

**Nicos Peristianis**

Introduction

15 – 16

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**Articles:**

**Anna M. Agathangelou and Kyle D. Killian**

The Discourse of Refugee Trauma: Epistemologies of the  
Displaced, the State, and Mental Health Practitioners

19 – 58

*This paper explores the discourse of refugee trauma, analysing ways the displaced, the state, and mental health practitioners think about displacement and other war traumas. Narratives were obtained via in-depth qualitative interviews with displaced Greek Cypriots, newspaper accounts and press releases by elected officials, and through an examination of assumptions and practices of the traditional, medical model. Following a discussion of a range of epistemologies regarding the meaning of displacement, the authors offer a systemic epistemology for practitioners and activists interested in an alternative to the current ontology of fear and insecurity dominating our everyday institutions and social relations. In deconstructing the narratives of traumatising, the authors suggest that dichotomous, essentialised, and atomistic understandings of self and other, displacement, nation, and health sustain in place “unhealthy” conditions that precipitate further traumatising. Instead of pills and ethno-nationalist interpretations, the therapeutic witnessing of family dialogues around trauma is suggested for the facilitation of a process that relinquishes the desire to set it “right” and makes room for listening to our restless dead about another mode of living, a current struggle for peace, truth and justice.*

**Keywords:** epistemologies, refugee, trauma, discourse, displacement, affect, systemic, mental health

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**Maria Hadjipavlou**

Trans-Border Crossings:  
Cypriot Women’s ‘Liberation’ and the Margins

59 – 80

*Out of the 191 million people living outside their countries of origin in 2005, 95 million were women. In Cyprus more than one-third of all migrant workers are ‘domestic workers’. This article focuses on female domestic workers only and specifically on those who work in the households of professional women in both communities. The analysis is based on a qualitative research carried out in 2007 and 2008. Despite the fact that professional women (‘madams’) are economically independent and have taken on the role of second bread-winner in their households, the sexual division of domestic labour and the value system that sustain the patriarchal structures have still remained intact. Thus, Cypriot women’s ‘liberation’ is*

*enabled through the migrant women's engagement in their households. The migrant women that were interviewed experienced exploitation, abuses, violations of contracts, fear of expulsion, overwork, and violence, but also they developed agency, social networking and assertiveness. A joint struggle is proposed, based on gender consciousness, female solidarity and interdependence so that real liberation and social change may be attained. The stakes are different for each person but all connect to the desire for an alternative world of 'real liberation' from patriarchal structures, racism, sexism, and capitalist exploitation.*

**Keywords:** female migrant domestic workers, Cypriot women, 'liberation', exploitation, abuse, racism, women's solidarity.

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**Keith Webb and A.J.R. Groom**

Settlements in Unended Conflicts: The Case of Cyprus

81 – 96

*Cyprus is an unended conflict despite many intercommunal negotiations and the best efforts of the international community. The paper begins with a brief overview of the nature of settlements, followed by a synopsis of the recent history of the Cyprus conflict. The brunt of the paper is an analysis of contemporary Cyprus concentrating on the period since the Annan Plan, ending with the current intercommunal negotiations. The emphasis is on the difficulties in arriving at a settlement which help to explain why this protracted conflict remains neither settled nor resolved.*

**Keywords:** Protracted conflict, conflict settlement, Cyprus conflict, United Nations, European Union

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**Giorgos Charalambous**

The February 2008 Presidential Election in the Republic of Cyprus:  
The Context, Dynamics and Outcome in Perspective

97– 122

*This paper studies the context, procedure and outcome of the February 2008 presidential election in the Republic of Cyprus. It primarily analyses the dynamics between the main actors that took part in the contestation of executive power; that is, the five main political parties and the campaigns of the three main candidates. It further outlines the effects of the main issues on the structure of political competition and preliminarily assesses the connection between the social and political level. While an element of surprise exists, there appears to be a pattern based on the behavioural aspects of the election that does not deviate from the diachronic culture of Cypriot political competition. The paper is divided into five sections: an introduction and outline of the paper's rationale; a delineation of the election's background and context; an analysis of the campaign period; an assessment of the results; and a conclusion on the absence or recurrence of those election-related characteristics that have been observed before.*

**Keywords:** Cyprus, elections, 2008, parties, political competition, election campaigns, election results

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**Andreas Avgousti**

The Indigenous Foreigner: British Policy in  
Cyprus 1963-1965

123 – 144

*This article examines British policy in Cyprus between December 1963 and December 1965, primarily through material at the Public Record Office in London. By viewing Britain as occupying the paradoxical position of being neither a foreigner nor indigenous to the island, the historian can come to understand the development and manifestation of British policy in Cyprus. The author contends that British policy was ad hoc and unshackled by long-term objectives. This policy was motivated by a concern to maintain the peace on the island and appearing as a neutral between claims made by the Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot communities. Undoubtedly, Britain wanted to retain its influence in Cyprus, an influence that had been secured in the founding documents of the Republic. Caught in a period of rapid decolonisation and of protracted adjustment to its newfound status as a second rank great power, the effervescent situation in Cyprus afforded an opportunity for the questioning of the nature and extent of British self-interest at the highest echelons of Her Majesty's Government. Insofar as Britain was the major player in Cyprus during the period under consideration, the effect of Cold War considerations are best captured in British and not US policymaking.*

**Keywords:** British foreign policy, 1963-65, Sovereign Base Areas, 1963 crisis in Cyprus, Cold War, Enosis, UNFICYP

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**Elizabeth Hoak Doering**

With a Spray Can in Lefkosia/Lefkosha:  
Murals, Graffiti and Identity

145 – 172

*This paper is rooted in the observation that there is radically less graffiti of any kind in the north (Lefkosha) than there is in the south (Lefkosia). It presents an overview of kind, presence and absence of anonymous public writing – graffiti – in Lefkosia/Lefkosha, and then poses possible reasons for this discrepancy. What social and political identity differences does this discrepancy indicate? Why are murals not part of the visual public discourse in Lefkosia/Lefkosha, as they are in other divided societies? What is the graffiti writer's role, in the absence of murals? What political meanings are articulated in the interactions of graffiti writers in specific areas of Lefkosia/Lefkosha, and how does whitewashing fit into a much larger civic discourse that includes individuals, groups and authority? In particular this paper aims to parse the group-oriented visual discourse from the discourse related to individuals, and at the same time looks at gender equality in these expressions. Why, and in what ways do women seem to be less visible in terms of public political expression? How can reconciliation programmes clarify the audiences they target when designing cultural projects? Under what circumstances would a public mural arts programme*

*be appropriate in Lefkosia/Lefkosha, and why is there none in place now? The methodology for collecting data is peripatetic and qualitative, because the emergent nature of graffiti and its erasure calls for a visual-ethnographic and documentary approach to sources and data. The instances of graffiti that shape the content of this paper have been selected from specific parallel areas located in Lefkosia/Lefkosha, although they sit within an expanding and temporal textual framework of graffiti documented in paint and in incision on Cyprus.*

**Keywords:** graffiti, murals, gender, street art, identity, hooligans, Cyprus, Lefkosia, Lefkosha, anarchists

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**Essay and Research Notes:**

**Zenon Stavrinides**

*Dementia Cypria: On the Social Psychological Environment of the Intercommunal Negotiations* 175 – 186

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The Smaller Issues Complicating the Larger Picture 187 – 192

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*A Rebellion Betrayed*

By Themis Demetriou and Sotiris Vlahos  
(Sosialistiki Ekfrasi Publications Ltd: Nicosia, 2007) 196 pp.  
(Andreas Panayiotou) 237 – 240

*Cyprus 1974: Greek Coup and Turkish Invasion*

By Makarios Drousiotis  
(Bibliopolis: Mannheim and Möhnesee, 2006) 281 pp.  
(Claude Nicolet) 241 – 244

*The EU and Conflict Resolutions: Promoting Peace in the Backyard*

By Nathalie Tocci (Routledge: London, 2007), 202 + xvi pp.  
(James Ker-Lindsay) 245 – 248

*A Functional Cyprus Settlement: The Constitutional Dimension*

By Tim Potier  
(Verlag Franz Philipp Rutzen: Mainz and Ruppolding, 2007), 764 pp.  
(Nicos Trimikliniotis) 249 – 253

<i>Iron in the Soul: Displacement, Livelihood and Health in Cyprus</i> By Peter Loizos (Berghahn Books: Studies in Forced Migration, Vol. 23 (New York/Oxford, 2008,) 202 pp. (Yiannis Papadakis and Nicos Philippou)	255 – 257
<i>Spanish Politics: Democracy after Dictatorship</i> By Omar Encarnacion (Polity Press: Cambridge, 2008) 192 pp. (Iosif Kovras)	259 – 261
<i>Closing or Widening the Gap? Legitimacy and Democracy in Regional Integration Organisations</i> By Anna de Vleuten and Andrea Ribeiro Hoffman (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2007), 206 pp. (Daniel C. Bach)	263 – 264

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