Racism and New Migration to Cyprus: The Racialisation of Migrant Workers

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Introduction: The Context of New Migration in Cyprus

This paper 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.

Cyprus is the third largest island of the Mediterranean and is situated in the far eastern part of the sea, historically adjoining Europe, Asia and Africa. It became an independent Republic in 1960 following a turbulent history. In post colonial times, there was inter-communal strife and constant foreign intervention of one kind or another, until 1974 when a coup by the Greek junta and local para-fascists, the EOKA B'[1], was used as a pretext for the Turkish invasion and the subsequent division of the island. (Hitchens 1997; Attalides 1979) Turkey still occupies 34% of the territory, whilst 200,000 remain refugees and the Turkish Cypriots remain in the north, the occupied territories. Attempts to resolve the Cyprus have not been successful for over twenty years. Cypriot policy now makers hope that the policy of accession to the EU would act as a catalyst in the effort to find a settlement. (Kranidiotis 1993; Charalambous et. al 1996; LSE and Hellenic Centre Conference 1996)

Cyprus has for years been a traditional exporter of migrants. As a former British Colony, 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. (Anthias 1992a) Cyprus has seen extensive economic development, since the Greek junta coup and the Turkish invasion of 1974, which left the society and economy devastated: an 18 % fall of the GNP between 1973 to 1975, a 30% rise in unemployment, mass poverty and a loss of 37% of the country's territory. (PIO 1997b) It has been transformed into a society which acts as 'host' to immigrants, from different countries, who occupy a range employment positions, from labourers, to professionals and entrepreneurs as well as retired persons.

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[*] **NOTE**: 'Foreign' is placed in inverted commas as the word 'foreign' in Greek (and the Cypriot dialect in particular) has the dual meaning. It means 'guest' but it may also mean 'alien," as the word 'xenos' derives from the first word of xeno-phobia. 'Εχουμε ξενους' means we have guests; but at the same time it means 'αλλοδαπos' or 'alien.'

Methodology

This paper examines Government policies and public discourses and debates and is not based on qualitative research. The sources it analyses are official statistics and publications, other statistics such as those provided by trade unions and the media, and newspaper reports and articles. There is only limited literature available which includes some Planning Bureau Publications, the Reports by the Parliamentary Commissions on Human Rights and the Parliamentary Commissions on Employment and Social Insurance and some statistics provided in official publications of the Press and Information Office (PIO). Other than these and some trade union publications, the main source is newspapers and magazines. This paper draws mainly on press cuttings, which are content analysed and critically evaluated. Also it draws on statistical data which is analysed. Some press cuttings have been collected by the researcher, whilst others are taken from archives of anything that has been published on the subject of migrant workers between 1995-97[2], with emphasis given in the latest years 1996-97. From January 1996 to March 1997 there have been 189 articles/news reports that referred to migrant workers, racism or attitudes towards them.[3] (See Appendix I for Political Orientation of the Cypriot Press) The Press is a valuable source to begin to research this area and provides insight into everyday discourse, at a popular level. The use of press in analysing social and political events is long established (See for example Schlesinger and Elliot 1991a and 1991b).

Some statistical data on migrant workers is available but it is ridden with deficiencies. Numbers are disputed and contradictory and as it is illustrated further down they are subject to a 'numbers game', whereby numbers are a key method of racialising groups, as shown later. Statistics seem incomplete, under different headings, often referring to different time periods and adopting different definitions of groups analysed.

The National Problem and Migration

Migrant workers arriving to Cyprus find a Cypriot population of about three quarters of a million, of whom prior to 1974 consisted of 78% Greek Cypriots, 18% Turkish Cypriots and smaller minorities (Maronites, Armenians, Latins and others). (PIO 1993) Today the actual size of the Turkish Cypriots is disputed; Turkey, which occupies the northern part of the island, has been following a policy of colonisation and bringing in settlers. The population, currently residing in Cyprus is reported to be 735,900, of whom 623,000 are Greek Cypriots and 90,000 Turkish Cypriots (PIO 1997a).

The recent history of Cyprus has been marked by rapid economic development since 1974. The development of Cyprus has been structured by a number of 'external' factors such as the Turkish occupation of the north since 1974. This, by default, created the preconditions for rabid modernisation, in spite of the severe drop in the GDP during 1973-75 and the sharp rise in unemployment and mass poverty (PIO 1997a). 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 (Anthias and Ayres 1983; Chrystodoulou 1992; Panayiotopoulos 1995; 1996).[4]

It has been suggested that these 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). The slow down in the growth of the economy in the 1990s in comparison to the late 1970s and 1980s,[5] together with the rise of inflation, was the basis for the abandoning of the restrictive labour policies practised up to 1990. In contrast with the restrictive policies, 1990 saw a radical change in government policy. For the first time migrant labour was allowed to enter on a much larger scale, to meet the labour shortage in those sectors of the economy that were no longer popular with Cypriots. Matsis and Charalambous explain the reversal of the policy on "foreign" labour as a result of "*excessive demand pressures and the near full exploitation of the indigenous labour supply*". (1993:38) The same authors suggest that the policy to allow entry of migrant labour, is due to pressure from employers and the fear of inflation resulting from wage indexation. They suggest that with *"the employment of foreign labour will eventually lead to a containment of wage increases"* (1993:42). Migrant workers primarily take up menial, low pay and low status jobs that Cypriots do not take; their occupational structure is similar to that of migrant labour in Europe in the 1950s and 1960s. (Matsis and Charalambous 1993:43)

Additionally there are international or global factors that have influenced the policy to open up the Cyprus labour market. These include regional changes, such as the collapse of Beirut as centre of the middle east, the collapse of the regimes of eastern Europe (with the resulting 'release' of investment in financial services) and the Gulf war. There has also been a world wide growth in tourism and migration flows. Global factors, in conjunction with the socio-economic orientation of the Cyprus Governments, are the main reasons for increasing migration to Cyprus. The whole history of Cyprus seems to be structured by global and regional economic, political and social developments; thus the economic development of Cyprus is best understood in a global and regional perspective as shown by some writers (Chrystodoulou 1992; Wilson 1994).

Migrant Workers: New Migration Trends to Cyprus

From the information given last October to trade unions and employers for the first nine months of 1996 by the Ministry of Labour[6] the figures show 27,500 documented migrant workers: 10,500 workers are occupied in sectors that require 'approval, by the Ministry of Labour and 17,000 in sectors not requiring such reference.

The official figure of migrant workers, as a percentage of the active work force, was 2-2,5% in 1990 and has risen to 5,5% by 1993 (Planning Bureau 1993). If we look at the trend of employment of migrant workers, with the exception of 1992-93 (Gulf war), we see a steady rise from the time the policy changed and allowed for the first time 'foreign' workers to be employed in 1990. There may be a distortion of the picture if one considers that some figures exclude Greeks from the Greek Republic with the exception of 1994. (See Table 7) However, the total number of migrant workers varies in different estimates. (See Table 7) The total figures also do not include undocumented workers, who are roughly to be about 10,000, or at least this seems to be the consensus as all the newspapers, the Ministry and the trade unions and employers suggest. (See Report of the

Employment and Social Insurance Parliamentary Commission 1997) Others estimate the total number of migrant workers about 45,000 (I Alitheia 18.1.97); and yet others estimate it at 36,000. (I Simerini 18.1.97) The official estimate is roughly around 35,000. (Report of the Employment and Social Insurance Parliamentary Commission 1997) If we take the mean between 35 an 45 thousand as 40 thousand, then today we can estimate migrant workers as 13,28% of the economically active population.[7]

An analysis of the data reveals some interesting facts about the emerging trends. (All Tables 1-7 are in the Appendix section) Firstly, from those workers that do not require reference or approval by the Ministry of Labour, the single largest occupational group are domestic helpers or maids (6200), followed by managers (3700), in off shore companies and then followed by 'artists' and 'dancers'. (Table 4) Also there are about 3500 Greeks and 2000 migrants married to Cypriot women, referred to as 'foreigners' (αλλοδαποι). The later category is an anomaly discussed later. About one third of all Greeks are occupied in the service sector and one fourth in managerial or qualified and technical work. (Table 6)

The statistics providing ethnic/national and occupational breakdowns necessary, are somewhat dated (for the year 1994 see PEO 1996, Table 6) and not account for undocumented workers. On the basis of the above statistics, apart from 3500 Greeks (Table 4), come from four regions: from eastern Europe (about 6000), from south eastern Asia (4680), from the middle east (about 3000), and northern/central Europe/ USA (about 2500) (see Table 6).

The vast majority of Eastern Europeans are concentrated in production/industry, services, farming and 'artists/dancers'; jobs that are on the lower end of the market in terms of pay and status. With the exception of the Lebanese and to a lesser extent the Jordanians, who include a large proportion of managers/qualified and technicians (over 50% and just under 40% respectively), workers from the other two middle eastern countries, Syria and Egypt, are concentrated in production, services and farming. South eastern Asians are concentrated in services, farming, production. Two thirds of all Sri Lankans and Filipinos are in services (mainly maids); whilst the rest are concentrated in farming and production.

The feminisation of entire sectors of the labour market is of particular significance. Domestic helpers / assistants consist entirely of Asian, and primarily Filipino women, reported as being over 6,000 (see Table 4) and attracting much media 'attention', as shown later, whilst cleaners are again mainly Asian women, from Sri Lanka and the Philippines. (Table 4) Other sectors, such as building and construction, are male dominated (Syria, Egypt). There are both men and women in low paid jobs in production and services; however there are industries with sectors that consist entirely of men or entirely of women.[8] Even where there are both men and women in a particular sector, a sexual division of labour may be found, as well as wage differentials. In the hotel industry for example many employers may employ women in what they consider

'feminine' types of jobs (cleaners, room attendees etc.) and men in more 'male' types of works (such as bar work, waiters, kitchen etc.) though this is not always the case.

A sector made entirely by women is the 'sex industry' and is found under the classifications of 'artists', 'dancers' and 'musicians' mainly working in 'clubs' and cabarets. The 'entrepreneurs' of this 'industry' (i.e. pimps) are mainly Cypriots. The number (1,100 Table 4) may be an under-estimate as the 'sex industry' also includes other women who are officially 'tourists' and in other sectors and do not appear in the statistics. The regime governing female 'artists' (καλιτεχνιδες) is strict, as they can only stay for 6 months and then they must stay abroad for 6 months with a right to be re-employed in Cyprus. (I Simerini 2.3.97)

Prior to the collapse of the Eastern European regimes the 'artists and musicians' sector was dominated by Filipino and Thailand women; in 1994 the figures show 228 and 88 respectively (Table 6) but with collapse of these regimes the sector is dominated by eastern Europeans: Romanians 482; Bulgarians 163; Russian 52[9] in 1994. (Table 6) The numbers vary significantly, as these women are constantly being moved around in a sector that is operates at the fringes of the law.

The sector attracts media attention from time to time, but not as much as 'domestic helpers'. Interestingly one newspaper report had the headline *"Cyprus comes first in the world in* [female] *domestic helpers and* [female] *artists"* (O Phileleftheros 15.4.94). More recently there has been talk of areas in Limassol and Paphos being transformed into *"ghettos of legal and illegal workers"* where *"prostitution and drug usage and crime are flourishing"* (O Phileleftheros 4.10.96), however one has to be cautious of these linkages, as it will be shown further on in this paper.

A closer examination of the various sectors employing migrant workers requires a consideration of the legal regime and rights enjoyed by these communities. The question of rights is intrinsically connected with citizenship laws and this will be next looked at.

Government Policy, Citizenship and the Rights of Migrant Workers
The policies and practices governing migrant workers from the moment of entry, their work conditions and their legal and social rights, are set out in the agreement of the Government, the employers organisations (OEV and KEVE)[10] and trade unions (PEO, SEK, DEOK and some sectional unions)[11], known as the 'tri-partite system'. Prior to 1990 Government policy towards migration to Cyprus was restrictive, only allowing entrepreneurial position and certain highly skilled managerial or technical posts to be filled by non-Cypriots. Work permit to 'foreigners' was granted only in exceptional circumstances wherever there were no Cypriots with the relevant qualifications.

The policy change, allowing the entry of migrant workers, was seen as a necessary step in resolving the labour shortage. Migrant workers were to be 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 (1989:5). Furthermore the same study recognises that there 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)[12] 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[13] (from the Ministry of Labour) and those employed in sectors that do not. The sectors are described in Tables 3 and 4.

A precondition for granting a permit is that local workers cannot cover the specific need by the employer. The period of stay was originally put at 2 years but was subsequently extended to 4 years (Matsis and Charalambous 1993:42-43). Different sectors have different criteria for stay periods. Musicians and singers in hotels can stay for 2 years, then they must stay abroad for another 3 months before being employed in Cyprus again; seasonal farming workers can only be employed for 3 months, providing they have obtained a reference from the Ministry of Labour.

There are two main ways that migration flows are regulated. One is the regulation of the types of jobs that may be taken by migrant workers and the Ministry of Labour grants permits to the employers of such workers. This is based on 'controlling' employers, rather than the employees. The second is a direct control on migrant workers and this comes under the jurisdiction of the Immigration Department and the Police.[14] The presence of migrants in Cyprus is regulated by the *On Aliens and Migration Law* which, inter alia, empowers the authorities to deport migrants without the relevant documentation as "illegal immigrants". From the 1st of January 1997 this law was amended to become harsher against those who employ undocumented workers, providing up to 5 years imprisonment or Cy£5000 fine (or both). The court also has discretion to prohibit the employment of foreign workers by such an employer (PIO Press Release 30.12.96).

Originally, trade unions had their misgivings about the change of policy, fearing that employers would use migrant workers to undercut wages and unions bargaining power (See PEO 1995). However, they eventually agreed in the tri-partite meeting which set out the terms of employment and special conditions.[15]

The Problems with Government Policies
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 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.[16] 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.

There has been a tightening of regulation of "agents"[17], which has fuelled by press reports about "agents", who allegedly profited, at the expense of the desperation of workers to emigrate. Networks of 'agents' make a 'profit' by getting massive 'fees' from migrants willing to pay to find a way out of the poverty and deprivation in their own countries. Until recently there was no legal protection against this (Protopapas 1996). The new 'draconian' laws[18] are flawed however because it is difficult for migrant workers to change employer and occupation. This may act as a disincentive on the part of migrant workers to report any employer malpractice and harsh conditions, as they may deported if the employer is found guilty of any such practice.

There is no mechanism for monitoring or enforcing the tri-partite agreement, noted as far back as 1989 by the Planning Bureau study (1989). The institutional responsibility on monitoring whether the criteria and conditions of permit are met by employers lie with the Immigration Department, but in practice these are carried out by the Ministry of Labour. (The Report of the Parliamentary Commission on Employment and Social Insurance, House of Representatives 1997a) This raises questions of accountability and confusion.

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.[19] 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 theses issues.(1997a:11-12)

Furthermore, there are problems to do with administration and law enforcement in Cyprus[20]. Part of it is due to inadequate staffing and training. The Report of the Parliamentary Commission on Employment and Social Insurance, (House of Representatives 1997a) notes the *"inadequacy of staffing"* the relevant section which means that the *"control is not that which is expected"*. The Report of the Parliamentary Commission for Labour and Social Insurance notes that this as one of the main problems

on the matter (House of Representatives 1997a). The state bureaucracy, in general, is not very organised, but also its clientelist tendencies render it prone to arbitrary discretion in the enforcement of rules. Over and above this there seems to be an *"administrative laxity"* by the administrators when it comes to enforcement of the agreement in controlling employment and protect wages (Matsis and Charalambous 1993). Even the Interior Minister has admitted before a Parliamentary Committee that migrant workers are badly exploited and Cyprus is exposed to the international community as a result (O Phileleftheros 4.10.96). Matsis and Charalambous (1993:46) note that Government policy is not conducive to the declared policy goals as set out in its strategic Development Plan for technological up-grading and controlling tourism development.

Moreover there have been reports, claiming reliable 'inside' sources, of allegations about immigration officers who have *"illegal give and takes with employers or are importing illegal aliens"*. These have recently led to sweeping changes in the Immigration Department (Haravyi 7.2.97). Reports of repression of clandestine migrant labour appear regularly in the press. During 1996 the Head of the Police revealed that there were 1500 'recent' deportations of undocumented workers and 150 employers who were before the courts in connection with this (O Phileleftheros 4.10.96) though we cannot deduce what period this covers. A press conference given by the Interior Minister recalled that there have been a total of 5,000 deportations, presumably referring to all deportations since 1990 (O Phileleftheros 7.2.97).

Citizenship Rights

A comprehensive study of the rights and the position of migrant workers ought to involve an examination of the procedures of entry.[21] The laws regarding Citizenship, as set out by the 1960 Constitution[22] 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.[23] However foreign men who marry Cypriot women can only become citizens after five years of stay (On Citizenship Law 1967 as amended in 1972 and 1983). There is a proposal by AKEL to amend the law to bring about equality between the sexes.[24] 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 are very reluctant to grant citizenship to migrant workers, 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.[25] 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 very recent Parliamentary Reports referred to above, there has been little serious 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 (Planning Bureau 1989). Enhancing migrants' rights might be seen as encouraging them to stay longer.

The Parliamentary Commissions Reports refer to ways of enhancing the rights of migrant workers. In particular, the Report by the Human Rights Commission is very critical of the existence of racism and xenophobia in Cyprus. This calls for measures, including legal responses, to the question (1997b). However the Report by the Employment and Social Insurance Commission, 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 blamed on migrant workers themselves), and *"extra-marital affairs"* (1997a:7).

Debates and Discourses on Migration: Media Amplification

The role of the media in the racialisation of groups in society cannot be overstated, as it is by and large via the media that representations of collectivities are made and their role in the shaping of attitudes and opinion is crucial. The media, which involves different communication networks, has the power to shape attitudes, as the classic study of Stuart Hall (1978)on mugging and media amplification has shown. The Glasgow Media group has shown the existence of selective representation, and therefore distortion of news, through the ability to decide what 'news' is and what is not. Chomsky's *"manufacture of consent"* (Peck 1988), as well as other works, has shown how US policy goals outweigh any consideration of objectivity and fairness in the flow of information, for example. If we accept these arguments then we need to consider the role of the media in Cyprus.

The following section involves a discourse analysis from the content of the 189 press reports and articles, which referred to migrant workers, between 1996 to March 1997.[26] This involved following through the headlines and content of the press during this period and looking at the way in which migrant workers are dealt with.

Replaying the 'Numbers Game' and Racialisation through Representation

Moore (1975) writing about Britain spoke of a pernicious 'numbers game' whereby migrants were constructed and stigmatised as a 'problem'. Migrants thus become in the minds of the media and in the eyes of the readers, *the problem*. The 'numbers game' though presented in the guise of ensuring 'good race relations', in fact accentuates racism. The preoccupation with figures constructs 'migrants as a problem', and includes 'discussions' on the 'optimal number', how to control the numbers of "these rampant people". The term 'numbers game', as used here, illustrates how the debate around the number of migrants in Cyprus contributes to the racialisation of migrants as they are presented as a problem for society.

The 'numbers game' is being replayed in Cyprus today. Out of the 189 reports/ articles analysed only 18 did not refer or respond to the question that there are 'too many foreigners', either as undocumented immigrants or as documented workers.[27] The language of the headlines is indicative: *"We are swamped by foreigners"* (From the right wing daily newspaper <u>O Agon</u> 18.9.96).[28] The more liberal establishment and most popular daily <u>O Phileleftheros</u> follows the same approach: *"50000 Foreign workers-when Cypriot are unemployed"* (1.9.96*); "Flood by foreign workers"* 20.10.96; *"Illegal immigrants are a plague"* (26.10.96); *"..in a dangerous zone" (*20.12.96); *"..a headache"* (25.12.96); *"The illegal workers are invisible"* (7.2.97) *".. incurable cancer"* (4.3.97). The extreme Right-wing <u>I Machi</u> refers to illegal workers *as "a plague"* (19.1.97). <u>Ergatiko Vima</u>, the newspaper of PEO, the Left wing trade union adopts a more cautious approach but has used an alarmist language: *"Foreigners, everywhere foreign workers"* (8.9.93) (see Appendix I for Political Orientation of Press).

These are but a few headlines, as all papers seem to take a similar alarmist approach. Out of the 15 reports which were more 'sympathetic' to migrant workers articles/reports, 7 still considered that this number should be restricted (<u>O Phileleftheros</u> 1.10.96; 3.10.96;

14.10.96; 24.10.96; 31.12.96; 1.1.97; Haravyi 1.12.96). Haravyi, the newspaper of AKEL (Progressive Party of Working People) seems more cautious in using such headlines, due to the Left wing and working class/internationalist ideology it claims to promote, and takes up cases of super-exploitation or oppression, but the difference seems at times to be of style rather than substance (see Haravyi 4.20.96; 25.10.96; 1.12.96; 5.12.96; 1.3.97). Neolea, which is the youth supplement in Haravyi and is the organ of the General Council of EDON (United Democratic Youth Organisation) is the most sympathetic newspaper to migrant workers.

It is paradoxical that many Cypriots are, and have been, subject to this same treatment abroad. Cypriots in fact, together with other ethnic minorities such as Hungarians suffer discrimination (Daniel 1968). More recent studies again reveal a pattern of discrimination and racism directed against Cypriots in Britain albeit in an uneven and more subtle manner depending on the class and gender position of the people examined (Anthias 1992a). In the way that Italians do not seem to have learned from the experience of racism, faced by Italians when emigrated abroad, in their treatment of migrant communities to Italy (Vasta 1983), Cypriots seem do not have learned from racism many Cypriot have experienced abroad.

In the Cyprus context the 'numbers game' is instrumental in orchestrating 'moral panics' in the classic way, via *"media amplification"* (Hall et al. 1978). In a similar fashion that 'mugging' was coined and connected to black people as if it is somehow a 'natural' connection in Britain, the rising numbers of 'illegal foreign workers' in Cyprus is somehow connected to the rise in crime rates, (see the Report of the Employment and Social Insurance Parliamentary Commission) ignoring the pouring in of Russian investment and the rise in the drug trade. Hall et al pointed out in their study that the construction of "mugging" in the 1970s *"can only be understood in terms of the way society -more especially the ruling-class alliances, the state apparatuses and the media - responded to a deepening economic, political and social crisis"* (1978). In a similar way there is a scapegoating of migrants with regard to the rising crime rate in Cyprus. The connection between migrants and crime is a recurring theme in official Reports and the media. Sometimes pictures of arrested people appear next to reports on migrant workers (O Phileleftheros 4.2.97). They are blamed for rise in crime, violence and drugs (see O Phileleftheros 24.4.96; 1.1.97; 6.2.97; I Simerini ; To Periodiko 29.11.96), as well as for 'social problems' such as marriages of convenience (O Phileleftheros 21.1.97), divorce and illegitimate children (O Phileleftheros 6.2.97).

In Cyprus, the most common explanation for arguing against migration are either that Cyprus is 'too small' and it is justifiable to feel the need to 'protect' its 'national culture and heritage', or more authoritatively, that it is a semi-occupied and threatened country and its national survival needs to by ensured be all means necessary (O Phileleftheros 20.11.97). The alleged 'protection of national culture and heritage' from 'alien cultures' of migrant workers, as claimed in Cyprus, is part of nationalist discourse as Balibar (1991) has shown. Hence a SEK leader (the Right wing trade union) called for the withdrawal of all working permits given to temporary migrant workers when their

contracts expire, unless they were of Greek origin (O Phileleftheros 28.7.96). The dominant model is not one of 'assimilation' or 'integration' of these workers; it is a 'host-immigrant' model whereby the 13-15% of temporary workers are considered a threat to the fabric of society as a whole.

Kitromilides' (1979) observation of what he branded as a 'dialectic of intolerance', partly as a historic legacy of colonialism and structured around the institutional framework of Cypriot political life, also finds expression in 'ethnic' intolerance today. This may also be an indictment on the lack of a strong 'public opinion' and debate in a 'small society', where education is more concerned with technical or professional qualifications, rather than the development of critical faculties. However, it cannot be assumed for certain that the outcome of any debate would necessarily lead to the concern with the rights of migrants, as the supposedly more 'open' debates in western Europe illustrate (see the debates on racism and anti-racism in France and Europe, Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992; Solomos and Wrench 1993, Solomos and Back 1995; Lloyd 1994).

An unsavoury connection in some report is made between migrant workers and disease, crisis, and dirt. Headlines such as *"Foreign workers are a real cancer"* (I Simerini 19.10.96) or quoting the Interior Minister populist and racist remarks*: "Foreign workers are an unsalvageable cancer"* (O Philelephtheros 4.3.97) or referring to the undocumented workers as *"a gangrene"* (I Alitheia 4.3.97) as well as "plague"; "headache", as shown above. A favoured connection, since the rise in unemployment in Cyprus from 1,8% in 1990 to over 3,0% in 1996 (PEO 1996), is that of employment and the numbers of migrant workers: *"Working people victims of employment of foreigners - mass dismissals"* (I Simerini 1.3.97); or *"Unacceptable: Hundreds of Cypriots dismissed as foreigners are employed"* (Haravyi 1.3.97) Structural or other causes of unemployment are ignored. The scapegoating of migrant workers is in fact a regular feature in the media and this involves connecting them to all sorts of social evils, as Neolea (4.10.96) in an article critical of the media coverage on the subject pointed out.

The social Welfare Department had 'expressed concern' about some *"social problems resulting from the presence foreign workers"* such as marriages of convenience; and *"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"* in reply to questions by journalists (Ergatiko Vima 8.9.93). There were more or less repeated in the Parliamentary Commission Report (1997a). However one has to look specifically at the racialisation of women workers, since the process is gendered.

Gendered and Racialised Labour Market: The Racialisation of Domestic Workers

The headline in the most popular, but 'serious', newspaper is revealing: *"Instead of every house and a Castle, Every House and an Asian Woman"* (O Phileleftheros 14.2.97). This is paraphrasing the well known phrase by the veteran leader of EDEK[29], who was for years advocating that *"every house* [to be] *a castle"* in the face of Turkish expansionism. The report was mocking the fact that many Cypriots today, to gain 'prestige' and status,

have recruited Asian women as maids. Asian women have become the stereotype of domestic workers/servants and seen as a 'necessity' for every household that can afford them. In fact the term *"Asian woman"* (Ασιατισσα) is used in many instances interchangeably with Filipino woman (Φιλιππινεζα) or Sri Lankan woman (Σριλανκεζα). A common phrase used in popular discourse is: *"What do you think I am? Your Asian/Filipino woman?"*.

The expression *"I work like a 'black'"* (μαυρος), with its racist connotation, was used before the wave of new migration, but has now reached wider application in popular discourse and found in casual talk among people. It is also used as a term of abuse against migrant workers. As one migrant worker himself vividly illustrated in the English speaking newspaper Cyprus Weekly (30.9-6.10.97): *"... I cannot sit on my own balcony without getting verbal abuse from Cypriot people, who call me "mavro" or shout other bad words..."*.[30]

Colour is only one of the signifiers of racism, not exclusive or necessarily the most important. It has been suggested that darker people are more *likely* to be the target of racism. Regarding Cyprus one may crudely suggest that people from different geographical areas are concentrated in different occupations, with 'whites' (northern/ central Europeans/ Americans) concentrated in more office type works, with a very large number as managers. 'Black' people (northern Africa/Arabs, and south east Asians, with the exception of Lebanese and Jordanians), on the other hand, are more likely to be concentrated in manual jobs. However this is a crude and at times misleading picture: there is an anomaly with east Europeans, who, depending on their class position of course, generally occupy jobs at the lower end of the market. This is also the case for the Lebanese and to a lesser extent Jordanian migrants. Therefore, we can argue that racism cannot be reduced to a phenotypic prejudice solely based on colour, without wanting in any way to underestimate the historical and systematic racism faced by black people. (Gilroy 1987; Miles 1989; Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992:132-140)

As for the gender dimension, there is a clear division of labour based on racial background: eastern European (white) women are the first preference for the sex industry (prostitution and 'artists'/ 'dancers'), with some continuity with the stereotype of the 'exotic' Asian women in some clubs. Asian women are preferred for home care and 'caring jobs', perhaps linked to some stereotype notion of the 'black (or dark) maid'. The cultural basis for the position of the Asian maid was found in the category the "kori" (κορη) in traditional society, where the woman, daughter and wife, 'served' the man. This operated together with class, as lower class women were the cleaners and maids in the houses of the rich (αρχοντικα).

In one report (O Phileleftheros 14.2.97) the case of a Sri Lankan woman is presented, who worked from 7:00 am until 10:00 p.m. every day except Sunday, serving four related families on very low pay. The example illustrates how racism and class and oppression work together and how the position of these individual needs to be seen within particular locations: race, class and gender. When the representative of the trade union SEK (Right

wing) was asked to comment on this, he spoke of how revealing this case is *"in denying three Cypriot cleaners of work"*!(sic)

The antipathy of the Cypriot press towards domestic workers and xenophobia against them was demonstrated when a group of organised Filipino workers were condemned by the newspapers in big headlines for their *"Self-proclamation as a Community"* (O Phileleftheros 28.9.97 and I Simerini 30.9.97). One reader, through the readers columns, regretted the attempts to 'legitimise' the presence of Filipinos and blamed Cypriot housewives for wanting 'foreign' maids, warning of the possibility of *"racial discrimination and trouble"* (O Phileleftheros 6.10.97). The matter was exposed by Neolea (4.10.97), the only newspaper which has consistently defended the rights of migrant workers and has spoken out against racism.[31] In this paper the writer of the article spoke of the treatment of migrant workers as *"symptoms of a wider malaise and misleading attitude, a racism that underlies this attitude and is gradually being established in Cyprus"*.[32] One must consider the connection between gender and 'race', and racism and sexism, if one is to understand the position of migrant women labour and the kind of racialisation they face. We are reminded that *"racialized and ethnic minority women are concentrated in the most arduous and poorly paid work"* (Anthias and Yuval-Davies 1992:117) and the experience in Cyprus clearly shows this, if one looks at domestic workers and the way the media portrays them.[33]

A crucial dimension in the racialisation of migrant workers is in their capacity as labour, in the labour market. This requires an examination of their employment position.

Migrant Workers and Employment

Employers and Migrant Workers

The labour shortage in Cyprus has been invoked by employers to put pressure for the import of 'foreign' labour but in spite of the original agreements there are reports of wage differentials between migrant workers and locals. (Ergatiko Vima 27.9.95) Moreover the kind of occupations migrant workers are concentrated in are so low paid that no Cypriot would take them. (Matsis and Charalambous 1993) There are disputes on the question of 'designated' job descriptions and contracts, as the employers induce migrant workers to do different types of work or tasks, over and above their contractual agreements. There is no significant trade union intervention; if there are no trade unions operating in the firm there is no intervention (Ergatiko Vima 27.9.95). Employers consider the presence of migrant workers as positive for the economy of the country, but primarily for putting a downward pressure on wages and keeping a check on inflation, something also reflected in the Report by the Parliamentary Commission (1997a).

Anastasiades, speaking from the employers' viewpoint, (O Phileleftheros 4-5.12.96) sees migrant workers as useful in making Cypriot products more competitive and he argues that the low wages paid to migrant workers will yield high wages for Cypriot workers (in the long term). The increase in profits and productivity it is suggested will lead to an increase in exports and taxes, a reduction in unemployment and crime, and eventually to increased wage for Cypriot workers (Anastasiades, O Phileleftheros 4-5.12.96). These

claims are regularly repeated by representatives of Employers Associations who also point to the 'positive contribution' of migrant workers especially in agriculture and industry (Pierides for OEB I Simerini 19.1.97; and for KEVE O Phileleftheros 4.2.97) Employers representatives however, always appear tough on undocumented workers calling on authorities to take the necessary measures for their removal (Loizides in O Phileleftheros 4.2.97).

The Cypriot Labour Movement and Migrant Workers

Traditionally the Cypriot labour movement had a strong internationalist approach stressing the unity of all workers including Turkish Cypriot workers in the labour struggles. However, recent publications of AKEL (Progressive Party of Working People) do not even refer to migrant workers as being part of the 60.7% of the economically active population who are estimated to be working class (AKEL 1996:94)[34]. This is at a time when AKEL, Haravyi, (the AKEL daily) PEO and other Left wing organisations regularly discuss and debate the issue and numbers of migrant workers.

Despite regular reports in the Cypriot press on the plight of migrant workers and reports of 'super-exploitation', 'sub-letting' and 'lending' them to friends and relatives for the weekends, little has been done by the Labour movement to organise migrant workers. Headlines include: *"Subletting of foreign workers"* (O Phileleftheros 3.10.96); *"Vicious exploitation"* (Haravyi 20.5.1994). Haravyi (20.5.1994) presents the case of a worker who was paid Cy£13.90[35] per week, rather than the agreed Cy £54.10 entitled; far too excessive hours of work, up to 36 hours continuous work. In another report it is reported that a severe beating of migrants when arrested has reached the European Committee against Torture (O Phileftheros 19.2.97).

Trade unions, however, have failed, on the whole, to take action to support or demonstrate their solidarity to migrant workers. One must distinguish between the Left-wing and the Right-wing trade unions, as there are differences in emphasis and ideological leanings. PEO has be to considered in conjunction with AKEL and the broad Left. SEK (Confederation of Labour of Cyprus) is ideologically and organically tied to the Right-wing party DESY (Democratic Rally). Having said that, there is a consensus in their opposition to the presence of migrant workers. They agree that they are to blame for rising unemployment and they have taken common action against migrant workers in the hotel industry in Paphos (Haravyi 12.12.96; O Phileleftheros 13.12.96).

A SEK spokesman is quoted stating that *"they* ['migrant workers'] *are stealing our bread"* (O Phileleftheros 2.12.97), which is an illustration of SEK's approach. SEK is also more vocal on how migrant workers 'contaminate our culture', blame them for rising criminality and other 'social problems'. A SEK official[36], in line with a number of other similar statements by his union, is alarmed by what he called *"the danger"* of creating *"a third minority",* beyond the Turkish Cypriots and the illegal settlers brought by in Turkey. He refers to "*an Afro-Asian 'minority' and other aliens with dangerous consequences for a country that faces a problem of invasion, occupation and alteration of its demographic*

character" (O Philelefheros 28.7.96). The super-exploitation and human rights of migrant workers may be discussed as another justification for their deportation, as they are not well treated anyway (Interview with Assistant General Secretary of SEK, Demetris Kittenis, Ergatiki Foni 30.10.96).

In contrast the Left, and AKEL in particular, has an anti-racist stance, but there is ambivalence in the broader 'popular movement', which consist of all Left-wing groups allied to AKEL. Different groups on the Left emphasise different aspects and at times contradict each other. AKEL, at its' 18th Congress, pledges that it *"will work so that foreign workers employed in Cyprus get the same treatment as their Cypriot colleagues and will decisively fight against possible phenomena of racism and xenophobia"* (AKEL 1995:40). This clearly sets AKEL against racism; however the reference *to "possible phenomena"* and not *"actual phenomena"* implies that racism and xenophobia are something to guard against in some distant future. Also AKEL does not refer to the ways in which it will fight racism and little initiative has been taken by the Party to support migrant workers. Furthermore, *"illegal foreign workers"* are referred to as a problem and AKEL calls upon the Government to take *"drastic measures to put an end to the illegal employment of foreign workers"* (AKEL 1995:40). The phrase *"drastic measures"* may well mean in practice violation of the fundamental human rights of undocumented workers, as well as other migrant workers, who may come under any heavy handed Police action. However, recent initiatives by some of AKEL's MPs, such as those in the Human Rights Parliamentary Commission (House of Representatives 1997b) illustrate that AKEL is taking up the issue of racism more seriously and that the debates over racism in Europe is beginning to influence AKEL policy makers.[37] Furthermore, AKELists, in alliances with others, are in the process of setting up an anti-racist organisation and a network for the rights of immigrants.[38] Nonetheless, for AKEL (AKEL 1995:40) and PEO the shortage of labour could be met with the employment of Turkish Cypriots rather than 'foreign' labour. Again we see the connection of the treatment of migrant labour with the vision of solution to the Cyprus problem.[39]

Activists and leaders of PEO refer to the need to guarantee the rights of migrant workers (I Simerini 18.8.96, Papaefstathiou Executive Secretary of PEO). However, their reference to *"social problems"* that allegedly derive from the arrival *of "alien cultures"* undermines this. Under the heading *"The Problem of Foreign workers"* the Report by the outgoing General Council of PEO suggests that *"the foreign workers are importing new customs (ηθη και εθιμα) and social problems"* (PEO 1995:64). To quote once more the PEO report *"the alien workers are carriers of different attitudes, principles and values, who have the potential to influence on social institutions. Furthermore problems are created either as a result of extra-marital relations or when the upbringing of children is given to foreign domestic helpers"* (PEO 1995:64). Also it calls upon the government to take all necessary measures to put an end *"illegal employment of aliens"* (PEO 1995:64; 66). In its newspaper PEO regularly blames unemployment on the presence of migrant workers (Ergatiko Vima 8.9.93; 17.7.96) as does Haravyi. (1.3.97; 9.7.96; 25.6.95). They do not see the connection with calling for 'harsher measures'

against undocumented migrant workers and a repression which may violate the rights of all migrant workers.

In contrast to the above however, PEO officials speak of *"defending the rights of 'foreign' workers, whenever there are problems, which goes to show that PEO are not against foreign workers"* (Ergatiko Vima 8.9.93). PEO favours the re-negotiation of the conditions for employment of migrant workers in such a way that it guarantees their own rights, but also that they do not undercut the wages of Cypriots (Interview with Michalis Papaefstathiou the Executive Secretary of PEO, I Simerini 18.8.96).

From the evidence above, it is apparent that both major trade unions are united in striking against the presence of migrant workers, both are concerned about the so called 'alien cultures' they 'bring in' with them and both fail to properly organise migrant workers. This supports Paul Gilroy's suggestion that unite the indigenous working class (1987). Race is here just as important in class structuration as class is to race (Anthias 1990; 1992b). In Cyprus all unions are remarkably united on this, whilst there are significant differences on other subjects. Furthermore, the common trade union actions against migrant workers illustrate that race consciousness and mobilisation can be an alternative to class.

Towards a Multi-ethnic, Multi-cultural Cyprus?
In some versions of Greek Cypriot nationalism, 'foreigners' are seen as 'contaminating', undermining and 'estranging' (αλλοτριωνουν) Cypriots from Hellenism, by 'de-Hellenising' Cyprus (αφελληνισμος της Κυπρου), which is according to nationalists the 'strength' of the nation (cited in the section dealing with trade unions). A recorded incident involving severe beating of, and racial violence against, eleven Bangladeshi students by a group of young Greek Cypriots, in the immediate aftermath of the murder of two Greek Cypriots by Turkish fascists in the buffer zone in August 1996, illustrates this.[40] This discourse does not relate intrinsically to the attempts to resolve the Cyprus problem, but the existence of the problem creates the conditions of 'national emergency' that make it conducive to chauvinistic nationalism and racism.

There is no singular anti-racist recipe or strategy for eliminating racism since there are different loci of racialisation. Structural changes, changes in policies and their administration, educational programs, trade union and political activities all have a very important role to play in defending the rights of migrant workers. Structural changes would alter the 'material bases' that generate racism and the kinds of policies that systematically, intentionally or by default, produce racial effects. Educational programs and populist discourse could deal with the level of ideas and attitudes (see Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992). A more open public debate would lead to a greater awareness to issues of racism and give the opportunity for migrant workers to participate. Migrant workers need to be incorporated in the trade unions and be involved in struggles for improving workers lives.

On a wider scale a serious attempt to disconnect and disentangle the presumptions in the idea that "migrants equals social problems" must be undertaken. In the context of Cyprus a major break through for anti-racism would be to disentangle the national problem from an alleged need to be 'strict' on migration and migrants. In fact 'patriotism' could be redefined to include a call for the protection of rights and well-being of all people resident in Cyprus. The existence of the Cyprus problem and the perceived need to 'internationalise' the Cyprus problem by Cyprus could be invoked for treating migrants more equally. The maintenance of the rule of law and protection rights is indeed a requisite for accession to the EU, an argument already invoked by some Cypriot politicians in very recent debates.[41]

The fact that Cyprus is host to migrant workers may well have longer-term social implications on the question of identity, as identity is very much a contextual and shifting phenomenon. Matsis and Charalambous believe that the presence of 'foreign workers' has had profound effect on the economy, but also *"on the social fabric of a small society that has already been altered by the presence of foreign tourists on a massive scale and on the democratic profile of the country"* (1993:41). There are debates over identity in Cyprus among Greek Cypriot over 'Helleno-centrism' and 'Cypro-centrism' (Papadakis 1993; Mavratsas 1997) and among Turkish Cypriots over Turko-cetrism and Cypro-centrism (Adiloglou 1989; Mehmet Ali 1989). The cultural aspect of the 'national' issue between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots needs to be reconsidered in the light of the presence of migrant workers. Although historically 4% or less than 30,000 of the population consisted of ethnic groups, other than Greek Cypriots or Turkish Cypriots. There has never been such a large number of 'others' in Cyprus; not just tourists but more permanent residents. Perhaps more significantly the fact that there is such variety of ethnic groups, much more visible, interacting in a new way, creates the conditions for a new epoch in Cyprus, at least demographically speaking.

The presence of migrant workers may affect the debate on Cypriot identity. The ongoing debate over Greek Cypriot identity, on the relationship of Greek Cypriots to their ethnic background as Greeks and their geographical location and in their capacity as Cypriot citizens (Papadakis 1993; Mavratsas 1997; Panayiotou 1997) needs to take account of the existence of migrants in Cyprus. For the Turkish Cypriots, who live in the occupied territories matters are quite different as the conditions are very different; nonetheless a similar debate is taking place, but in a different setting[42] (Mehmet Ali 1989; Kizilyurek 1990; 1993).

'Cypriotists' or 'Cypro-centrists' are more open to diversity than the Greek Cypriots nationalists or 'Helleno-centrists' (Panayiotou 1997). However, localisms, such as 'Cypriotism', may well become as hostile to migrant workers, as Greek Cypriot nationalism /Hellado-centricism, as the collusion of the Trade unions against migrant workers indicates. Nonetheless, those who are more sympathetic to Cypro-centrism are generally less concerned with 'purity'. They range from the cosmopolitan centre-liberals, to social democrats and to those on the Left of the political spectrum. It is from these ranks that anti-racists are primarily drawn from. This is because the Left has an

'internationalist' tradition, as does 'cosmopolitan' liberalism, and generally speaking the Left is closer to the 'Cypro-centrist' side (Papadakis 1993). 'Cypriotism' or 'Cypro-centrism' already entails some elements of tolerance and diversity within it, as it allows for the peaceful and creative co-existence of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Notions of the 'purity' of the 'nation' are more the exclusivity of the Right and nationalists

A new paradigm of an open and plural Cypriot identity, irrespective of ethnic origin could emerge allowing for difference but retaining a sense of geographical location. The consciousness of 'mother-Cyprus' to entail both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots as proposed by Kizilyurek (1990) must now extent to incorporating migrants residing in Cyprus. However, a move towards Cypriotness, even if both communities follow it may not be strong enough as an ideology. More importantly, if there are any material processes (such as organisations, institutions) which actually work towards materialising this (see Attalides 1979), these are today weaker than they were before the election of the Right wing administration in 1993. There are forces (media, state) who are strongly opposed to these views. With the re-election of Mr Clerides as President in the 1998 Presidential elections this is set to continue.

There is the additional factor, that Cyprus is heading towards joining the EU, which is already changing attitudes. For example, the scheduled change in the law on homosexuality following a decision by the European Court for Human Rights, is partly the result of anticipation of entry in the EU. The principle of tolerance and respect for difference is increasingly invoked in anticipation of Cypriot entry to the EU. There may be another even more important factor within the process of accession: the fact that Cypriots would be exposed more and more to the anti-racist movements of Europe and a regime for rights of migrants and minorities in Europe.

However, accession to the EU may also bring Cyprus into a 'fortress Europe', through the imposition of regimes such as Shengen. The rise of racist and neo-fascist groups and the increasing rate of violence and prejudice against migrants and ethnic minorities movements in Europe, do not create a good precedent for Cypriots to follow. Furthermore, the failure of the anti-racist movement to combat racism in Europe do not provide an inspiration (Lloyd 1983), whilst the conditions of antagonism and the hierarchical relations in the EU are conducive to the exacerbation of racial prejudice and intolerance, rather than combating them. Europeanisation is no magic formula, but learning from the European experience is certainly likely to be beneficial for Cypriots.

Conclusion
To understand better the migration processes in Cyprus a fuller picture of the processes of migration of labour must be provided. Global factors need to be born in mind, as they underpin the migration changes taking place in Cyprus. As Castles point out, the world has entered a *"new phase of mass population movement"* and *"migration in Europe and the situation of ethnic minorities in Europe can fully understood in a global context"*. (1993:17) According to Castles, these processes have become *"increasingly*

contradictory and complex" because *"governments sought to address irreconcilable goals"* (1993:23).[43]

In Cyprus the policies governing the rights of migrant workers are not properly thought through, nor are they well implemented and administered. There is a lack of a proper legislative framework governing the rights of migrant workers. The media, in their sensationalist and alarmist drive, have contributed to creating a climate that racialises migrant workers by presenting them as 'a problem' for Cypriot society.

The discourse analysis of terms employed when dealing with migrant workers illustrates that the denial of any support for citizenship rights may be linked to the idea of an alleged 'inability to integrate' in Cypriot society of alleged 'alien cultures'. Ideas about the boundaries of the 'nation' may explain the decision to allow for indefinite stay for all Greek nationals, whilst all others have permits with expiry dates. (I Simerini 2.3.97) Furthermore the calls for allowing Greek origin workers from eastern Europe, such a Greek from Pontos by those on those on the nationalist Right[44] and the Right wing trade unions corroborate this. Trade unions and the labour movement have not played their role in organising and including migrant workers in their struggles. Their collusion against migrant workers has contributed further to the marginalisation and racialisation of migrant workers, and has done no favours to Cypriot workers, whose wages are undercut further.

Anti-racism is beginning to appear in Cyprus but there is much scope for developing this further in order to enhance the position and rights of migrant workers there. After all, migrants provide new challenges for the small Republic. Accession to the EU may provide scope for co-operation and utilisation of the experience of the anti-racist movement in Europe, but at the same time expose Cyprus to all the negative aspects of 'Europeanism'.

At the turn of the century, Cyprus, a small divided island in the process of accession the EU to resolve the overcome the current de facto partition. The last UN initiative for, in Switzerland in August 1997, failed to provide a breakthrough, but the year 1998 is thought to be critical in the history of the Cyprus problem (Kyle 1997). A new initiative is said to be unfolding in anticipation of the start of accession negotiations, following the Presidential elections in February 1998. Working towards a Cyprus that is plural, open and tolerant is the best way for greeting the next century, with the hope for building a Cyprus without divisions and barbed wires, where diverse ethnic background will mean cultural richness, not conflict and prejudice.

21

TABLE 1
% of the Economically Active Population employed in each Sector of the Economy

Year	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
1961	46,0	22,7	31,3
1973	38,4	25,8	35,8
1975	27,5	25,6	46,9
1978	22,8	32,5	44,7
1993	13,2	26,3	60,5
1996	12,6	25,0	62,4

(Source: Economic and Social indicators, Planning Bureau 1995, Nicosia.)

TABLE 2
% of the GDP in each Sector of the Economy, in current Market Prices

Year	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
1961	27,9	20,5	51,6
1973	17,0	25,0	58,0
1975	19,2	21,8	59,0
1978	13,1	32,7	54,2
1993	6,3	26,0	67,6
1996	5,5	24,9	69,6

(Source: Economic and Social indicators, Planning Bureau 1995, Nicosia.)

TABLE 3: The workers requiring reference granted by the Ministry of Labour

Steel industry	400
Agriculture/farming	1450
Industry/conversion (μεταποιηση)	1400
Construction	1200
Commerce	1600
Hotels/Restaurants	1470
Transport	400
Banks /Insurance	180
Other Services	2400

[Source: Report of the Labour and Social Insurance Parliamentary Commission 1997. Also available in <u>To Periodiko</u> 29.11.96]

TABLE 4

The 'foreign' workers that do not need Reference

Greece (mainland)	3500
'Foreigners' married to Cypriot women	2000
Domestic Helpers	6200
'Artists' (female dancers in 'clubs' and caparets)	1100
Managers in off shore companies[45]	3700
Tourist Agents	500
Total:	17000

[Source: Report of the Labour and Social Insurance Parliamentary Commission 1997. Also available in <u>To Periodiko</u> 29.11.96]

Table 5:

Countries of Origin (as available from 1994)

Bulgaria	2400
Sri Lanka	1854
Philippines	1500
Syria	1281
Romania	800
Britain	1000
Russia	800
Egypt	820
Yugoslavia	700
Lebanon	656
Greece	2403
Total	14400

[Source To Periodiko 29.11.96]

Table 6:

'Foreign' Workers By Occupation and Country of Origin on 31.12.1994

Country	Qualified & Technicians	Managerial	Secretarial	Sales	Services	Farming	Production	Artists & Musicians	All Occupations
Greece	336	338	188	175	859	53	454	0	2,403
Bulgaria	45	27	0	3	325	166	1671	163	2,400
Sri Lanka	3	3	0	0	1424	255	69	0	1,854
Philippines	11	9	6	12	1015	0	219	228	1,500
Syria	37	90	13	4	142	278	717	0	1,281
Romania	2	3	6	6	199	229	273	482	1,200
UK	250	250	100	47	202	20	131	0	1,000
Egypt	21	49	18	2	158	394	178	0	820
Russia	6	6	12	26	423	23	252	52	800
Yugoslavia	7	60	1	0	17	221	394	0	700
Lebanon	92	245	57	17	82	0	163	0	656
Poland	6	9	5	5	96	40	51	52	280
Georgia	0	0	0	0	90	90	80	0	260
Thailand	4	2	0	0	98	0	34	88	226
Sweden	13	15	8	1	129	0	39	0	205
Jordan	29	48	3	0	22	98	0	0	200
India	5	10	4	0	47	95	39	0	200
USA	40	74	17	0	0	0	19	0	150
Germany	9	51	4	0	23	0	38	0	125
Other	122	131	58	2	49	217	42	119	740
Total	1,038	1,420	500	300	5,500	2,179	4,863	1,200	17,000

[Note from Editor: The total number of foreign workers was given the Immigration Office but the distribution was based on facts from the stay permits given by the Ministry of Labour as well as estimations on working people who do not require reference by the Ministry of Labour such as artists, domestic workers, Greeks married with Cypriot women and foreigners who work for Off Shore companies.]
[Source: PEO (1996)]

TABLE 7:

Total Number of Foreign Workers

Year	Matsis & Charalambous (1993)	Report of the Labour and Social Insurance Parliamentary Commission 1997
1980	1500 (1%)	-------
1989	4000 (2%)	-------
1990	-------	6,000
1991	7900 (3.1)	7100
1992	1600 (6%)	13,700
1993	------	13,300
1994**	------	14,400
1995**	------	22,039
1996**	----------	27,000

[* From <u>To Periodiko</u> figures do not include the Greeks from the mainland apart from those with an asterisk

**PEO figures for 1994 shows 4176 and for 1995. 5278 total contracts with migrant workers (<u>Ergatiko Vima</u> 27.9.95].

Appendix I: The Political Orientation of the Cypriot Press

Η Σημερινη (<u>I Simerini</u>)	Nationalist Right / extreme Right Expresses those on the Right of the Governing party DESY and beyond (supported the "anti-presidential fraction")
Η Αληθεια (<u>I Alitheia</u>)	conservative Right / loyal to the Governing party DESY and particular President Clerides group (Third most popular paper)
ΟΦιλελευθερος (<u>O Phileleftheros</u>)	Establishment paper/ mainly mildly nationalist/ critical support to Governments (Most popular paper)
Χαραυγη (<u>Haravyi</u>)	Left wing / AKEL newspaper (Second most popular paper)
Νεολαια (<u>Neolea</u>)	Left wing / EDON newspaper (circulated as a pull-out of Haravyi
Ο Αγων (<u>O Agon</u>)	conservative centre Right/ nationalist / loyal to the Right wing parties, mainly DEKO
Τα Νεα (<u>Ta NEA</u>)	Centre Left/ Nationalist controlled by EDEK, small circulation
Εργατικο Βημα (<u>Ergatiko Vima</u>)	Left wing / PEO newspaper, largest trade union paper.
Εργατικη Φωνη (<u>Ergatiki Foni</u>)	conservative Right / SEK newspaper, second largest Trade Union paper.
Η Μαχη (I Machi)	Very Right-wing, paper of the 1974 Coupist N. Samson; very small circulation
Το Περιοδικο (<u>To Periodiko)</u>	Cypriot magazine

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Notes

[1] This was an illegal terrorist organisation led by an ex-Nazi collaborator and former General, George Grivas. It was launched allegedly to campaign for Enosis, union with Greece, and carried out bombings, murders of civilians and tried several times to assassinate President Makarios. (See Droussiotis 1994)

[2] I am grateful to Kypros Pefkos for his archiving and AKEL for providing me with access to their newspaper archives. Also I am grateful to Eleni Mavrou and Pavlos Kalosynatos for their assistance and comments. My gratitude also to Professor Floya Anthias and Gabriella Lazarides for their comments.

[3] From January 1996 to March 1997 there have been 189 articles/news reports that referred to migrant workers. 86 which were from O Phileleftheros, 28 from I Simerini and 22 from Haravyi and 11 from Alitheia, and 6 from I Machi, 9 from Ergatiki Foni and 6 from Ergatiko Vima, which are the main newspapers of Cyprus and To Periodiko 1, which is a magazine and others. (See also Political Orientation of Press in Appendix I)

[4] Other, international and conjuctural factors were crucial: The collapse of Beirut as the Middle Eastern commercial centre meant that the nearest regional centre Cyprus gradually took that role. Also the collapse of the Eastern European regimes allowed the pouring in of investment by the newly emergent bourgeoisies from these countries, in the light of accessibility (off shore companies, professional and trained personnel, linguistic and religious ties etc.). By and large offset the immediate consequences of the Gulf war, which threatened to dampen economic development, at the time.

[5] Economic growth of the island during the years 1981-86, averaged around 6%, for 1987-88; it was 7,5%, whilst for 1989-93 it was 5%. Since 1993 it slowed down to an average of about 3%. (PIO 1997a) In the immediate post 1974 period, 1975-80, with an average growth was 10% per annum manufacturing and construction became the leading sectors, as a result of the reconstruction efforts and the booming Arab markets; however this has been drastically altered in the 80's and 90's where it is the tertiary sector and tourism that are the main driving force of the economy. (Matsis and Charalambous 1993)

[6] Reported in To Periodiko 29.11.96.

[7] This is on the basis that the total economically active population in 1995 as 301,000 (PIO 1997a). Antoniou (1996) on the same figure of 40000 speaks of over 16% of the economically active population.

[8] Figures to illustrate these are not available in this paper, but an obvious example is that of machinists in the garment industry that consists entirely of women.

[9] It would be misleading to assume that absolutely all of these people classified as 'artists and musicians' are necessarily in the sex industry. There is a sizeable wealty Russian minority residing in Cyprus, but the vast majority must be assumed to be so.

[10] OEV is acronyms for Organisation of Employers and Manufacturers and KEVE is acronym for Centre for Scientific Manufacturers Chambers.

[11] 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.

[12] 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.

[13] As above

[14] Undocumented workers are those migrant workers, who do not have the necessary permits granted to their employers by the Immigration Department and thus become the 'responsibility' of the Police to deport them as "illegal immigrants."

[15] These are the following conditions:
 (a) During strikes, the foreign worker would not be allowed to be strike breakers
 (b) In case of redundancies the first to be sacked would be 'foreign' workers.

(c) The employer would provide basic, but acceptable, facilities and would cut up to 10% from wages for accommodation and another 15% for food, if provided.

(d) No other wage cut to be allowed other than those provided by legislation or on the basis of employment conditions.

(e) No part of pay to go to any intermediary, agent or middleman or "agent";

(f) Foreign workers would enjoy the full rights of all workers, save for that of changing employer / place of work / type of work, that requires permit firm the authorities.

(g) Foreign workers may or may not join one of the trade unions and must fulfil their financial obligations and the employer to make allowances and deduct up to 1% of their income for subscription. (<u>Ergatiko Vima</u> 27.9.95)

[16] See Report of the Employment and Social Insurance Parliamentary Commission 1997 and Report of the Human Rights Parliamentary Commission 1997

[17] "Agents" here refers to those intermediaries, who exploit the fact that in some countries there is poverty and/or repression to extract sums of money to for illegally transporting these people to another country.

[18] These provide for heavy punishment, such as imprisonment of and imposition of heavy fines, against those who employ undocumented workers

[19] Only two paragraphs are devoted on 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)

[20] There is little research to illustrate this. However, it can be drawn out of other studies which note the nature of the state of Cyprus as 'pot-colonial state' (Panayiotopoulos 1995), the ideological content of post independent Cyprus (Kitromilides 1979; 1981), the political structures and institutions (Attalides 1979; Anthias and Ayres 1983; Anthias 1987).

[21] It has to be pointed out that although there is no report of any problems or issues raised about the kind of procedures and checks upon entry to Cyprus by migrant workers, these are worth studying, as discrimination may be exercised and unfair treatment may be practised. However it falls outside the scope of this paper. Such a study ought to examine on the ground the whole treatment of foreign workers at ports and airports, the role of immigration officers, the police and officials as well as the role of employers and others in the process.

[22] The Cyprus constitution was described by the famous constitutional commentator de Smith as *"tragic"* and *"absurd"* and "*perhaps the most rigid constitution in the world* de Smith S. A. (1964), **The New Commonwealth and its Constitutions**, p.282-285. In fact the rigidity of the British made constitution meant that a Greek Cypriot could not marry a Turkish Cypriot without one denying his/her own "communal citizenship". For more on the Cyprus Constitution see Tornarides (1980).

[23] Even then the wife is considered to be a denizen and apparently can be deported in cases of national security on the basis of the Act <u>On Aliens and Migration</u> as she can still be classified as an "illegal immigrant" (Loukaides. 1982:172)

[24] This was put forward on the 25.5.97. It was justified on the basis of bringing the law in compliance with Basic Articles 6 and 28 of the Constitution and the relevant international Treaties, presumably the European Convention of Human Rights and Fundamental Principles included, which Cyprus has incorporated as part of its' domestic law.

[25] Only minute Leftist groupings, such as the Troskyists Ergatiki Democratia and Aristeri Pteriga, do so but they are very marginal.

[26] There are article and reports that fall outside this period that are quoted and analysed but the bulk of analysis is within this period.

[27] This paper may be open to the accusation of replaying the 'number game' earlier in this paper. However, the difference in this paper is it attempts to analyse and interrogate the assumptions behind news coverage and articles in a disciplined and methodical manner, thus a look at the various reports of figures is a necessary part of the paper.

[28] These very words were used by Margaret Thatcher in a 1978 interview, before her election as British Prime Minister.

[29] The party is led by Vasos Lyssarides and proclaim itself as a socialist party, but appears today as one of the most vociferous nationalistic ones, although on many social issues, particularly class issues it retains to

follow a 'socialistic' approach. This may be changing as the party is now part of the Government coalition since the elections in 1998. The party seems now to be moving more to the neo-liberal direction.

[30] The extract from that letter reads: "I have been in Cyprus for one and a half years and what has happened is too much for a person like me, when I cannot sit on my own balcony without getting verbal abuse from Cypriot people, who call me "mavro" or shout other bad words...". Lanitis, in the same paper the following week suggests that he has received many letters by migrant workers complaining about their plight (The Cyprus Weekly 7-13.10.97)

[31] The other newspapers are the marginal papers of the Leftist groupings, referred to in note 14 Ergatiki Democratia (their newspaper has the same name) and Aristeri Pteriga (their paper is called Sosialistiki Ekfrasi)

[32] Pavlos Kalosynatos *"The 'audacity' of the Filipino Workers"*, **Neolea** 4.10.97.

[33] As Anthias and Yuval-Davies illustrate the discourses of racism and sexism can be separated, even though there is close interconnection between the two discourses in practice *"as experienced by the groups of subjects are intermeshed".* (1992:131)

[34] This pamphlet/study happens to be the most up to date and detailed study of class in Cyprus by AKEL. For 1992, the pamphlet/study suggests that 60.7% of the economically active population belong to the working class, as employees, but there is a reduction of the industrial working class in comparison to 1980 and 1985.

[35] Cy£ means Cyprus Pounds.

[36] Interview with Andreas Vasiliou, SEK Regional Secretary for Famagusta.

[37] In the deliberations of the Human Rights Commission the AKEL MP Doros Christodoulides and others showed sensitivity and seem to be advancing arguments from the anti-racist discourse in Europe. (House of Parliament 1997b)

[38] A Conference to launch this is scheduled for May 1998.

[39] AKEL's proposals for the solution of the Cyprus problem lie in the restoration of the unity of the Cyprus Republic which is to be independent. There would be a single sovereignty, international personality and citizenship, but internally it is to be organised along federal lines, with a Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot region and a strong central government, as agreed in the High Level Agreements of 1977 and 1979 and as provided in the UN resolutions. (AKEL 1995)

[40] The incident refers to violent attacks on 11 Bangladeshi students at Ayia Napa, on the 29th of August, last week. (See I Alitheia 31.8.96) The students were brutally beaten with sticks and other instruments by a group of Greek Cypriot racists threatening to kill them if don't leave the country within 24 hours; their motive was that the students are Muslims like the Turks.

[41] AKEL MP Christodoulides during the deliberations of the Human Rights Commission. (House of Parliament 1997b)

[42] On the question of Turkish Cypriot identity issues such as the position of Turkish Cypriot position, vis-à-vis the settlers from Turkey, as Turkish policy is to colonise the occupied territories and where occupation troops are the real power holders

[43] Castles lists seven such goals: (1) Provision of labour supply; (2) Differentiation and control of migrant labour; (3) Immigration control and repatriation; (4) Management of the urban problem;
(5) Maintenance of public order; (6) Reduction in public expenditure; (7) Integration of minorities into social and political institutions; (8) Construction of national identity and maintenance of nation state.

[44] Such as MP Rikkos Erotocritou of the Right wing DESY party (O Phileleftheros 4.10.96)

[45] According to figures from Press Conference of Minister of the Interior, Off shore Companies 5200 (I Alitheia 18.1.97)