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**Active Civic Participation
of Immigrants in
Cyprus**

POLITIS – a European research project

Project information

POLITIS is short for a research project with the full title: *Building Europe with New Citizens? An Inquiry into the Civic Participation of Naturalised Citizens and Foreign Residents in 25 Countries*. The European Commission funds the project that mainly seeks to improve our understanding of different factors that promote or inhibit active civic participation of immigrants. A unique project construction is developed that includes workshops with foreign-born students who are recruited as discussants and interviewers. National experts in all 25 EU countries have prepared country reports on the contextual conditions and state of research concerning civic participation of immigrants. These reports can be downloaded from

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Abstract

This Report examines the issue of civic participation of migrants in Cyprus by locating their legal status, their social position and general level of participation in the civic and NGO sector of society and their (lack of) involvement in the local government sector.

Immigration policy in Cyprus was largely formulated in the 1990s, when the government decided to abandon the restrictive policies followed until then and allow more migrant workers into the country in order to meet labour shortages. This change of policy meant that Cyprus was almost overnight transformed, from a country that traditionally exported migrants to all corners of the earth, to a net recipient of migrants from all over the globe. Today, the total number of resident non-Cypriots is estimated to a total of about 80,000, representing approximately 10% of the total population which resides in the south of the island. Most of these are migrant workers whose main areas of employment are: domestic workers, service industry (tourism, trade), manufacturing industry, agriculture and construction. It is estimated that there are between 10,000-30,000 undocumented migrant workers. These include persons from Eastern Europe (Bulgarians, Rumanians, Yugoslavs, Russians, Ukrainians, Georgians, Moldavians and others), south east Asia (particularly women, mainly from the Philippines, Sri Lanka, India and Pakistan), China and Arab countries (Syria, Lebanon, Iran etc).

The policy assumption for the employment of migrant workers formulated in 1990s was that their stay was to be short-term, temporary and restricted to specific sectors. Although the actual developments of the past decade reversed this presumption, a number of institutional devices, designed with those goals in mind, have persisted and little thought has been given by policy-makers on how to encourage civic participation of migrants and help develop a sense of belonging to the Cypriot society. Only very recently did the debate on multiculturalism begin, but this is still at an infancy stage and is more geared towards *acceptance* and *tolerance* rather than *civic participation* which, as a concept, is located at a stage several steps ahead from tolerance.

The specific historical setting of Cyprus has been dominated by the ethnic relations between the two constitutionally recognised communities, the Greek-Cypriots and the Turkish-Cypriots, as well as the role which foreign forces have played in the Cyprus conflict, something also reflected in the research agenda and bibliography on Cyprus. The result is an almost total neglect in initiating studies on other subjects such as migrant rights and civic participation, as the research agenda is subsumed in the 'national question'. Recently some studies and NGOs have begun to raise the issues of equal participation and involvement of migrant communities in institutions of Cypriot society, but these are still at an infancy level.

Overall, the situation in Cyprus on the level of civic participation of migrants can be described as rather disappointing. There are institutional barriers such as 'restrictive conditions' that prohibit political participation in elections (restrictions in voting, standing for office), unless full citizenship is granted. There are no formal prohibitions of membership in parties and organisations, rights for self-organisation and public rallies, although this has not caused migrant workers to participate in trade unions en mass. Formal rights guaranteed under the Constitution and the European Convention on Human Rights are generally respected. Nevertheless migrants face, on the whole, a hostile environment and racial discrimination in society and an unsympathetic immigration regime based on controlling, but ultimately failing to control the growth of migration.

So far, the main focus of migrant support and solidarity NGOs has been to protect the basic rights of migrants. As such, 'encouraging conditions' for migrants' civic

participation such as foreigners/ immigrant committees, quotas and subsidies to ethnic organisations have not been discussed yet at any level, with the exception of two immigrant support organizations who try to encourage immigrant participation within their ranks.

There are however some encouraging signs related to the processes of interaction with European NGOs and via the influence of practices in other European countries. In the run up to Cyprus's accession to the EU and in the period that follows, the rather weak sector of NGOs and civic organisations began to be more actively engaged in awareness raising and campaigning on migrant rights, a development which may partly be explained from the increased availability of funding for these organisations. In addition, some mainstream organisations, such as large trade unions, have begun to actively engage with the problems of migrant workers and new research and development projects are beginning to yield some results.

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Part I: Understanding the conditions for immigrant participation

1. Key events and demographic developments in the migration history of Cyprus

To appreciate the context of migration to Cyprus one has to locate migration within the politically turbulent historical setting of the island, in which ethnic conflict prevailed over other issues. Since independence in 1960, the political stage was dominated by the inter-ethnic relations and clashes between the two constitutionally recognised communities¹, Greek-Cypriots (82%) and Turkish-Cypriots (18%), and by the role which foreign powers played in this conflict. These characteristics are also reflected in the research landscape of Cyprus.

In April 2003, for the first time after almost thirty years, the restrictions in movement between north and south of the island, imposed by the Turkish military in 1974, were partially lifted, which resulted in several thousands Turkish-Cypriots crossing the dividing line every day to work in the southern part, where manual jobs are more readily available and the pay is better. In turn, this has led to increased insecurity on the part of migrant workers, who feel that they will no longer be able to secure jobs as easily as before, because most positions are gradually being taken up by Turkish-Cypriots, who must be given priority by the employers.² At the same time, the (partial) freedom of movement between north and south has apparently enabled an unspecified number of undocumented migrants from Asia, northern Africa and the Middle East to enter the Republic through the northern part, which may offer less stringent conditions of entry or its entry points may not be so well guarded, in order to seek employment.³

This report will concentrate on the territories controlled by the Republic of Cyprus, located in the southern part of the island.

Cyprus had historically been a country of emigration, exporting migrants to richer countries. As is usually the case in former British colonies, many Cypriots migrated to the UK, as well as other destinations such as Australia, the United States, South Africa; in fact the number of Cypriots living abroad nears half the population of the island.⁴ The Greek junta coup and the Turkish invasion of 1974 left the Cypriot society and economy devastated: 18 % fall of the GNP between 1973 to 1975, 30% rise in unemployment, mass poverty and a loss of 37% of the country's territory. Since then Cyprus has seen extensive economic development and has been transformed into a society which acts as 'host' to immigrants.

The dramatic economic growth in the 1980s and 1990s, referred as 'the economic miracle'⁵ was structured by a number of 'external' factors such as the Turkish occupation of the north since 1974. This, by default, created the preconditions for rapid

¹ Only the Greek-Cypriots and the Turkish-Cypriots are recognised by the Cyprus Constitution as 'communities', endowed with specific power-sharing rights; three other ethnic groups (*Armenians, Latins, Maronites*) are treated by the constitution as religious groups, who only have certain minority rights (see note 4). The 'Latins' are Roman Catholics referred to in Greek as "Latini".

² Statement by the then Labour Minister Mr. Moushoutas.

³ There are frequent reports in the media supporting this suggestion. See, for instance, article by Hadjivasilis, M. "Headache from the continuing inflow of illegal immigrants", *Phileleftheros* 11.11.2004.

⁴ Anthias, 1992a.

⁵ See Christodoulou, Demetris 1992: *Inside the Economic Miracle. The Labours of an Embattled Economy*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.

modernisation, in spite of the severe drop in the GDP during 1973-75 and the sharp rise in unemployment and mass poverty. Cheap labour was provided by the 200,000 Greek Cypriot refugees, who were forcibly expelled from the northern part and lived in refugee camps. This fact, together with a concerted effort by the Government, political parties and trade unions, created the conditions for the kind and level of development that was subsequently experienced in Cyprus based on the massive expansion of the model known as 'mass tourism' (Anthias and Ayres 1983; Christodoulou 1992; Panayiotopoulos 1995; 1996). Other international factors, which are elaborated below were crucial in the recovery.

Prior to 1990 immigration policy was restrictive hence very few migrants were allowed to enter. Today, however, the total number of resident non-Cypriots is estimated to a total of about 80,000, representing about 10% of the total population which resides in the south of the island.⁶ Most of these are migrant workers, whose main areas of employment are: domestic workers, service industry (tourism, trade), manufacturing industry, agriculture and construction. It is estimated that there are between 10,000-30,000 undocumented migrant workers, as there is no actual research on the subject; instead we have some rough estimates by the Police, immigration officers and politicians, but there is no consistency even in the estimates each actor proposes as there are issues of political expediency and public concern at stake.⁷

The policy assumption for the employment of migrant workers formulated in 1990s was that their stay was to be short-term, temporary and restricted to specific sectors. Although the actual developments of the past decade reversed this presumption, a number of institutional devices, designed with those goals in mind, have resulted in an institutional framework which carries the following characteristics: (a) Work permits are granted on the condition that the migrant worker applied for is attached to a specific employer (the applicant) without the freedom to change jobs unless the original employer consents to such change; (b) Work permits are granted on an annual basis and with a maximum ceiling of six years in order to exclude the possibility of having to grant citizenship to migrants, structurally producing and reproducing a framework of precariousness and exclusion. (c) Evidence of non-compliance by employers with labour laws is abundant,⁸ whilst few initiatives have taken place to unionise or otherwise organise migrant workers.

⁶ According to the latest available demographic figures published at the end of 2003, the total population residing in the Republic-controlled south is 730,400. The Government Statistical Service estimates that the north of the island is populated by 87,800 Turkish-Cypriots and 119,000 settlers from Turkey. In effect, the whole of the island has a citizen population of 818,200, including Turkish-Cypriots residing in the north. The 119,000 settlers from Turkey are considered by the Republic as illegal and are not entitled to citizenship.

⁷ From interviews conducted by the writers with immigration officers, it is derived that the number of undocumented migrant workers is in the area of 10,000-15,000. However, in a statement made by the Chief of Police, reference is made to an estimate of 30,000, although no evidence is given for the source for this figure. (Micahelides, G. "30,000 Illegal Immigrants in Cyprus", I Simerini, 14.05.2004.

⁸ For evidence of non-compliance by employers, see: ECRI 200: Second Report on Cyprus, for: European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 3 July 2001; Cyprus, House of Representatives 1997a: Report of the Parliamentary Commission on Employment and Social Insurance, "(1) The Uncontrolled Presence of foreign Workers in Cyprus and the problems that are created as a result of the absence of a relevant legal framework which must regulate their presence in our country; (2) The cultural and social needs of foreigners, men and women, who are working in Cyprus and (3) Foreign workers"; Cyprus, House of Representatives, 1997b: Report of the Parliamentary Commission on Human Rights titled: "The Observing of the Human Rights of Aliens who Arrive Illegally to Cyprus to seek Employment or with the intention of Seeking Political Asylum"; Cyprus, Annual Report of Commissioner for Administration 2003; Report of the Cyprus Labour Institute on Economy and Employment 2003; PEO, 2002: Trade Union Theses on the employment of migrant workers in

The key events as regards migration are:

- The change of immigration policy in 1990 to meet the labour shortages is the most important event as it opened up the island migrants. Of course there are regional and international reasons that account for the migratory flows to Cyprus. On the one hand, economic developments such as the world wide growth in tourism and migration flows resulted in economic growth which increased the demand for labour in Cyprus. On the other hand, political developments such as the collapse of the Soviet Union resulted in the migration of labour from ex Soviet countries but also to the migration of a large number of Pontians from the Caucasus region who were granted Greek nationality and were thus able to enter Cyprus without too many formalities. In addition, the Gulf war, successive crises in the Gulf region and unrest in Israel/Palestine has caused the inflow into Cyprus of both economic as well as political refugees from the affected countries.
- During the years of 1965-1975 many Cypriots, particularly men, obtained scholarships to study in eastern European Universities, mostly in Romania, Czechoslovakia and Russia whereat they got married and returned to Cyprus with their spouses. These persons, mostly women of high education, were granted Cyprus nationality and were quickly integrated into Cypriot society.
- In the early to mid 1980s many affluent Arabs (Lebanese, Palestinians etc) came to Cyprus following the collapse of Beirut. These were not migrant workers, but business and other affluent people, utilizing infrastructural, tax and offshore incentives which Cyprus had to offer. More people from the Gulf area came to Cyprus during the Gulf war, most of whom left Cyprus for Arab countries (Lebanon, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia) as soon as stability in these countries was restored.
- In the 1990s, many eastern Europeans, both business people as well as temporary workers, came to Cyprus following the collapse of the Soviet Union, mostly from Russia, Yugoslavia (primarily Serbs), Bulgaria, Romania, who were also attracted to (and welcomed by) Cyprus because of their common religion with the Greek-Cypriots (Christian Orthodox). The war in Yugoslavia in 1999 also brought a significant number of Yugoslavian (Serbs) to Cyprus. A small number of the Eastern Europeans in Cyprus are affluent businessmen or highly educated persons filling up managerial positions in the offshore industry, residing under a temporary residence permit, which is easily renewable so long as they operate or hold a position in a business enterprise here.
- Prior to its accession to the EU, Cyprus was the only country to allow Russian nationals to enter the Republic without visas, in an effort to attract businessmen, holiday makers and capital. This policy has resulted in several thousands of affluent Russians migrating to Cyprus and establishing offshore businesses, Russian schools and Russian churches. Since its EU accession, Cyprus was forced to adopt a more restrictive policy in granting entry rights to Russian visitors. However, many of the people who came to Cyprus in the 1990s have settled here on a temporary residence visa which is renewed annually.

Cyprus. September 2002; Trimikliniotis, Nicos and Pantelides, Panayiotis, 2003: Mapping Discriminatory Landscapes in Cyprus: Ethnic Discrimination in the Labour Market, in: The Cyprus Review, Vol.15, Spring 2003, N.1.

The process of accession to the EU has allegedly made Cyprus an attractive destination for migrants and asylum-seekers and the response of policy-makers was to keenly transform themselves to ‘border-guards of Europe’.⁹ Cyprus is a prime instance of a southern European country which “functions as the ‘entrance hall’ to the EU, and often serves as a ‘waiting room’ for many migrants who have the Northern European countries as a destination” (Anthias and Lazaridis 1999: 3). New migration has the conditions for the ‘racialisation of migrant workers’ (Trimikliniotis 1999) and the patterns of discrimination and ill treatment, particularly of migrants are well documented.¹⁰

Discrimination occurs in the labour market, education, housing and other services and the media; it is an everyday experience for most immigrants.¹¹ The process of Europeanisation is crucial as Cyprus laws have been harmonized¹² and attitudes appear to be ‘Europeanised’ accordingly¹³, paving the way for a pan-European debate on migration, racism, discrimination and xenophobia. However, the immigration model itself, which is primarily based on the employment of migrant workers on a short-term, temporary and restricted-to-specific-sectors basis, is likely to remain essentially in place. The changes brought by the transposition of the *aquis* involve only the opening up of the doors to European citizens; the restrictive approach towards non-Europeans or ‘third country nationals’ continues.¹⁴ Therefore, we could safely assume that the structural and institutional aspects of the status of most immigrants are likely to remain those of third country nationals .

Table 1 below provides an outline of basic statistical information regarding the migrant population in Cyprus. The reference is to migrant workers in possession of work permits.

Table 1: Statistical Data: An Overview

Year	1998	1999	2000	2001
Total population (thousands)	748.8	753.2	757.0	762.3
Potential working population (thousands)	431.5	436.6	442.2	447.5
GDP per capita (constant prices/euro)	12,300	13,100	14,300	15,100
Migrant workers (possessing work permits)	19,000	21,368	23,701	29,730

⁹ During his address to the EU summit in Thessalonica, the President of Cyprus referred to the experience of Cyprus in dealing with migrants and asylum-seekers and offered to share ‘expertise’ with the European Community.

¹⁰ For instance, see European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, Second Report on Cyprus, adopted 15th December 2000.

¹¹ Various forms of discrimination are prevalent in spite of the international conventions and legislations available (see Trimikliniotis 2003)

¹² EC Directives 43/2000 and 78/2000 dealing with discrimination have been fully transposed with new legislation that came into force on 1st May 2004, upon Cyprus’ accession into the EU. However, the new legislative developments have had little or no impact so far on the discriminatory landscape in Cyprus, as vulnerable groups have not yet been made aware of the new procedures open to them..

¹³ For a discussion on this contradictory process see Trimikliniotis (1999 and 2001c).

¹⁴ See Trimikliniotis, Nicos and Pantelides, Panayiotis, 2003: Mapping Discriminatory Landscapes in Cyprus: Ethnic Discrimination in the Labour Market, in: The Cyprus Review, Vol.15, Spring 2003, N.1.

for more details on the employment and immigration model of Cyprus and how this *racialises* migrant workers.

The table shows that total number of workers with work permits is close to 30.000 or 6.7% of the potential working population. However, there are additional categories of migrants not included in these figures. A more detailed analysis of the migrant workers possessing work permits will be attempted in the labour market section below.

In 1990 the total number of migrant workers (excluding domestic workers) was 545. By 1996, this number had increased to 10,370 and by 2002 to 30,225. In other words, within the last eight years there has been a threefold increase in the total number of legally employed documented migrants. However, if one is to include the undocumented workers, then the total number of migrant workers in Cyprus is significantly larger than the aforesaid figures. Estimates given by KISA¹⁵ indicate that the total number of migrants is around 72,000, which corresponds to around 16% of the potential working population in Cyprus.

Table 2 provides a breakdown of the total number of migrants into different categories. Each one of the categories listed is independent of the other, in the sense that there is no overlap. The category of workers with work permits (30.000) does not include Greeks, offshore company personnel., or Pontians who, once they get the Greek nationality, are entitled to come and work in Cyprus without too many formalities.

Table 2: Categories of Migrant Workers in Cyprus 2002

Migrant workers possessing work permits	Under 30,000*
Migrant workers of Russian-Greek origin (Pontians)	10,000-12,000 (approx.)***
Greek citizens	10,000***
Migrant workers employed in offshore companies	5,000*
Refugees and asylum seekers ¹⁶	2,000***
Migrant workers without papers ¹⁷	5,000-15,0000 (estimated)
Total	62,000-74,000 (estimated)

[Sources: *Dept. of Labour

**Dept. of Statistics

*** Information from interviews and ministers of the Republic of Cyprus]

With regard to the country of origin, there are two categories of Greek passport holders: migrant workers from mainland Greece and Russian-Greeks (or Pontians) who have immigrated to Cyprus from the Black Sea. Through a bilateral agreement with the Greek government, Greek citizens (including Pontians holders of Greek passports) have

¹⁵ Cyprus based NGO set up in 1997 to support rights of migrant workers.

¹⁶ The figure in this table which dates back to 2002 increased dramatically in the following years. Asylum applications rose by 363% between 2002 and 2003, and by 499% when the first nine months of 2004 are compared with the same period in 2003. The number of asylum applications during the first eleven months of 2004 was 7,375 (Source: UNCHR News Stories, "Cyprus: The twisted reality behind the statistics", By Emilia Strovolidou in Nicosia and Rupert Colville in Geneva, 13.01.2005, <http://www.unhcr.ch/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/country?iso=cyp>).

¹⁷ The Chief of Police estimates the undocumented workers to be around 30.000. In the writers' view, the said figure is excessive.

permanent residence rights as well as the right of employment in Cyprus. In the offshore business sector, the majority of non-Cypriot employees of offshore companies originate from Central and Eastern Europe and especially Russia and the former Yugoslav Republics.

Most domestic workers originate from Asia and especially the Philippines and Sri Lanka. Other main sector categories in which migrant workers are employed, are: agriculture, manufacturing, construction, hotels, restaurants and trade. In the last three of these sectors, the majority of migrant workers originate from Central and Eastern Europe and particularly the Balkans. In the first three of the sectors mentioned, which are low skill and hard working environments, a significant number of Asian migrant workers is employed.

Table 3: Long-term and Short –Term Immigrants

STATUS	YEAR 2003
Long-term immigrants	16779
Short-term Immigrants	10353

Source: Cyprus Statistical Service Demographic Report 2003¹⁸

Short-term migrants are persons entering Cyprus with the intention of remaining less than year for the purpose of working at an occupation remunerated from within the country or studying. Long term migrants are the persons entering Cyprus with the intention to settle, or to stay for one year or more.¹⁹ Long term migrants work and reside under a more favourable regime; their salaries tend to be higher and many have families with them. Depending on the length of their stay, long term migrants have a better chance of getting acquainted with rules and procedures and to join trade unions.

Table 4: Long –term Immigrants by country of origin

Country of Citizenship	Year 2003
Total	16779
Europe	13120
E.U. Countries (total)	7884
Austria	17
Belgium	38
France	89
Germany	132
Denmark	14
Greece	4938
United Kingdom	2425

¹⁸ The discrepancy between the total figure of this table (27.132) and the corresponding figure of Table 1 (30.000) is attributed to the fact that the 27.132 figure is generated from the Statistical Service, whilst the 30.000 figure was offered by the Department of Labour. The figures offered by the Statistical Service are generally more accurate whilst the figures offered by the Ministry are collected by other ministry, police and other sources and may vary significantly.

¹⁹ Source: Tourism, Migration and Travel Statistics, Statistical Service of Cyprus, 2001.

Ireland	64
Spain	47
Italy	25
Luxembourg	46
Netherlands	24
Portugal	0
Sweden	0
Finland	25
Other European	5236
Esthonia	0
Cyprus	1994
Lettonia	0
Lithuania	15
Malta	6
Hungary	116
Poland	123
Slovak republic	84
Slovenia	0
Czech Republic	46
Albania	0
Bulgaria	444
Georgia	29
Switzerland	84
Croatia	0
Latvia	0
Belarus	13
Moldova	126
Norway	0
Fed.Rep.Yugoslavia	37
Ukraine	279
Romania	246
Russia	1594
Turkey	0
Other	0
Africa	331
Egypt	113
South Africa	210
Zimbabwe	0
Nigeria	0
Other	8
America	176
USA	102
Canada	58
Brazil	0
Other	16
Asia	3025
Armenia	53
United Arab Emirates	11

India	327
Jordan	72
Iran	131
Israel	64
China	348
Lebanon	107
Vietnam	11
Indonesia	32
Myanmar	8
Bangladesh	112
Nepal	0
Pakistan	192
Palestine	8
Saudi Arabia	0
Sri Lanka	654
Syria	356
Philippines	504
Other	35
Oceania	127

Source: Cyprus Statistical Service demographic Report 2003

Table 5: Refugees and Asylum Seekers Data

Description	Persons	Cases	Year of Reference
Total Number of Refugees in Cyprus today	406	N/A	2004
Applications of Asylum Seekers pending	8005	7449	2004
Total Decisions taken	1316	1295	2004
Total positive decisions taken	16	7	2004
Total applications Rejected	238	226	2004
Total Non-status decisions	1062	1062	2004

Source: UNHCR 2004

Table 6: Information on Immigrants that have been granted the Cyprus Citizenship

Description	Total	Year of Reference
By naturalization	2295	31/12/2003
By marriage	9018	31/12/2003

Source: Civil Registry Migration Department 2004

2. Major issues discussed with relation to immigration

There are certain favourite subjects that the media is keen to bring up over and over again regarding migration and migrants in Cyprus. Clearly there is a regular pattern that is being reproduced and largely media generated about the 'negative' social consequences from the presence of migrants in Cyprus, the dangers from 'excessive numbers, the 'floods', 'chords' or 'waves' of migrants who are allegedly just waiting for the opportunity to 'move in', and exploit the opportunities that are available (work, social welfare, education etc). As studies show, such patterns re-emerge repeatedly since 1990, (Trimikliniotis 1999, 2001).

(a) *The connection with unemployment*

An undocumented presumption often made is the connection between the inflow of migrant workers and the 'rise' in unemployment among Cypriots. And this despite the fact that in order for an employer to be allowed to employ third country nationals, trade unions must give their permission, which permission is granted only after the employer shows that he could not find a European employee for that post.²⁰ It must be noted that unemployment is still very low in Cyprus, despite a slight rise from 1,8% in 1990 to over 3,0% in 2004. "Employers are dismissing Cypriots and are employing foreigners", the right-wing trade union SEK alleged very recently.²¹ Only a few months ago a small trade union, DEOK, issued exactly the same kind of statement attributing unemployment to the presence of migrant workers whose numbers have allegedly "reached unprecedented levels".²² The connection between migration and unemployment is amplified by the media. Indicative newspaper headlines are the following: "Working people victims of employment of foreigners - mass dismissals"²³; or "Unacceptable: Hundreds of Cypriots dismissed as foreigners are employed"²⁴. Structural or other causes of unemployment are ignored. Generally, all Cypriot trade unions support any attempts to 'reduce the numbers of migrant workers'.²⁵

(b) *'Social problems'*

"Social problems resulting from the presence foreign workers" such as marriages of convenience in order to secure the right to stay in Cyprus,²⁶ the "suffering of underage children as a result" as well as "affairs mainly by Cypriot men with female workers" many of which lead to "the break up of marriages."²⁷ These were more or less repeated in the Parliamentary Commission Report (1997a). Reference is also made to young children who develop speech problems as a result of spending most of their time with the family's resident domestic helper who speaks little or no English or Greek.

²⁰ For a critique of this in the Cypriot context see Trimikliniotis and Pantelides, 2003.

²¹ Fileleftheros 03.12.2004. For the position of SEK see their website: <http://www.sek.org.cy/greek/developments/82.htm>

²² For the position of DEOK on the subject, see their website http://www.deok.org.cy/theseis_deok.htm#11

²³ I Simerini 01.03.1997.

²⁴ Haravyi 01.03.1997.

²⁵ This includes the left-wing trade union PEO, which is the only trade union running its own 'Migrant Workers Bureau' (see <http://www.peo.org.cy/greek/>).

²⁶ See article by Michael, S. "They arrange for them to be married in order to have them as concubines: some [immigrant women] will even change religion to stay in Cyprus", Phileleftheros, 22.10.2004.

²⁷ In reply to questions by journalists, the government's Social Welfare Department 'expressed concern' about such cases (Ergatiko Vima 08.09.1993).

(c) Metaphorical connections

Connection is made in some reports between migrants and disease, crisis, and dirt. Headlines such as “Foreign workers are a real cancer”²⁸ or quoting the then Interior Minister’s remarks: “Foreign workers are an unsalvageable cancer”²⁹ or referring to the undocumented workers as “a gangrene”³⁰ as well as “plague” or “headache”.

(d) The connection with the country’s size

‘Cyprus is too small to absorb the current numbers of foreign workers’ is a phrase often heard through the media. It is apparent that the ‘social paradigm’, upon which this statement is based, is derived from the outdated and discredited ‘host-immigrant’ model theory according to which 13-15% of temporary workers are considered a ‘threat’ to the fabric of the society.

(e) The connection with the Cyprus ‘national’ problem

‘Cyprus is a semi-occupied and threatened country and its national survival needs to be ensured by a restrictive migration policy so that the demographic balance is not altered any further’. This is again a very sensitive issue as the unsettled political problem of Cyprus creates feelings of insecurity and vulnerability to Cypriots. This concern is often raised to justify the current immigration policies and particularly the restrictions in long-term residence and settlement of foreign workers. There is concern that any policy as regards settlement, naturalisation and citizenship ought to take into consideration that the Cyprus problem is still unresolved. This is often juxtaposed to Turkey’s policy of introducing ‘settlers’ in the occupied northern part of the island, who are granted “nationality” of the unrecognized TRNC³¹, in an effort to alter the demographic character of the country and thus exercise control over election results.

(f) National Culture and Heritage versus ‘Alien Cultures and Religions’

This is another touchy subject as Cypriots feel strongly about their cultural heritage and values. However, once more it is clouded with misconceptions. The concern with migrants as ‘carriers of different attitudes, principles and values’, who have the potential to ‘influence on social institutions’ seems to be widespread and widely exaggerated. It is marked by a failure to contextualize the issue within the current social reality of globalisation, media and information society and the other much more influential cultural forces that shape reality. Cultures are ever changing, dynamic and fluid processes: their very dynamism lies in their capacity to alter and move on with times, needs, knowledge, the economy. If there is a need for protection of the national culture, something doubtful in the first place, perhaps the answer lies elsewhere not with migrant workers, who are not in a very strong position to impose their norms and values on the majority population. It lies with schooling, education, the media policy etc.

(g) Connection with criminality

A great deal is being written in the Cypriot press almost daily about the connection between migrants and crime, which is a recurring theme in official reports and in

²⁸ I Simerini 19.10.1996.

²⁹ O Phileleftheros, 04.03.1997.

³⁰ I Alitheia, 04.03.1997.

³¹ The initials stand for “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus”. Until today, it is only recognized by Turkey.

statements by highly placed government officials³². Often, media reports offer this negative portrayal by merely repeating statements to that effect made by members of the police force and by not criticizing the underlying message of such statements. Sometimes pictures of arrested people appear next to reports on foreign workers. The headline of the newspaper *I Simerini*³³ follows the same pattern: “Foreigners have a portion of responsibility for the rise in criminality”. In July 2004 the police publicized a survey which they conducted, according to which the vast majority of serious crimes in Cyprus are carried out by foreigners. The survey has raised multiple reactions from MPs, journalists and the public, some objecting to it and others endorsing it.³⁴ Regular reports in the papers refer to arrests of immigrants for suspected crimes³⁵ but there are hardly any reports as to how many of these arrests lead to convictions. In August³⁶ 2004, the police gave to the press an ‘action plan’ to cut down on crime, on the basis of which the police was to carry out regular onslaughts to areas inhabited by immigrants, which the police chief himself called ‘ghettos’, to ensure that they do not engage in burglaries or other criminal acts, adding that immigrants terrorize by-passers when they enter their ‘ghettos’.³⁷ Nicosia’s municipal gardens for instance, which in recent years are frequented by migrant workers, have been described in the media as ‘a paradise turned into hell’ when, quoting partly the Nicosia Mayor and the police press officer, the writing journalist concludes that the migrants are responsible for the increased crime rates.³⁸

(h). Illegal immigrants and asylum seekers

Undocumented workers are frequently the subject of media reports which, although in some cases sympathetic, generally tend to portray them as a menace, in line with the view often expressed by the trade unions. A conclusion that may safely be deduced is that the media tend to be sympathetic when covering heart-breaking stories of individual migrants and less sympathetic or even xenophobic sometimes when they refer to migrants as a group or a section. In other words, the same individual migrants who are afforded sympathy and understanding for their bad living and working conditions, can easily be portrayed as menacing criminals when they are in numbers, such as a group walking in the streets, residing in specific areas which are then termed as ‘ghettos’ and frequenting public parks.

A notable example of sympathetic treatment by the media concerns the case of a Syrian undocumented immigrant who in February 2004 had to flee from the clinic where his sick baby had just died, leaving the body of his dead child behind, in order to escape arrest

³² (O Phileleftheros; 24.04.1996; 01.01.1997; 21.01.1997;04.02.1997;06.02.1997; 06.02.1997 I Simerini; To Periodiko 29.11.1996.

³³ I Simerini, 22/2/2000, «Foreigners have the portion of responsibility for the rise in criminality” (In Greek: Αλλοδαποί έχουν το μερίδιο ευθύνης για την αύξηση της εγκληματικότητας).

³⁴ See for example article by Prokopis Georgiou, ex-policeman, “Unfair criticism against the [police] chief”, Phileleftheros 26.07.2004, in which he claims that foreigners take advantage of the hospitality generously offered to them and commit crimes against the local population, refusing to abort the bad habits and violence of their countries of origin.

³⁵ See for example unsigned article titled “Arrests for criminal activities” in Phileleftheros on 08.08.2004 which lists arrests of immigrants.

³⁶ August is the traditional holiday month during which the capital city is largely deserted.

³⁷ Hadjivasilis, M “New onslaughts in immigrants’ ghettos: they harass the public day and night - Measures against burglars”, Phileleftheros, 13.08.2004.

³⁸ Unsigned article titled “The Nicosia Municipal Gardens a paradise turned into hell” in Phileleftheros, 23.08.2004.

from the police for illegal stay in Cyprus. The case made the news on 03.02.2004 and was covered by virtually all of the mass media, including TV channels, depicting a hard-working decent family man, interviewing his neighbours giving positive comments about him and calling on the Interior Minister to grant him a visa to stay, which in fact did happen a few days later.

A similar example is the media reports on the case of an Egyptian accused of abducting a woman with intend to indecently assault her and who was bailed out by his Greek-Cypriot neighbours and employers who did not believe in his guilt and guaranteed that he would appear for trial.³⁹

This category of media portrayal carries certain overlaps with the category of the criminality connection described above, as undocumented migrant workers who are arrested by the police for lack of papers are portrayed in the media as criminals, appearing in newspaper photographs handcuffed and pushed into a police van. In essence what these scenes portray is the authorities' policy of repression but one would need to decode the impressionistic portrayal in order to arrive to this conclusion. There is wide media coverage of the recently initiated police operations of stopping and arresting foreign-looking persons who do not have their documents on them: they are then taken to open space until their documents are searched, a practice that was applauded by the right-wing trade union Cyprus Workers' Confederation-SEK⁴⁰, but attracted heavy criticisms of racist discrimination by NGOs and human rights activists.

(i). *Ill-treatment*

Recently, a few reports started appearing in a small number of newspapers⁴¹ referring to the ill-treatment of migrants by their employers and by the police⁴², a problem also highlighted frequently from the relevant reports of the Cyprus Commissioner of Administration (or *Ombudsman*)⁴³ which are usually released to the press. In addition to the Commissioner's regular reports, the press also makes mention of reports by international organizations, such as ECRI and UNHCR but also of local human rights NGOs such as ETHNOPAD (the National Organisation for the Protection of Human Rights) and KISA (Action for Equality, Support and Anti-racism, previously called ISAG- Immigrant Support Action Group) on the living conditions of migrants in Cyprus.⁴⁴ Also, a limited number of reports sympathetically refer to the plight of economic and political refugees who come to Cyprus in search of a better life⁴⁵ but it is

³⁹ Yiannakos, C. "Cypriots bailed Egyptian detainee out of jail", *Phileleftheros*, 22.10.2004.

⁴⁰ Yannakos, C. (2004) "Broom for foreigners", in: *Fileleftheros* (31.7.04), about the process of arrest of 729 persons in one hour. From occasional newspaper reports, it appears that the same practices seem to continue to date, though not on such a massive scale.

⁴¹ Although there are specific journalists who write in different newspapers and are sympathetic towards migrants, there are two newspapers which are consistently more sympathetic: "Politis" (<http://www.politis.com.cy/sindex.html>) and the English speaking "Cyprus Mail" (www.cyprus-mail.com)

⁴² See for example article by Evripidou, M. "Asylum seekers 'submitted to systematic abuse'", *The Cyprus Mail*, 17.9.2004

⁴³ Under the recently enacted Law on Combating of Racial and Some Other Forms of Discrimination (Commissioner) No. 42(1)/2004 (19.03.2004), which purports to discharge the Republic's obligation under Section 13 of the Directive 43/2000/EC, the Commissioner was appointed as the specialised body to combat racism and discrimination.

⁴⁴ See unsigned article titled "Xenophobia 'common across all levels of society' ", *The Cyprus Mail*, 22.10.2004.

⁴⁵ For example Kyriakidou, C. "4.638 foreigners from every corner of the earth come to Cyprus in search of *Ithaca*". *Phileleftheros* 19.06.2004.

also possible to find articles depicting asylum seekers as opportunistic illegal workers who try to take advantage of the right of stay in Cyprus and the small state benefit afforded by the asylum procedure.⁴⁶

It may generally be deduced that left-wing and liberal journalists, whether writing in right-wing or left-wing newspapers, offer a more sympathetic treatment of issues concerning migrants and migration, although it is impossible to generalise. However, one must add that the political landscape in Cyprus is rather unique in the sense that the “great divide”, so to speak, is not between left and right, as in other European countries, but between nationalists and anti-nationalists. Traditionally, the nationalists belonged to the right wing and anti-nationalists to the left, but this distinction is now blurred. It is safer to assume that anti-nationalist journalists and newspapers, rather than left-wing ones, are more sympathetic towards migrants.

3. Institutional setting framing immigrant participation

The conclusion to be drawn from an examination of the institutional framework is that there are hardly any conditions regarding civic participation of immigrants and it is therefore hard to differentiate between restrictive and encouraging legal conditions. There are obviously ‘restrictive conditions’ that prohibit political participation in elections (restrictions of voting, standing for office), unless full citizenship is granted, but there are no formal prohibitions of membership in parties and organisations, rights for self-organisation, public rallies, etc. Overall, the situation in Cyprus can be described as rather disappointing on the issue of civic participation of migrants, however there are some small but encouraging signs. At the level of formal rights, the general rights guaranteed under the Constitution and the ECHR are generally respected. Nevertheless, migrants face a tough regime because, on the whole, issues relating to their stay are considered as falling outside these. The only body of legislation with a practical impact on the migrants’ lives is the recently enacted anti-discrimination legislation transposing Directives 43/2000 and 78/2000, however the issues affected are mostly related to their employment conditions and are only indirectly affecting the migrants’ level of civic participation.

The main focus of the migrant support and solidarity NGOs in Cyprus is to protect the basic rights of migrants. As such, ‘encouraging conditions’ for civic participation such as foreigners/ immigrant committees, quotas and subsidies to ethnic organisations have not been an issue on top of the agenda. Particularly in the run up to the accession to the EU, a number of public awareness campaigns and discussions have taken place, aimed at informing the public in general of the harmonization process and the changes that this would bring in the area of non-discrimination. Some of these NGOs as KISA have been active in the area of migrant support since 1997. There are a few more recent initiatives, such as the Migrant Worker’s Bureau, belonging to PEO, the largest trade union in Cyprus; a new organisation based in Limassol⁴⁷ called “APANEMI”, which caters for women migrants,⁴⁸ and the activities of the Russian Orthodox Church in Cyprus. One may also add to the list the very few research and information centres, such as the

⁴⁶ See Court case reported in Phileleftheros on 28.11.2004 of Sri Lankan who applied for asylum after three years of illegal stay in the Republic (titled “He applied for political asylum after three years”).

⁴⁷ Limassol is the second largest city of Cyprus.

⁴⁸ This is a Women’s Information and Resource Centre Shelter for Victims of Violence and has been active on the issue of immigrant and refugee integration into Cypriot society.

Mediterranean Gender Association⁴⁹ and the Cyprus Labour Institute (INEK-PEO) who have, through their reports, research, discussions and awareness campaigns,⁵⁰ contributed to the improvement of the conditions for integration, visibility and civic participation in community organisations. However, there is always a considerable room for improvement.

The legal framework as regards migration in Cyprus is fragmentary and has developed very rapidly in the 1990s. Prior to 1990 the policy towards migration was restrictive,⁵¹ only allowing entrepreneurial positions and certain highly skilled managerial or technical posts to be filled by non-Cypriots. Work permits were granted to non-Cypriots only in exceptional circumstances wherever there were no Cypriots with the relevant qualifications to fill the position. The policy change, allowing the entry of migrant workers, was seen as a necessary step in resolving the labour shortage.

However, with the change of policy, and whilst the restrictive approach was abandoned, at the same time a new set of measures were introduced to curtail and repress what the authorities term as ‘illegal immigrants’. The net result has been both the failure to control the flow of migration and a fragmentary and inconsistent application of policy on the question of migration. This was partly reflected in judicial decisions on migration cases.

The policies and practices governing migrant workers from the moment of entry, their working conditions and their legal and social rights, are set out in the agreement between the Cyprus government, the employers organisations (OEV and KEVE)⁵² and trade unions (PEO, SEK, DEOK and some sectional unions)⁵³, known as the ‘tri-partite system’. The Criteria, originally compiled in 1991⁵⁴ and reaffirmed in 2004 provide that migrant workers are granted the same employment terms and all other rights enjoyed by Cypriot workers and were based on existing collective agreements and social security schemes. One relevant study, by the Planning Bureau, however refers to “*taking into account the element of temporality as well as other factors*” (Planning Bureau 1989: 3). This allows flexibility in the interpretation of the policy and may allow employers to evade the express condition that states that pay terms will be the same as with Cypriot employees (Planning Bureau 1989: 5). Furthermore the same study recognises that there

⁴⁹The Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies has initiated a project entitled “Measures to Integrate Women Refugees in the Society in Cyprus and to Promote a multi-cultural society”, which is supported by the European Refugee Fund, of the European Commission.

See www.medinstgenderstudies.org

⁵⁰ These include trade union, NGO campaigns as well as EU-wide campaign such as the Stop Discrimination campaign (see <http://www.stop-discrimination.info/index.php?id=5514>).

⁵¹ The Law on Aliens and Migration (Cap. 113) was amended in 1990 with Law 19/1990 and subsequent regulations following the criteria approved in 1991 by the tripartite committee on the employment of ‘alien’ workers. The Criteria are contained in a Circular of the Dept. of Labour of the Ministry of Labour and Social Insurance ref. T.E.48/83 dated 2 Dec. 1991. The criteria have not been reviewed but reaffirmed although periodically Governments have claimed to ‘suspend’ the policy placing a ‘moratorium’ on the employment of migrant workers if they consider that there is high local unemployment.

⁵² OEV is acronym for Organisation of Employers and Manufacturers and KEVE is acronym for Chamber of Commerce and Manufacture.

⁵³ PEO is the Left wing union. It stands for Pan-Cyprian Federation of Labour and is the largest trade union; SEK is the Right-wing Confederation of Cypriot Labour; and DEOK is a small Democratic Labour Federation of Cyprus, connected to the small Socialist party EDEK.

⁵⁴ See Circular of the Dept. of Labour of the Ministry of Labour and Social Insurance ref. T.E.48/83 dated 2 Dec. 1991.

are “no efficient mechanisms to monitor this” (Planning Bureau 1989: 4). This problem is also recognised in the recent Report of the Parliamentary Commissions on Employment and Social Insurance (House of Representatives 1997a) and on Human Rights (House of Representatives 1997b).⁵⁵ The change of policy is the result economic need as there was a shortage of labour for low skill labour intensive jobs: the high levels of growth led to a growth in the demand for labour that exceeded the supply of labour from indigenous sources (Matsis and Charalambous, 1993) and the slow down in the growth of the economy in the 1990s in comparison to the late 1970s and 1980s, together with the rise of inflation, was the basis for the abandoning of the restrictive labour policies. Additionally there are international or global factors, together with the Cyprus government orientation towards accession to the EC that influenced the policy to open up the Cyprus labour market.⁵⁶ With the change of policy in 1990, the criteria for granting permits were extended and a procedure was outlined for employers to recruit staff from abroad (Planning Bureau, 1989). For administrative purposes, there are two categories of ‘foreign’ workers: those employed in sectors which require reference (from the Ministry of Labour) and those employed in sectors that do not.

A highly controversial clause has found its way in the specimen agreement which some migrant workers applying for a work permit in Cyprus are requested to sign. This clause expressly prohibits the immigrant’s political participation and is often used by the employer in order to prevent the migrant employee from becoming a member of a trade union, thus arbitrarily classifying trade unionism as political activity. The Cyprus Constitution grants the right of political participation and the right to be a member of a trade union to all, citizens and non-citizens alike, something which renders the said contractual provision unconstitutional. However, this is hardly ever brought to the attention of the migrant applying for a work permit and even if and when a migrant discovers the unconstitutional dimension of this provision, the cost of pursuing such case through the Courts is probably higher than the benefit it will render. Currently, the Migrant Workers Bureau⁵⁷ started an initiative to remove this provision from the contracts of employment, in an effort to encourage immigrant participation in trade unions.

The rights of Migrant Workers

The right to freedom of association and membership in trade unions is guaranteed by the Constitution (articles 21, 26 and 27) and the laws on trade union; moreover, the trade unions insisted that upon entry to Cyprus migrant workers ought to enjoy the same rights as Cypriot workers. The ‘criteria’ agreed in the tripartite agreement expressly referred to this point. In practice there are violations of the rights of migrant workers, particularly in sectors that are not unionised. The number of complaints to the Commissioner for Administration, to the authorities, trade unions and NGOs for the violation of the

⁵⁵ All matters to do with immigration are primarily the responsibility of the Immigration Department, of the Interior Ministry, but this department works in collaboration with the Ministry of Labour. The ultimate responsibilities with the Interior Minister. (Report of the Labour and Social Insurance Parliamentary Commission, House of Representatives 1997a) The procedure is that the Immigration Dept. Provides the permit with the consent of the Labour Ministry, which considers the matter from labour point of view. (1997b:3) The procedure is also set out in the Report of the Labour and Social Insurance Parliamentary Commission (1997) and have been also made public by the immigration authorities in reply to a questionnaire by To Ergatiko Vima 8.9.93 and another in To Periodiko 29.11.96.

⁵⁶ See Trimikliniotis, 1999.

⁵⁷ More details for the Migrant Workers Bureau are set out further below.

contractual terms and workers rights are very regular.⁵⁸ Third country migrant workers are employed in specific sectors of the economy; in unionised sectors, as a rule, migrant workers are also unionised members but there are sectors with no trade union tradition in which many migrates are employed.⁵⁹ There are no details of the total number of migrant workers who are union members; however, as far the largest trade union the Pancyprian Federation of Labour (PEO) there over 10,000 migrant workers members. In certain unions the percentage of migrant workers is very high: SEGDA MELIN-PEO (agricultural and port workers) has more than half of its total member; more than one third of the construction workers of PEO; about one third of SYKSKA-PEO (tourism trade union); one in six of SEMMIK-PEO (metal and wood workers union); one in six in SEVETTYK (clothing, commerce and trade workers and nurses).⁶⁰ However, there are no third country migrants elected in any of the leadership of any trade union; the fact that they are mostly temporarily employed in Cyprus is prohibiting their participation at a leadership level.

Upon Cyprus' accession to the EU on 1st May 2004, a new body of laws came into force, transposing Directives 2000/43/EC and 2000/78/EC. The law⁶¹ contains a wide definition of discrimination and is wide in scope too, covering all grounds afforded in the two directives, and opening the way for "positive action" measures to ensure that the anti-discrimination principle is implemented. However, seeking recourse to the Courts or even filing a complaint to the Commissioner of Administration under this law is a procedure that requires both a level of awareness of the existence of this procedure and a certain degree of literacy combined with a good understanding of the Greek language. An interesting provision⁶² is to be found in Section 12 of the Law, which enables organisations whose objects include the fight against discrimination to file on behalf of and with the consent of the complainant an action in the Courts or a complaint at the Commissioner's office under this Law. Although this provision has not been utilised so far, it is hoped that anti-discrimination NGOs will take up this challenge and open corridors of communication with the migrants with a view to promoting their rights.

Due to the fact that the position of migrants as regards their civic participation is very much affected by their legal status as migrants, it is necessary to bare in mind the immigration law framework. According s. 10 of cap 105, "no alien has an absolute right of entry" matters relating to the control of borders, entry, departure etc in the territory of the Republic are matters that fall in the ambit of powers of the executive, subject of course to judicial supervision who apply the law and the rights derived from the Constitution, Cyprus Acts of Parliament and any binding international treaties. The general rubric of judicial control of the executive of matters relating to immigration and nationality falls under the category of proper exercise of discretion,⁶³ under the principle

⁵⁸ See ECRI 2001, KISA 2002; Trimikliniotis, 1999; 2004 Trimikliniotis and Pantelides 2003; and Cyprus Labour Institute, 2004.

⁵⁹ For more details see Trimikliniotis 2003d.

⁶⁰ The trade union operates in over 550 workplaces and has 370 collective agreements in sector that covers over 15,000 workers (see <http://www.peo.org.cy/greek/index.php?parent=154>).

⁶¹ The Equal Treatment (Racial or Ethnic Origin) Law 2004 [Cyprus / No. 59(I)/2004 (31.1.2003)]

⁶² To be found in Section 12 of the Law Cyprus / No. 59(I)/2004 (31.1.2003)

⁶³ There is wide margin of discretion afforded to immigration offices that leave it open to arbitrary decisions. The Second ECRI report remarked that "further training aimed at preventing the occurrence of discrimination and discriminatory attitudes should be provided to immigration officers".

of *legitimacy*⁶⁴, justification of administrative acts, the principles of equality and natural justice. Visa of entry and temporary stay into the country can take one of the different forms.⁶⁵ The right to family reunion is provided for under Article 15 of the Constitution and Articles 8 and 12 of the European Convention for Human Rights. However, invoking the right to family life is not necessarily the most useful tool, particularly in the case of Cyprus as the interpretation given by Cypriot courts is very restrictive.⁶⁶ The competent public body is the Immigration Officer, a matter not only derived from first principles but also recognised by Cypriot Courts.⁶⁷

The Republic sought to transpose certain provisions of the two Directives in other laws too: The three substantive laws implementing the Directives 78/2000/EC and 43/2000/EC⁶⁸ copy the wording of the Directive that provides that the law does “not cover differences of treatment based on nationality and is without prejudice to provisions and conditions relating to the entry into and residence of third country nationals and stateless persons in the territory of Member States, and to any treatment which arises from the legal status of the third-country nationals and stateless persons concerned”. This is in line with a more general approach that seeks to retain and indeed strengthen control of the borders, immigration, stay and deportation as an expression of the exercise of ‘sovereignty’⁶⁹, somehow misguided in the view of many modern legal scholars, and Article 32, which stipulates that “nothing in this Part⁷⁰ contained shall preclude the Republic from regulating by law any matter relating to Aliens in accordance with International law.” The Aliens and Immigration Law, Cap. 105, as amended, which is the main legal framework that regulates the right to abode, as provided by Article 32 of the Constitution, is a colonial remnant long-overdue to be reformed,⁷¹ as consecutive Governments promised.

⁶⁴ In Greek: αρχή της νομιμότητας

⁶⁵ These include transit visa; transit through airport visa; work permit visa; permit for self-employment; apprenticeship permit; temporary student’s visa; student’s visa, visitor’s visa and special visa (Section 9(1) of the Aliens and Immigration Regulations, as amended on the bases of Article 20 of the Aliens and Immigration Law, Cap. 105).

⁶⁶ Charalambous (1995: 97) refers to the case of *Abdulaziz Cabales and Balkandali* (decision of ECtHR date 25/5/1985, Series A No. 94 p. 32, paras. 62, 68) that art. 8 “presupposes the existence of family life and at least contains a relationship from a legitimate and genuine marriage, even if family has not yet been fully implemented”.

⁶⁷ See Sydney Alfred Moyo and others -v- The Republic (no 311/88, date 11/6/1990).

⁶⁸ Disability (Amendment) Law N.57(I)/2004, Employment Equality law N.58(I)/2004 and Racial Equality law N.59(I)/2004.

⁶⁹ This was the logic developed in *Amanda Marga Ltd V. Republic* (1985) 3 CLR 2583. This case was followed in *Lyubov V. Republic of Cyprus, ex parte Minister of Interior* (2000) 4AAA, case n. 182/99, 14/12/2000

⁷⁰ Part II of the constitution contains the human rights and fundamental freedoms.

⁷¹ According to the Second ECRI Report 2001 a new Aliens and Immigration law is under way to replace the ‘antiquated Alien and Immigration law’, however no such development has since occurred. “ECRI considers that, in general, immigration policies have largely been based on the idea of immigrants as persons who come to work in Cyprus only for a very limited period of time, and that this has impacted negatively on the immigrants’ possibilities to fully exercise all their rights and to organise themselves to defend their common interests. ECRI therefore urges the Cypriot authorities to elaborate a comprehensive integration policy and to put in place concrete strategies to ensure that these concerns are addressed”.

The interpretation of the law by the Courts and by immigration officers has shown a tendency to considerably enlarge the scope of state discretion: "... the discretion of the State to exclude aliens is very wide, as broad as it can be in law, consistent with the supremacy and territorial integrity of the state; but it is not absolute. It is subject to the bona fide exercise of discretion."⁷² The wide margin of discretion can allow for discrimination to occur and immigration officers in Cyprus have been criticised by the Second ECRI Report on this score.⁷³ In any case, there is a strong body of opinion by authoritative legal scholars that the correct interpretation of the constitutional provision of article 32 does not allow for differential treatment of non-Cyprus when it comes to human rights as this (a) merely indirectly incorporates international law within the corpus of Cyprus law⁷⁴ and (b) would most likely be a violation of article 28⁷⁵ of the Constitution and various international treaties which have been ratified by the Republic and which, under article 169 of the Constitution, take primacy over domestic legislation.⁷⁶ The provisions regarding the transposition of anti-discrimination acquis do not refer only to citizens or legally resident persons, but to all persons. In support of this argument there is of course Protocol 12. It is therefore very likely that the nationality/ residence provisions would only refer to the regulation of entry, stay and work permits as regards their nationality or citizenship status. In all other grounds, even within the three specified areas (entry, stay and work permits) discrimination is forbidden.

Citizenship and Nationality

'Citizenship' and 'nationality' are linked, but cannot be equated. Fransmann distinguishes between 'Nationality' and 'Citizenship', even if some legal systems and treaties sometimes use the terms interchangeably. Citizenship of the European Union for example does not mean nationality of it (1998: 3). "Citizenship as distinct from nationality is about the various rights, duties opportunities that define one's place and conduct in society...Human rights can also be classed as aspects of citizenship," whilst (nationality is "one's international identity as belonging to a state and may be evidenced by a passport" (Fransmann 1998: 3).⁷⁷ The Cypriot jurist Tomaritis (1982: 34-35) suggests similarly that:

"The term national or citizen means a member of a people in the wider sense...granted by the state via legislation in its exercise of exclusive jurisdiction

⁷²Georgiadis Van der Pol (2002: 273), quoting *Amanda Marga Ltd V. Republic* (1985) 3 CLR 2583.

⁷³ The ECRI report reads as follows: "'Concern is also expressed at reports of discriminatory checks on the part of immigration officers of non-whites coming to Cyprus. Again, ECRI feels that further training aimed at preventing the occurrence of discrimination and discriminatory attitudes should be provided to immigration officers.'"

⁷⁴ Tomaritis (1982: 212).

⁷⁵ Nedgati 1972: 166-167, Tomaritis 1982: 201-205.

⁷⁶ Loizou 2001, Nedgati 1972: 166-167; Georgiadis Van der Pol 2002: 22.

⁷⁷ Fransmann (1998: 3) suggests that "It may be said that citizenship and nationality (as distinct from one another) both involve the relationship between the individual and the state, but in the case of the former it is internal and in the case of the latter, external".

(*domaine reserve*) in accordance with the recognised principle of international law”.

Post independence⁷⁸ Appendix D of the Constitution regulated the granting of nationality until the main *Law On Citizenship (Περί Πολίτου Νόμος) 1967* as subsequently amended⁷⁹. Cypriot nationality is granted subject to applying using the appropriate forms, as set out in *Cap. 11/61 On Nationality of the Republic of Cyprus Law of 1961*. A Non-Cypriot who resides lawfully in the Republic may also acquire citizenship under certain conditions:⁸⁰

- A. He/she lawfully resides for a continuous period of eight years in Cyprus may apply for Cypriot nationality; and
- B. He/she is of good character; and
- C. He/she intends to remain in the Republic.

One must bear in mind that this is a matter of absolute discretion by the Council of Ministers of the Republic. In any case, given that there is a policy that migrant workers’ worker permits cannot be extended beyond four years,⁸¹ the chance of acquiring citizenship for these groups is inexistent, unless they are married to a Cypriot. In this case a non-Cypriot, who entered and resided lawfully in the Republic, may acquire citizenship if:

- A. he/she is married to a Cypriot for three years or more; and
- B. he/she is of good character; and
- C. he/she intends to reside in the Republic.

There are other exceptional situations where citizenship may be granted.⁸²

Up until 1999, with the amendment N. 65(I)/99, only Cypriot male citizens could pass on their citizenship to their children, unless the parents were not married and the mother was a Cypriot national/citizen. The amendment did away with a long established discrimination against Cypriot women, which privileged the offsprings of males.⁸³ Non-Cypriots who reside lawfully in the Republic for a period of 3 years, if married to a Cypriot, and 8 years if they are not, may apply for Cypriot nationality.

Cypriot policy makers are very reluctant to grant citizenship to migrant workers, who are seen as ‘temporary’ and part of ‘a transitional phase’. The fact that the Cyprus problem remains unresolved and is considered to be a ‘national priority’ makes Greek Cypriot policy makers reluctant to ‘alter the demography of the population’, as they claim, by granting citizenship rights to people of non-Cypriot origin. The Turkish policy of

⁷⁸ Prior to independence the basic law as regards to granting of nationality in Cyprus was the *British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act 1914* and then the *British Nationality Act 1948*.

⁷⁹ Law 43/67, as amended 1/72, 74/83, 19(I)/96, 58(I)/96, 70(I)/96, 50(I)/97, 102(I)/98, 105(I)/98, 65(I)/99, 128(I)/99, 168(I)/2001.

⁸⁰ Specified in Annex 2 of the Law

⁸¹ Recently extended to six years in the case of domestic workers.

⁸² See Part II of the Law on Citizenship as amended and Annex II.

⁸³ Cypriot nationality is granted subject to applying via the appropriate forms, as set out in N. 11/61 On Nationality of the Republic of Cyprus Law of 1961.

settlement and colonisation of the occupied territories makes Greek Cypriots ultra cautious when it comes to altering citizenship laws.

According to the ECRI Report a new Aliens and Immigration law is under way to replace the 'antiquated Alien and Immigration law'. The Report sheds some light as to the direction of on how this new law should be structured on the basis of the idea that migrants are likely to be a permanent feature of our society and should enjoy rights and belongingness to a society that welcomes them:

ECRI considers that, in general, immigration policies have largely been based on the idea of immigrants as persons who come to work in Cyprus only for a very limited period of time, and that this has impacted negatively on the immigrants' possibilities to fully exercise all their rights and to organise themselves to defend their common interests. ECRI therefore urges the Cypriot authorities to elaborate a comprehensive integration policy and to put in place concrete strategies to ensure that these concerns are addressed.

Rather than viewing reform as a once and for all approach, there could an ongoing process reform through regular consultation with migrants themselves and the interested parties, what ECRI refers to as "the framework of the ongoing process of reform". One way would be to adopt the *Convention on the Participation of Foreigners in Public Life at Local Level*, and various strategies may include, amongst others, "the establishment of consultative bodies to represent foreign residents at local level in areas with a significant foreign population", a process that other European countries follow with some results. This is not the be and end of the problem; nor is there any guarantee that concrete and positive ideas will be generated, adopted and implemented, but it is a step away from the current outdated colonial remnant of a regime.

The most important provision relating to nationality discrimination is to be found in Article 1 of Protocol No. 12 to the Convention for the protection of Human Rights and fundamental freedoms which provides for freedom from discrimination on the grounds of, inter alia, national or social origin, association with a national minority birth or other status. This Protocol was embodied into national legislation on 19.04.2002 as Law 13(III)/2002. A similar provision is also to be found in the newly enacted law appointing the Commissioner of Administration as the specialised body⁸⁴ which bestows the Commissioner with the task and the duty to promote equality in the enjoyment of rights and freedoms arising under international instruments ratified by Cyprus, irrespective of, inter alia, national or ethnic origin. Cyprus has not ratified *The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families*, something that would assist in setting the proper framework, as well as *Convention on the Participation of Foreigners in Public Life at Local Level*.

As far as the naturalisation process is concerned, this, according to Cypriot courts, is a matter of sovereignty of the Republic. There is no reason for this to be arbitrary or at least not to be regulated in an effective, fair and transparent process based on the full implementation of the legal rules and criteria, with reasons given for the decisions taken. ECRI notes that

...the rules for acquisition of naturalisation leave a wide margin of discretion to the Naturalisation Department as concerns decisions to grant citizenship. There have

⁸⁴ The Combating of Racial and Some Other Forms of Discrimination (Commissioner) Law No. 42(1)/ 2004 (19.03.2004), section 3(1)(b).

been complaints that these decisions are sometimes discriminatory. ECRI understands that the Cypriot authorities envisage overhauling the provisions regulating acquisition of citizenship in the near future. In the meantime, it urges the Cypriot authorities to ensure that the provisions governing naturalisation are implemented in a non-discriminatory way.

Part II: Active Civic Participation of Third Country immigrants

(1) Literature Review

In this chapter, we focus on the literature available in Cyprus, reviewing publications in English as well studies that are only published in Greek.

In Cyprus there are there neither studies, nor books, or indeed any journal articles on the issue of active civic participation of immigrants as such. The only references that can be found are indirect and are primarily a handful of critical articles in books and journals, both English and Greek. Some newspaper cuttings and features are of remote relevance to the issue of civic participation; the general attitude towards migrants and their activities is presented in a negative manner (Trimikliniotis, 1999, 2001). Anti-racist activities and discourse are focused on employment and stay rights; social activities have been organized but little has actually been written or done about the question of civic participation.

The studies below reflect the research agenda about migrant workers and are relevant to the extent that institutional, legal and social factors are obstacles to civic participation. The size of Cyprus with a small research community, whose research agenda is dominated by the national problem and the fact that immigration is relatively new phenomenon means that there is very little available directly relevant to civic participation of migrants.

All studies on the migrants and migration to Cyprus in general referred to in this study are listed at the end of the report.

(a) Reports and Studies on the Institutional Framework for Employment of migrant Workers

These reports that follow are relevant bibliography for they record the core of the institutional and policy orientation as regards migrants in Cyprus, which structure their position and the minimal level of civic participation.

The first study of the institutional framework prior to the employment of migrant workers in the Cyprus labour market was carried out by the Cyprus Planning Bureau (1989), whilst an earlier study focused on labour market issues, employment and wages (Matsis and Charalambous, 1993). In 2002 there was a study that sought to examine the policy framework governing migrant workers, which was never published and was never actually implemented as there was a change of Government in Cyprus (Intercollege, 2002). One study examines from an econometric perspective the economic impact of the employment of migrant workers on wages and jobs in Cyprus (Christofides and Pashiardis, 2001).

(b) The Parliamentary Commissions Reports 1997

The Parliamentary Commissions Reports refer to the need to find ways of enhancing the rights of migrant workers; however they fail to consider directly to the issue of civic participation altogether. In particular, the Report by the Human Rights Commission (1997b) is very critical of the existence of racism and xenophobia in Cyprus and calls for measures, including legal responses, to the question. However the Report by the Employment and Social Insurance Commission (1997a: 7), whilst referring to the need to enhance migrant rights, also contains racial stereotypes and construes the presence of migrant workers as a problem. For example it refers to “the negative aspects of employing foreigners” such as “marriages of convenience to ensure presence”, “committing crimes”, “inadequate raising up of children”, “xenophobia and racism” (even racism seems to be blamed on migrant workers themselves), and “extra-marital affairs.”

The Reports by Parliamentary Commissions on Employment and Social Insurance (House of Representatives 1997a) and the Parliamentary Commission on Human Rights (House of Representatives 1997b) recognise that legislation is anachronistic and must be reviewed.⁸⁵ The Report by the Employment and Social Insurance Commission has as a title precisely this issue: “*The problems that are created as a result of the absence of a relevant legal framework which must regulate their presence in our country*”. The two reports put into perspective, from the point of view of the policy makers, a number of problems with government and other administrative policies on migrant workers and they indicate the need for debate on the subject and a concern about the rights of migrants.

The emphasis of the same Report however, in line with other public discourse, is dominated by the question of how to minimise the presence of migrant workers, and in particular undocumented workers.⁸⁶ In its conclusion the Report places emphasis again on the one hand on combating “illegal Immigration” on the one hand and on the other it “*recognises the problems of inclusion in the Cypriot Society, as well as their needs such as practising their own customs, cultural, religions etc. that derive from their culture and their country of origin*” (1997a: 11). It recommends that information is sought from abroad on the ways in which to deal with problems from European countries which have more experience in dealing with these issues (1997a: 11-12). Nevertheless, the reports failed to consider the issue of *how* the above would materialise and how to achieve migrant participation in the socio-political or civic life; neither did they propose any measures for such.

(c) The Second ECRI Report 2001

The report noted the major problems with the current system of immigration control, the legal framework as well as the enforcement of the rights of migrant workers in Cyprus. The failure is due to the absence of policy that would provide for a comprehensive immigration and cohesion policy as well as a policy of enhancing the human and social rights of migrants, the EU emerging immigration framework, the international and European instruments and constitutional provisions on human rights and, generally, the

⁸⁵ See Report of the Employment and Social Insurance Parliamentary Commission 1997 and Report of the Human Rights Parliamentary Commission 1997.

⁸⁶ Only two paragraphs are devoted to the position of migrant workers, where it is noted that there are no social services specialising on migrant workers. It is also noted that at times financial assistance was provided but the attempts to create a centre for the recreation of migrants failed (1997a: 8).

principles of democracy, fair treatment and the rule of law. The ECRI report on Cyprus proposes that the authorities should develop "...a comprehensive immigration policy aimed not only at regulating the entry and stay of immigrants and the rights connected to the employment of these, but also at a better mutual integration between the immigrant population and the rest of the Cypriot society". As such, the policy is to deal with both issues: (a) base its analysis in the inexorable needs of the Cypriot economy and society and (b) modernize and update its institutional and legal policy framework and integrate labour, immigration and social policy. According to the ECRI Report a new Aliens and Immigration law is under way to replace the 'antiquated Alien and Immigration law'. The Report suggests that migrants are likely to be a permanent feature of our society and should enjoy rights and the sense of belonging to a society that welcomes them: "ECRI considers that, in general, immigration policies have largely been based on the idea of immigrants as persons who come to work in Cyprus only for a very limited period of time, and that this has impacted negatively on the immigrants' possibilities to fully exercise all their rights and to organise themselves to defend their common interests. ECRI therefore urges the Cypriot authorities to elaborate a comprehensive integration policy and to put in place concrete strategies to ensure that these concerns are addressed."

The issue of civic participation of migrants is raised by the ECRI Report and is related to the wider issues of integration and multicultural education and awareness raising in society. It is not surprising the Report encourages a public debate and raises concern about the attitudes of Cypriots about the social and other impact on Cypriot society as a result of the presence of 'foreign' workers. The report notes with concern the rise in racism, when society is in fact more multicultural than ever; hence the requirement that a policy frame is found to combat racial discrimination in Cypriot society. Many times, the fact that the presence of foreign workers is a rather recent phenomenon leads to exaggeration, with regards to the consequences of the presence of foreign workers in Cyprus, especially by the media.

Other Recent Literature

From 1999 onwards there appear more critical studies on migration, racism and discrimination, youth and gender issues and institutional racism. These studies are more relevant to the issue of civic participation, primarily noting the structural, institutional, political and social obstacles to their equal participation in the civic life of Cyprus. The process of racialisation of migrant workers (Trimikliniotis, 1999, 2001b); the violation of employment rights of south-east Asian domestic workers (Kadir, 2001); gender and racism (Lenz, 2001), racism, media and youth (Harakis et. al for Frederick College, forthcoming); educational problems, multiculturalism, racism and migration (Trimikliniotis 2001a; 2004a; 2004b); racism, migration, discrimination and belonging (Trimikliniotis 2003) provide a rich basis for analysing the position of migrants in Cyprus and the kind of barriers before them in achieving civic participation, self-organisation and intergration active citizen action.

(d)The racialisation of migrant workers

Trimikliniotis 1999 sets out to examine the processes of racialisation of temporary migrant or "foreign" labour in Cyprus, a country traditionally exporting migrants but recently transformed into one of hosting migrants. It considers policies and rights relating to migrant workers and examines discourses around migration found in the Greek Cypriot

press and magazines. It also examines the role of employers and trade unions in the racialisation of migrant workers. It considers how conceptualisations of 'race' and racism, and their interrelation with class, are useful in understanding and explaining the processes by which the people are excluded, inferiorised and exploited. This is the only actual study that considers the position of migrants in terms of their civil and political rights devoting a section under the title: "Government Policy, Citizenship and the Rights of Migrant Workers."

The paper argues that if migrant workers were to be granted the same employment terms and all other rights enjoyed by Cypriot workers, these should extend beyond those contained in existing collective agreements and social security schemes. It was agreed in the tripartite agreement that migrant workers would enjoy the same employment rights as Cypriots. However there were a number of problems with the way this was conceived. There is a lack of a proper legislative framework to deal with the possible problems, and a lot of the changes seem to have been rushed through on an ad hoc basis, to a great extent as a result of media and at times populist pressure. The issue of citizenship rights for migrants is raised and the failure to consider the importance of enhancing and upgrading long-term migrants into citizens is criticised. The laws regarding Citizenship, as set out by the 1960 Constitution and the Citizenship Acts are extremely narrow in scope, not allowing citizenship, as a matter of right, to be extended in grounds other than those provided by blood or marriage. Women who are foreign nationals married to Cypriot men, after one year of marriage become 'denizens', not full citizens but second class citizens or 'semi-citizens', and may apply for citizenship although their children are entitled to citizenship. For non-Cypriot nationals working in Cyprus, a ten year stay period is required before they can *apply* for citizenship; even then it is not granted by right, but it is a prerogative of the Council of Ministers. Dual citizenship is allowed in Cyprus but that is not much use when it comes to acquiring citizenship rights in the Republic.

Cypriot policy makers have been quite reluctant to grant citizenship to migrants, as they are seen as 'temporary' and part of 'a transitional phase'. The fact that the Cyprus problem remains unresolved and is considered to be a 'national priority' makes Greek Cypriot policy makers reluctant to alter the demography of 'the population' by granting citizenship rights to non-Cypriot origin people. The Turkish policy of settlement and colonisation of the occupied territories makes Greek Cypriots ultra cautious when it comes to altering citizenship laws. None of the major political parties or political organisations are calling for the granting of citizenship rights to migrant workers. Party opinions range from the 'pragmatic' viewpoint which sees migrant workers as a temporary and transient reality, to believing that they should have never been there in the first place.

The Cyprus problem is a partial explanation for the attitudes of political parties. Two additional factors need to be considered; the role of the state and its policy on migrants and the question of racism, as an ideology, but also as a structure in Cyprus. With the exception of the two Parliamentary Reports referred to above, there has been little effort by policy makers of the main political parties to enhance the rights of migrants. Indeed it was the policy, right from the start of the change of policy on granting permits, that 'foreign' labour would be a temporary phenomenon. Enhancing migrants' rights might be seen as encouraging them to stay longer.

(e) The discriminatory landscapes (Labour Markets)

Trimikliniotis and Pantelides (2003) map what they refer to as “the discriminatory landscapes of Cyprus” by focusing on ethnic discrimination in the labour market. They argue that in spite of the various policy declarations, legal provisions and legislation affirming equal treatment for all irrespective of ethnic, ‘racial’ or other background, there is significant evidence that suggests that in both these fields, as well as in other areas, there are significant variations in the treatment of groups of migrants and of persons from specific ethnic backgrounds. It must be stated that few studies of discrimination as such exist for Cyprus; however, from the little evidence that does exist (official reports and independent research) discriminatory practices are abundant. What emerges is a strong case for investigating further the underlying discourses and structural forces at play, that give rise to discrimination. As things stand today in Cyprus, following the de facto division of the island since 1974, the main recipients of racial abuse, violence and discrimination, in other words the victims of racism, are what we call ‘subaltern migrants’ (i.e. migrant workers from south east Asia, the middle east and eastern Europe). Additionally, the Turkish-Cypriots residing in the territory controlled by the Republic of Cyprus (i.e. Greek-Cypriot controlled) as well as the Greek-Cypriots residing in the occupied north of the island (i.e. Turkish-Cypriot controlled) are discriminated against, even though they are all Cypriots. For the purposes of this study, we will concentrate on the territory controlled by the Republic of Cyprus, as there is little access to the north and hence difficulty in collecting the relevant data.

The paper points out that research in the area of discrimination against migrant workers in Cyprus is rather limited and at a very early stage. A first attempt in this direction was made through the study for the employment policy of migrant workers at Intercollege (2002), which documents inherent discriminatory features in the institutional structure for the employment of migrant workers. The study by Christophides and Pashiardis (2001) does not directly address the issue of discrimination against migrant workers but it considers instead the possible negative impact from the presence of migrant workers on the wages and employment opportunities of native workers. This reflects the current prevailing attitude, which assumes that the presence of migrant workers is problematic and detrimental to Cypriot society, assumptions, which are yet to be demonstrated empirically. Qualitative evidence regarding the discrimination of migrant workers in its various forms is provided both by the trade union movement and the NGO Immigrants Support Action Group. The paper suggests that further research is required in order to document empirically the extent and various forms of labour market discrimination of migrant workers in Cyprus. There is currently no study on the role of employers or trade unions in the processes of negotiations on the working conditions and pay of migrant workers, in order to locate the source of structural discrimination in the institutional processes.

(f) The discriminatory landscapes (Education, Youth and Migrants)

A study of the educational system (Trimikliniotis 2004a) examines the way in which the Cyprus educational system, primarily concentrating on the Greek-Cypriot side, reproduces discriminatory patterns via an outmoded and ethnically divided educational model, in spite of some efforts to introduce multi-cultural elements of local level. The study points out that the so-called ‘Helleno-Christian ideals’ seem to be deeply embedded in the educational system and school curricula of courses such as History, Modern Greek, Religious Studies, as well as extra curricular activities such as celebrations and practices,

the daily Morning Prayer, obligatory attendance to church mass a few times a year and the existence of Christian icons in classrooms. There is no prohibition against wearing crosses, but the school authorities have not yet been confronted with the headscarf issue, since most of the Muslim children attending schools come from agnostic or secular societies or families. Some schools also have their own Christian orthodox church built and operating in the schoolyard. The CER (Commission for Educational Reform) in its chapter on historical review of the educational system in Cyprus points out that primary school education was ultimately aimed at initiating young people “to the ethno-religious and Hellenic orthodox Christian culture of the Greek Cypriot Republic”⁸⁷, something which is considered to be a deviation from the ecumenical humanistic education and which contradicts the efforts to introduce a multi-cultural setting and curriculum, that would cater for the 3158 non-Greek-Cypriot pupils out of the total 58.524. Recently, the Chair of the Commission of Educational Reform publicly condemned the presence of churches and church symbols in the schools as being anachronistic and contrary to the multicultural spirit of a modern European education system. The educational reform proposal has sparked off reactions from nationalist and ethnocentric right-wing circles such as the two former Ministers of Education and MPs from right wing parties who condemn the proposal as “de-Hellenizing” education.

Non-Christian pupils may be exempted from Morning Prayer or church mass; nevertheless this results in actual exclusion from the rest of the peer group and non-believers who are nominally but non-practicing Christians are not given this right. The close linkage or association between the autocephalous Cyprus Church and the educational system has been also identified by the research findings of Frederic College in Cyprus, which indicate that the ‘kathitiko’ (after hours religious school to proselytise students to the Greek Orthodox ideals), although currently weakening as an institution, still attracts a lot of student members (23 per cent of the youth sample). The responses of teachers and head teachers pinpoint to suggestions such as a closer cooperation of the school and church and involvement of the church in educating socialisation.

Existing literature and a number of studies and reports on immigrant and minority students illustrate the need for further research on the subject, so that a *comprehensive reform of the educational system can take place* to move from an ethnocentric model towards a more critically orientated humanistic education based on tolerance and understanding – a matter of urgency, if Cyprus is to meet the challenges of a state acceding to the EU and above all a society that overcomes the current ethnic and nationalistic divide, be it in the form of barbed wire or ideological and mental barriers in the minds of the people. A model education based on multiculturalism paves the way and widens the scope for the parental participation in school activities and parents associations.

A study on the primary education of the children of Pontian migrants examined the kind of issues facing them and has found serious and systematic processes that discriminate against them (Trimikliniotis 2001a). It is ironic that the terms of reference of this study

⁸⁷ Cyprus Report of the Commission on educational Reform: “Democratiki kai Antropini Paedia stin Evrokypriaki Politeia”, p.50 available in summary form at

<http://www.moec.gov.cy/metarithmisi/manifesto.pdf> and at
http://www.moec.gov.cy/metarithmisi/ethesi_epitropis.pdf in full.

were *loaded* with the kind of racial prejudice that the findings eventually strongly criticise. From the Minutes of the meeting of the Parents Association that requested and sponsored the Association of Cypriot Sociologists to conduct the above-mentioned study, apparent are a number of racial stereotypes and attitudes of hostility and mistrust towards the Pontian migrants and their children: In areas with a high concentration of Pontians, the Parents Associations complain that the promise by the Minister of Education to disperse Pontian children among the different classrooms so that they are only a maximum of 5 in each class was not kept, resulting, as they allege, in an inability to cover the syllabus due to language difficulties of these children. As a consequence ‘Cypriot children’s educational attainment suffers’. Secondly, they allege that due to these problems, Cypriot parents enrol their children in other schools, leaving certain schools in a state of ‘imbalance’ (i.e. high number of non-Cypriots). Thirdly, apparently Pontians concentrate in poorer areas with affordable rent and so they are ghettoised in the neighbourhoods and at school. Also, there is, they allege, a tendency to criminal behaviour in children of the Pontians, who due to their problems at school drop out of school and resort to criminal acts (see *ibid* 2001a: 54-55). However, such behaviour is not attributed only to migrant workers, but to young ‘ghettoised’ Cypriots residing in blocks of flats designed as camps for the Greek-Cypriot displaced persons from the 1974 war (Harakis, forthcoming). Apparently these groups of youngsters are seen with suspicion and prejudice from the wider society, as are poor migrants who also reside in poor estates at different locations (see report *Phileleftheros* 27.3.01; Harakis, forthcoming).

Another study (Harakis forthcoming) investigated the attitudes of teachers as regards migrants vary considerably across the board. In the study by Frederic College it was found that teachers and head teachers, were more xenophobic than their students. The findings surprised the researchers, who if anything were more biased in favour of teachers and head teachers as they were for years in those posts. In a survey conducted as part of this study, where they were asked ‘*if discrimination was ever justified*’ it was found 67% and 68% respectively said it is ‘*sometimes*’ justified, whilst a significant number of teachers and head teachers considered that the causes of discrimination are due to the behaviour of the minority groups themselves. However, these findings are only based on the impression of teachers interviewed; it does not reflect a wider survey of teachers or any comparative examination of the educational attainment, therefore they need to be considered with caution. Nonetheless, the study deliberately collected data from schools with a high percentage of children of migrant workers. This describes the level of hostility towards migrants and the normalization of racial discrimination by teachers and students.

(g)Literature on Gender issues and Migration

The question of gender and migration in southern Europe is a subject of debate in recent literature and there are some references to Cyprus (Anthias and Lazarides 2000). The issue of gendering migration in the Cyprus context has been raised (Trimikliniotis, 1999, 2001b; Trimikliniotis and Pantelides 2003; Kadir, 2001, Lenz, 2001). Whether, as an issue of public discourse or violation of employment/human rights of domestic workers and in particular south-east Asians (Kadir, 2001; Lenz, 2001), or a general issue of belonging and participation of women migrants in civic life (Trimikliniotis, 2003b) the exclusion and racism of migrant women assumes specific forms and raises its own particularities. Apparently, even though many women “endeavour to establish gender equality, the androcentric evaluation of gainful labour versus unpaid or at best lowly

reproductive work” reproduces gender inequality but on a “racialised level” (Lenz, 2001: 75).

A study involving 71 interviews of Asian female workers in the island’s capital (Lefkosia) revealed that these workers’ right and terms of contract are routinely violated: Only a small fraction of those interviewed worked the required 8 hours per day, whilst the rest were forced to work unpaid overtime, some up to 16 hours a day. Almost half of them are not entitled to rest time, whilst more than half had a ‘curfew’ imposed on them, had no paid vacation and the vast majority had paid agents to secure a job and a work permit for them in Cyprus, some of them extortionate amounts (Kadir 2001).

The ECRI Report referred to them as the most vulnerable group:

“As noted by ECRI in its first report, a particularly vulnerable group appears to be constituted by domestic workers, who comprise almost one third of all legal immigrants working in Cyprus. There have been reports that the terms of contract of these workers are often breached by employers, who may for instance force the women to work much longer hours or during their days off, assign them to duties not provided for by the contract, or dismiss them in an unjustified manner. There have also been reports of inhuman treatment and sexual harassment of these women.”

The issue of the position and specific exploitation of women in the sex industry has received attention particularly after the publication of a report by the Commissioner of Administration in 2003. A book was published recently (Agathangelou, 2004) which examines the movement of domestic and sex workers to Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey and demonstrates that gender, race (ethnicity), and nationality are crucial elements in the constitution of the desire economies.

(h) Discrimination, Belonging and Participation

No research has been carried out as to the characteristics of the civic participation of migrants as such, but focused more on the question of labour market processes and on education. The studies are categorized and presented in a synoptic manner and then more relevant studies to civic participation are presented in a more thorough fashion. In a recent critique of the current framework, a number of proposals were put forward so that the rights of migrants is enhanced as equal members of society, which includes the modernization of the content of legislation, by ratifying *The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families*⁸⁸, as well as *Convention on the Participation of Foreigners in Public Life at Local Level*, as proposed by the second report of ECRI (Trimikliniotis, 2003a). The same paper suggests that Cyprus may draw on liberal regimes of participation throughout Europe which place an emphasis on the need to encourage migrant communities and minority groups both to belong to the wider community, as well as recognising their traditions and cultures, through cultural rights and multicultural education. It proposes a shift of the policy goals in the direction of tolerance, ethnic and cultural pluralism in an open, multi-ethnic and democratic Cyprus.

⁸⁸ GA Res. 45/158 of 18 Dec. 1990, Annex, UN DOC. A/RES/45/158 of 25 Feb. 1991. See Appendix 1 of Theodoracopoulos, Ch. and Sikiotou, A. (1994) *Η Προστασία των Δικαιωμάτων των Μεταναστών Εργατών και των Οικογενειών τους* (The Protection of the Rights of Migrant Workers and their Families) Estia, Athens.

An EU funded comparative research project on the subject of institutional racial discrimination and the politics of racism examined how migrants are treated in society. The aim of that specific work package was to identify and analyse patterns and mechanisms of institutional, taken-for-granted discrimination in local labour markets and education in Cyprus for comparative reasons with seven other European countries.⁸⁹

The exclusion from public life takes different forms. A Work package based on research conducted during 2004 has shown strong evidence of racial or ethnic discrimination in employment and at the work place, both public and private (Trimikliniotis 2004b). The research located “multiple levels, manifestation and dimensions of racial discrimination” and found “structural or systemic discrimination” demonstrated via the interviews and the reports of the empirical research. Twenty expert interviews were conducted in Cyprus with representatives of different organisations (NGOs), journalists, lawyers, MPs and writers. One of the questions asked was: In which of the following areas of life would you say immigrants and their children have the greatest likelihood to experience discrimination?

Experts were asked to indicate the degree of likelihood an immigrant had to experience discrimination in the following sectors by marking one of the boxes. The results were as follows:

Not likely Very likely

Labour market		1		7	9
Workplace		1	1	6	10
Housing			6	4	7
Medical service	1	3	6	3	4
Daily life (neighbourhood, means of transport)	1	1	4	6	4
Political participation	1	2	1	1	12
Schools		1	5	6	6
Education	1	1	6	6	6
Discrimination in their own immigrant group	5	2	6	2	2
Police				3	17
Other contacts with authorities		2	4	7	5
Shopping	2	5	4	4	1
Restaurants, bars, dance clubs	2	4	4	5	2
Other, what? Media					2
Welfare					2

⁸⁹ These include Sweden, UK, Germany, Italy, Austria, France and Poland. The European Dilemma: Institutional Patterns and the Politics of ‘Racial’ Discrimination, Workpackage 4: “Institutional Discrimination”. Research Project Xenophob, EU Fifth Framework Program 2002-2005, http://www.multietn.uu.se/the_european_dilemma/.

However, when asked to describe typical examples of discrimination, most experts agreed that one of the main issues is the super-exploitation of migrants at work. Others referred to the discrimination taking place on matters relating to their stay status (issuing, renewing visas, deportation etc). Some experts referred specifically to the approach towards domestic helpers, who are treated as inferior beings.

Another work package for the same project examined how migrants themselves understand how Cypriot society perceives them, how they receive racism and discrimination, their sense of belonging and the potential for multicultural citizenship (Trimikliniotis, 2003b).⁹⁰ The question of citizenship is intrinsically connected to both a notion of ‘belonging’ and some sort of legal identity, in other word some connection to the state. Migrants approach the question of ‘belonging’ in different ways depending on their ‘strategy’, if we could use such a term that implies considerable planning. From migrants and marginalized groups narratives, the kind of ‘calculating’ and ‘well-thought out’ schemes are not evident at all. Some migrants tie their hopes for a more tolerant society and multicultural citizenship with the changes accession will apparently bring, tied to the hope that with accession “Cyprus will be a normal European country where foreigners coming here will have to be accepted.” Migrants who have stayed for years in Cyprus want to become citizens and those who do not have citizenship, as a legal status, despite having lived in Cyprus for decades, some of them are very distressed and find the experience of going through the immigration bureau extremely painful. The study also found that some migrants have acquired a sense of realism, as no illusions are sustained about the difference between ‘legal’/formal citizenship and genuinely social citizenship, in the sense of belonging, acceptance and recognition as equal members of society.

(2) The general field of civic participation

The specific historical setting of Cyprus has been dominated by the ethnic relations between the two constitutionally recognised communities⁹¹, Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots, as well as the role of foreign forces, something also reflected in the research agenda on Cyprus. The result is that this has somehow led to neglect in initiating studies on other subjects related to civic participation, as they were all somehow subsumed in the ‘national question’; even there the emphasis has been on studying the relations between the two communities, or looking at the treatment of the smaller minorities. Citizenship is strictly communally divided. There are also three other minority groups who have the constitutionally recognised status of ‘religious groups’⁹²: the Maronites⁹³, the

⁹⁰ The research for this work package involved six focus groups and ten interviews from three towns in the south, the Republic-controlled area (see Appendix for the schedule of focus groups and interviews). Four out of the six focus groups were conducted in Nicosia (or Lefkosa), which is the capital and the largest town of the island. Group 1 (‘Non-European’ Highly Educated), Group 2 (‘Non-European’ Less Highly Educated), Group 3 (‘European’ Less Highly Educated) and Group 4 (Youth groups).

⁹¹ Only the Greek-Cypriots and the Turkish-Cypriots are recognised by the constitution as ‘communities’, endowed with specific power-sharing rights; three other ethnic groups (Armenians, Latins, Maronites) are treated by the constitution as religious groups, who only have certain minority rights (see note 4).

⁹² In an area of 9,251 sq. km, the total population of Cyprus is around 754,800, of whom 666,800 are Greek-Cypriots (living in the Cyprus Republic-controlled area). In 1960 Turkish-Cypriots constituted 18% of the population, whilst the smaller ‘religious groups’, as referred to in the Constitution, consisting of Armenians, Latins, Maronites and ‘others’, constituted 3,2% of the population. For the purposes of the Constitution a “religious group” means a group of persons ordinarily resident in Cyprus

Armenians⁹⁴ and the Latins.⁹⁵ The Religious groups are represented in the House of Representatives by one elected observer each⁹⁶. A small Roma⁹⁷ community also exists, but there is no official information on the precise number of Roma or Kurbet⁹⁸ in Cyprus. According to the 1960 Constitution, the vast majority of the Romas in Cyprus is deemed to be part of the ‘Turkish community’⁹⁹. This system has been criticised by the Council of Europe (2001)¹⁰⁰.

The Constitution provides for a system of separate elections; separate majorities are required in both the executive (Council of Ministers) and legislature (House of Representatives) and both the Greek-Cypriot President and the Turkish-Cypriot Vice-president have separate veto powers. A system of quota participation by the two major Cypriot Communities in all areas of public life is also provided for in the Constitution. Parliamentary seats are allocated by the Constitution on a 70% to 30% basis between the Greek and the Turkish communities. Furthermore, laws of ‘personal’ nature (education, religion, family etc.) are organised along communal lines, under the supervision of separate communal chambers.

In 1963, following a Greek-Cypriot proposal for amendment of the constitution, the Turkish-Cypriots withdrew from the Government. Since then, the administration of the Republic has been carried out by the Greek-Cypriots. Inter-communal strife ensued until 1967. In 1964 the Supreme Court ruled that the functioning of the government must

professing the same religion and either belonging to the same rite or being subject to the same jurisdiction thereof, the number of whom, on the date of the coming into operation of this Constitution, exceeded one thousand out of which at least five hundred become on such date citizens of the Republic. The Constitution recognises two Communities, the Greeks and the Turks, and three “religious groups” (Maronites, Armenians and Latins). These groups were to exercise the civil duties and enjoy their political rights as either of the two communities and they were obliged to opt for either of the communities. They opted to belong to the Greek community.

⁹³ For more on the Maronites see Iacovou (1994).

⁹⁴ For more on the Armenians of Cyprus see Ashdjian (2001).

⁹⁵ For more on the Latin minority in Cyprus see “The Latin Community in Cyprus”, Interview by Latin Representative Benito Mantovani, *The Cyprus Weekly*, September 1-7, 2000.

⁹⁶ This has been criticised as unconstitutional and in violation of both the bi-communal nature of the constitution and a violation of the right to equality before the law as provided by article 28 as it is based on representation on religious grounds (Papaphilippou, 1991).

⁹⁷ The term ‘Roma’ tends to be used to describe the Cypriot Roma population (see Kenrick and Taylor 1986; Williams 2000). The Roma population of Cyprus is said to have been over a thousand. In 1960 they were classified as part of Turkish-Cypriot community due to their Muslim faith; however the ‘mantides’ (μάντιδες), who were Christian Roma, were classified as part of the Greek-Cypriot community (Kenrick and Taylor 1986; Williams 2000; Kyrris 1969, 1985). In fact they were never politically organised to have any say into their affairs, although there is certainly an important internal social arrangement.

⁹⁸ The terms “Roma” and “Kurbet” refer to the same group and are used interchangeably. For the purposes of this Report, the term “Roma” is used.

⁹⁹ Only the ‘Greek community’ (i.e. the Greek-Cypriots) and the ‘Turkish community’ (i.e. the Turkish-Cypriots) are recognised by the constitution as ‘communities’, endowed with specific power-sharing rights; three other ethnic groups (Armenians, Latins, Maronites) are treated by the constitution as religious groups, who only have certain minority rights.

¹⁰⁰ “A number of problematic issues still need to be addressed considering at the same time that there are particular circumstances, including constitutional matters, to be taken into account in the case of Cyprus. These issues include the obligation for religious groups and their members to choose adherence to the Greek Cypriot or to the Turkish Cypriot community, and the impossibility for Turkish Cypriots to cast a vote in elections and to conclude civil marriages, including with Greek Cypriots”

continue on the basis of the “doctrine of necessity”, in spite of the constitutional deficiencies created by the Turkish Cypriot withdrawal from the administration¹⁰¹.

Studies in the general field of civic participation on participation of immigrants as they involve traditional literature on civic and political rights of citizens as provided in the constitution (Necati, 1971; Tornaritis 1982); the rights of religious groups (Maronites, Armenians and Latins) recognised as such by the constitution (Papaphilippou, 1991). there has been a interest in the political evolution of nationalism (Attalides, 1979), political life (Kitromilides, 1981). Studies on the functioning of political parties (Attalides, 1986; Zavou, 2002) have been written. Little can be extracted from the traditional general studies on civic participation. A blocking point for development of an open and democratic debate is the straightjacket of ‘national consensus’ and clientelism.¹⁰²

The level of debate over participatory democracy and the rights of migrants has never taken off in Cyprus, save for calls by the ‘usual suspects’ whether scholars (see Trimikliniotis, 1999; 2003) or migrant support organisations such as ISAG (2003). Such matters have not entered the mainstream political discourse of the country. More recently there has been an interest on the issues of nationalism, identity and citizens (Trimikliniotis, 2000; Mavratsas 2003). Also interest has been shown on the study of new organisations such as NGOs, women’s groups and civic initiatives (Hadjipavlou-Trigeorgis, 2004) and media, social partners and anti-racist groups (Trimikliniotis, 1999). Studies have begun to connect the debates over the modernisation of the country to issues of anti-racism and political equality (Trimikliniotis, 2001c) and attempting to broaden the conception and assess the prospects for a multicultural citizenship in Cyprus (Trimikliniotis, 2005).

On the question of political rights of migrants, Cypriot policy makers remain more or less in denial. Cyprus resembles other European countries in that “the proportion of non-national residents ... continues to rise, even when official government discourse has been set against immigration and even where states have denied, as has Germany over many years, that they are ‘states of immigration’” (Shaw 2002: 2). Following the proposal to resolve the Cyprus problem by the UN Secretary General’s plan attention was obviously focused on the political problem.

Generally, the level of debate over the rights and participation of persons in the governance of Cyprus has not extended beyond the resolution of the political problem that started in 1963-67 and culminated in the coup and the invasion and occupation of the northern part of the island. Only this year, following the right to vote was finally afforded to Turkish-Cypriots residing in the territories under the control of the Republic, since 1963-64 when the Turkish-Cypriots withdrew from the governance of the state.¹⁰³ The complainant applied to the European Court of Human Rights¹⁰⁴ who ruled in favour of the complainant. The Court found that the Cyprus Republic was in violation of (a) Article 3, Protocol 1 of the European Convention on Human Rights for denying the complainant “the very essence of the applicant’s right to vote”; and (b) Article 14 of the same

¹⁰¹ The case was Attorney General of the Republic v Mustafa Ibrahim and Others (1964) CLR 195. See Necati 1970, Loizou 2001, Nicolaou 2000.

¹⁰² See Mavratsas (2003) who uses the term εθνική ομοφυλχία.

¹⁰³ Aziz is a Cypriot national of Turkish origin who has his ordinary residence in the Republic-controlled south.

¹⁰⁴ European Court of Human Rights Application No. 69949/01.

Convention, as the difference in treatment complained of resulted from the fact that the complainant was a Turkish-Cypriot and such difference could not be justified on reasonable and objective grounds.¹⁰⁵

Studies ought to begin to consider civic and general participation of migrants in the country as an essential feature of *democratisation* and promoting *equality* in society. Already accession to the EU has begun to shift the debate, slowly but steadily. The potential for a *Europeanism* which signals the prospects of a post-national politic “based on a redefinition of community and re-articulation of citizenship”, suggested by Kostakopoulou (1999: 181-197) seem remote in Europe at the moment and even more remote from Cyprus’ reality: at least from this end, the debates over immigration and asylum policy change, rendered necessary due to accession, have unfortunately not produced “a radical rethinking of the issues of immigration, citizenship and community in the EU”, as prescribed by some scholars (Kostakopoulou, 1999: 198).

Like other southern European countries, who in the past were net exporters of migrants to the north, the transformation to become importers of migrants has not so far facilitated participation and good treatment of migrants. Southern European states acting as ‘border guards’ of Europe (Kourtovik 1995; Kostakopoulou 1995) may produced harsh and inadequate regimes; however these states are not mere enforcers of ‘Fortress Europe’. Cyprus very much reflects this story. As argued elsewhere,

The challenge of a politics of citizenship with the enhancement of civil and social rights is perhaps the most importance challenge for the *social modernisation* of Cypriot society. The need for a politics of tolerance that would open up all dimensions of social identity involving class, gender, other ethnicity and some international identity, including ‘Europeaness’ is more apparent to day than before (Trimikliniotis, 2001c).

Cyprus rates far behind ‘stage one’, if we are to rate according to the Council of Europe’s Convention on the Participation of Foreigners in Local Life three stage schema, whereby stage one is the equal right to freedom of expression, assembly and association; stage two involves consultative bodies of foreign residents at local level and stage three participation in local elections. As for the ‘quality of multicultural democracy’ to quote Berger, Glolonska and Kooppmans (2002), we can say that this remains at an underdeveloped stage (see Trimikliniotis 2005), even though the constitution guarantees political as well as social and economic rights (Tornaritis 1982: 167-170 and Report on the Situation of Fundamental Rights in Cyprus in 2003).

Research into civic participation of migrants is required to extend democratic partaking to vulnerable groups in society and to develop relations of constituency with local political processes; otherwise most migrants are likely to stay marginal in society.

(3) The most prominent examples of immigrants that are active in public life

When we refer to migrant *workers*, we cannot speak of ‘prominent’ immigrants as such but we can speak of immigrants who have been more successful than others in becoming visible and known in the area of civic participation. As regards the long term immigrants and particularly Greek- speaking persons of high education and/ or married to Cypriots,

¹⁰⁵ The full text of the judgement can be viewed at the European Court of Human rights’ website <http://www.echr.coe.int/Eng/Press/2004/June/ChamberJudgmentAzivCyprus220604.htm>

the examples of prominent persons are numerous. The latter category, which is smaller in number than the migrant workers, consists of persons who, by virtue of their favourable status, followed successful professional careers and established themselves in Cypriot society. We list five persons who, in our view, are representative of the various categories of immigrants in Cyprus.

1. Mrs Christina Chritodoulou is a retired teacher of English in secondary education public schools in Cyprus. She is of Romanian origin and came to Cyprus about forty years ago. She is married to a Cypriot whom she met when they were both studying. She chairs the 'Alliantza Romana' which she founded in 1995 and which is active in organizing activities of mostly cultural nature for the community of the Romanians in Cyprus. Even though 'Alliantza Romana' has its own office space, the meetings of the central committee take place in Christina's house. She speaks fluent Greek.
2. Mr. Nenad Bogdanovic is a 29 year old Serb married to a Cypriot, whom he met when they were both studying music in Kiev. They moved to Cyprus in 2001 and was granted nationality in 2004. He is a professional freelancer accordionist, active in cultural activities and a highly cultured person himself. He is the conductor of the mixed choir of "Cultural Choice", a local choir consisting of Cypriots as well as other immigrants (Hungarians, Russians, Bulgarians etc) and the founder of the cultural NGO 'Jeuness Musical Cyprus', which is part of a network of NGOs around the world. He explained that he chose to keep the name of the NGO French sounding, so that it is neither Greek or Turkish, in an effort to create a neutral space where different cultures can meet. He plays music with several groups and gives concerts in major music halls in Cyprus. He speaks Greek and is now learning Turkish.
3. Ms Remedios Pascua Glorioso is a Philippino who came to Cyprus about eight years ago and works as a house maid. She is a member of the steering committee of KISA (Action for Equality, Support and Anti-racism, previously called ISAG- Immigrant Support Action Group) a local human rights NGO and actively participates in its events. She also chairs an organization of Philippino women who work as domestic helpers in Cyprus (the EU Philippino National workers Association in Cyprus) and is active in organizing cultural activities but also in running an informal network of social support and self-help for the Philipinos in Cyprus.
4. Mr. Farid Mirbagheri is an Iranian migrant married to a Cypriot. When studying in England, he participated in the Friends of Cyprus Parliamentary Association and did his PhD in Cyprus. He now holds several academic degrees (MBA (Cand) Master in Business Administration, Heriot Watt University, PhD International Relations, Keele University, BA (Hons) International Relations, Keele University) and works at Intercollege, Nicosia as an Assistant Professor. He was president of the lecturers' association at

Intercollege for two years (2001-2003) and is the editor of the academic journal 'The Cyprus Review' and regularly publishes papers on International Relations. He is the author of the book 'Cyprus and International Peace-making 1964-1986' published in 1998.

5. Ms Tatiana Predova is a Bulgarian who immigrated to Cyprus in 1998. She works at the Migrant Workers Bureau of PEO as a trade union organiser and is active in unionising migrant workers, offering advice on labour issues and handling complaints from migrants on various issues, including labour related problems, visa, health benefits and others. She acts as a link between migrant workers and the trade union community and has been instrumental in unionising many migrant workers. She speaks fluent Greek.
6. Mr. Aggelos Aslanides is a Pontian Greek who came to Cyprus twenty years ago and has a family here. He is a teacher of mathematics in a secondary education school and is active in the Federation of Pontian Associations in Cyprus, which has more than fifteen associations of Pontian Greeks as affiliates. He is an ardent supporter of the rights of Pontians in Cyprus and assists other Pontians in pursuing their rights against the authorities and the private sector. He considers himself Greek and speaks fluent Greek.¹⁰⁶

Part III: Expert Assessment

Give your short answers to the following questions and indicate how sure you are, whether we should consider your answer as more or less secure knowledge, confirmed by multiple and/or quantitative studies (a), or as a hypothesis that is more or less strongly grounded in empirical information (b), or as a personal opinion (c).

A. What are the *main fields* of civic activities that immigrants engage in (e.g. religious associations, parent associations, political parties, etc.)?

1. Political participation

The information appearing below is based on hypothesis strongly grounded in empirical information.

As a rule, immigrants do not participate in political parties in Cyprus. The only exceptions to this rule are the long-term naturalised immigrants married to Cypriots who speak Greek and are well integrated into Cypriot society and even in those cases participation takes the form of mere membership and voting at elections, not active participation. It would be fair to remark that the predominance of the 'national question' has been so dominant in the political scene of Cyprus for the last thirty years, that there was hardly any room left for non-Cypriots to have an active political involvement. Also, in the absence of the right to vote and be elected, it is fair to assume that immigrants would not have a particular interest to be involved in politics. This is aggravated by the

¹⁰⁶ The profile of Mr Aslanides was added here as a sixth prominent migrant, over and above the limit of five prescribed by the guidelines, as it is unclear whether Pontian Greeks fall under the definition of 'immigrant' under this Report. Pontian Greeks come from Georgia, Crimea and southern Russia but they are of Greek descent and holders of Greek passports.

fact that the specimen employment agreement which migrants are requested to sign contains a clause prohibiting the employee's political participation, a provision that has led to abuses on the part of the employers, who use it as an excuse to prohibit their employees from joining trade union.

The negative institutional environment surrounding the immigrants' political participation may partly account for the non-involvement of immigrants in politics, although one cannot ignore the fact that their living and working conditions are often so harsh that little space is left for 'luxuries' of this sort.

There are organizations of Kurds and Palestinians in Cyprus linked to political parties in their countries/areas of origin, who have connections and co-operations with Cypriot political parties. However, the issues which form the subject-matter of these co-operations as well as the mandate and focus of these organizations have to do with political struggles or goals in their countries/areas of origin and not with their living conditions in Cyprus. The contacts of these organisations with the Cypriot parties are geared towards the offer of solidarity and support from the Cypriot political parties for such struggles or goals.

2. Cultural/ self-help / religious organizations

The information below is derived from interviews which the writer conducted, for the purposes of this Report, with several prominent migrants from different ethnic background and constitutes more or less secure knowledge.¹⁰⁷

The vast majority, if not all, of the existing immigrants' associations are mostly, if not exclusively, active in the field of arts and culture. These would involve mainly the immigrants from Eastern Europe (Russians, Serbs, Bulgarians, Romanians etc), the long-term migrants who are integrated into Cypriot society, the Pontian Greeks, the Syrians and the various associations of domestic helpers who are predominantly women from south east Asia. The latter organizations, apart from cultural activities, are also active in informal self-help networks, such as offering social and psychological support to victimised members of their community, helping their members obtain legal representation or connect them with local human rights NGOs for assistance in labour disputes and other matters. Also, several embassies or consulates of countries of origin of immigrants run cultural centres which organize cultural activities, run lending libraries for books and journals, offer language classes etc. Naturally the most prominent out of all non-EU embassies are the cultural centres of the American Embassy ("The American Centre") and the Russian Embassy ("The Russian Cultural Centre") which run high profile events such as art exhibitions and concerts, very popular with affluent migrants, as well as middle and upper class Cypriots alike.

Some of the most active immigrants' organisations are:

2.1. The EU Philippino National workers Association in Cyprus.

An organization of Philippino women working in Cyprus as domestic helpers whose main aim is to help other Philippino people (mostly women) in Cyprus. It is chaired by a Philippino who is married to a UK national and the committee meetings take place in her

¹⁰⁷ Efforts were made to speak to the embassies of the countries of origin of major ethnic groups but, as a rule, they were very reluctant to give any information on the activities of their nationals in Cyprus. The only exception was the Russian Embassy officials who readily answered all questions put to them.

house. An active committee member, Remedios Glorioso, informed us that they are registered in the Philippines, as well as with the Philippino embassy in Israel and in Cyprus. They have about 500 members and a steering Committee of eleven, consisting mostly but not exclusively of Philippino women married with UK citizens. Their activities include socializing/parties, beauty contests, other cultural activities, fund raising for the recent flood victims in the Philippines, social and psychological support to the members of their community, helping other Philipinos with their labour disputes by connecting them with attorneys and human rights organizations (mainly KISA). It is a one hundred per cent voluntary organization. Recently, they protested against the Consul of the Philippines in Cyprus, a Cypriot barrister named Erotokritou and succeeded in having him replaced with a new consul. There are two more organizations of Philippino immigrants active in the same or similar fields.

2.2. *Alliantza Romana*

Founded in 1995 by Romanian immigrants, this group organises cultural and religious activities for the large community of Romanians in Cyprus, who are mostly women.¹⁰⁸ Their cultural activities usually take the form of keeping in touch with their home culture: they invite musicians and other artists from Romania to come and perform in Cyprus; they hold art exhibitions with Romanian artists; they organize Romanian language, history and geography classes which take place weekly at the Romanian Embassy and are taught by a professional teacher, intended for the children of Romanians in Cyprus; they made arrangements for a Romanian orthodox priest who, under an agreement between the local Greek-orthodox church and the Romanian church, delivers the sermon every Sunday in a different city. The same priest also offers support to victimised members of the Romanian community in Cyprus.

It is interesting to note that, prior to the setting up of this group, a Cyprus-Romanian Friendship association was in existence, made up primarily of Cypriots, whose goals were to promote Romanian culture and strengthen ties between the two countries. Similar associations still exist in relation to other countries (Cyprus-Russian Friendship Association, the Cyprus-Cuban Friendship Association etc) which are also made up of Cypriots and have similar goals. As advised by Christina Christodoulou, founder and chairman of *Alliantza Romana*, the Cyprus-Romanian Friendship Association initially objected to the setting up of another group in this field, but finally consented.

2.3. *The Russian Community*¹⁰⁹

The Russian community in Cyprus is quite large and well organized, with at least three associations (“Romashka”, “Gorizont” and “Russian Business Association”) active in the

¹⁰⁸ Prior to the 1990s, the Romanians in Cyprus were, to a large extent women of high education who married Cypriots when the latter went to Romania to study on scholarships mostly in the decades of 1960 and 1970. These persons were granted nationality, learned to speak Greek fluently and most of them pursued a successful professional career. Following the fall of the Ceauseskou regime in December 1989, many Romanian women came to Cyprus and were forced into prostitution by traffickers. When it became known among working circles in Romania that a promise for a job in Cyprus would mean being forced into prostitution, Romanian women stopped immigrating to Cyprus and therefore the numbers dropped significantly. However, from the Romanians who were already here, a large number married Cypriots and became naturalised.

¹⁰⁹ The information on the Russian community was provided by the Cultural Attache of the Russian Embassy who only came to Cyprus recently and was not well acquainted with the Russian community. Therefore the names or numbers may not be completely accurate but in essence the statements made must be correct.

fields of culture, education and business. There are a number of private schools in Cyprus (mostly in Limassol, the second biggest city in Cyprus where there is a large concentration of Russians) where Russian language classes are taught and two private school where all classes are taught in Russian. There are Russian newspapers and magazines published in Cyprus to cater mostly for the needs of the Russian business community in Cyprus. However, as in the case of the schools, these publications are issued by private companies and not by the organizations of the Russian immigrants themselves.

2. 4. The Cyprus-Bulgarian Friendship Association

This group is made up of both Cypriots and Bulgarians active in the field of entertainment and culture. They also appear to be running a network which finds jobs for other Bulgarians in Cyprus in return for a sum of money which may amount to approximately one months' salary.

2. 5. The Cyprus Islamic Society¹¹⁰

A small religious organization gathering members of the migrant Arab communities of Cyprus. Their activities are religious ceremonies and prayers.

3. Mainstream society organizations

There are two local NGOs that regularly receive complaints by migrants and try to resolve them: KISA (Action for Equality, Support and Anti-racism, previously called ISAG- Immigrant Support Action Group) and the Migrant Workers' Bureau of the Pancyprian Federation of Workers - PEO. Both of these NGOs are run by Cypriots, although they both encourage active participation by immigrants.

3.1. KISA

In the case of KISA, there are immigrants who are members of its steering committee and many more take active part in organising its activities. KISA also employs legal and administrative staff that advises immigrants of their rights and takes up cases with the employer against whom immigrants can file complaints. As is often the case with NGOs, the number of complaints is disproportionately large to the manpower and budgetary capacity of KISA. The annual culmination event of KISA is the Rainbow festival, which attracts several hundreds of immigrants every year, featuring cultural activities, exhibitions and NGO stalls. Many migrants contribute to the organizational side of the festival and consider this as the most important event of the year.

3.2. Migrant Workers Bureau

The Migrant Workers Bureau is a section of the largest trade union in Cyprus, PEO (Pancyprian Federation of Labour), and employs both Cypriots and migrants whose role is to organise migrant workers and address work-related problems, as well as visa and other rights that may be violated. It extends its activities to all major cities and works in close collaboration with all trade unions-members of PEO which have migrants as members. Indicatively, the majority of members of the construction workers' union are immigrants and Turkish-Cypriots. Similarly, large numbers of migrants-members of the two large Cypriot trade unions (PEO and SEK) are also to be found in the tourism and

¹¹⁰ Information about this group was offered by KISA. When the writer contacted the organization itself, they were reluctant in supplying any information about their activities.

retail sale sectors. However this group is new and many migrants from countries without tradition in unionization are either not aware of its existence or not sure how it can assist them.

In October 2004 PEO organized an important conference on and for migrant workers, the first of its kind in Cyprus, widely attended by immigrants who were for the first time given the opportunity to speak out about their problems in a public forum. There were about 200 delegates from countries like Palestine, Georgia, Romania, Bulgaria, Syria, the Philippines and others and each one of them had access to direct translation in Arabic, Russian and English. The Ministers of the Interior and Labour were there, in an effort to demonstrate the government's interest. The conference concluded in a declaration setting out the problems and proposals heard during the proceedings which was to be submitted to the competent governmental departments. It is anticipated that, following this conference, there will be an increased interest on the part of migrant workers to participate in the trade union movement.

3.3 The Shelter for Victims of Sexual Exploitation

This is a shelter founded in February 2004 by the Russian Church in Cyprus which receives women victims of trafficking fleeing from their pimps/employers, who mostly come from the former USSR (Russia, Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine) and other eastern European countries such as Bulgaria and Romania. It offers them free shelter and meals and helps them find employment in other fields or assist them if they want to return to their country of origin. It also gives them a small amount of money for their basic needs. So far, the shelter has provided accommodation and help to over sixty women and there are currently fifteen women who stay there.

Up to recently it used to be the case that migrant women who entered Cyprus with a work permit as cabaret dances or 'entertainers' could not move to another industry. If they tried, their visa would be automatically suspended and they would be deported, therefore many of them were forced to prostitution¹¹¹ to avoid deportation. The policy followed by the authorities of strictly adhering to the original conditions of entry with regards to the field of employment was criticized as forcing immigrant women into prostitution (Intercollege 2002). Finally the policy was changed following a report by the Commissioner of Administration, investigating the tragic death of a woman who fell from a balcony in her attempt to flee from her employer/pimp as well as the immigration police.

3.4 Russian Church of Limassol

The organizations of the Russian community mentioned in the preceding section attract, to a large extent, only the affluent members of the Russian community. The less affluent Russian and other Russian-speaking migrant workers are organized around the Russian Church of Limassol. This church delivers sermons in Slavic languages (Russian, Yugoslavian) which are attended by Russians, Serbs and sometimes Pontian Greeks; organises cultural activities such as music nights; invites regularly speakers from Russia to speak on different topics; carries out charity work; offers advice to Russian speaking migrants about their rights and generally acts as a meeting place for Russian speakers to meet and socialise in their free time. The priest of this church is a Cypriot who speaks fluent Russian and who actively fights for the rights of the Russian speaking poor

¹¹¹ Studies indicate that almost all women working in cabarets as dancers or 'entertainers' end up in prostitution.

migrants, highlighting in particular the plight of the women-victims of human trafficking, with frequent newspaper articles, TV appearances and other initiatives and campaigns.

B. What *ethnic and nationality groups* are particularly active, and why?

The information in this section is based on personal opinions, derived from the interviews conducted for the purposes of this study as well as from general knowledge.

The most active ethnic community is probably the Pontian Greek minority from Georgia who migrated to Greece with the dissolution of the former USSR in the 1990s and subsequently migrated to Cyprus. However, since they are holders of Greek passports, they do not fall under the definition of ‘immigrants’ as defined in this Report. In Cyprus however, as well as in Greece, the Pontian Greeks form a distinct category from other Greeks and are often marginalised and discriminated against. Nevertheless, the Pontian Greeks in Cyprus are at an advantageous position compared to other immigrants because, although generally low-paid and excluded, they are not subject to deportation. In addition, they are fluent in Greek, a factor which greatly facilitates social integration as well as access to less menial jobs. The Pontian Greeks have a number of different associations, active mostly in the fields of culture and sports, and a federation of all these associations. Their fluency in Greek sometimes enables them to have an active participation in trade unions, which occasionally may offer them jobs as unionists so as to act as a liaison between the union and the other members of their community. For the same reason, trade unions may also hire migrants from Eastern European countries who achieve a satisfactory degree of fluency in Greek and originate from a background with a long tradition in trade unionism.

Although language appears to be an important criterion as far as social integration is concerned, other social and historical factors as well as the opportunity to meet and integrate with other members of the same ethnic community and similar work seem to be the crucial factor as far as civic participation is concerned.

The least unionised and the lowest paid migrant workers are the domestic helpers, mostly women from south-east Asia, and the agricultural workers. The domestic helpers are fairly active in self-help networks as well as in social activities for various reasons, mainly located in the fact that their community in Cyprus is comparatively large (between 12.000-15.000), they are of same gender, they are mostly residing in urban centres and a significant number of them has been in Cyprus for several years. By contrast, the degree of civic participation of the agricultural workers is low because their place of work and residence is in the country side, away from urban centres. Their country-side location may also account for the fact that the widespread violations of their terms of work by the employers often remain unpunished, resulting in long hours of work with little time for engaging in any form of civic activities.

C. Is the degree of active civic participation of immigrants *high or low* compared to the majority population?

The information in this section is again based on personal opinions and available literature on the subject.

The level of civic participation of the majority population in Cyprus is, once again, marked by the dominance of the ‘national question’ in the public sphere and by the role played by the political parties.

The turbulent history of the island, culminating with the events of 1974, have greatly affected the generations of Cypriots which today would have manned the civil society in Cyprus. The subsistence of the Cyprus problem for over three decades and the tendency which the Cypriots have demonstrated in becoming trapped in various ideological positions, beginning with the cause of *enosis* (union with Greece), then independence, unitary state and subsequently the various types of federation and at the same time accession to the EU, have resulted in an almost religious adherence to these successive causes. In turn, the adherence to such, from time to time, ‘panaceas’ resulted in intolerance to the opposite view, and in allowing the Cyprus problem to be used for opportunistic purposes so as to serve internal political competitions.¹¹² The Cypriots tend to think that almost everything has a political cause and expect of the politicians to deal with almost all issues facing society. Political power, as exercised by the state and the political parties, thus assumes a hegemonic role, controlling not only the economy but also the society at large, mostly evident in education, the media, cultural production and volunteer organisations (which are mainly charities) and resulting in the underdevelopment of the civil society, a phenomenon vividly described by a Cypriot sociologist as “clientelist corporatism”.¹¹³

It is hard to draw conclusions on the comparative civic participation of Cypriots and migrants, as the latter may be located at many different levels of the social strata, covering the short-term economic refugees from poor Asian and African countries, the highly paid professionals of the offshore corporate industry and the long-term migrants, many of whom are married to Cypriots and are integrated into Cypriot society. Obviously the level of civic participation of these groups varies but it can safely be concluded that in all cases it is lower than that of the majority population, despite the under-development of the civil society in Cyprus.

D. What is the relation between engagement in *ethnic* or migrant organisations (e.g. any organisation having the name of the minority in the name) compared to *mainstream society organisations*? Are there transitions and overlaps?

Once again, the information in this section is derived from personal opinions based on general knowledge.

As indicated above, two major NGOs (KISA and the Migrant Workers Bureau), whilst active in the field of immigrant support, at the same time encourage active participation by the immigrants themselves. This is probably the only overlap between immigrant organizations and mainstream society organizations, if these NGOs may be called such. These organizations attract members of the less affluent migrant communities, who are mostly workers on temporary visas living on low salaries and harsh conditions. The degree of participation of these persons in mainstream society organizations not concerned with immigrant support is very low, if not zero.

On the other hand, the affluent immigrants who are either married to Cypriots and are well integrated in Cypriot society or are working in the offshore business sector are generally not participating in immigrant support organizations but mostly in cultural associations of their community and less frequently in cultural association of the majority

¹¹² Kitromilides, Paschalis 1998: Cypriot Political Attitudes and solutions of the Cyprus Problem, in: Syghrona Themata, July 1998-March 1999, pp.108-110 (in Greek)

¹¹³ Mavratsas, Caesar 2003: National Unity and Political Unanimity. The Underdevelopment of Greek-Cypriot Civil Society at the beginning of the 21st Century. Athens 2003 Katarti Press (in Greek).

community (Greek-Cypriots). Generally speaking, in order for any foreigner to participate in an organization dominated by Greek-Cypriots, Greek language is a necessary tool. Greek is not spoken by many migrants, partly because it is hardly necessary for the purposes of their work and partly because it is a rather difficult language that is only spoken by ten million people around the globe, which renders it a rather unattractive choice of a language to learn. At the same time, however, it does not follow that those migrants who do speak Greek are participating in Greek-Cypriots organisations; it is not uncommon to meet Eastern Europeans, particularly Romanians and Bulgarians, who speak fluent Greek but have no participation in Greek-Cypriot civil society.

E. What *issues* do you consider to be of particular interest and importance in the field?

The information in this section is again based on personal assessments of the situation by the writers as well as by activists in the area of migrant support, with whom the writers conversed for the purposes of this Report.

The migration model in Cyprus, characterised by the limited duration of the migrants' stay in Cyprus, the fact that work and entry permits are linked to one particular employer, the extreme exploitation in terms of salary and working hours, the flagrant violations of contractual provisions on the part of the employers, does not allow for the full development of migrant communities, with their own social, economic, political and cultural structures. Migrants in Cyprus are still considered as 'foreign workers' and, as such, they are denied any political rights. These lead to the very low participation of migrants in the social process, even in their own ethnic/migrant associations. At best, they are involved in religious or cultural groupings, which are of little consequence as far as civic participation is concerned, or self-help networks.

F. Where do you see the major research gaps?

The issue of civic participation of migrants has received minimal attention with only one or two pieces written. The area of immigration itself is under-researched; little is known about migrant communities and how they are organised internally. There has been no sectoral analysis and there is no study on representation, integration and political involvement of third country nationals or indeed EU nationals. There is an absence of research on the integration or otherwise of second generation immigrants and at a general level civic participation, the role of civic organization and NGOs hardly features in any analysis of the Cyprus political life, with the exception of very few works, which are mentioned above. The issue of citizenship in Cyprus and how this relates to the boundaries of the nation and immigration is a very new subject of study and the question of multi-culturalism has only very recently been introduced as a political and socio-cultural issue for debate and research.

Annex 1

Active civic participation of immigrants- Mapping of Research Competences in Cyprus

1. Civic participation of immigrants

We cannot speak of any scholar or institution in Cyprus having any expertise in the area of civic participation of migrants, the only research carried out in Cyprus on the matter being the current report. We have therefore listed scholars and institutions who have conducted research in the wider areas, as they provide the general background for any research to be initiated on the subject.

As one would expect, the research landscape in Cyprus is not very developed in areas which are new to Cypriot society such as immigration, migrant rights, NGOs and civic participation, although there appears to be some interest by younger scholars who are just setting out. Prior to EU accession there was little interest in the area; policy-orientated research on social issues that appeared outside the mainstream agenda, would not result in some employment opportunity and could not receive funding easily. With the civil society sector being as weak as it is in Cyprus, there was little motivation for research in a subject such as civic participation and NGO involvement and hence little comparative research that would raise questions and issues to act as impetus. Also a general obstacle is that the research agenda was inevitably focused on the specific priorities of the country with the Cyprus problem dominating the political landscape and shaping the research agenda accordingly. Accession to the EU has opened up new possibilities and the research agenda is already widening as there is scope for funding in new areas of concern, whilst the influence of international and European scholars on civil society, state modernisation, the rights and civic participation of minorities and migrants is gaining some momentum, but the results of any new research are still to be found.

2. Civic participation in general- leading institutions or scholars

(a). University of Cyprus: Dr. Maria Hadjipavlou Trigiorgi, lecturer at the Department of Social and Political Science. She completed undergraduate studies at West London College, U.K. (Dip. English Studies and Lit., 1968) and graduate studies at the University of Exeter, U.K. (M.Ed.,1975), University of Kansas (M.Sc. Journalism, 1981) and Boston University (Ph.D, Comparative Social and Political Change, 1987). She taught as Lecturer at Boston University (1982-1985), as Adjunct Assistant Professor Bentley College, U.S.A (1987-1988) and has been Post-Doctoral Fellow at Harvard University (1992-1993). She also taught as Visiting Scholar at School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University, USA (1996-1997). Since 1991 she has been an associate of the Program in International Conflict Analysis and Resolution (PICAR) of the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University. She is also co-founder of International Conflict Resolution Program (ICRP) at Columbia University (1997). Research interests: Nationalism, Ethnic and International Conflict, Conflict Resolution, Peace, the Cyprus Conflict, Comparative Politics. She has written on civic participation of women, Turkish-Cypriots and Greek-Cypriots and conflict resolution.

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(b). University of Cyprus: Dr. Ceasar Mavratsas. Born in Nicosia in 1963, he received his Ph.D. in Sociology from Boston University where he was also a fellow at the Institute for the Study of Economic Culture. Since 1994, he has been teaching sociology at the University of Cyprus, and he is currently an assistant professor in the Department of Social and Political Science. His main research interests are in the areas of political sociology and the sociology of knowledge, with a focus on nationalism and political culture. His first book, *Όψεις του Ελληνικού Εθνικισμού στην Κύπρο 1974-1996: Ιδεολογικές Αντιπαραθέσεις και η Κοινωνική Κατασκευή της Ελληνοκυπριακής Ταυτότητας* (Facets of Greek Nationalism in Cyprus 1974-1996: Ideological Contest and the Social Construction of Greek-Cypriot Identity) was published by Katarti in Athens in 1998, and translated into Turkish in 2000. Mavratsas has also published articles in Cypriot, Greek, British, American, Canadian and French academic journals. His second book, *Εθνική Ομοψυχία και Πολιτική Ομοφωνία. Η Ατροφία της Ελληνοκυπριακής Κοινωνίας των Πολιτών στις Απαρχές του 21^{ου} Αιώνα* (National Unity and Political Unanimity. The Underdevelopment of Greek-Cypriot Civil Society at the Beginning of the 21st Century) was published in 2003 in Athens by Katarti Press. (in Greek), 2003. Phone: +357 22 335066, Fax: +357 22 342086, E-mail: spkaisar@ucy.ac.cy

(c). Intercollege, Nicosia: Dr. Myria Vasiliadou, Assistant Professor at the Social Sciences Department of Intercollege and head of the Mediterranean Gender Studies Centre, Intercollege Nicosia, who has written on gender and politics in Cyprus. Myria Vassiliadou holds undergraduate and graduate degrees in sociology and gender studies from the University of Kent at Canterbury, UK. She is a Research Fellow at the Solomon Asch Centre for Study of Ethnopolitical Conflict, University of Pennsylvania, US. She has worked extensively on the area of gender, has been involved in various non-governmental organisations and has published in books and journals.

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Intercollege is an independent tertiary education institution offering a wide range of programs to students from around the world, ranging from undergraduates studies in business, science, education and the liberal arts, to professional programs and postgraduate programs in psychology, sociology, international relations, education, special education and business, with degrees accredited by local (Cyprus Government), European and American Accreditation Bodies. Intercollege is an extension campus of the University of Indianapolis. It also actively involved in the community with regular seminars, conferences, publications and campaigns for various causes, including environmental protection. It publishes 'the Cyprus Review', an international bi-annual refereed journal which publishes articles on a range of areas in the social sciences including primarily Anthropology, Business Administration, Economics, History, International Relations, Politics, Psychology, Public Administration and Sociology, and secondarily, Geography, Demography, Law and Social Welfare, pertinent to Cyprus. The journal was first published in 1989 and has since received the support of many scholars internationally (cy_review@intercollege.ac.cy)

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The Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies, a branch of Intercollege, is a non-profit gendered perspective and feminist activist NGO working on projects of social, political, and economic themes relating predominantly, but not restricted, to women (<http://www.medinstgenderstudies.org/>)

(d) Mr Loukis Papaphilippou, advocate and ex-president of the Pancyprrian Bar Association, writer of the booklet “Constitutional Problems arising from the representation of the religious minorities of the Armenians, Latins and Maronites at the House of Parliament” (in Greek) 1991. Phone nos.: +357 22674141, +357 22669634, Telefax: +357 22673388.

(e) Mr Criton Tornaritis, ex Attorney General of the Republic of Cyprus, now deceased who produced several books on political participation and the Cyprus state.

(f) Nedjati, retired Attorney who wrote on human rights in Cyprus. He is no longer active.

(g) The office of the Commissioner for Administration (Ombudsman): Mr Aristos Tsiartas, legal expert who conducts research on civic participation and maladministration.

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The Commissioner for Administration (or *Ombudsman*) is an independent public body investigating complaints of maladministration. In April 2004 the Commissioner for Administration was appointed as the specialised Body for racial and other forms of discrimination, transposing the relevant anti-discrimination EU directives. The Commissioner for Administration is currently Dr. Eliana Nikolaou.

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(h) Mr Achilleas Demetriades, advocate, member of the EU Network of Independent Experts in Fundamental Rights and writer of the Annual Report on the situation regarding Fundamental Human Rights in Cyprus.

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(i) Dr Andreas Panagiotou, Assistant Professor at Frederick Institute of Technology, Limassol, researcher on social movements and the role of the state.

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Established in 1965, Frederick Institute of Technology is a tertiary education institution. Its research centre (Frederick Research Centre-FRC) is a non-profit organization established in June 1995 in order to advance the basic and applied scientific research in Cyprus, provide adequate academic environment to scientific personnel to initiate, explore and develop their scientific activities and support students in the completion of their diploma/degree projects, offering them the possibility to get involved into research projects. FRC participates as promoter or as participant in a number of research projects funded by the European Union, the Cyprus Research Promotion Foundation, the Greek Ministry of Industry, Energy and Technology, the Cyprus Planning Bureau, and the private sector. The Centre has developed a network of collaborations with universities

and research centres outside Cyprus, as well as with the private sector, in Cyprus and abroad for the promotion of the scientific knowledge and the study and solution of real life problems. Address: Y. Frederickou Street 7, 1036 Nicosia, Cyprus. Phone: +357 22431355; Fax: +357 22438234. E-mail info@fit.ac.cy. Website: www.fit.ac.cy.

(j) Intercollege Nicosia: Dr Michael Attalides (London School of Economics and Political Science B.Sc.Econ. 1963; Princeton University, U.S.A. M.A. 1965; Ph.D. 1975), Dean of School of Humanities, Social Sciences and Law. He wrote extensively on political parties, the relations between Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriots and Cyprus politics. His two books (Cyprus: Nationalism and International Politics, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1980; Social Change and Urbanization in Cyprus: A study of Nicosia, The Social Research Centre, 1971) are still used by scholars as important reference points. Lecturer in Sociology, The University of Leicester, 1966-68. He has served as Ambassador of Cyprus to France Morocco, Portugal and Spain (1991-1995), to Belgium and Luxembourg (1995-1998), as Permanent Delegate of Cyprus to the European Union (1995-1998), as High Commissioner for Cyprus in the United Kingdom (1998 –2000), as Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus (2000 –2001 and as Appointed Representative of the Cyprus Government to the Convention on the Future of Europe in December (2001). Phone: +357 22 335066 (Ext.: 693). E-mail: attalides.m@intercollege.ac.cy

(k). Soula Zavou, Chairman of KYKEM (Cyprus Studies Center) and writer of the book: The Political Parties of Cyprus in the 20th Century (in Greek), 2002.

(l). Dr Nicos Trimikliniotis, Director of the Cyprus Labour Institute INEK-PEO. His PhD research was on “The role of the state in the production and resolution of conflict: The case of Cyprus”. He also wrote the chapter “Multi-cultural citizenship” in the book “Orange Cyprus” (in Turkish and now in the process of being published in Greek), 2003.

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The Cyprus Labour Institute INEK-PEO is an independent NGO established in 2002 by PEO, the largest trade union in Cyprus. It conducts research and issues publications on the Cyprus economy, industrial relations, discrimination and related issues. It is the RAXEN (racism and xenophobia) National Focal Point for monitoring racism and discrimination in Cyprus, as well as the EIRO (European Industrial Relations Observatory) point for Cyprus.

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3. Immigration- leading institutions or scholars

(a). Cyprus Labour Institute INEK-PEO: Dr Nicos Trimikliniotis (RAXEN National Focal Point) who carried out extensive research and produced reports on the relation of migrant workers and the labour movement, on employment rights and discrimination in work and education.

(b). Intercollege Nicosia: Dr Nicos Trimikliniotis who is carrying out research on discrimination under the EU funded project “European Dilemma: Institutional Patterns and the Politics of Racism”.

(c). Frederick Institute of Technology: Prof. Christis Charakis and Andreas Panayiotou who carried out research (to be published shortly) on “Antisocial Behaviour of Youth in Cyprus and Racist Trends”.

(d). European Institute of Cyprus: Panayiotis Pantelides participated in a research on employment of migrant workers on Cyprus and also in the EU funded project “Discriminatory Landscapes in the Labour Market in Cyprus”.

The European Institute of Cyprus (EIC) was founded in 1996, after mutual agreement between the Republic of Cyprus and the European Union (EU), as an independent non-profit organisation. The Institute's fundamental mission is to be the main vehicle that will promote the study, training and information concerning issues relating to the European Union. It also assists professional and commercial organisations, chambers of commerce and other interested parties in collecting information relating to the institutions, legislation and developments in the EU. Its main objectives are the study of the European institutions, as well as of the European economy and policy; the monitoring and evaluation of the harmonisation progress, adjustment and modernisation of Cyprus with European standards (at legal, financial, political and social level); the conduct of research and provision of consulting services to the Republic of Cyprus on specialised issues and, more specifically, those relating to the *acquis*; the diffusion among the Cypriot public of information on European affairs; the training of Government officials and other individuals with leader capacity on EU issues; and the creation of an information centre with a library specialising on EU issues. For the implementation of the above set of objectives, the EIC organises seminars, lectures, training programmes, meetings and conferences, forms work groups and seeks co-operation with other research centres and Universities in Cyprus and abroad, publishes a series of studies and provides information and analyses.

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(e). University of Cyprus, Department of Economics: (i). Prof. Panos Pashiardis and (ii). Prof. L. Christophides who jointly wrote a paper on “The labour market in Cyprus: migrant workers and structural problems” (in Greek), 2001.

(i). Prof. Panos Pashiardis is the *Director of the Economics Research Center of the Department of Economics*. His recent publications include: "Factor Adjustment, Quality Change and Productivity Growth for US Manufacturing", *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 86, 402-412, 2004 (with J. Bernstein and T. Mamuneas); "Estimates of the Black Economy Based on Consumer Demand Approaches", *Economic Journal*, 114, 622-640, 2004 (with P. Lyssiotou and T. Stengos); "Comparing the True Cost of Living Indices of Demographically Different Households", *Bulletin of Economic Research*, 56, 21-39, 2004 (with P. Lyssiotou) and "Self/Paid-Employment, Public/Private Sector Selection, and Wage Differentials", *Labour Economics*, 9, 737-762, 2002 (with L. Christofides).

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(ii). Professor Louis Christofides is Chair of the Department of Economics. His recent publications include: L.N. Christofides and C.Peng "Contract Duration and Indexation in a Period of Real and Nominal Uncertainty", (2004) forthcoming, Labour Economics; L.N. Christofides with Q. Li, Z. Liu, and I. Min "Recent Two-Stage Sample Selection Procedures with an Application to the Gender Wage Gap", Journal of Business and Economic Statistics, Vol. 21, No. 3, (July), (2003), pp. 396-405; L.N. Christofides and T. Stengos "Wage Rigidity in Canadian Collective Bargaining Agreements", Industrial and Labor Relations Review, Vol. 56, No. 3 (April), 2003, pp. 429-448; L.N. Christofides and M. T. Leung "Nominal Wage Rigidity in Contract Data: A Parametric Approach", *Economica*, Vol. 70, No. 280 (November), (2003), pp. 619-638).

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(g). Dr Anna Agathangelou, Lecturer at the University of Houston-Clear Lake and Director of the Global Change Institute, Nicosia, writer of the book "The Global Political Economy of Sex: Desire, Violence and Insecurity in Mediterranean Nation States", 2004.

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