The Ethnophotography of Dividedness

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ABSTRACT

The island of Cyprus has been divided for nearly fifty years and islanders build their lives around the concept of division. This research examines how the Green Line, which divides the island into two, affects the lives of the islanders socially and culturally. Especially after the opening of the checkpoints in 2003, particularly the capital Nicosia and the Old Walled City are being reshaped in a multicultural and multi-communal way. In the context, of this study, an ethnophotographic method was adopted and an analysis formed by ethnographic text and ethnographic photographs was presented to understand and analyze the island's cultural life.

Keywords: Cyprus, Ethnophotography, Dividedness, Nicosia, Peacebuilding

Introduction

My father says,
Love your homeland
My homeland
Is divided into two.
Which part should I love?

Neşe Yaşın

This poem by Yaşın (1979) is the beginning of the questioning process for many Cypriots. Cyprus's dividedness is an idea that seeps into every aspect of life on the island. ''Which part should I love?'' What does look like to live in a country that is divided into two? How does this affect social and cultural life? This research analyses the characteristics of dividedness in social and cultural life in Nicosia, Cyprus.

Walking in the Old Walled City of Nicosia (*Surlariçi*), one eventually bumps into barbed wires, barrels, and walls. If you want to continue walking, you need to pass the checkpoint, which has evoked different meanings and emotions for the islanders over time, so I ask, how has the line impacted islanders' social and cultural lives? To answer this question, I conducted *ethnophotographic* research in Nicosia (on both sides) (and mostly in the old Walled City) from October 2021 to September 2022.

Ethnophotograpy refers to the use of photography and ethnography together. More specifically, it indicates the processes of producing and interpreting photography within a cultural context that emerges during ethnographic fieldwork (Kutlu, 2018). Ethnographic photography can be distinguished from ordinary photographic practice in the sense that it is shaped by a set of research questions to provide data for the ethnographic process (Yıldırım, 2014). In this study, I organize the photographs I took during my fieldwork to produce an ethnographic account of dividedness and the peacebuilding process. These photographs of Nicosia depict islanders who live within dividedness. The reader sees the ruins and derelict buildings of the old Walled City, which have become part of the cityscape, and is invited to consider these within the cultural context of divided Nicosia.

Seeking answers to anthropological questions, ethnography -due to the nature of cultural life- cannot be carried out solely through the collection and analysis of verbal data. In this fieldwork, I explore the dividedness of Nicosia by paying equal attention to visual and verbal narratives. By doing so, I intend to fill a gap in the literature on Cyprus, as only a few studies use visual representations to describe the socio-cultural implications of the division and peacebuilding process. During my fieldwork, I participated in multi-communal events, mostly in the Buffer Zone. These events were organized to bring the two communities on

either side of the island together and were social, cultural, political, or academic activities built around peacebuilding.

While choosing my interviewees, I focused on people's distance to the checkpoints or their perspectives on them. I searched for people who regularly crossed the checkpoints or worked in the Buffer Zone. I talked to peace activists who think and act upon the idea of "division," shopkeepers (whose shops are near the checkpoints), and soldiers who served along the "border." I met with people who created small (not only bi-communal but) multi-communal groups/social bubbles in the Walled City (or in the Buffer Zone) and that regularly come together. I was curious about the effects of dividedness on social and cultural life in Nicosia. What are the meanings attached to the state of dividedness for islanders? How do they experience division? What do people do to "cross the lines" in both literal and metaphoric ways?

In this research, I want to not only answer these meanings behind the behaviours of crossing the line but also focus the reader's attention on the importance of the term peace (building) in Cyprus. Peace is key a concept, not only for this research but also for "the Cyprus Problem." For some people, peace came to the island on the 20th of July 1974 with the Turkish army's intervention, which is referred to as the "Cyprus Peace Operation" (in Turkish *Mutlu Barış Harekatı*). For others, peace is a political and humanistic necessity that needs to be constituted in Cyprus. According to Novosseloff, "the presence of UNFICYP (United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus) and its prevention role has made people forget that no cease-fire agreement exists between the parties or the belligerents on the island" (Novosseloff, 2021, p. 16) and this situation might be seen as some kind of peace in daily life. Therefore, there are different political attitudes around the concept of peace. These attitudes are directly related to numerous concepts like identity, politics, ethnicity, nationalism, borders, collective traumas, nostalgia, performativity, and more.

Ethnographic Intentions with Photographic Expressions

During my fieldwork, I collected my ethnographic data by walking and taking pictures around the streets of Nicosia with my camera around my neck. The research process has been instructive for me both in taking ethnographic photographs of the division and peace-building processes in Cyprus and as well as conveying them with an ethnographic concern. The image of an ethnographer with a camera around their neck is a common sight in anthropology. Anthropology and photography appeared at nearly the same time, so these two have developed in parallel to one another since "using photography during ethnographic fieldwork is not new. As a result of the rapid developments in imaging technology following the discovery of photography, since the 19th century, ethnographers have worked in ethnographic research to record images of cultures" (Kutlu, 2018, p. 252). With the invention of the camera, photography has become an indispensable part of producing visual documents for researchers working on the "Other" far away from home. Visual anthropology, the field

relating to this research method and theory, is defined as ''the anthropology of visual systems, or more broadly, visible cultural forms'' (Morphy & Banks, 1997, p. 5). When we look at the pioneering works of visual anthropology, we come across some studies in which photography was used extensively.

The Torres Straits expedition (1888-89) is a milestone that ''marks the symbolic birth of modern anthropology'' (Grimshaw, 2001, p. 15). Cambridge scientists (Haddon, Rivers, Myers, McDougall, Seligman, and Ray) spent almost eight months in various Torres Strait islands conducting tests, interviewing natives, and collecting information on local customs and practices. The research was later published in six volumes edited by Haddon. What is most "striking" to Grimshaw within these volumes is the "visual quality of the Torres Strait's ethnography" through the abundance of "photographs, native drawings, and other visual materials as important counterparts to written text" (Grimshaw, 2001, p. 20). In the following years, the researchers' process of producing visual documents continued. The publishing of Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*, Radcliffe-Brown's *Andaman Islanders*, and Robert Flaherty's *Nanook of the North* in 1922 ''made this year a kind of turning point for ethnography'' (Yıldırım, 2013, p. 118). Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson's fieldwork in Bali (1936-1938) was another significant research for the relationship between photography and anthropology. They used photography systematically as a primary data recording tool (Brigard, 1995, p. 26; Yıldırım, 2013, p. 116; Yavuz, 2020, pp. 131-132). When we look at all this research, we see that photography is positioned more and more centrally in the fieldwork and in reshaping it. Of course, the importance and meaning of visuals in anthropology are not limited to these studies, because ''the visual is such an important component of human cultural, cognitive and perceptual processes, that it can be relevant to all areas of anthropology'' (Morphy & Banks, 1997, pp. 2-3). Cultures are produced and reproduced through all senses, and we can argue that seeing has a leading role in this process. In the context of visual anthropology, various stages of human life, rituals, material culture, rites of passage, and many more events were recorded visually.

Ethnophotograpy is a concept that arose from this theoretical and methodological relational background of visual anthropology. Muhtar Kutlu (2018) explains *ethnophotography* as the combination of the words photography and ethnography (*ethno-photo-graphy*), meaning ''life knowledge written with light'' of the ethnos, the other, the different, and a people. In this context, ethnographic photographs are visual documents that are created during fieldwork and constitute the cultural life of the people researched. Kutlu defines the ethnographic photograph as follows:

> An ethnographic photograph is a photograph of a moment taken from the flow of time, with a background and context. Like any document photograph, it is a photograph of images recorded in a clear, authentic, undisturbed (or minimally

interfered with) natural appearance of the subject, paying attention to prioritizing ethnographic concerns over aesthetic and artistic concerns (Kutlu, 2018, p. 256).

Based on the definition above, ethnophotography is a form of analysis that the researcher presents by combining the intellectual structure and practices of ethnographic research with the expressive power of photography. In this research, I shot my photographs according to the definition above and organized them with complementary written text. The field I worked in was composed of divided spaces; there were militarily-protected places where photography was prohibited, which made me question my method. Then, I thought this very aspect of the field could constitute ethnographic data.

Nicosia, The Last Divided Capital

During my fieldwork, I tried hard to keep the balance between my roles as a researcher and resident. I was born and raised in Cyprus (mostly in Nicosia), and thus, I am very familiar with cultural and historical elements. I went back and forth between my perspectives as a ''local'' and a ''researcher'' eventually compromising on becoming a ''local researcher.'' As a local researcher, I had a lot of personal political opinions, beliefs, and prejudices. The hardest part of the research was to confront all of these. Nevertheless, it also remains a vital part of the research. which is the practice of self-reflexivity. As Nuhrat said, ''there is a strong relationship between fieldwork at "home" and self-reflexivity, which might even be seen as an immanent condition. Our positionality directly impacts our research process during fieldwork'' (Nuhrat, 2020, pp. 138-148). Sometimes, I had difficulties deciding what was "normal" or "not questionable" and what was "worthy of attention." In this regard, I tried to be aware of the issues I regarded as "uninteresting."

Walking in the Nicosia Walled City, Nicosia is a delightful experience in so many ways. However, you cannot escape the scars of war. Nicosia is the last divided capital in the world. The Green Line divides the island into two. The island's future remains uncertain, and many people still await a solution. This situation can be seen in every aspect of the islander's life. People live "half-lives" in incompleteness; pains are frozen, collective traumas have hardly healed, and buildings and objects left behind await their destiny since the time of war, just like the islanders themselves. The Green Line shapes life in Cyprus, and, arguably this shaping is felt the most in Nicosia. As Niyazi Kızılyürek say:

> People feel that they are ''Cypriot'' most in Nicosia, but unfortunately not because of Nicosia's multicultural structure and diversity, but because of its division, fences, and traces of ethnic conflicts. Because it is divided into two by wire fences, sandbags, barrels and barricades, the bad legacy of recent Cyprus history… Yes, Nicosia is what most reminds a ''Cypriot'' of their ''Cypriotness''. In other words, being the child of ethnic conflict, enmity, resentment, war and division (Kızılyürek, 2020, p. 133).

Between 1878-1960, Cyprus was under the colonial rule of the British Empire. The Republic of Cyprus (RoC) was jointly established with two communities[1] in 1960 along with three guarantor countries: Greece, Turkey, and the United Kingdom. However, nationalist movements were increasing among the communities on the island. ''Greek Cypriots strove for *enosis,* the union of Cyprus with Greece, while Turkish Cypriots initially expressed a preference for the continuation of British rule and later demanded *taksim,* the partition of the island'' (I. P. N. W. G. Papadakis, 2006, p. 2). With increasing nationalist movements, both communities were armed and prepared to fight, which lead to increasing tension on the island. This process continued with organized ethnic murders and attacks. Hatay and Bryant depict these times as follows:

> Most independent reports and first-person accounts suggest that this fighting primarily took the form of Greek paramilitary attacks on Turkish-Cypriots, some of whom were targeted for their involvement with TMT. Certainly, as a minority, Turkish Cypriots felt threatened, and many led their homes and retreated into enclaves. These were usually Turkish- Cypriot villages to which Turkish-Cypriots from neighbouring mixed villages retreated, and some were Turkish-Cypriot neighbourhoods that could be easily guarded. But the largest enclaved space on the island was in the capital of Nicosia, whose division had already in some fashion been cemented since 1956. By early 1964, the Turkish-Cypriot areas of Nicosia were soon crowded with newcomers, many of whom had been displaced from surrounding villages or who had relatives in the capital (Hatay & Bryant, 2008, p. 427).

On July 15th, 1974, the Greek military junta instigated a *coup d'état* and attempted to murder Makarios, the Head of the State, who managed to escape this attack. Shortly after on the 20th of July 1974, the Turkish military intervened. During Turkey's intervention, there were significant losses and damage both emotionally and financially. Turkey's actions radically shifted the balance on the island by forcing Greek-speaking Cypriots to move to the southern half of the island and Turkish-speaking Cypriots to move to the northern half of

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1   There is an idiom used by elderly people: before war time, Cypriots did not need to specify whether they are "Cypriot" because it was unnecessary. Mentioning "Greek" or "Turkish" were adequate. However, nowadays there are too many different expressions to define Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. These varying expressions indicate varying political points of view, which is important data for anthropological research. For Greek Cypriots_who define themselves as "Ελληνοκύπριος/Elinokiprios" the term means Elens of Cyprus (Papadakis, 2009). I have come across the following expressions in different sources: Greek-speaking-Cypriots, Cypriotgreeks (*Kıbrıslırumlar*), Greek Cypriot Community, Cypriots who live southern part of the line, southerner… For Turkish Cypriots, Turkish-speaking Cypriots, Cypriotturkish (*Kıbrıslıtürkler*), Turkish of Cyprus (*Kıbrıs Türkü*), Turkish Cypriot Community, Cypriots who live northern part of the line, and northerners. These can differ from verbal or written expression or context. In this article, I prefer the expressions Greek-speaking Cypriot and Turkish-Speaking Cypriot or people from the north/south. However, these groups are not made up solely of these ethnicities. For instance, Maronite Cypriots (whose native language is *Sanna*) are part of both communities as another local ethnicity. Moreover, for different reasons (like education, economics, migration, etc.) ethnic diversity is increasing.

Cyprus. This enforced displacement was painful for all communities, filled with chaos and uncertainty, and people had no idea about what the future held in store. Yael Navaro explains this process through these words:

> Partition in 1974, then, was of the culmination or boiling point of earlier practices oriented toward the division of Cyprus along ethnically define lines and has assumed a crucial role in the popular memory and imagination. But every feature of the imagination also has a concrete material counterpart. The year 1974 is not only a memory, a dream, an ideology, a nightmare, or a vision. It is inscribed all over the materiality, physicality, texture, surface, and territory of Cyprus. It has transformed the land (not just the landscape). It exists as a tangibility, in the solid and material form of barrels and barbed wire cutting through the city of Nicosia to the present day; of mines beneath village fields; of bodies in mass graves, identified and not; in bullets found in rocky cliffs full of thistles and thorns; at shooting points with a view to the sea hidden behind over grown bushes; in bullet holes in buildings and rooftops; in the carved space that cuts through Nicosia. The make-believe is real (Navaro, 2012, p. 10).

In the years following 1974, Greek-speaking Cypriots began living in the south, and Turkish-speaking Cypriots began living in the north.[2] With the Green Line in the middle of the island, crossings were strictly forbidden. People could only come together in the Buffer Zone (which I discuss later) on the condition that they had been given permission beforehand. On the 15th of November 1983, Turkish-speaking Cypriots established the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) in the north, which is recognized only by Turkey. Just over twenty years later, the Turkish Cypriot authorities decided to open the checkpoints, which came as a surprise and allowed people to cross to the "other side." At first, crossings were allowed only on a day-long basis. People had to show their passports or identity cards at checkpoints. For some people, going to the "other side" was tough because it meant confronting old fears and traumas. For Greek-speaking Cypriots, crossing meant going to their ''occupied'' homelands and recognizing the ''so-called state.'' For Turkish-speaking Cypriots, the south was the place where people did not see them as "equals," the place where people wanted to "get rid of" them. Many people from both communities resisted crossing out of fear and prejudice of "the other." While some are still resisting, others have changed their minds over the years. Nonetheless many were willing to cross the line to visit their homes and memories.

During wartime in Cyprus, thousands of people were exposed to horrible atrocities. People died, disappeared, were displaced, lost loved ones, were raped, physically and emotionally damaged, and left their homes, investments, and memories behind (see Photographs 1 and 2). People's access to their homes and lands was prohibited and they were forced to accommodate a "new" lifestyle in a different region of the island. After 29 years, the gates were opened and passage was allowed, and in the process, daily life changed.

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2   Pyla and Karpasia are exceptions to this situation.

Photograph 1. Old belongings and furniture inside one of the demolished houses within the walls of Nicosia Walled City.

Photograph 2. An old door of a ruined house, Nicosia Walled City.

The Walled City of Nicosia is a place where one can see different religious places like churches, monasteries, mosques and masjids. Therefore, a visitor could hear the azan (*ezan*)[3] and the Church bells simultaneously. While walking one can also see bullet and bomb marks on buildings, collapsed houses, broken windows, and objects that people left behind make-up the familiar sights of Nicosia.[4] Moreover, the most obvious traces of wartime, the barrels and sandbags used as trenches are also visible **(**see Photographs 3 and 4**)**.

Photograph 3. An abandoned house in Nicosia Walled City.

Photograph 4. The roof of an abandoned building covered with barrels from wartime.

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3   The call to prayer for Muslims from the minaret of a mosque.
4   For further information about Nicosia Walled City's situation prior to opening the checkpoints see Navaro, 2012.

The city of Nicosia (*Lefkoşa/ Λευκωσία (Lefkosia)*)) is the capital for both sides, located right in the centre of the island. This is the first place where climbing tensions preceding the war turned into hot conflict, where the line was first drawn, and the first checkpoint opened. Nicosia is the centre in terms of administration, NGOs, social and cultural facilities, arts, and more. According to one of my interviewees' Nicosia is also the centre of left-wing politics, meaning that peace-oriented, multi-communal events happen here more often than anywhere else. The Walled City is especially important, not only for commerce and tourist activities but also for the locals' daily activities. For all these reasons, Nicosia, generally, is a place where important protests or events happen. During the lockdown caused by the pandemic, people from both sides came together at the checkpoints and protested the government's policies against closing the checkpoints.

After the pandemic, the first bi-communal gathering happened in Nicosia Walled City, at the Lokmaci checkpoint. People from the south crossed the checkpoint and met with the northerners. Witnesses of this event define this moment as one filled with emotion. People came together after a long time, sang songs, danced, hugged, and embraced each other. They cried and laughed together, all at the same time; it was a moment of celebration (see Photographs 5 and 6). After welcoming people from the south, the group walked to Büyük Han (The Great Inn) accompanied by an orchestra[5] and celebrations continued throughout the night. Simon, (56, male) a café owner in the Walled City said; "we ran out of beer at 10 pm, we were not prepared for such an event, but there was no way of being prepared for such thing… People forgot about the pandemic and caught up with each one other." The first multi-communal pride walks also happened in Nicosia. People came together and walked for LGBTI+ rights (Agapiou, 2022). This is a unique example of how two communities can come together.
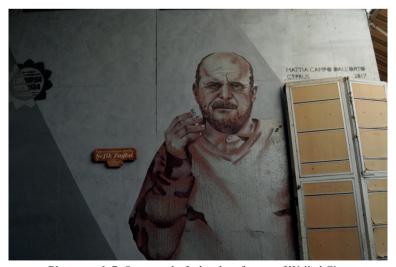

Photograph 5. Opening of the checkpoints after the pandemic lockdown, Lokmaci Checkpoint.

5   Kıbrıs Havaları Derneği / Σύνδεσμος Κυπριακού Τραγουδιού / Cyprus Songs is a bilingual folk song orchestra.

Photographs 6. Opening of the checkpoints after the pandemic lockdown, Lokmaci Checkpoint.

Nicosia, especially the Walled City, is often the scene of peacebuilding events. Yuka Blend festival, a multi-communal street festival that started in 2016 the festival was a highly visible peace event in Nicosia. Lots of artists gathered in the streets of the Walled City of Nicosia and painted graffiti and murals on the buildings. Some of these murals represent portraits of old craftsmen and locals of Walled City (see Photograph 7) and some of these murals were painted on buildings damaged by bullets and bombs from the war (see Photograph 8).

Photograph 7. One mural of a local craftsman of Walled City.

Photograph 8: This building was damaged during war times, bullet and bomb marks can be easily seen. However, the artist of this mural drew this image of a whirling dervish intentionally not wanting to cover the marks since, as explained in an interview, peace and war wanted to be emphasized together.

Crossing the Line

After all the *fasariya*[6] *(nonsense/φασαρία)* and war, Nicosia is still divided. The first question is, what is this ''line'' going through the city and how long does it have to be there? What is the difference between calling it the "line" and the "border"? As Chatzipanagiotidou writes, the line takes different names depending on one's ideological and political stance: the *green line*, the *ceasefire line*, the *dead zone*, the *demarcation* line, the *partitioning* line, the *Attila* line, *the no-man's land* or the *border* (Chatzipanagiotidou, 2012, p. 168). In Papadakis's (2005) inspiring work *Echoes from the Dead Zone: Across the Cyprus Divide*, one of his interviewees says the following about the Green Line (or *Dead Zone* in Papadakis's words):

> …the name Green Line was used from 1964 when Lefkoşa was divided with barbed wire. That's when the name was first used and the UN first came to Cyprus. That's why you'll find a lot of people here called Savash [War]. They were born during the fighting and that's why they were given this name (Papadakis, 2005, p. 83).

I was puzzled when I read these words because my father is one of those babies born in 1964. His first name is Ali and his middle name was *Savaş*. I remember our journey to the courthouse in the south of Nicosia because my father wanted to erase that name from his ID

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6   *Fasariya* is a common word used by both communities for the conflicts.

card and his identity. It was a memory filled with nerves because we had to arrange a suitable date and time with my uncle, who was our designated driver to the court since he was the only one who knew the way. We used to travel with my entire family because such journeys were rare. The only joy in this journey for me was eating at McDonald's[7] or going to Jumbo (a famous stationery and toy store) after the "boring" work had finished. We had to make several trips because the paperwork took some time. He swore on the Koran (which was extremely unusual for him[8]) and after some extensive paperwork, he was free of that name. After reading these words of Papadakis's interviewee, I was in shock. It made me realize that the first meaning of the line in the islanders' minds meant 'war' an essential part of our lives as well as my family's story.

The first opening of the checkpoints was sudden and dramatic. According to Kızılyürek, apocalyptic crowds began to flock to both sides of the island. Greek Cypriots, especially, formed a long queue to see the forbidden half of the island where they were born and raised. Turkish Cypriots, who have been mobilizing for peace in Cyprus for two years, whole-heartedly received Greek Cypriots and opened their doors to the hosts who came as "visitors" to their "old homes" with warmth (Kızılyürek, 2020, p. 322). As Demetriou (2007) writes, ''the first opening of the checkpoints was defined as 'the closest Cyprus had got to anarchy since [the war of] 1974' by some Greek Cypriots.'' The author analyses this "state being absent" analytically with Turner's (1969) term *communitas*, a "kind of institutional capsule or pocket which contains the germ of future social developments, of societal change" (Turner, 1982, p. 45). Turner defines communitas as ''the liberation of human capacities of cognition, affect, volition, creativity, etc., from the normative constraints'' (Turner, 1982, p. 44). According to Demetriou, these expressions are not ''far removed from accounts of Greek-Cypriots of their crossing on those first few days'' (Demetriou, 2007, p. 995).

People crossed the line and visited their homes, an act that had many different meanings. As Chatzipanagiotidou (2012) said, informal crossings play a large part in this everyday practice of peace and the Green Line features here again as an important point of reference, however, with different meanings and symbolic value attached to it. The author emphasizes that the border is neither embodied proof of irreconcilable difference like in nationalist discourses nor the ultimate actual and symbolic obstacle to peace, like in traditional leftist rhetoric. Instead, the use of the border here is a means to peace (Chatzipanagiotidou, 2012, pp. 181-182). My research data also supports this idea, some of my interviewees think that even the act of crossing over to "the other side" will contribute to the resolution process on the island because crossing "the other side" allows people to experience the island as a whole as it should be.

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7   For an wonderful analysis of the impact of Turkish-speaking Cypriots meeting international brands in the south after the checkpoints were opened see Hatay, 2009.
8   My father is not a believer however he had to give an affidavit. There were only two choices to swear on. Because he is a member of the Turkish Cypriot community he swore on the Koran.

Some have resisted crossing for a long time, while others were enthusiastic to cross. One such example of resistance was Nicoletta's (female, 23) grandmother: "…she did not want to go to her house in the north because when she thinks about it, she remembers the bombs falling…" Lisa Dikomitis (2005) wrote three different readings about crossing the line from the Greek Cypriots' point of view during the first checkpoint opening. For Dikomitis, some people did not want to cross because they did not want to show their identity cards or passport in their homeland, like a tourist or a foreigner as it was considered humiliating. For some, going to the north and communicating with people was proper. This was also a wise move because goods and services are cheaper in the north. For others of religious faith, going to the north is a critical occasion for religious reasons (Dikomitis, 2005).[9] Referring to my fieldwork, I can say that some of these reasons are still valid. For both community members, showing passports or identity cards in their own country is nonsense. These moments at the checkpoints are mostly nerve-wracking, especially for frequent crossers:

> "Are you aware that you are referring to a border? States have borders, and this is not…" said one of my Turkish-speaking Cypriot interviewees. In the northern part of the island, the Turkish Cypriot community lives within a "state"[10] called the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), which is recognized only by Turkey. The TRNC's official discourse declares the northern part of the island as an independent state. Papadakis explains one of the best indicators of this perspective as "the Turkish Cypriot's walls are all concrete (*beton*) that is permanent, whereas; Greek Cypriots' Dead Zone was temporary, with the ("easily removable") barbed wires installed at the checkpoints (Papadakis, 2005, p. 137). While the permanence of this division is emphasized in the TRNC's official discourse because the north is an "independent country," the RoC describes this region in terms of "invasion and occupation."[11]

What emotions do these transitions, (crossing the line) which are a daily activity, evoke? According to my interviewees, in contrast to the first opening of the gates, crossings have become unnecessary and troublesome. Mine (39, female), who worked at the Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus (CMP) (*Kayıp Şahıslar Komitesi/ Διερευνητικής Επιτροπής για τους Αγνοούμενους στην Κύπρο*)[12] explained this in these words:

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9   For further information about the first opening of the Gates, see (Dikomitis, 2005) and also (Demetriou, 2007).

10   For an analysis of the statehood practices of Turkish-speaking Cypriots in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, see Bryant & Hatay, 2020.

11   Although these ideas are ideologies based on ethnic belonging and nations, it would be a mistake to think that they are shared only by those ethnic members. Because these are political perspectives beyond ethnic identities, one can find supporters from anywhere on the island.

12   *The Committee on Missing Persons (CMP)* is one of the unique organizations that serve human values in the landscape of uncertainty in Cyprus. CMP is a bi-communal body established in 1981 by the leaders of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities with the participation of the United Nations. Following the establishment of an agreed list of missing persons, the CMP's objective is to recover, identify, and return to their families, the remains of 2002 persons (492 Turkish Cypriots and 1510 Greek Cypriots) who went missing during the inter-communal fighting of 1963 to 1964 and the events of 1974.

For more information about CMP see https://www.cmp-cyprus.org/

> Living on a divided island is a heavy burden. After I had children, I understood this better... As we cross from north to south with children, I have to explain to them what we do and why we do it. I tell them to 'be quiet' while the cops are checking. In the checkpoints we passed, they see the soldiers and the police. I inevitably create fear in the car by warning them... This is a heavy burden for children...

Most people think that division is felt in Nicosia the most. For some members of *HADE*[13] like Ahmet (18, male), dividedness can be hardly felt in Nicosia because, in contrast to other parts of the island, in Nicosia the line is in the middle of the city while for Despina, (23, female) dividedness can be felt more intensely in Nicosia compared to other cities because Nicosia is "actually physically divided!"

Trust is another key point brought up by people. At the beginning of the opening of the checkpoints, people felt unsafe. There are too many horror stories and experiences told on both sides about the other. Many people need some time to digest what they have heard. Step by step, people get used to the idea of crossing. About crossing the north Despina (23, female) who lives in the south, said "I want to say that in the beginning, it felt weird, it takes practice to feel comfortable crossing it is one step at a time. Later I said, okay this is safe, this is Cyprus…"

After opening the checkpoints people started to go to the "other" side for shopping, travel, meeting with friends, *etcetera*. Some Turkish-speaking Cypriot families sent their kids to The English School in the south. People created small multi-communal groups/bubbles for leisure activities in Nicosia and other parts of the island. Tango and Latin dance clubs are typical examples, in which people from two communities regularly come together to dance and socialize. I met one of those multi-communal groups at Büyük Han (The Great Inn) where they get together every Saturday (see Photograph 9). Both groups are relatively non-political, and members of both groups insist on continuing their social gatherings and discussing their views, except on politics. There are also cafés and restaurants, like Hoi Polloi, serving as social clubs for the two communities.

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13   HADE is a multi-communal youth organisation promoting peace, reconciliation and reunification in Cyprus. For more information about HADE see https://www.instagram.com/hade.cyp/

Photograph 9. A multi-communal group of friends from both communities of the island, Büyük Han, Nicosia.

However, there is a common feeling for islanders directly related to the dividedness: being stuck where you are. Being stuck in the unrecognized part of the island (i.e., TRNC) is a particularly serious problem for Turkish-speaking Cypriots. Especially before the opening of the checkpoints, most of the Turkish-speaking Cypriots felt like being in an "open-air prison" (which is a common phrase) and wedge between Greek-speaking Cypriots and Turkey. Some immigrants from Turkey cannot cross to the southern part of the island because of the policies of the Republic of Cyprus (RoC). One radical example of this is Berilsu Meral who was born in Ankara and received the highest grade in the world for her International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE). Berilsu wanted to cross the line to attend the award ceremony in Larnaca but was refused because of her origin (T-Vine, 2019). *The Mixed Marriage Problems Resolution Movement* which is a bi-communal NGO works towards rectifying such problems.[14] The Greek-speaking Cypriots feel this stuck-ness because they are not allowed to take the estate in the northern part of Cyprus. Their previous houses and assets are controlled by the Turkish Cypriot state (and Turkish army), which is an obstacle to moving freely on the island. Cyprus is not a free place for most.

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14   The Mixed Marriage Problems Resolution Movement explains their mission as such: ''After 1974, children born from unrecognized unions in the northern half of the island, in an area not controlled by the government, between Turkish-speaking Cypriots who hold the citizenship of the Republic of Cyprus and Turkish or foreign settlers who have not obtained the citizenship of the Republic of Cyprus, have been illegally extorted for years, within the framework of international law. to obtain the right to citizenship of the Republic of Cyprus.'' Taken from instagram account of Mixed Marriage Marriage Problem Resolution Movement. https://www.instagram.com/karmaevlilik/

In the context of north Cyprus, which is perceived as unregistered and unofficial, this stuckness becomes an unregulated area for committing crimes and continuing "undesirable" activities like gambling. Moreover, in terms of human trafficking, north Cyprus is becoming a dangerous and desirable place for traffickers. For example, Nigerian people who prefer to come here for education are being tricked into coming to the island but end up as victims of human trafficking (Essien, 2022). "Most international agencies cannot officially operate in or provide oversight for enterprises in north Cyprus" (Hatay, 2009, p. 163). Therefore, it is arduous to pursue criminals and provide security for people.

The Buffer Zone

The Buffer Zone is a unique place and has a relatively interesting landscape in the context of Cyprus. According to UNFICYP's webpage, the Buffer Zone (also called "the Green Line") extends approximately 180 km across the island. In some parts of old Nicosia, it is only a few meters wide, while in other areas it extends a few kilometres. Its northern and southern limits are the lines where belligerents stood following the ceasefire of 16th of August 1974 as recorded by UNFICYP. In the eastern part of the island, the buffer zone is interrupted by the British Sovereign Base Area of Dhekelia, where the UN does not operate. Another area the UN does not control is Varosha, the former resort town near Famagusta, now under the control of the Turkish military. Mustafa (32, male) who did his military service at Lokmaci said "this distance that is about 'a few meters' is one of the closest distances in the world between two enemy perimeters" to describe the Buffer Zone. The Buffer Zone refers to all places on the island controlled by the UN however, I emphasize the buffer zone at the Ledra Palace checkpoint in Nicosia (see Photograph 10).
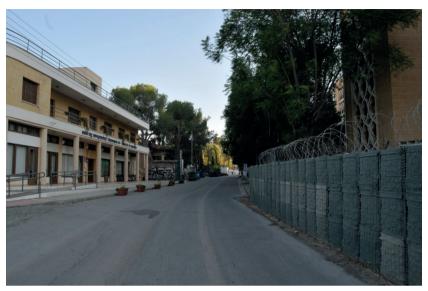

Photograph 10. The Ledra Palace Checkpoint of north, Nicosia.

During my research, I felt different emotions because The Buffer Zone has properties that make it different from either side. While crossing from one side to another I often feel weird because of the feeling of the "unknown." However, I feel a strong sense of peace and calm. Once, I was walking to the Home for Cooperation, and I crossed the checkpoint from north to south and stood nearly 100 meters away from it. I could easily see familiar places in the north (like Raw Pub or Zahra Street, see Photograph 17) from where I was standing at that moment (see Photograph 11) but I could not go directly to them.

Photograph 11. The Buffer Zone.

In the buffer zone also, one can easily hear someone speaking Turkish or Greek, but I can easily say that the "official" language of the Buffer Zone is English. At times, this can cause a language barrier. Before conducting my research, I used to think that the buffer zone was the area between two checkpoints. At one of the multi-communal events I attended, I was surprised to find out that this was not the case. We were standing as a multi-communal group of young people between Home for Cooperation and Ledra Palace Hotel (see photograph 12) and the guide was informing us about the area. I asked our guide about the municipal services of Home for Cooperation because I was curious as to how people accessed municipal services in the Buffer zone. For example, which side collected their garbage? The guide answered with a smile, ''Yes yes, it's not a coincidence that the trash cans are on the south side of the building.'' The Buffer Zone is not the entire place between two checkpoints as I thought, but the place from the northern crossing point to the end of the Home for Cooperation. However, the southern checkpoint is located further from H4C. The Buffer Zone was a place that had not been given much thought outside of military or political perspectives because it stood there as the "Dead Zone."

Photograph 12. The Buffer Zone, Home for Cooperation is on the left and the Ledra Palace Hotel is on the right.

What changes the meaning of the Buffer Zone is undoubtedly the *Home for Cooperation* (see Photograph 13) (H4C/*Dayanışma Evi/Το σπίτι της Συνεργασίας*): The H4C, is a unique community centre located in the middle of the dividing lines in Cyprus, in the Ledra Palace area, UN Buffer Zone. As an NGO, the Home has a unique and pioneering impact in terms of peacebuilding with its social, academic, educational, historical, artistic, and cultural events. Home for Cooperation is one of the rare examples that is bi-communally managed and operated. Not only bi-communal but also multi-communal activities of H4C creates a completely different atmosphere in the Buffer Zone. Many grassroots activities of peacebuilding are hosted or organized by the Home for Cooperation. For Mustafa (32, male):

> The presence of such a thing in the buffer zone creates a dialogue space instead of creating a comfort zone.[15] No one crosses south, no one crosses north but meets at some location. It seems that one of our main problems regarding the solution to the Cyprus problem is not meeting at the intermediate point. Home for Cooperation also takes a step towards meeting at that intermediate point, or in other words, neither one enters the field of the other...

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15   I will discuss this concept of comfort zone/comfort conflict issue in the next section.

Photograph 13. Home for Cooperation, Buffer Zone, Nicosia.

Another important building on this road is the Ledra Palace Hotel which ''is the quintessential building in the Cypriot UN-controlled Buffer Zone, signifying the division of the island'' (Demetriou, 2015, p. 183).[16] Lastly, along the streets one can see the symbols of peace like murals or the artwork of a donkey, which has a symbolic meaning for the island. Based on all the data above, in addition to the two regions (north and south) on the island, we can talk about the third region, whose motivation is peacebuilding, is mostly multi-communal, and is formed in the buffer zone.

''*Comfortable Conflict*''

After the opening of checkpoints, people reached a new area, especially at the Ledra Palace Buffer Zone where unique organizations such as Home for Cooperation, the Ledra Palace Hotel, CyprusInno, and The Goethe-Institut are located. This area became an important place to create connections between the two communities and turned into a hearth of peacebuilding events in Nicosia. However, some NGO members, including the event organizers themselves, are increasingly suspicious of whether these events are of any use to the peacebuilding process: Could it be that people's sense of urgency about solving the Cyprus problem is disappearing as current conditions become more comfortable? What if people get used to these conditions and this way of life, and continue to live in this "comfortable conflict?" Or do all these peacebuilding activities in the Buffer Zone make the idea of division redundant and increase the desire for unification each time? As people from the two communities forge bonds, create empathy, and friendship, and continue to rethink and experience the Cyprus

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16   For more information on Ledra Palace Hotel, see Demetriou, 2012, 2015.

problem on a different ground, will the problems get closer to being resolved? I would not say that any of these ideas are dominant. However, during my research I received comments reinforcing both views. Most of my interviewees cannot foresee what kind of atmosphere would be in Cyprus in the event of establishing "real peace." Although they agree that peacebuilding activities serve their purpose, it is argued that these activities have the "side effect" of delaying the urgency of resolving the Cyprus problem. Alexandra Novosseloff questions similar issues in her work; "can a conflict be resolved without pressure or any sense of urgency?" To quote her,

> …the two sides have not been able to agree on the meaning of "normal conditions" and UNFICYP's prevention role has been efficient in that Cyprus has often been referred to as "a conflict without casualties" (since 1996), a "comfortable conflict", and "difficult to solve but easy to manage." It is so comfortable that the presence of UNFICYP has made "people forget that no cease-fire agreement exists between the parties or the belligerents." (Novosseloff, 2021, pp. 13-16).

In this context, it is not surprising that the concept of "comfortable conflict" is associated with the buffer zone, especially in Ledra Palace. Unlike other Buffer zones of the island, Nicosia is the only place that forms a basis for such arguments because other checkpoints do have not such a context. For Mustafa (male, 37) "...when you cross the Deryneia checkpoint (which is in Famagusta) by car you fall into a field, and you need to drive for a while to reach somewhere. However, in Nicosia people can walk from one side to another. Nicosia has distinctive properties in this context." Correspondingly, I often heard people mentioning "comfortable conflict," an expression used to describe the current situation. As Adamides and Constantinou (2012: p. 242) have noted, "the Cypriot conflict is more symbolic and 'civilized' as a certain kind of peace is also in place: that is, the absence of violence combined with democracy, partial freedom of movement, and enviable levels of prosperity, on both sides of the island." As they argue, the conflict on the island today is starkly different from what was experienced in the 1960s and early 1970s. Politicians keep repeating in vain the same rhetoric about peace. Moreover, the Cyprus conflict could be the most comfortable conflict zone for the international community. It feels like United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) currently operates in a holiday zone rather than in a conflict zone, and it engages in beach-keeping more than in peace-keeping (Adamides & Constantinou, 2012). According to the authors:

> …what sets the environment for resistance to various international interventions in Cyprus is the lack of violence and the comfortable conflict or state of cold peace. This peace, though illiberal, is experienced as liberal by those who benefit from it or are not adversely affected by the legal exceptionalism established north or south of, or in, the UN Buffer Zone. Given the high degree of comfort in the status quo, there are reactions or resistance to any potential intervention (direct or indirect) that could jeopardize it. It is worth noting that comfort and security are measured

not only in economic terms but also in societal terms, as the current status quo safeguards the way of living as well as the continuation of the identities of the two communities. This sense of ontological security is perpetuated through highly internalized social and political routines (Adamides & Constantinou, 2012, p. 251).

The routines mentioned above build a sense of security by reducing anxiety. These routines make the "self" feel ontologically secure so that conflict (or peace settlement) with the "other" can be perpetuated as the conflict becomes virtually sustainable. Lay people as well as elites tend to resist any intervention that could consciously or unconsciously disrupt these routines (Adamides & Constantinou, 2012). The line has preserved its existence for years accordingly we can argue that it is taken for granted in daily activities. People get used to the presence of walls and checkpoints. This can be seen while walking in the Walled City. Nicosia carries scars of wartime on its face, however, when you walk the same way, every day, these scars become invisible. People normalize "the line" and reshape their lives according to its presence. Over time the concept of line and dividedness become ordinary (see Photographs 14 and 15).

Photograph 14. A street divided by the walls of the Green Line, the Walled City, Nicosia.

Photograph 15. A street divided by the Green Line, the Walled City, Nicosia.

This politically uncertain situation of the Cyprus Problem reflects different aspects of life on the island. In different works, researchers analyzed these circumstances with "liminality," a concept developed by Van Gennep (1909) and popularized by Turner (1969). Van Gennep has shown that all rites of passage or "transition" are marked by three phases: separation, margin (or limen, signifying "threshold" in Latin), and aggregation. During the intervening "liminal" period, the characteristics of the ritual subject (the "passenger") are ambiguous; he passes through a cultural realm that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state (Turner, 1969, p. 94). Turner defines liminality as follows:

> The attributes of liminality or liminal personae ("threshold people") are necessarily ambiguous, since this condition and these persons elude or slip through the network of classifications that normally locate states and positions in cultural space. Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial. As such, their ambiguous and indeterminate attributes are expressed by a rich variety of symbols in the many societies that ritualize social and cultural transitions (Turner, 1969, p. 95).

In the context of Cyprus, we come across several analyses that refer to liminality. According to Dikomitis (2005), Greek Cypriots were forced to live in the south of the island, have created a kind of mythology around sites in the north, such as a story of being cast out of Eden. Since the opening of the border, many Greek Cypriot refugees make regular journeys to this "lost paradise." Their return visits follow the same pattern, stopping at the same places time and again: the village fountain, their own house, their fields, and the local religious

sites. Dikomitis explains this as a *rite of passage* as all pilgrimages are the liminal stage of being outside of the normal time and space, and hence of having to make the inevitable and in this case painful journey back to "normality" (Dikomitis, 2005). Chatzipanagiotidou (2012) analyzes different stories of crossing lines and state that these "journeys" can be seen as liminal stages. Because the journey is a learning and self-transforming process and more, in this sense, the journey relates to the anthropological concept of liminality (Turner 1969), an in-between stage that opens up the space for self-reflection, interrogation of one's moral universe and habitus changes. Also, these journeys of crossing the line are experiences outside the ordinary and every day, and these journeys create conditions that challenge habitual political ideologies (Chatzipanagiotidou, 2012). Lastly, Bryant (2014) uses the metaphor of waiting on a doorstep to point out de facto states (like North Cyprus) long-term liminality. The limen in "liminality" is a threshold, and in anthropology, to be at the limen is to be caught between one state of being and another. In politics, the transition would be from one regime to another, or from one ideology to another (Bryant, 2014). As Bryant says, ''de facto states may be described as permanently liminal, stuck between the political form they once were and the recognized body politic they wish to become. […] If liminality is a transition phase, Turkish Cypriots now do not know what stage will follow that transition. This makes their liminality appear indefinite, leaving them in a state of uncertainty'' (Bryant, 2014, p. 126). As Bryant explains, the liminal state is defined as transitional and disorienting. However, Turkish Cypriots became fully aware of their liminality, of the limits of their enclave when a real door into the world opened. Until that moment, isolated and engrossed in their problems, it was possible to pretend that they had a state. It was the legal, economic, and political encroachment of global and transnational institutions that have made their sustained liminality clear while offering no concrete way out of their enclave (Bryant, 2014).

Experiencing "Place" and Establishing a Sense of Belonging

The division of the city prevents people's accession from one place to another directly. People cannot reach a place on the other side of the wall without crossing the checkpoint. This circumstance instantly affects people's spatial relationships and perception of the city. Kemal (46, male) from *Unite Cyprus Now (UCN)*[17] explains this situation in these words:

> When we consider the situation, a hundred-year process generally, some people never felt the feeling of division before the war. (…) Some others who were born after division, do not question the wall because this is their normal way of life... (…) However, what affects me the most is… Let's say, I am at some point in the north and I want to go to a place in the south... I never imagine that place just at the opposite end of where I am initially standing. I always consider that place as

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17   Unite Cyprus Now (UCN) is an independent self-funded grassroots initiative to connect Cypriots by seeking the truth, building empathy, respecting diversity, reinforcing solidarity and promoting a joint future in order to reach a united Cyprus for all Cypriots. For more information about UCN see https://www.facebook.com/unitecyprusnow

somewhere that requires me to cross the checkpoint, travel around, and reach that point...But I see the distance between these two points as 20 meters... But there is a wall between them. Therefore, I am never able to understand these places as one, I can't even imagine it... I know the Famagusta Gate (*Mağusa Kapısı*)...I also know Zahra (street)... but I cannot visualize these two points as being close to each other...

Photograph 16. Zahra Street, Arabahmet is a historical and tourist attraction (Bağışkan, 2018). The empty field on the right (also seen in photo 11) is UN-controlled area and contains the field of Taksim (in Turkish *Taksim Sahası*). In 1997, Burak Kut and Sakis Rouvas held a concert for peace here (Özbilgehan, 2021).[18]

The distance between Famagusta Gate and Zahra Street (see Photograph 16), which Kemal mentions, is 1.9 km. However, to walk from one point to the other, people need to cross the checkpoint first, which means going around and traveling a longer distance. The line directly affects people's understanding of the city. Elderly people who lived on the island before the war can imagine the city as a whole, but others cannot. One of my interviewees argued that ''this creates the feeling of being stuck and this feeling can be seen in people's personalities. Some young people do not want to meet new people and spend all their lives with the same group of friends.'' Because of the dividedness, people consider the city to be fragmented. Papadakis states:

Maps, like memories, only came in parts. The other side was always erased so it was difficult to find a map of the whole of Lefkosia/Lefkosha, except one which

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18   While I was continuing this work, it came to the fore that this area in UN Buffer Zone, also known as Taksim Football Pitch/Çetinkaya Football Pitch, will be used again by Çetinkaya Football Club as a football pitch. This news resulted in some discussions (see Prakas, 2022).

was of no use anyway. Officially, Greek Cypriots lived in a divided city, in divided Lefkosia. Officially, Turkish Cypriots lived in a whole city, Lefkosha. What lay next to them was of no interest, it was the capital of another country (Papadakis, 2005, pp. 165-166).

And Papadakis continues:

There was only one whole and mutually accepted map of Lefkosia/Lefkosha: the map of the city's underground sewerage system. The Sewerage System of Nicosia was the best example of inter-ethnic cooperation in Cyprus. It was the largest, longest-running – and clearly, it was running well – and most successful bi-communal project (Papadakis, 2005, p. 167).

Conclusion

This research shows that the ongoing political problem and the division of Cyprus directly affect social and cultural life. People shape their lives based on the idea of division. Peacebuilding activities in everyday life were rarer before crossings were allowed. After crossing was allowed, grassroots activities for peace and multi-communal gatherings increased in the city and people started to consider the Cyprus Problem on different bases. The number of islanders learning each other's languages increased and daily life was reshaped by "the other." Peace activists and their activities became more visible. A new concept called "spending time in the Buffer Zone" emerged. Shopping and tourist activities between the two sides increased. Small groups/social bubbles appeared, and people started to join new multicultural activities to have more contact with each other through social activities.

Even if Nicosia is the only place that offers such an atmosphere for people, the city is also the most affected by the dividedness. Despite the collective traumas, politics, and obstacles of daily life, people are constantly recreating multi-communal social gatherings and activities. During my research, I discovered new NGOs or social groups dedicated to peace. Such activities are increasing, especially among youth. The power and influence of Home for Cooperation are strong; the Home gave people the opportunity to create social, academic, and political connections and communication. The Home is a unique example in Cyprus, which is a successful and leading example with its multi-communal practices and structure. This is not only an exemplary model but also an important symbol of meeting and bringing people together in ''the Buffer Zone.''

The main actor of the division, "the line" (line, border, checkpoint), crossing the line, and crossing the other side have different meanings in different political conjunctures at different times. This situation has both a political and an identity context. This relationship of islanders with the line is generally shaped by their political and ideological perspectives on the Cyprus problem. While the stuckness created by the line becomes a challenge for people at various stages of day-to-day life, at times, "crossing the line" can mean an act of rebellion, protest, and reunion.

In the context of Cyprus, the issue of "comfortable conflict" is worth paying attention to. Every day, crossing checkpoints and spending time in the Buffer Zone becomes easier and more routine. Buffer zone activities, in particular, are a field of inquiry for people who are the most reactive to the Cyprus problem and engage in peace activism. "Do these activities towards the rapprochement of the two communities and building peace, especially on the grassroots level, have any 'side effects' such as making the Cyprus conflict comfortable?" It is difficult to answer this question directly but this question should not be ignored in terms of the Cyprus conflict.

Living in a divided city directly impacts people's experience of place, their sense of distance, their sense of accessibility, and more. In this respect, the line causes a division not only politically, but also spatial, philosophically, and culturally because all activities on the island continue to be reorganized around the idea of division.

"Visual understanding, what we see and how we interpret it, is an important part of the way we exist as humans in the world and the ultimate justification for the discipline of visual anthropology must lie in this direction: it is the study of the properties of visual systems: of how things are seen and how what is seen is understood" (Morphy & Banks, 1997, p. 21). The ethnophotographic approach gives the researcher a chance to create their language to understand and analyze the field. It also allows the reader to experience the field through the power of visualization. I aimed to present the cultural landscape to the reader through visuals and verbal images. There is something taught to ethnographers; note everything, what seems trivial in the process can become important. I didn't frame the garbage bins when I took photos of the Home for Cooperation, but the process demonstrated that even the location of the garbage bins is data in the context of research. In this respect, I believe that the influence and importance of photography in fieldwork should be emphasized more.

This might be something I should have said at the very beginning but conducting ethnographic fieldwork in Cyprus means researching a "problem." Nothing is as easy as it seems because it means working on unhealed wounds. Despite knowing that I may not be able to address all concerns, I also know that I can permit myself to react to what I see on a personal and academic level. Since the days of wartime until the present moment, too many crimes against humanity have been committed in Cyprus. All sides taking part in the war become both the murderer and the victim, the good and the bad, and the enemy and the hero, and definitions vary depending on different narratives. In this respect, the narratives formed in the context of the Cyprus problem raise different research questions... How can we examine the feelings and thoughts people have towards the homes they left behind in a nostalgic context? How can we discuss the "process of identification" among islanders? How can we trace the reflections of displacement and immigration on cultural life? How did the war occur in the two societies in terms of social memory and how does it find a response in daily life? How are all these structures reflected in the language? As can be seen, Cyprus, and especially Nicosia contains intriguing ethnographic research for social scientists.

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