, a more thorough and comprehensive relation of the two can lead to a much better comprehension of how home, memory and subjectivity are connected. Two topics that could benefit from further research according to this approach include the tension between the myth of return and the reality of homecoming during pilgrimages of return for refugees, and the symbolic reconstruction of the 'familiality' of the village neighbourhood in an urban environment.

The analysis of the chapters on the house and the land considered the meanings for these homes in a way that did not recognise how these categories (home as directions, home as entities, and homecomings) are connected with each other. More specifically, I have come to appreciate how the psychological homecoming and the re-establishment of meaningful connections with these homes is connected with the way the materiality and symbolism of home are experienced during the physical homecoming. Further

research, especially in relation to the land as home, can lead to a reconsideration and a better understanding of how home, memory and gender are related in the case of displaced populations.

The chapter on the modified extended family, moreover, has portrayed the notion of home *un*making and *re*making most vividly. The connection between family relationships and space indicated that despite and because of displacement, members of my extended family reconstructed the family networks and support they enjoyed in the village in an urban environment. Further integration of oral history and human geography conceptualisations of space can lead to better analysis of how the memory of the lost home coloured the patterns of housing arrangements and proceeded to a home *re*making in the urban environment in Nicosia.

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Appendix A: General information regarding family members

Name	Year of birth	Characteristics
Christakis Tattis	1944	Born and raised in Zodhia. Married and moved to the village of his wife prior to 1974.
Soulla Tatti	1951	From Astromeritis, the last village on the border of the area controlled by the Republic of Cyprus.
Giorgos Tattis	1973	Born in Astromeritis. Was one year old at the time of the invasion. Married but divorced. Owns and manages a restaurant with his parents in Astromeritis.
Eleni Prodromou	1946	Born and raised in Zodhia. Married and moved to Nicosia prior to 1974. Worked for the Police Department until retirement.
Michalis Prodromou	1944	From Nicosia. Worked for the Fire Department until retirement.
Andreas Prodromou	1971	Born in Nicosia. Three years old at the time of the invasion. Is now a high-ranking military officer. Married to a refugee descendant. Has two sons born in 2003 and 2006.
Maria Mavromati	1950	Born and lived in Zodhia. Dislocated during the invasion. Engaged prior to 1974 and married in **1975**. Owned and worked a kindergarten school until retirement. She opened the school first in Zodhia, and after the invasion moved it to Peristerona where the family lived as well. Moved to Nicosia in 1978 for better treatment for her ill husband. Opened the school in Nicosia as well.
Michalis Mavromatis **(+)**	1948	From Zodhia. Worked in the civil service. Passed away in 1980 from leukemia.
Panayiota Mavromati	1977	Born in Peristerona. Married. Works as a school teacher. Has two daughters born in 2008 and 2011, and one son born in 2013. Her house is adjacent to her mother's.
Sofia Theodoridi	1952	Born and raised in Zodhia. Dislocated to Astromeritis after the invasion. Married in 1978 and moved with her in-laws in Peristerona immediately after. Moved to Nicosia in … Worked for the Police Department until retirement.

Giorgos Theodoridis	1953	Born and raised in Prastio, an occupied village nearby Zodhia. Moved to Peristerona after the dislocation. Held a high position at a banking institution until retirement.
Kiriakos Theodoridis	1979	Born in Peristerona. Works for the Police Department. Married to a refugee descendant and has two sons born in 2010 and 2014.
Andreas Theodoridis	1981	Born in Nicosia. Works as a financial analyst at a banking institution. Single.
Eirini Poliviou	1955	Born and raised in Zodhia. Dislocated to Astromeritis after the invasion. Married in 1981 and lives in Astromeritis. Worked in the Police Department until retirement.
Andreas Poliviou **(+)**	1952	From Astromeritis. Worked in the Police Department until retirement. Passed away in 2015.
Stelios Poliviou	1987	Born in Astromeritis. Married and moved to Limassol. Works as a private investor.
Paraskevi Peristiani	1956	Born and raised in Zodhia. Dislocated to Astromeritis after the invasion. Moved to Nicosia after her wedding in 1983. Worked in the private sector until retirement.
Erotokritos Peristianis	1957	From Astromeritis. Moved to Nicosia after his wedding. Works in the private sector.
Christakis Peristianis	1985	Born in Nicosia. Currently pursuing a doctoral degree.
Andri Peristiani	1987	Born in Nicosia. Works as a kindergarten teacher in a state school. Married to a refugee descendant and has one son born in 2015.
Petros Tattis	1957	Born and raised in Zodhia. Dislocated to Astromeritis after the invasion. He works in the civil service. Married in 1988 and moved to Peristerona at the house of his wife.
Evgenia Tatti	1963	Born and raised in Katokopia, a village nearby Zodhia. Dislocated to Peristerona after the invasion. Her family re-settled in a Turkish-Cypriot house, of which they do not have the title deeds. Married in 1988 and taken over the house, still with no title deeds.
Andreas Tattis	1989	Born in Peristerona. Works in the civil service. Engaged to be married.
Giorgos Tattis	1990	Born in Peristerona. Currently completing a postgraduate degree in Greece. Single.
Panayiotis Tattis	1992	Born in Peristerona. Works as a military officer. Single.

Marios Tattis	2002	Born in Peristerona. In high school.
████████████████████████████████████		
Sotiroulla Mavri	1960	Born and raised in Zodhia. Dislocated to Astromeritis after the invasion. Moved to Nicosia after her wedding in 1986. Works in the civil service.
Christakis Mavris	1959	Born and raised in Assia, a village in the Mesaoria basin. Dislocated to Larnaca after the invasion. Moved to Nicosia after his marriage. Holds a high ranking position in the police department in Cyprus.
Andria Mavri	1987	Born in Nicosia. Works as a lawyer in the Justice Department. Married.
Konstantinos Mavris	1991	Born in Nicosia. Works as a computer analyst in a private company.
Panayiota Mavri	1997	Born in Nicosia. Currently pursuing an undergraduate degree.

Appendix B: Institutional research board approval

University of Essex

Application for Ethical Approval of Research Involving Human Participants

This application form must be completed for any research involving human participants conducted in or by the University. 'Human participants' are defined as including living human beings, human beings who have recently died (cadavers, human remains and body parts), embryos and foetuses, human tissue and bodily fluids, and human data and records (such as, but not restricted to medical, genetic, financial, personnel, criminal or administrative records and test results including scholastic achievements). Research must not commence until written approval has been received (from departmental Director of Research/Ethics Officer, Faculty Ethics Sub-Committee (ESC) or the University's Ethics Committee). This should be borne in mind when setting a start date for the project. Ethical approval cannot be granted retrospectively and failure to obtain ethical approval prior to data collection will mean that these data cannot be used.

Applications must be made on this form, and submitted electronically, to your departmental Director of Research/Ethics Officer. A signed copy of the form should also be submitted. Applications will be assessed by the Director of Research/Ethics Officer in the first instance, and may then passed to the ESC, and then to the University's Ethics Committee. A copy of your research proposal and any necessary supporting documentation (e.g. consent form, recruiting materials, etc) should also be attached to this form.

A full copy of the signed application will be retained by the department/school for 6 years following completion of the project. The signed application form cover sheet (two pages) will be sent to the Research Governance and Planning Manager in the REO as Secretary of the University's Ethics Committee.

1. Title of project: "The Legacy of Refugeehood": Oral history and the transmission of refugeehood in a Greek-Cypriot extended family

2. The title of your project will be published in the minutes of the University Ethics Committee. If you object, then a reference number will be used in place of the title.
   Do you object to the title of your project being published?   Yes ☐ / No √

3. This Project is: ☐   Staff Research Project   √   Student Project

4. Principal Investigator(s) (students should also include the name of their supervisor):

Name:	Department:
Christakis Peristianis	Department of Sociology
Michael Roper	Department of Sociology

5. Proposed start date: 10/2015

6. Probable duration: 3 years

7. Will this project be externally funded?   Yes ☐ / No √
   If Yes,

8. What is the source of the funding?
   Fees-only CHASE award.

9. If external approval for this research has been given, then only this cover sheet needs to be submitted

External ethics approval obtained (attach evidence of approval)   Yes ☐ / No √

Declaration of Principal Investigator:

The information contained in this application, including any accompanying information, is, to the best of my knowledge, complete and correct. I/we have read the University's *Guidelines for Ethical Approval of Research Involving Human Participants* and accept responsibility for the conduct of the procedures set out in this application in accordance with the guidelines, the University's *Statement on Safeguarding Good Scientific Practice* and any other conditions laid down by the University's Ethics Committee. I/we have attempted to identify all risks related to the research that may arise in conducting this research and acknowledge my/our obligations and the rights of the participants.

Signature(s): .... *C.Peristianis*

Name(s) in block capitals: ....CHRISTAKIS
        PERISTIANIS..

Date:
        ....27/07/2016...
        ....

Supervisor's recommendation (Student Projects only):

I have read and approved the quality of both the research proposal and this application.

Supervisor's signature: ....|...... *A. Oliver*
        ....

Outcome:

The departmental Director of Research (DoR) / Ethics Officer (EO) has reviewed this project and considers the methodological/technical aspects of the proposal to be appropriate to the tasks proposed. The DoR / EO considers that the investigator(s) has/have the necessary qualifications, experience and facilities to conduct the research set out in this application, and to deal with any emergencies and contingencies that may arise.

This application falls under Annex B and is approved on behalf of the ESC   x☐

This application is referred to the ESC because it does not fall under Annex B   ☐

This application is referred to the ESC because it requires independent scrutiny   ☐

Signature(s):   *Lydia Morris*

Name in block capitals: ...Lydia Morris

Department: ....Sociology

Date: ...2/8/2016...

The application has been approved by the ESC   ☐

Appendix C: Information Sheet

University of Essex

"The Legacy of Refugeehood": Oral history and the inter-generational transmission of refugeehood in a Greek-Cypriot extended family

Investigators: Christakis Peristianis, Professor Michael Roper
University of Essex, Department of Sociology

Dear Participant,

Please read the following information prior to the interview. If at any point you have any questions regarding the research please do not hesitate to ask the researcher, Christakis, or contact him at a later stage at: cperis@essex.ac.uk

Overview

You have been invited to take part in a PhD research study exploring how one Greek-Cypriot extended family relates to its experience of refugeehood. The study involves 3 generations, from the initial refugees, their descendants, and where applicable, the children of descendants. Your participation is entirely voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any point. It is asserted that doing so will not affect the conduct of the research.

All the participants' real names will be used in the study, a fact which has been discussed with you and which you have given your consent to. As the study will be recording your own personal and familial experiences, words and opinions, and family photographs, it was agreed to be proper that these are attributed to your person and your person only, rather than any pseudonym.

What you have been asked to do

You have been asked to participate in two face-to-face interview sessions, in the participants' houses, each lasting between 70 and 100 minutes. The interviews will consist of conversations between the participant and the interviewer regarding the participant's experiences of refugeehood, that being either the embodied experience of refugeehood or growing up in a family of refugees. The language of the interview will be Greek.

The interviewer may in addition take photos of household phenomena that may be of interest to the study.

Your data

For the purpose of enhancing the accuracy of the qualitative analysis of the data from the interview, with your consent, the interview will be audio recorded. Also with your permission, I may include selective quotes from the translated transcription to illustrate points in my thesis and any resulting academic work. Please be assured that these will be treated with great care.

After the interview process, and if you wish, you will be offered a copy of both the MP3 file and the Greek transcription of the interview. All responses and interpretations will be confidential, while all field notes and recording copies will be stored, accessible only to the lead researcher, Christakis Peristianis.

University of Essex

After the interpretation and analysis of your data by the researcher, a discussion with the researcher concerning any comments or disagreements you may have with the interpretation will take place. While the researcher retains the right to include and use his own interpretations in the main body of the research, any disagreements and comments you may have will be added to an Appendix in the research.

Thank you for reading this information sheet prior to the interview.

Christakis Peristianis
University of Essex, Department of Sociology
cperis@essex.ac.uk

Appendix D: Consent form

University of Essex

Consent Form for Interview

Title of project: "The Legacy of Refugeehood": Oral history and the transmission of refugeehood in a Greek-Cypriot extended family

Christakis Peristianis, PhD Researcher at the University of Essex, Department of Sociology; tel. 0035799325318 / 07541045230

With the present form, I consent to participate in the research conducted by Christakis Peristianis, of the Department of Sociology, University of Essex.

Taking Part   Yes / No

I agree to take part in the research project and that this includes being interviewed and recorded.   ☐ ☐

I understand that taking part is voluntary; I can withdraw from the study at any point. I agree however that any form of data that may have been collected until the moment of withdrawal can be used in the study.   ☐ ☐

Use of my information

I agree that my personal details (name and surname) will be used and quoted in any research outputs that may result.   ☐ ☐

I agree that the researcher retains the right to include his/her own interpretations in the research and any disagreements I may have to that will be included in an Appendix.   ☐ ☐

I agree to the data being archived at the participant's institution.   ☐ ☐

I agree that other researchers may have access to the data provided, only after consent from the initial researcher is provided.   ☐ ☐

University of Essex

For any questions or concerns I may have, I will refer either to the author (cperis@essex.ac.uk) or the University of which He is part of (enquiries@essex.ac.uk).

_____   _____   _____

Name of Participant   **Date**   **Signature**

_____   _____   _____

Name of Researcher   **Date**   **Signature**

Appendix E: Consent form for children

University of Essex

Consent Form for Interview

Title of project: "The Legacy of Refugeehood": Oral history and the transmission of refugeehood in a Greek-Cypriot extended family

Christakis Peristianis, PhD Researcher at the University of Essex, Department of Sociology; tel. 0035799325318 / 07541045230

With the present form, I consent for my child ....,
to participate in the research conducted by Christakis Peristianis, of the Department of Sociology, University of Essex.

Taking Part   Yes / No

I agree to my child taking part in the research project
and that this includes being interviewed and recorded.   ☐ ☐

I understand that taking part is voluntary; if either I or
my child wishes to withdraw from the study, we can do
so at any time. I agree however that any form of data
that may have been collected until the moment of
withdrawal can be used in the study.   ☐ ☐

I agree as well that the verbal consent of my child has
to be granted and recorded for taking part to this
research.   ☐ ☐

Use of information

I agree that the personal details of my child (name
and surname) will be used and quoted in any
research outputs that may result.   ☐ ☐

I agree that the researcher retains the right to include
his/her own interpretations in the research and any
disagreements we may have to that will be included in
an Appendix.   ☐ ☐

I agree to the data being archived at the participant's
institution.   ☐ ☐

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University of Essex

I agree that other researchers may have access to the data provided, only after consent from the initial researcher is provided.

☐ ☐

For any questions or concerns I may have, I will refer either to the author (cperis@essex.ac.uk) or the University of which He is part of (enquiries@essex.ac.uk).

Name of Parent	Date	Signature

Name of Researcher	Date	Signature

Appendix F: Interview design sample

Mr. /Mrs. … (first name), I will ask you some questions. I would like to hear the facts and experiences that were and are important to you. You may begin wherever you want with your answers. You may take as long as you want. I shall listen to you and not interrupt. I will simply take notes for any questions I may have afterwards.

1. Can you tell me what 1974 means for you, the events and experiences that were and are important for you?

2. Can you tell me about your dislocation?

3. Can you tell me about the new environment in refugeehood?

4. Can you tell me about the decision 'to cross'?

5. Can you tell me what refugeehood means for your family?

6. Can you tell me about the relationship with your brothers and sisters in refugeehood?

7. Can you tell me about your parents in refugeehood?

8. Can you tell about your wedding?

9. Can you tell me about your children and their understanding of refugeehood?

10. Can you tell me about the community of your village following displacement?

11. Can you tell me about the actions of the state regarding refugees?

12. Can you tell me what 'home' means to you?

Appendix G: Interview transcript and coding sample

CP: Κύριε Πετρή,

PT: Εμένα οι ερωτήσεις είναι διαφορετικές που της Ευγενίας!

CP: Οι ερωτήσεις οι τόσο, αλλά η εμπειρία η ίδια εν διαφορετική. Απλά σε κάποια φάση και μετά αρχίζει να συγκλίνει. Το λοιπόν.. Θέλω να ακούσω τα γεγονότα και τις εμπειρίες που ήταν και είναι ακόμα σημαντικά για εσένα. Ξεκινά από οποθε θέλεις της απαντήσεις σου, τζε εγώ εν θα σε διακόπτω. Το λοιπόν, η πρώτη ερώτηση που ήταν τζε έτσι γενική: το σημαίνει για εσένα το 74, τα γεγονότα και οι εμπειρίες που ήταν και είναι σημαντικά για εσένα.

PT: Μέχρι το 74, εγώ ήμουν 16 χρόνων. Εζήσαμε μιαν ζωή διακριτική. Μιαν ήσυχη ζωή, μες το χωρκο... Τζε ξαφνικά, καταστρέφουντα ούλλα. Τζε πως εκαταστράφηκασην? Η οικογένεια μας εμάς ήταν μια οικογένεια αγροτική, ασχολούμασταν με τα χωράφια, ασχολούμαστε με το κοπάδι του παππού σου. Επειέναμεν σχολείο, αυτά. Αυτά υποτιθετε είναι η απλή η ζωή του χωρκού, της Κύπρου. Όπως την ήξεραν και οι παλιοί και την είβραμεν. Τώρα, η εισβολή και ο πόλεμος που έγινε, ανατρέψει τούτα τα πράματα τελείως.

Πως τα ανατρεψε? Πρώτα πρώτα, από απόψεως οικογένειας, εδιασπάστηκαν ούλλες οι οικογένειες. Διότι, φεύκοντας που ένα χωρκο, οι οικογένειες όπως υπήρχαν προηγουμένως; άλλοι επειασιν αλλού, άλλοι επειασιν αλλού, άρα εχάθηκεν ο δεσμός της οικογένειας, όπως το εξεραμεν πριν. Ο καθένας ετράβηξεν με τη δική του οικογένεια τζε επροσπάθησεν να επιβιώσει.

Τώρα, ερχόμαστε στο θέμα της βοήθειας που είβράσεν οι πρόσφυγες, εάν είβραν πραγματικά βοήθεια η εάν αφέθηκαν εις την τύχη τους. Οι πρώτες ημέρες ήταν ένα χάος. Με την πάροδο του χρόνου τζε σε 2-3 μήνες που αρχιεν να συγκεκριμενοποιείται η κατάσταση, ο καθένας επιδίωξη να φτιάξει κάτι, τζιαμέ που ήταν, για να επιβιώσει με την οικογένεια του. Το λοιπόν, στην αρχή το κράτος, με τη βοήθεια και κάποιων ξένων, έτειναν βοήθειες σε ρουχισμό, σε φαϊά, για να επιωσσούησην απλά. Μετά εξεκίνησε η στέγαση των αθρώπων. Τζιαμέ πιστεύω ελειτούργησε σωστά το κράτος. Έδωσε την ευχαίρεια σε όλων το κόσμο: άλλους εκτησεν τους σπίθκια σε συνοικισμό, άλλους έδωσεν τους βοήθειες, τζε επροσπάθησεν να τους κάμει μιαν άνετη προσωρινότητα. Τζε νομίζω τούτο στα 3/4 χρόνια που ακολουθείσαν επέτυχε. Δεν έμεινε κανένας πρόσφυγας μες σε τσατίρι να μείνει... Τζήνα που βλέπουμε σήμερα κόσμο να φέφκει που τους τόπους του, να πειένει αλλού. Υπήρξεν μια οργανωμένη προσπάθεια. Το λοιπόν, τούτο ο κόσμος κάπου εβολεύτηκε.

Τώρα, να μιλήσουμε τζε για το πολιτικό θέμα, διότι είναι το πιο βασικό. Είναι δαμε που ο κόσμος ο περισσότερος εννιωσε ένα σοκ, υπό την εννεια ότι τα πιστεύω του ανατράπηκαν εντελώς. Είδεν ανθρώπους που υποτιθετε εκφραζαν το εθνικό φρόνημα του κόσμου, να προδίδουν το τόπο τους. Διότι τζε αθελά τους, που την αγγεία τους, κάποιοι τζε πληρωμένοι, δεν υπάρχουν αποδείξεις, αλλά σίγουρα κάποιοι επληρώθηκαν. Είναι η λανθασμένη εντύπωση που είχαν κάποιοι ότι... Ήταν μια κοινωνία, η προηγούμενη, η οποία ήταν διχασμένη. Κάποιοι εθεωρούσαν την Κύπρο ότι ήταν ένα κομμάτι του Ελληνισμού άρα έπρεπε να το παλέψουν για να ενσωματωθεί. Κάποιοι άλλοι υποτιθετε πιο προοδευτική εθεωρούσαν ότι όπως είρτεν το κράτος, ήταν καλύτερο να μείνει έτσι. Όλος ο κόσμος εν ο ίδιος, άρα Τούρκοι ένει, είτε Έλληνες, είναι περίπου το ίδιο πράμα, άρα πρέπει να παραμείνουν τα πράματα όπως είναι, να μπει στην άκρη η εννεια 'έθνος', τζε να μείνει ο άνθρωπος.

Ήταν τζε η κατάσταση που υπήρξεν με το Ψυχρό πόλεμο μεταξύ Κομμουνιστών και Δεξιών, που επέβαλλε τούτο το πράγμα. Δηλαδή εδείαν του τζε μιαν ουσία. Τζιαμέ διαπράχτηκαν τεράστια λάθη. Ήταν οι εποχή που ο κόσμος εδιαπραξεν ταιραστια λάθη. Άλλοι με το φανατισμό να παιτυχούν κάτι, τζε άλλοι με το φανατισμό τους να μην τους αφήσουν να το πετύχουν. Η ουσία

Margin comments:

Commented [WU1]: Method impact: as he was present during interview with wife, knows the questions beforehand.

Commented [WU2]: Pre-1974 life in the village: a quiet, discreet life
- An agriculture family which dealt with farming and herding
- A life that was *"taken by them the way that the elderly knew it"*

Commented [WU3]: The disruption in the bond of the family
➔ The family *"as they knew it"* was lost; each member took his/her own family and tried to survive
➔ Shift from extended to nuclear in matter of hours – IT IS THE SUBJECT THAT ALL SPEAK ABOUT FIRST, IRRESPECTIVE OF GENDER

Commented [WU4]: State assistance programs
- First was humanitarian aid: food and clothes
- Second was housing – It was largely successful as no refugees were left with no roof over their heads.

He admits that the state functioned well in helping the people

Commented [WU5]: Pre-1974 was a divided society
- Those who saw Cyprus as part of Hellenistic element and wanted it to be part as such
- Those progressive ones who saw the state as the solution we should take forward, focusing on humanity rather than ethnic identity

Commented [WU6]: The Cold War gave a context where this division was played out in the Cypriot society

όμως ποια ένει; Υπήρξεν ένα κράτος. Αυτό το κράτος επέρασεν που μιαν κατάσταση όπου ο Ελληνισμός, ενώ επρουπήρξεν εδώ και 3000 χρόνια, αρχισεν να φθείνει. Αυτό είναι τζε πραγματικά και ουσιαστικά, διότι έχασε αυτή την εθνική συνείδηση που υπήρξε. Ενώ η Κύπρος από ανέκαθεν ήταν Ελληνική - τούτο εξεραμεν το όλοι, όσοι είρταν μετά ήταν κατακτητές. Υπήρξεν η σοβαρή αίσθηση στο κόσμο "αφού αυτό το νησί από ανέκαθεν ήταν Ελληνικό, έπρεπε να παραμείνει".

Όμως υπήρχαν τζε οι Τούρκοι, τζε έπρεπε να αντιμετωπιστεί τούτο πράμα. Η έπρεπε σίγουρα να το σκεφτούν πριν να κάμουν στιδήποτε οι άλλοι να ενσωματώσουν τη Κύπρο στην Ελλάδα. Υπήρχαν οι Τούρκοι που εγνώριζαν ότι είναι πολύ καλοί πολιτικοί, ξέρουν από Πολιτική, ξέρουν να περιμένουν. Έφτιαξασην οι ίδιοι μια κατάσταση μέσα στη Κύπρο, πρώτα εν είχαν κανένα δικαίωμα, που είχαν πλέον δικαιώματα. Άρα έπρεπε να υπάρχει ένας ελιγμός που τους Ελληνοκύπριους. Εν έπρεπε να αφήσουν τα πράματα να φτάσουν ως δαμε. Τώρα, υπήρχαν οι άνθρωποι που ήταν τόσο φανατικοί που εφτάσαμεν σε τούτο το σημείο.

Το μεγαλύτερο πρόβλημα που υπάρχει σήμερα μέσα στον Ελληνισμό της Κύπρου είναι ότι χάθηκε η εθνική του ταυτότητα. Δεν μπορεί ο κόσμος να συνειδητοποιήσει τι είναι εθνική ταυτότητα. Βρίσκεται μεταξύ μιας κατάστασης που οι περισσότεροι λένε "είμαστε απλά άνθρωποι, δεν υπάρχει ουσία σε αυτό το πράγμα που λέγεται εθνική ταυτότητα. Όλοι οι άνθρωποι είμαστε ίσοι". Αυτό το πράμα διαβρώνει ολόκληρη τη κοινωνία. Ήδη εδιάβρωσεν την. Είναι διαβρωμενη η κοινωνία.

Τώρα, από απόφεως να επιβιώσει ο Ελληνισμός, επιβίωσεν. Έφτιαξεν ένα τόπο στις ελεύθερες περιοχές, που επαρέμεινεν. Έφτιαξεν τη ζωή του, και υπήρξεν μια καταπληκτική πρόοδος με την πάροδο του χρόνου. Τζε υπήρξεν τζε μια ασφάλεια. Η ασφάλεια τούτη πόθεν επροέρχετούν; Στο ότι οι Τουρτζου ήταν απομονωμένοι ποτζη, τζε εμείς πόδα. Έτσι εθεώρησαμεν ότι αφού οι Τούρκοι ηθέλησασην να είναι απομονωμένοι ποτζη, εμείς πόδα έπρεπε να προοδεύσουμεν για να έχουμεν τα κεχέγγεια ως κοινωνία τζε ως κράτος να απαιτείσουμε και κάτι περισσότερο. Γιαυτό υπήρξεν τούτη η μεγάλη πρόοδος.

Τούτα ούλλα ανατράπηκασην με τις λανθασμένες πολιτικές που επικράτησαν ύστερα. Τζε είρταν οι Τούρκοι, εκαταλαβαν ότι με την απομόνωση που είχαν δεν εκατάφερναν τίποτε. Ανοιξαν τα οδοφράγματα, τζε εδιαβρώθηκε περισσότερο η κοινωνία μας. Αρκετοί παν ποτζη. Δίνουν λεφτά στα καζίνο τους, στα πουτούτα τους. Τους αναπτυξαν. Εμείς εγίνηκαμεν κράτος Ευρωπαϊκό υποτίθετε. Που ουσιαστικά δεν έχουμε φωνή. Δεν έχουμε φωνή. Μπορώ να σου πω ότι μέσα στη Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση έχουν δικτυωθείτε οι Τούρκοι και περνούν τις απόψεις τους, τζε εμείς μαλλώνουμε μεταξύ μας αν έχουμε δίκαιο οι Τουρτζοι η αν δεν έχουν. Εν έχουμε μέλλον με τούτη την πολιτική που ακολουθούμε. Τώρα τι θα γίνει, τη μέλλον γενέσθαι, κανείς δεν ξέρει. Διότι τζε υπάρχει και ο πολλής ο φανατισμός μέσα στο κόσμο, ο όποιος δεν αφήνει τον κόσμο να δουσείν σωστά.

CP: Μάλιστα, πάμε λίγο πίσω τώρα.

PT: Ήταν μια ανάλυση της κατάστασης που επικράτησε μετά που το πόλεμο.

CP: Κοινωνιολογική και πολιτική ανάλυση.

PT: Ας το πούμε έτσι.

CP: Τώρα, πάμε πίσω σε τζήνη την ημέρα, τζε σε τζήνο που ακολουθεισεν. Θέλω να μου πεις για την εκτόπιση τζε που εφύγετε που το χωρκο σου.

PT: Για την ημέρα τζήνη. Είπαμεν είμαστε μια αγροτική οικογένεια. Ο πατέρας μου ασχολειτουν τζε με άλλες δουλειές. Έτσι εμένα η δουλειά μου το καλοκαίρι ήταν να τρέχω τα περβόλια, να τα ποτίζω, να κάμνω τούτες της δουλειές. Την ημέρα του Πραξικοπήματος, εγώ εποτιζα ένα περβόλι σε

ένα χωρκο, στα Αργάκι. Λιόν πιο πάνω. Η ώρα περίπου 8.30 άκουσα έπηξαν οι σειρήνες, του Μόρφου. Εδιερωτήθηκα τζε εγώ γιατί έπηξαν οι σειρήνες. Εν είχα καταλάβει τίποτε. Επέστρεψα σπίτι η ώρα 1, χωρίς να ξέρω τίποτε. Μέσα στο χωρκο που επερνούσα, δεν είδα τίποτα, δεν είχε τίποτε. Είχα μια μοτορούα ο πατέρας μου, εκρατούν την τζήνη. Δεν είχε κίνηση, δεν είδα τίποτα. Εδιερωτούμουν και εγώ "ρε μα εν έσιει κόσμο το χωρκό;" Το λοιπόν, επεια σπίτι. Σπίτι εύρα τη μάνα μου να κλέει, να ωδείρεται. "Νταμπου συμβαίνει σιορ;" Έπηξαν το Μακάριο, τζε έκαμαν πραξικόπημα, τζε εν ηξέρουμε που εν οι αρφάες σου". Διότι οι αρφάες μου, είπαμεν, ήταν εις το Αστυνομικό Σώμα και δεν ειξεραμεν που εν που ήταν. Ακούσαμεν ότι εσκότωσαν πολλή κόσμο, στο ΡΙΚ που εκάμασην το Πραξικόπημα, στο Προεδρικό. Υπήρξεν μια κατάσταση έτσι πανικού. Μέχρι τη νύχτα ακούσαμεν ότι ο Μακάριος εχούσε. Ανατράπηκε λιο η εικόνα η τραγική που υπήρξεν. Το λοιπόν, μετά   εδραστηροποιήθηκαν οι Πραξικοπηματίες. Επροχώρησαν 3-4 μέρες λίγης υσηχίας, ας το πούμε. Και ξαφνικά το πρωί του Σαββάτου, εξεκίνησε η εισβολή. 15 του Ιούλη εγίνηκεν το Πραξικόπημα, 20 του Ιούλη εγίνηκεν η εισβολή. Δαμε εφάνηκε το μέγεθος της προδοσίας της Χούντας των Αθηνών και της ΕΟΚΑ Β της Κύπρου. Εφάνηκε πόσο προδομένη ήταν η κατάσταση. Οι Τούρκοι έρχονταν εις τη Κύπρο από το βράδυ της Παρασκευής, εξεκίνησαν από το πρωί της Παρασκευής. Όλη μέρα επαραπάχθηκαν απέναντι από τη Κύπρο. Όλη νύχτα εξεκίνησαν να προχωρούν προς τα παραλία της Κύπρου. Και αυτοί οι κύριοι που υποτίθετε εδιοικούσαν, έλεγαντου κόσμου ότι εν τα συμβεί τίποτε. Μέχρι που εκαταλαβαν τη Κύπρο οι Τούρκοι, σχεδόν χωρίς να σύρουν σφαίρα. Εύραν τα όλα διαλυμένα, λες και έκαμαν το σκόπιμα. Οι 'λες', έκαμαν το σκόπιμα. Εύραν τα όλα διαλυμένα. Εθεώρησαν αυτοί οι κύριοι ότι εάν δώσουν ένα κομμάτι τους Τούρκους, και αν κάμουν την ένωση με την Ελλάδα την επόμενη Κύπρο, ότι επέτυχαν το σκοπό τους. Οι Τούρκοι όμως ανατρεψαν τους τούτα τα σχέδια, επειαν τη μισή Κύπρο. Με το έτσι θέλω. Το λοιπόν, χωρίς αντίδραση χωρίς τίποτε. Το λοιπόν, εν που δαμε που ξεκινά να χάνετε η εθνική συνείδηση στο κόσμο. Δηλαδή, η συνειδητοποίηση ότι εκείνοι που εκυβερνούσαν επαράδωσαν τη Κύπρο στους Τούρκους. Θεωρήθηκε ότι έσπασε αυτός ο δεσμός που υπήρξε μέσα στο λαό.

Τώρα, εμείς επαραμείναμε ακόμα 25 μέρες στη Ζώδια. Μέχρι τη 2η εισβολή. Στη 2η εισβολή.

CP: Κατά τη διάρκεια τζήνης της περιόδου ήταν ούλλα τα ίδια;

PT: Κοίταξε, ο κόσμος ούλλος ήταν ανάστατος. Τα παιδκιά του είχαν πάει στο πόλεμο, κανείς δεν ήξερε που ήταν, κανείς δεν ήξερε αν πολεμούσαν, κανείς δεν ήξερε αν ήταν προδομένοι και εσκοτωνούνταν. Υπήρξε μια κατάσταση στο κόσμο πανικού. Το λοιπόν. Χωρίς κυβέρνηση, χωρίς ουσιαστικά καθοδήγηση, ο κόσμος δεν ήξερε τι του γίνεται. Τώρα. Όταν οι Τούρκοι εφτασην στη Ζώδια και έπιασαν την, εμείς εφύγαμε και επήγαμε... Μπήκαμε μες στο αυτοκίνητο, χωρίς να ξέρουμε που εννα πάμε, εφύγαμεν στα βουνά . Εβρέθηκαν κάτι άνθρωποι που μας έβαλαν σπίτι τους. Τζε είναι εντυπωσιακό δηλαδή, και εκπληκτικό γιατί εμείς μπορεί να μην το κάμναμε. Ήταν το σπίτι ενός ανθρώπου που είσιεν μια οικογένεια με 3 μωρά. Είχε 2 κρεβατοκάμαρες ο άνθρωπος, ένα καθιστικό μικρό, τζε μιαν κουζίνα. Αυτό ήταν το σπίτι του. Τζε είσιεν μια μεγάλη αποθήκη που πίσω που είσιεν προβατα μέσα, να μπου είσιεν. Εστάθηκεν ούλλη μέρα, εκαθάρισε, εφκάλεν τα προβατα έξω. Νταμπου έκαμεν. Τζε επειεν τζήνος με την οικογένεια του και εμεινίσκε πίσω και έδωκεν μας εμάς το... Τούτο τι αποδεικνύει; Ότι οι άνθρωποι της Κύπρου έχουν ανθρωπιά. Εμείναμε εμείς μες στο σπίτι τους, και αυτοί εμπείκαν μες στην αποθήκη τους. Στο δικό τους το σπίτι. Είναι ένα πράγμα που μέχρι τώρα σκέφτουμαι και λέω: "υπάρχουν τέτοιοι άνθρωποι;". Εν ηξέρω. Σκεφτούμε εσύ τώρα ας πούμε, να έσιεις το σπίτι σου, να γίνει κάτι, να ερτουν πρόσφυγες, τζε εσύ να πάεις να μείνεις σε μια αποθήκη πουκάτω και να τους πεις, "μείνετε δαμε". Το λοιπόν. Απόδειξιν όμως ότι ο λαός μας έχει αρκετή ανθρωπιά μέσα του.

Commented [WU1]: No knowledge about whereabouts of sisters who were working in Nicosia and in the police.

Commented [WU2]: The extend of treason by Athens and right-wing elements in Cyprus
-Turkey occupied half the island without shooting a bullet

Commented [WU3]: The loss of national consciousness:
→Realization that those that ruled Cyprus and Greece betrayed us

Commented [WU4]: INTER-INVASION PERIOD
→Everybody were worried: with children at war and not knowing of whereabouts
No government to guide people – a state of panic

Commented [WU5]: HOSPITALITY OF PEOPLE
→Amazing as do not know if they themselves would do it
→The family went to live in the warehouse and let them stay in the house

Commented [WU6]: Generalizes the hospitality of the people to the entire Greek-Cypriot society
→The humanity of the society