

The Minorities of Cyprus

The Minorities of Cyprus:
Development Patterns and the Identity
of the Internal-Exclusion

Edited by

Andrekos Varnava, Nicholas Coureas
and Marina Elia



Cambridge Scholars Publishing

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This book first published 2009

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

12 Back Chapman Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2XX, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

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ISBN (10): 1-4438-0052-X, ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-0052-5

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PREFACE

The study of minorities is a broad and popular subject in contemporary academia given the development of multicultural societies in various parts of the world. Yet very little has been written about the minorities of Cyprus, a country on the periphery of Europe, Asia and Africa, whose minorities can trace their origins as Cypriots back many centuries. On 24th and 25th November, 2007 the European University Cyprus hosted the first conference in Cyprus dealing with the social, political, cultural and economic development of its minorities. The conference primarily dealt with the Maronite, Armenian and Latin inhabitants, which are recognised as 'Religious Groups' according to the 1960 Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus, but there were also communications on Gypsy and Anglican minorities as well as comparative papers. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, recognising the significance of the topic, invited the conference organising committee to submit an outline for a collection of articles based on the conference. This book is the result and for this we thank Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

There were a number of reasons why we wanted to organise a conference on the minorities of Cyprus and why we believed in the value of this publication. Owing to the clash of foreign nationalisms (Greek and Turkish) and imperialisms (British, American, Greek and Turkish) in Cyprus, the island particularly suffers from the concept of 'the internal-exclusion', that is there are simply 'Greeks' and 'Turks' in the island despite the historical presence of other communities. Research on Cyprus tends to focus on explaining the Cyprus Problem, which inevitably means a discussion of nationalism, namely Greek and Turkish nationalism. There are some politicians and social commentators who claim that Cyprus is a multicultural country by citing the historical/traditional minorities of Maronites, Armenians and Latins and the very significant immigrant community from various parts of the world. Nevertheless, successive governments, by focussing on the Cyprus Problem and the inter-communal problem between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, have practised assimilation into the majority of the minority since the independence of the island from British rule in 1960. Multiculturalism is when society is culturally diverse and is unified by a feeling of civic and state duty above and beyond 'racial' or 'ethnic' affiliations. In Cyprus there is cultural

diversity, but it is not always acknowledged or respected, let alone accepted as important for the progress of this divided island. This is even more important now that Cyprus has joined, albeit divided, the European Union.

We were very fortunate to have secured the participation in the conference and this book of Professor Panikos Panayi, Professor of History, at De Montfort University and Professor Constantinos M. Constantinou, Professor of International Relations at Keele University and currently also with PRIO Cyprus Centre. Panayi is one of the leading authorities on the history of migrants and ethnic minorities. He introduces the book with his chapter on the creation of ethnic national awareness in minorities of Europe and situates Cyprus within the theoretical and historic contexts. Panayi argues that despite some peculiarities, such as the presence of a sizeable Maronite minority, the evolution of minorities in Cyprus mirrors the wider European experience, with the ubiquitous diasporas of Jews and Romanies, the Armenian population, which, like in Anatolia and the Middle East represents the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, and the Turkish community, which, as elsewhere in the Balkans, represents a legacy of imperial control. Also, by the end of the twentieth century, Cyprus had, relative to its size, become a country of mass immigration, suggesting that the integration of these newcomers represents the biggest policy challenge facing Cypriot politicians. Constantinou, an authority on power and political discourse, writes the epilogue to the book, reflecting on the treatment of minorities by the various authorities ruling the island. He argues that the experience of the minorities has been determined largely by the clash of Greek and Turkish nationalisms and the Cyprus 'Problem'.

The main body of the book contains fifteen chapters divided into four sections, which are:

- I. The Minorities in the Pre-Modern Period
- II. The Minorities in the Modern Period
- III. Minorities and Majorities: Perceptions and Relations
- IV. Preserving Minority Language and Rights

The first section covers the Ottoman period and includes chapters on the French merchant community in Cyprus during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the esteemed Ottomanist of the period, Dr Colin Heywood; followed by a chapter on the Armenian community during Ottoman rule by Professor Gerard Dedeyan, an expert of Armenian

history; the exploration of the Latin clergy during Ottoman rule by Dr Nicholas Coureas, an authority on the Latin period of Cyprus; and two chapters on the Maronite community by Ms Guita Hourani and Professor Gemayel, which document the difficulties faced by this once thriving community during Latin rule under the Ottoman system of rule.

Part two covers the modern period, with two chapters on the Armenian community by Dr Susan Pattie and Dr Sossie Kasbarian, which cover the contribution of the Armenians to Cypriot society and the social and political structures of the community; a chapter, by Ms Chrystalla Tsoutsouki on the place of the Maronite community in Cypriot society and politics, with a focus on their identity; this is followed by a chapter on the Latin community, by Dr Achilles Emilianides, which focuses on the constitutional rights of the Latins; then a chapter on the Roma community, with a focus on their education and place within Cypriot society, by Dr Nicos Trimikliniotis and Ms Corina Demetriou; and a chapter on the development of the Anglican community by Ms Tabitha Morgan.

Section three has two chapters of a comparative nature. The first deals with the relationship between the Turkish Cypriot community and the Armenian minority in Nicosia by Dr Ahmet An, a researcher and writer of Turkish Cypriot history; and the other with the treatment of the three historic minorities in the lyceum history textbook of the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Cyprus, by Dr Andrekos Varnava, Lecturer of Modern History, Flinders University.

The last section of the book contains two chapters dealing with language, the first, by Dr Marilena Karyolemou, a Linguist at the University of Cyprus, is a comparative analysis of the minorities and their language rights; and this is followed by a chapter on the sociolinguistic profile of the Armenian and Maronite speakers of Cypriot Maronite Arabic, by Ms Chryso Hadjidemetriou.

We believe that the book as a whole will be invaluable to teachers, students and those interested in minority studies, while the chapters also stand on their own as original contributions to the study of Cyprus' past and present. This is the first book to deal with the issue of Cyprus' minorities and a number of chapters contain ideas on how to improve the condition of minorities in Cyprus.

We wish to thank the sponsors of the conference: the Ministry of Education and Culture; the Ministry of the Interior; the Cyprus Tourism Organisation; the Bank of Cyprus; and Moufflon Bookshop. We wish to thank the three parliamentary representatives of the Maronite, Armenian and Latin communities, Mr Antonis Hadjirossos, Mr Vartkes Mahdessian and Mr Benito Mantovani for their cooperation throughout the organising

stage of the conference, for their participation in the conference and for granting us permission to publish their speeches. We also thank the Minister of Interior, Dr Christos Patsalides for his attendance and for allowing us to publish his speech, Professor Kostas Gouliamos, Vice-Rector, Research and External Affairs, at the European University Cyprus and the Rector, Professor Andreas Orphanides. We also thank Helen Komodromou-Varnava for volunteering to help on the days of the conference. Finally, but by no means least, we wish to thank Cambridge Scholars Publishing for their interest in this topic and for publishing this volume.

Dr Andrekos Varnava
Dr Nicholas Coureas,
Ms Marina Elia.

10 March 2009

INTRODUCTION

ETHNIC MINORITY CREATION
IN MODERN EUROPE:
CYPRUS IN CONTEXT

PANIKOS PANAYI

1. The Rise of the Nation State

For a historian of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the modernity of minorities seems tempting, especially when following some of the major theorists of the rise of nationalism, which essentially point to the importance of nation states in excluding ethnic groups. In such a discourse, minorities become increasingly noticeable when the excluding and standardising nation state begins to exert its power throughout Europe from the end of the eighteenth century as one part of the continent after another falls prey to this emerging modern ideology. The modernisation thesis certainly has much to support it, but needs to be approached with caution. While the nation state may lead to the rise of ethnic consciousness amongst groups which do not possess the same ethnic raw material as the majority population, these smaller groups always possessed the identifiers necessary for ethnogenesis. At the same time, the aspects of modernity which allow the emergence of national consciousness, such as the growth of industry and the spread of literacy, also facilitate the development of a similar consciousness amongst minorities. But the latter also partly evolves as a result of pressure from the former. As Todd Endelmann has written about the Jews in modern Europe, legal and popular persecution actually perpetuated their survival as a group.¹

Before considering the emergence of minorities, some of the major theorists of the development of the modern nation state must be examined

¹ Todd M. Endelman, *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History, 1656-1945*, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1990, 209.

in order to understand how exclusion leads to ethnic minority consciousness and creation. Ernest Gellner focused particularly upon the evolution of modern language as a by-product of industrialisation which standardised national means of communication, with its implicit exclusion of those who could not use this language, who grow from a minority of the population to a majority as dialects disappear.² Eric Hobsbawm also sees the evolution of the modern nation state as part of the process of modernity and stresses the evolution of 'Mass Producing Traditions' in the large European states in the decades leading up to the First World War.³ Benedict Anderson has taken this argument to its furthest by suggesting the idea of *Imagined Communities*, i.e. that the rise of national communication leads to the belief that, somehow, individuals in one nation state, which may count tens or hundreds of millions who will never meet each other, have the same interests, in contrast with people outside that nation state.⁴ Scholars such as John Breuilly and Peter Alter, focusing especially upon the case of Germany, have stressed the importance of state organisation.⁵ All of the above writers pay relatively little attention to what Anthony Smith has described as the 'Ethnic Origins of Nations', stressing the fact that those nation states, which have emerged in the modern period, have pre-modern origins.⁶

When turning to minorities Smith's ideas can be adapted. If he is arguing that the dominant groups in nation states have pre-modern origins, then it would appear that minorities also have similar antecedents. This would clearly apply to the archetypal minority group in European history - the Jews. Nation states emerge when dominant groups take power in particular areas, leaving those who do not have the right ethnic credentials as outsiders.

It can therefore be asked: what constitutes an ethnic group. Numerous writers working in a wide range of disciplines have attempted to answer this question. To reiterate the point: nations which form the raw material for nation states do not differ significantly from those peoples who remain

² This is Gellner's central argument, *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford, 1983.

³ Eric Hobsbawm, 'Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914', Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds, *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge, 1993, 283-91.

⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London, 1991.

⁵ Peter Alter, *Nationalism*, 2nd edn., London, 1994; John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, Manchester, 1982.

⁶ Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, Oxford, 1986.

minority ethnic groups, a point stressed by Walker Connor.⁷ Robin Cohen has focused particularly upon the concept of diaspora as a way of understanding how minority consciousness evolves.⁸

However, all modern minorities, like majorities, have common origins, based on one or more of the following. First, they may possess a common language, which, in the modern age, becomes standardised, both for majorities and minorities in nation states. Second, they may share a common religion, the most important form of identification in the areas covered by the Ottoman Empire and crucial for a variety of migrant groups who have arrived in Europe since 1945. Third, appearance has proved important in the construction of a variety of ethnicities, especially those revolving around colour, since the Second World War.⁹

Most ethnic identification, whether referring to ethnic majorities or ethnic minorities, is artificial. The major theorists of the nation state have stressed this artificiality. This is summed up well in Gellner's phrase that: 'Nationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national should be congruent',¹⁰ even though, following Gellner, this rarely, if ever, happens.

However, if nation states are artificial constructs, this suggests that the same applies to the ethnic minorities, which live within them. A good case to explore is the modern Turkish state and the medieval Ottoman Empire which preceded it. Just as Ottoman imperialism changed into Turkish nationalism, so, in the same way, the individual ethnic groups, primarily recognised for religious reasons, also evolved in the same way. Some became nation states. But others developed into minorities with their own rights if they did not live in the correct nation state as a result of the complex ethnic settlement patterns which evolved in the Ottoman Empire and which did not accord to the new states of the early twentieth century.¹¹ Such ethnic minority peoples received recognition and protection from the ethnic groups or nation states which claimed to represent them or from

⁷ Walker Connor, 'A Nation is a Nation, is a State, is an Ethnic Group is a...', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, I, 1978, 377-400.

⁸ Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, Abingdon, 1999.

⁹ Panikos Panayi, *An Ethnic History of Europe Since 1945: Nations, States and Minorities*, London, 2000, 101-37.

¹⁰ Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 1.

¹¹ See, for instance, Ebru Boyar, *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans: Empire Lost, Relations Altered*, London, 2007; Peter Mansfield, *The Ottoman Empire and its Successors*, London, 1973; Justin McCarthy, *Muslims and Minorities: The Population of Ottoman Anatolia and the End of the Empire*, New York, 1983; Justin McCarthy, *The Ottoman Peoples and the End of Empire*, London, 2001.

international guarantees, formalised throughout Europe in the Treaties which ended the First World War.¹² The above discussion suggests that, in the age of nationalism, minorities exist because they react against the all-embracing power of the nation state, whereby particular elites who feel excluded from the structures of power, have organised alternative ethnicities.¹³

If ethnic groups are artificial constructs, their changing nature must also be stressed since they are simply not fixed. A good example to explore is the difference between the Greeks in the Ottoman Empire and Greeks after its collapse. It is highly debatable to suggest solid continuities, especially stretching back to antiquity. Similarly, modern Turkish identity may hark back to the Ottoman Empire, but it is also deeply secularist, despite the rising Islamist element and was initially partly a reaction against the Ottoman Empire.¹⁴

In addition, when focusing upon minorities, their members do not remain unchanging. In the medieval and early modern period conversions represented part of European history, whether it involved Jews converting to Christianity or Christians choosing to adopt Islam in the Ottoman Empire. The former took place due to a combination of reasons including an attempt to survive times of persecution and the desire to obtain the rewards available to the dominant society. Conversion in the Balkans played a large role in the emergence of Muslim minorities in the area.¹⁵

With migrants in the modern world, a process of integration and, in many cases, ultimate assimilation, also takes place.¹⁶ While migrants may move to a particular location with their own norms, decades of living in the new environment transform these, a process which becomes even more

¹² See Seamus Dunn and T. G. Fraser, eds, *Europe and Ethnicity: World War I and Contemporary Ethnic Conflict*, London, 1996.

¹³ See David Carment, 'Exploiting Ethnicity: Political Elites and Domestic Conflict', *Ethnic Conflict*, XXVIII, 2007.

¹⁴ For Greek identity see Costas Carras, *3,000 Years of Greek Identity: Myth or Reality?* Athens, 1983. For Turkish nationalism see Hugh Poulton, *Top Hat, Grey Wolf and Crescent: Turkish Nationalism and the Turkish Republic*, London, 1997.

¹⁵ For Jewish conversion see, for instance, Friedrich Niewöhner and Fidel Rädle, eds, *Konversion im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Hildesheim, 1999. For the Ottoman Empire see: Anton Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans: Kısve Bahasi Petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670-1730*, Leiden, 2004.

¹⁶ Recent studies of integration in European history are: Leo Lucassen, *The Immigrant Threat: The Integration of Old and New Migrants in Western Europe since 1850*, Urbana and Chicago, 2005; and Leo Lucassen, David Feldman and Jochen Oltmer, eds, *Paths of Integration: Migrants in Western Europe*, Amsterdam, 2006.

inevitable for their descendants, born in the new home. Such metamorphoses take place through language, appearance, food and social and economic status. To take the example of the East European Jewish migrants who entered Britain in the decades leading up to the First World War, the twentieth century has seen a massive change in the British environment. The descendants of the Yiddish speaking, kosher eating settlers who focused upon poor inner city areas, especially in the East End of London, have moved out of the ghetto into the higher echelons of British society, spoken English and, in most cases, ditched their East European kosher food norms. Just as importantly, exogamy has become increasingly normal, meaning that the Jewish community in Britain, which had reached around half a million in the middle of the twentieth century, had declined to less than half that size by its conclusion.¹⁷

This appreciation of the complexity of minority groups fits in with the academic evolution of the study of ethnic minorities, which has proceeded through three major phases. The first of these involved the construction of nationalities and ethnic groups during the age of rising nationalisms in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the post-War years, as Marxism acted as the main alternative paradigm for social scientists and historians, ethnic minority blocs emerged, whether consideration fell upon established groups or migrants, with little consideration for the subtleties of ethnicity. The death of the grand narrative and the evolution of post-modern perspectives now means that research upon ethnic minorities, increasingly led by literary rather than social science disciplines, focuses upon the complexities of ethnicity upon an individual level.¹⁸

Having outlined some of the key concepts and ideas we need to consider, three types of minorities have evolved to find their place in contemporary Europe. All, to a large extent, have developed because of the problems which the nation state has had with accepting difference, although some predate the nation state. The first groups of minorities predate the nation state and consist of what might be described as diasporic minorities in the form of Jews, Romanies, Muslims and Germans. Also predating the nation state are what we might describe as localised minorities: those groups which are specific to a particular nation state or region in Europe and whose members do not have the same ethnic

¹⁷ See: Geoffrey Alderman, *Modern British Jewry*, Oxford, 1992; W. D. Rubinstein, *A History of the Jews in the English Speaking World: Great Britain*, Basingstoke, 1996; Todd M. Endelman, *The Jews of Britain, 1656-2000*, London, 2002; V. D. Lipman, *A History of the Jews in Britain Since 1858*, Leicester, 1990.

¹⁸ Kathy Burrell and Panikos Panayi, eds, *Histories and Memories: Migrants and their History in Britain*, London, 2006.

credentials as the majority group which controls the state. Finally, the minority which has become the most visible in contemporary Europe because it arrived after the construction of nation states, migrants, should be considered.

2. Dispersed Minorities

Recent years have seen the evolution of the concept of diasporas as a tool to investigate minorities, especially under the influence of the work of Robin Cohen, whose work appears as one of a series of volumes which study this theme. Cohen applies this term fairly liberally to also include those groups uprooted during the last two centuries,¹⁹ who, in the case of Armenians, for example, certainly have become a diaspora, which has historical roots.²⁰ While diaspora as a concept applies to a variety of groups, in pre-modern Europe four widespread minorities emerged who would have their minority status confirmed in the age of the nation state. The first two of these, Jews and Romanies became minorities upon their first appearance in Europe and would remain equally visible in the age of the nation state. These two groups find themselves present throughout the European continent. On other hand, Germans and Muslims essentially represent, in the twentieth centuries, residue populations of the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, who found themselves exposed, in newly created states in Eastern Europe, which viewed such populations as representatives of the former imperial power.

The classic European minority par excellence consists of the Jews who have the following characteristics in their history. They have lived in Europe from antiquity through medieval systems whether Empires, monarchical states or city states, to the age of nationalism. They have faced persecution throughout all of these periods of European history in all of the areas in which they have lived. The persecution explains their diasporic nature, because animosity in one area of Europe led them to find refuge elsewhere. They may predate the peoples which would subsequently become the majority ethnic group in a particular nation state, although their history of expulsion means that this is not usually the case. Despite the longevity of Jewish settlement in Europe and the fact that this suggests a clear separation from the peoples around them, especially

¹⁹ Cohen, *Global Diasporas*. The series in which this book appears also carries the title of 'Global Diasporas'.

²⁰ Denise Aghanian, *Cohesion and Fracture: The Armenian Diaspora*, Plymouth, 2007.

before the lifting of restrictions and the granting of civil rights in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, conversions to Christianity also characterise their European history. In the modern period in particular, but also in the medieval period, Jews have also moved into the ruling elites.²¹

Despite the fact that Romanies represent the other ubiquitous minority in Europe, they differ significantly from the Jews. Originating in north India, they would eventually reach Europe in the Middle Ages and would spread to the whole continent by the fifteenth century. Like the Jews, they have faced a history of persecution throughout the years of their settlement on the continent, culminating, as in the case of the Jews, in the Nazi persecution of World War Two. However, while those Jews who survived the Nazis and did not move to Israel after the War, have experienced significant social mobility, Romanies have had different life experiences so that, in the areas of Eastern Europe where they have concentrated since 1945 they have had higher fertility rates, suffered greater poverty and, in the years since the fall of Communism, have experienced truly mass unemployment, as well as extreme racism.²²

Muslims who lived in Europe before the age of mass migration in the nineteenth century had a different experience from the Jews and Gypsies because of their relationship with power, as they essentially represent the residue of the Muslim Empires which have ruled Europe, especially the Ottoman Empire. These Muslim groups evolved as a result of settlement and conversion, as the example of Bulgaria, with a significant and persecuted Turkish minority after independence, indicates. Colonisation of this territory by the Turks took place from the fourteenth until the nineteenth centuries, reaching its height during the eighteenth. Meanwhile, some Slavs converted to Islam. Tartars also moved into Bulgaria, while the Gagaouz spoke Turkish but practised the Orthodox religion. In addition, some Bulgarian Romanies converted to Islam.²³

²¹ See: Werner Keller, *Diaspora: The Post-Biblical History of the Jews*, London, 1971; Paul Johnson, *A History of the Jews*, 3rd edn., London, 2001; David Vital, *A People Apart: The Jews in Europe*, Oxford, 1999; Bernard Wasserstien, *Vanishing Diaspora: The Jews of Europe Since 1945*, London, 1996.

²² See, for instance: Jean-Paul Clebert, *The Gypsies*, London, 1964; David M. Crowe, *A History of the Gypsies of Eastern Europe*, London, 1995; Angus Fraser, *The Gypsies*, Oxford, 1992; Donald Kenrick and Grattan Puxon, *The Destiny of Europe's Gypsies*, London, 1972; Will Guy, ed., *Between Past and Future: The Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, Hatfield, 2001.

²³ Huey Louis Kostanick, *Turkish Resettlement of Bulgarian Turks, 1950-1953*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1957, 76-8; Erhard Franz, 'The Exodus of Turks from Bulgaria, 1989', *Asian and African Studies* XXV, 1991, 83-4.

Despite the tolerance and stability of the millet system in the Ottoman Empire, the Muslims had a privileged position,²⁴ which helps to explain conversions to Islam. These groups became minorities, as nation states evolved in the Balkans,²⁵ especially in Bulgaria,²⁶ Greece²⁷ and, above all, Cyprus²⁸ and Yugoslavia.²⁹ The states in which they form significant minorities, particularly Cyprus and Yugoslavia, developed constitutional structures to guarantee their position. However, as they symbolise the former rulers of the countries where they lived, they became the victims of persecution or the more active players in inter-ethnic conflict, a conflict which, since the Greco-Turkish War of 1919-22 and the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923, has meant 'population exchange' or 'ethnic cleansing'.³⁰

²⁴ As an introduction, see Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922*, Cambridge, 2005, 174-94.

²⁵ For a general account see Hugh Poulton and Suha Taji Farowki, eds, *Muslim Identity and the Balkan State*, London, 1997.

²⁶ Ali Eminov, *Turkish and Other Muslim Minorities of Bulgaria*, London, 1997; Kemal H. Karpat, ed., *The Turks of Bulgaria: The History, Culture and Political Fate of a Minority*, Istanbul, 1990.

²⁷ Ronald Meinardus, 'Muslims: Turks, Pomaks and Gypsies', Richard Clogg, ed., *Minorities in Greece: Aspects of a Plural Society*, London, 2002.

²⁸ See the discussion below.

²⁹ See, for instance Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia*, London, 1984; R. J. Donia, V. A. Fines, *Bosnia-Herzegovina*, London, 1994; Noel Malcolm, *Kosovo: A Short History*, London: Macmillan, 1998, Mark Pinson, *Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina*, Cambridge, MA, 1996.

³⁰ Inter-ethnic conflict in Cyprus is discussed below. For population exchange between Greece and Turkey in the early 1920s, which set the template for all subsequent ethnic cleansing, especially because of its legitimisation by the 'international community', see, for example: John A. Petropoulos, 'The Compulsory Exchange of Populations: Greek-Turkish Peacemaking, 1922-1930', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, II, 1976, 135-60; Renee Hirschon, *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange Between Greece and Turkey*, Oxford, 2003; Elisabeth Kontogiorgi, *Population Exchange in Greek Macedonia: The Rural Settlement of Refugees 1922-1930*, Oxford, 2006. For constitutional structures in Yugoslavia and the persecution of Muslims, especially during the 1990s, see, for example: Banac, *ibid.*; Donia and Fines, *ibid.*; Pinson, *ibid.*; Christopher Bennet, *Yugoslavia's Bloody Collapse*, London, 1995; Misha Glenny, *The Fall of Yugoslavia*, London: Penguin, 1996; S. P. Ramet, *The Three Yugoslavias: State-Building and Legitimation, 1918-2004*, Indianapolis, 2006; Laura Silber and Alan Little, *The Death of Yugoslavia*, London, 1996; Norman Cigar, *Genocide in Bosnia*, College Station, TX, 1995.

The Germans are an interesting case because, although they were not ubiquitous like the Jews and Gypsies, they found themselves concentrated in large numbers in numerous east European states by the twentieth century. The presence of peoples of Germanic origin in Eastern Europe has at least three explanations. Some moved to Eastern Europe at the end of the first millennium, therefore predating some of the ethnic groups who would subsequently form ethnic majorities. Consolidation of their position took place as a result of the control of much of Eastern Europe by the Habsburg and Prussian Empires, which meant that they, like the Ottoman Turks, became representatives of a ruling elite. In addition, Germans had also been invited into Eastern Europe because of their reputation as skilled workers, especially by Catherine the Great into Russia in the eighteenth century. During the twentieth century, however, as a result of imperial collapse, they became exposed as minorities in newly emerged nation states, for which they often represented, like the Turks, former imperial rulers. In the interwar years they lived in relative security in several European states from Czechoslovakia to the USSR. The rise and fall of Nazism changed their position so that, at the end of World War Two, they faced mass expulsion because of the resentment against Nazi policies in eastern Europe. Some Germans did, however, survive in the post-War period, although many 'returned' after communism collapsed.³¹

2. 1 Localised Minorities

Most established minorities which have evolved in modern Europe remain particular to either one area, or one nation state. They have emerged as a result of state creation in the modern period. Like the longstanding dispersed groups and the ethnic majorities in individual nation states, they are at some stage descendants of migrants.³² The emergence of nationalism in the modern period often forces a minority identity upon them, even though they may have had limited consciousness of their identity previously.

³¹ Good sources on the rise and fall of the German communities of Eastern Europe include: Klaus J. Bade, ed., *Deutsche im Ausland – Fremde in Deutschland: Migration in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Munich, 1992; Alfred-Maurice De Zayas, *The German Expellees: Victims in War and Peace*, London, 1993; I. Fleischauer, B. Pinkus and E. Frankel, *The Soviet Germans Past and Present*, London, 1986; Theodor Schieder, ed., *Dokumentation der Vertreibung der Deutschen aus Ost-Mitteleuropa*, IV Vols., Bonn, 1954-1961.

³² See, for instance, Catherine Hills, *Origins of the English*, London, 2003.

For the ease of illustrating the processes which take place, it helps to understand the creation of these new minorities by dividing them further. Firstly, peripheral peoples can be identified. These essentially consist of groups who have lived on the margins of expanding territories, which have become nation states in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Examples would include the Scots and Welsh in the UK, as well as the states which were incorporated by the expanding Russian and then Soviet Empires. In both of these cases incorporation was characterized by persecution.³³ The development of nationalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries affects both the majority and minority groups so that counter nationalism emerges, whether in Wales, Scotland or, for instance, the Baltic states. The first two of these cases have developed autonomy, while the Baltic states gained independence initially and temporarily after the fall of the Russian Empire and then following the collapse of the USSR.³⁴

Victims of unification suddenly found themselves minorities following the creation of nation states. Some of these pre-date the modern period such as groups which found themselves in France and would experience something of a national revival during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including Bretons,³⁵ as well as Basques and Catalans in Spain.³⁶ We might also point to those groups which find themselves outsiders as a

³³ Good introductions to the expansion of England and the subjugation of peripheral peoples include: Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British Development, 1546-1966*, London, 1975; Hugh Kearney, *The British Isles: A History of Four Nations*, Cambridge, 1989. For the incorporation and persecution of minorities in the expanding Russia and Soviet state, see, for example: Lionel Kochan and Richard Abraham, *The Making of Modern Russia*, 2nd Edn., Harmondsworth, 1983; Viktor Kozlov, *The Peoples of the Soviet Union*, London, 1988; Hugh Seton Watson, *The Russian Empire, 1801-1917*, Oxford, 1967; Robert Conquest, *Soviet Nationalities Policy in Practice*, London, 1967; Nikolai K. Dekker and Andrei Lebed, eds, *Genocide in the USSR*, New York, 1958; A. M. Nekrich, *The Punished Peoples: The Deportation and fate of Soviet Minorities at the end of the Second World War*, New York 1978.

³⁴ The standard text on devolution in the UK is Vernon Bogdanor, *Devolution in the United Kingdom*, Oxford, 1994. For the Baltic states see: Gordon Smith, ed., *The Baltic States: The National Self Determination of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania*, Basingstoke, 1994; and John Hiden and Patrick Salmon, *The Baltic Nations and Europe: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in the Twentieth Century*, London, 1994.

³⁵ Myron McDonald, *'We Are Not French!': Language, Culture and Identity in Brittany*, London, 1989; Ronan La Coadic, *L'Identite bretonne*, Rennes, 1998.

³⁶ See, for example: Roger Collins, *The Basques*, Oxford, 1990; Albert Balcells, *Catalan Nationalism: Past and Present*, London, 1996.

result of the creation of new states in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries such as the Lusatian Sorbs, a Slavic group, who found themselves within the confines of eastern Germany.³⁷ In many ways, all of the peoples of Yugoslavia became victims of unification, certainly by the end of the twentieth century because the state had worked on an evolution of a form of South Slav compromise nationalism which satisfied no ethnic group.³⁸

Border groupings prove to be the most straightforward minorities because they essentially find themselves on the wrong side of artificially constructed national boundaries, although the problem is sometimes solved by ethnic cleansing or by changes in borders. Examples include those minorities which have found themselves on the wrong side of the Italian/Slovenian border at the end of the First World War.³⁹ A similar situation has existed on the Danish/German border.⁴⁰

Finally, there are outsiders in the interior, who may have always lived in particular locations but who find themselves as minorities following the emergence of nation states as the examples of the residual populations of Anatolia, above all Greeks, Armenians and Kurds, would indicate. The Greeks and Armenians certainly predated the arrival of the Turks here but the emergence of the modern Turkish nationalism which replaced the multi-ethnic (or multi-religious) Ottoman Empire meant that these new groups faced persecution at the beginning of the twentieth century resulting in ethnic cleansing and genocide.⁴¹

³⁷ Gerald Stone, *The Smallest Slavonic Nation: The Sorbs of Lusatia*, London, 1972.

³⁸ Ramet, *Three Yugoslavias*; John B. Allcock, *Explaining Yugoslavia*, London, 2000; John R. Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History: Twice there was a Country*, Cambridge, 1996; Fred Singleton, *Twentieth-Century Yugoslavia*, London, 1976.

³⁹ Bogdan C. Novak, *Trieste, 1941-1954: The Ethnic, Political and Ideological Struggle*, Chicago, 1970; Pamela Ballinger, *History in Exile: Memory and Identity at the Borders of the Balkans*, Oxford, 2003.

⁴⁰ See, for instance: Jørgen Elklit, Johan Peter Noack and Ole Tonsgaard, 'A National Group or a Social System: The Case of the German Minority in North Schleswig', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, I, 1980, 5-18.

⁴¹ For minorities and their persecution in the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the nationalist Turkish state see: McCarthy, *Muslims and Minorities*; McCarthy, *Ottoman Peoples*; Vahakn Dadrian, *The History of the Armenian Genocide*, Oxford, 1995; Christopher J. Walker, *Armenia*, London, 1990; Petropoulos, 'Compulsory Exchange'; and Hirschon, *Crossing the Aegean*.

2.2 Migrants and the Nation State

Unlike most of the groups considered above, migrants arrive after the creation of nation states, so that, while the evolution of most of the minorities outlined above might be seen as victims, in some way or another, of nation state creation, the migrants themselves arrive after the establishment of national boundaries. Nevertheless, this assertion needs to be qualified. In the first place, all ethnic groups, whether majorities or minorities, can trace some sort of ethnic origin to a process of migration which may have taken place hundreds or thousands of years ago. At the same time, some of the pre-modern groups, above all Jews and Romanies, certainly crossed borders before the nineteenth century.

Thus, while the history of Europe needs to be understood as one in which migration played a central role, the last two centuries and, more especially, the years since 1945, have seen mass migration on an unprecedented scale, certainly since the collapse of the Roman Empire.⁴² An understanding of the growth of mass migration would need to concentrate upon the following key issues. The increase in the world's population from about seven hundred million at the end of the eighteenth century to about 6 billion today creates pressure on land use and may cause people to move.⁴³ Industrialisation represents the second major factor which has led to population movement because of the need it creates for extra labour, which is often filled by domestic supplies but which often requires migrants as the classic case of post-War Europe would illustrate, a process linked with global inequalities.⁴⁴ Equally as important is the technological revolution, especially the development of the steam engine as applied to railways and steamships during the nineteenth century and the use of the internal combustion engine in the twentieth, all of which

⁴² Good introductions to migration in the modern world, focusing particularly on the years since 1945 are: Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, 3rd edn., Basingstoke, 2003; and Robin Cohen, *Migration and Its Enemies: Global Capital, Migrant Labour and the Nation State*, Aldershot, 2006. The age of migration at the end of the Roman Empire is dealt with by Walter Goffart, *Barbarian Tribes: The Migration Age and the Latter Roman Empire*, Philadelphia, 2006.

⁴³ See, for instance, Massimo Livi-Bacci, *A Concise History of World Population*, 2nd Edn., Oxford, 1977; Ray Hall, 'Stabilizing Population Growth: The European Experience', Philip Sarre and John Blanden (eds), *An Overcrowded World? Population, Resources and the Environment*, Oxford, 2000, 109-60.

⁴⁴ See: Klaus J. Bade, *Vom Auswanderungsland zum Einwanderungsland? Deutschland, 188-1980*, Berlin, 1983; Stephen Castles and Godula Kosack, *Immigrant Workers and Class Structure into Western Europe*, London, 1973.

make migration both more likely and faster than previously.⁴⁵ Since the end of eighteenth century refugee movements have also taken off as a result of the rise of intolerant nation states, initially affecting Europe, but increasingly impacting upon the rest of the world in recent decades.⁴⁶ These structural factors, however, only form the background to migration, to which we need to understand the functioning of what have now become known as networks, whereby migrants follow people from their families, regions or nation states.⁴⁷

All of these developments help in understanding why the last two centuries have seen an increase in the number of migrants in the world. But they do not explain their status as minorities, essentially connected with the fact that they cross boundaries, but further emphasized by the paraphernalia of the nation state and the methods it uses for importing populations. In the first place, although there are exceptions such as Britain, France and Holland at the end of the Second World War, most of the migrants face exclusion because of nationality. In states which have a policy of *jus solis* there remains the possibility of becoming part of the majority group, although the policy of *jus sanguinis* makes this an impossibility except through naturalisation in many European states. Equally as important is the process of migration, which (despite the importance of illegal immigrants, especially, but not exclusively, in southern Europe) is tightly controlled by the state, using short term work permits, although these are usually extended.⁴⁸ Economic factors have also played a central role in the exclusion of minorities in post-War Europe as

⁴⁵ Mimi Sheller and John Urry, 'The New Mobilities Paradigm', *Environment and Planning A*, XXXVIII, 2006, 207-26.

⁴⁶ For nineteenth century refugees see: Sabine Freitag, ed., *Exiles from European Revolutions: Refugees in Mid-Victorian England*, Oxford, 2003. Two major works on the twentieth century are: Michael Marrus, *The Unwanted: European Refugees in the Twentieth Century*, Oxford, 1985; and, with a focus on Britain, Tony Kushner and Katherine Knox, *Refugees in an Age of Genocide: Global, National and Local Perspectives During the Twentieth Century*, London, 1999.

⁴⁷ See, Enda Delaney and Donald M. MacRaild, eds, *Irish Migrants, Networks and Ethnic Identities since 1750*, London, 2007.

⁴⁸ See: Kathleen Paul, *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Postwar Era*, Ithaca, NY, 1997; Max Silverman, *Deconstructing the Nation: Immigration, Racism and Citizenship in Modern France*, London, 1992; Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*, Cambridge, MA, 1992; Patrick Ireland, *The Policy Challenge of Ethnic Diversity: Immigrant Politics in France and Switzerland*, London, 1994; Panikos Panayi, 'The Evolution of Multiculturalism in Britain and Germany: An Historical Survey', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, XXV, 2004, 466-80.

scholars such as Stephen Castles and Robert Miles have demonstrated. The majority of those who have moved to the continent have found themselves carrying out manual work shunned by ethnic majorities, which also leads to residential segregation in poor areas of cities.⁴⁹

While the nation state plays a central role in perpetuating the position of migrants as ethnic minorities, a choice also exists because of the desire to replicate the norms of the homeland in an alien environment. Language and religion, for example, play a large role in the development of ethnic communities, most visibly, in contemporary Western Europe, through the establishment of new Islamic minorities.⁵⁰

Nevertheless, a process of integration begins from the first day of arrival in the land of settlement and becomes increasingly rapid through subsequent generations. The speaking of new languages inculcated through the education system and the choice of alternative marriage partners play an important role in this process. At the same time social mobility also takes place, although the process may involve several generations.⁵¹

3. Minorities in Modern Europe

Minorities therefore exist because of a combination of ethnic difference, historic settlement patterns and the evolution and nature of the modern nation state but we need to stress that minorities are evolving entities. Ethnic difference usually evolves from some combination of language, religion and appearance. On the one hand this may profoundly influence the way in which second or third generation migrants view themselves in contemporary Western Europe, for example, stressed by much contemporary research upon the identity of individuals.⁵² Such research also now stresses the artificiality of speaking of ethnic minorities as blocks, because, if it were argued, as Linda Colley does, that the concept of Britishness evolved from the eighteenth century,⁵³ we can just as convincingly point to (keeping with the British example) the artificiality of Scottishness or, in the post-War migrant scenario, Black ethnicity in the

⁴⁹ Robert Miles, *Racism and Migrant Labour*, London, 1982; Stephen Castles, *Here for Good: Western Europe's New Ethnic Minorities*, London, 1987.

⁵⁰ Panayi, *Ethnic History of Europe*, 101-37; Shireen T. Hunter, ed., *Islam, Europe's Second Religion*, London, 2002.

⁵¹ See: Leo Lucassen, David Feldman and Jochen Oltmer, eds, *Paths of Integration: Migrants in Western Europe (1880-2004)*, Amsterdam, 2006.

⁵² See, for instance, Anne J Kershner, ed., *A Question of Identity*, Aldershot, 1998.

⁵³ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, London, 1992.

1980s, which incorporated both West Indians and South Asians.⁵⁴ Historic settlement patterns have also played a central role in the evolution of ethnic minorities in Europe, because these evolved centuries or millennia before the rise of nationalism and the nation state. While minorities obviously exist in Europe before the nineteenth century, the modern nation state emphasises their presence through its basic functions. These include the development of a national language and a national education system, which standardise communication and knowledge and therefore marginalise dialects and minority languages. Central to these processes are the evolution of nationality laws and immigration controls during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries which legitimise the concept of insiders and outsiders. While it may be argued that guaranteeing minority rights protects ethnic groups, such legislation also stresses and perpetuates their existence and their difference.⁵⁵

Ethnicity is a fluid concept and minorities are not caught in a perpetual time warp as they consist of individuals who can make their own individual choices. For instance, the Muslim populations of the Balkans partly evolved as a result of conversions. Similarly, post-War migrants undergo a constant process of adaptation to their new environment, especially the second and subsequent generations who experience the socialisation process through the education system and encounter the choices available in European liberal democracies. Minorities, constituted by their members, are therefore flexible and evolving entities.

4. The Evolution of Minorities in Cyprus

How does Cyprus fit into the picture described above? While it may have some groups which claim uniqueness, minorities in Cyprus have emerged in a similar way to those which reside in other European nation states. The most important phase in the history of the island for the evolution of minorities consists of Ottoman rule from 1571-1878, which resulted, as elsewhere in the Balkans, in the development of a Turkish population. Cyprus has also acted as host to the two ubiquitous European minorities in the form of Jews and Romanies. It further counts minorities which claim uniqueness in the form of Maronites, Latins and Armenians, although all three of these find reflection elsewhere in southern Europe or

⁵⁴ As an introduction to such themes see, for example, Harry Gouldbourne, *Ethnicity and Nationalism in Post-Imperial Britain*, Cambridge, 1991.

⁵⁵ See, for example, Stephen May, Tariq Modood and Judith Squires, eds, *Ethnicity, Nationalism and Minority Rights*, Cambridge, 2004. More generally, see Panayi, *Outsiders*.

the Middle East. While the Armenian community in Cyprus may have existed for over a millenium, the contemporary minority largely represents a group created as a result of developments in the modern world, a refugee group fleeing from Turkish persecution in the intolerant last decades of the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁶ For much of the twentieth century Cyprus constituted a country of emigration, reaching a peak during the later 1950s and early 1960s as family and village networks sent tens of thousands of people from a rural economy to industrialised Britain.⁵⁷ However, in more recent decades, as the tourist driven Cypriot economy has meant a spread of wealth to the entire Republic since 1974 and a construction boom has taken place, the south of the island has become increasingly dependant on foreign workers. During the course of the twentieth century Cyprus has changed from a country of emigration to one of immigration, mirroring the pattern of other European states, especially in the Mediterranean.⁵⁸

As in much of the rest of Europe, the oldest minority in Cyprus consists of Jews. The main authority on the subject, Stavros Panteli, pointing to the proximity of the island to Palestine, suggests that Jewish migration became fairly inevitable. He indicates that the Assyrian conquest of Judea in 722 BC sent the first Jews to Cyprus. Other refugee movement would follow as persecution in Judea occurred under the Babylonians and the Romans. Jewish merchants also moved to the island. Jewish life in Cyprus in the period from the Roman Empire until Turkish annexation in 1571 reflects that elsewhere in Europe, characterized by persecution and ghettoization.⁵⁹ Further Jewish migration took place towards Cyprus, and the Ottoman Empire as a whole, following persecution in the Iberian Peninsula. Pantelis claims that 'Without any shadow of doubt Jewish communities flourished under Turkish rule from the 15th to the middle of the 17th century', although the number of Jews in Cyprus may have fallen from 2,500 in 1600 to 1,300 in 1750.⁶⁰ At the end of the nineteenth century, Zionists considered Cyprus as a possible land of settlement, which facilitated an increase in the Jewish population of the

⁵⁶ See below.

⁵⁷ Floya Anthias, *Ethnicity, Class, Gender and Migration: Greek Cypriots in Britain*, Aldershot, 1992, 4-10.

⁵⁸ Russell King and Richard Black, *Southern Europe and the New Immigration*, Brighton, 1997.

⁵⁹ Stavros Panteli, *Place of Refuge: A History of the Jews in Cyprus*, London, 2003, 7-62.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 63, 65. For more on the Jews in the Ottoman Empire see Stanford J. Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic*, Basingstoke, 1991.

island. The rise of the Nazis and the Second World War sent over 6,000 Jewish refugees from various parts of Europe to Cyprus, although most of these would subsequently leave. A short-term peak in the Jewish population of Cyprus of over 50,000 arrived after the War when the British government deported illegal settlers in Palestine to camps on the island. Panteli ends his story in 1948 with foundation of Israel, stating that 'the pull of the Promised homeland was too strong to resist'.⁶¹ Nevertheless, a Jewish community of about 1,500 people has recently evolved as a result of migration from Britain, Israel and Russia, leading to the opening of a Synagogue and community centre in Larnaca in 2005.⁶²

Jews therefore represent the longest lasting minority in Cyprus, with a history mirroring their experiences elsewhere on the European continent, with a few unique turns. The Romany population of Cyprus also appears to resemble the members of this community elsewhere in Europe. It appears that Roma first arrived on the island at some time during the fourteenth century. Further influxes followed during the sixteenth and then the nineteenth centuries. Despite the fact that the Greek population uses a variety of names to describe this community (mostly derogatory), it has the same ethnic origins as the rest of the European Roma, originating in the Punjab in the sixth century and gradually moving westwards. In Cyprus, as a result of centuries of settlement, Romanies had adopted either Greek or Turkish as their mother tongue, with the latter predominating. Nomadism has characterized their lives, although some have become sedentary during the course of the twentieth century. As the majority spoke Turkish, most chose to move to the north of the island after 1974, although in recent years they have regularly crossed the border in both directions. Roma in Cyprus represent a tiny minority, similar to their position in other European states outside the major concentrations in central Europe. Estimates suggest anything between 500 and 2,500 on Cyprus. Like their brethren elsewhere on the continent, their lives on the island have the characteristics of poverty and discrimination. They remain outsiders, with lower educational qualifications than the rest of the population and consequently, lower living standards, partly dictated by a desire to maintain traditional nomadic lifestyles but also as a result of discrimination. Their lower educational achievements and their separation

⁶¹ Pantelis, *Place of Refuge*, 80-133; Yossi Ben-Atzi, 'Jewish Rural Settlement in Cyprus, 1882-1935: A "Springboard" or a Destiny?', *Jewish History*, XXI, 2007, 361-83.

⁶² *European Jewish Press*, 13 September 2005; *Jewish Chronicle*, 15 September 2005.

from mainstream society means that they have not persuaded the Cyprus government to recognise them as an ethnic minority.⁶³

The position of the Romanies contrasts with that of the largest minority group in Cyprus, the Turks, the third historic diasporic population to find itself on the island. While the 1960 compromise constitution may have given them equal rights and while the partition of 1974 has complicated the picture even further, their history, ethnic difference and numbers, means that they clearly represented a *de facto* minority, making up 24.4 per cent of the population in 1881 and 18.1 in 1973.⁶⁴ Like the muslim populations in the Balkans, the Turkish Cypriots represent a legacy of the Ottoman Empire. Some 20,000 soldiers may have moved to the island following Ottoman conquest in 1571, while further migration also took place. Conversions also took place in the early centuries of Ottoman rule as the practice of Islam gave its practitioners full citizenship rights.⁶⁵ Following the changes caused by conquest during the centuries before Greek and Turkish nationalism politicised the island, the two communities lived in relative harmony, evidenced by the fact that in 1891, 346 out of the 702 population centres in Cyprus consisted of mixed communities. This figure fell to just 48 in 1970.⁶⁶ But despite mutual tolerance, Greeks and Turks spoke different languages, practised different religions and rarely intermarried.⁶⁷ Such dualism allowed twentieth century Greek and Turkish nationalism emanating from their respective mainlands to utilise

⁶³ See: Nicos Trimikliniotis and Corina Demetriou, 'The Cypriot Roma/Gypsies and the Failure of Education: Anti-Discrimination and Multiculturalism as a Post-Accession Challenge', in this volume: Donald Kenrick and Gillian Taylor, 'Gypsies in Cyprus', *Roma*, XXIV, 1986, 36-8; <http://domresearchcenter.com/Kuri>, G. A. Williams, 'The Gypsies of Cyprus: A DRC Update', *KURI*, 1, 2000. For a general picture of Romany life elsewhere in Europe see, for example, Guy, *Between Past and Future*.

⁶⁴ Robin Oakley, 'The Turkish Peoples of Cyprus', M. Bainbridge, ed., *The Turkic People of the World*, London, 1993, 88-91.

⁶⁵ Kiamran Halil, 'The Structure of the Turkish-Cypriot Race', *Mankind Quarterly*, XV, 1974, 124-34; Ronald C. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World*, London, 1993.

⁶⁶ Oakley, 'Turkish Peoples of Cyprus'. For more detail on ethnicity under the Ottoman Empire see: Paul Santa Cassia, 'Religion, Politics and Ethnicity in Cyprus during the Turkokratia (1571-1878)', *European Journal of Sociology*, XXVII, 1986, 3-28; and chapter 6 of Andrekos Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915: The Inconsequential Possession*, Manchester, 2009.

⁶⁷ Floya Anthias and Ron Ayres, 'Ethnicity and Class in Cyprus', *Race and Class*, XXV, 1983, 61.