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Power and Tourism: Negotiating Identity in Rural Cyprus

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by

Evi Eftychiou, BA, MSc

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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on the disputed identity of rural Cyprus. It is an ethnographic study on tourism that argues that the power of western hegemony, not only defines but also reverses the definition of 'modern' identity in the cultural setting of Cyprus in a way that its authority is maintained and legitimized. By focusing on identity politics and tourism in the Troodos mountainous region, this study examines the conflict between native elites and locals over the definition of modernity.

In the postcolonial setting of the 1960s, native elites reproduced the western vision of 'development', 'progress' and 'modernity', as expressed in Europe after the Second World War. The invented concept of 'modernity' was introduced by native elites and was translated into policies and strategies towards the achievement of rapid 'progress' and the development of mass tourism in the coastal zones of Cyprus. As a result, the Cypriot authorities neglected Troodos mountainous region as a low-priority area and its residents were exposed as underdeveloped, backward peasants.

The economic boom of the 1970s and 1980s, provided to rural residents the opportunity to, finally achieve 'progress', by reproducing the mass tourism model. In the meantime though, the native elites reversed the definition of modernity, which reproduced the western principles of sustainable development, environmental and cultural heritage protection. The 'underdeveloped' region of Troodos, was now identified as ideal for the implementation of environment and heritage conservation projects, with the ultimate goal of developing small scale, cultural tourism in the area. In this context, native elites appropriate material tradition, in other words elements that were once classified as evidence of backwardness, in order to achieve 'modernity'. The denial of locals to reproduce the new paradigm of development and their persistence to strive for material modernity left them once again exposed as 'backward', 'ignorant' and 'parvenus' peasants.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHD: Authoritative Heritage Discourse

CAHO: Cyprus Architectural Heritage Organization

CF: Cohesion Fund

CTO: Cyprus Tourism Organization

CyBC: Cyprus Broadcasting Cooperation

EDEN: European Destinations of Excellence

EOKA: National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (Ethniki Organosi Kyprion Agonsitwn)

ERDF: European Regional Development Fund

FAO: Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations

ICCROM: International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property

ICOMOS: International Council on Monuments and Sites

KKK : Communist Party of Cyprus (Kommounistiko Komma Kyprou)

NDC: Nicosia Development Company

OECD: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

PIO: Public Information Office

SMEs: Small Medium Enterprises

TDC: Troodos Development Company

TMT: Turkish Resistance Organization

TRNC: Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

USAID: United States Agency for International Development

WCED: World Commission of Environment and Development

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Thesis Overview

Over the last few decades social scientists have treated tourism and identity as two notions intertwined in a broader cultural process of constant interaction. From this perspective, tourism defines identity and identity defines tourism, leading inevitably to a conflation of these notions in the wider tourist environment and literature. Tourism, along with the wider phenomenon of globalization, is responsible to a great degree for the mass movement of populations and increasing cultural interaction, which in turn give rise to self-awareness and cultural distinction. In other words, tourism enhances identity-formation mechanisms (Urry 2004, p. 433). In addition, the increasing desire of tourists to experience local culture has brought to the fore questions about identity, among social scientists. As a result of the increasing demand for consumption of culture, natives face the need to strategically construct an essentialised, coherent representation of their identity, to be ‘consumed’ not only by outsiders (MacCannell 1976, 1992) but also by locals.

This thesis focuses on the disputed identity of rural Cyprus. It is an ethnographic study on tourism that argues that the power of western hegemony, not only defines but also reverses the definition of ‘modern’ identity in the cultural setting of Cyprus in a way that its authority is maintained and legitimized. By focusing on identity politics and tourism in the Troodosⁱ mountainous region, this study

examines the conflict between native elites and locals over the definition of modernity.

In order to explore in more detail the conflicting notions of modern identity in rural Cyprus, I focus on tourism as a process that enhances self-awareness and self-representation. The main questions raised in the framework of this thesis are:

- Under which cultural conditions did tourism emerge in Cyprus? To answer this question the thesis examines the emergence of large-scale tourism discourse and practices. Particular attention is given to the social groups that have reproduced the discourse of mass tourism.
- Under which conditions did Cyprus emerge as a cultural tourism destination? The focus here will be, not only on the social groups that have re(produced) the discourse of cultural tourism, such as the native elite, but also on people who resisted the new rhetoric, such as rural residents.
- What do resistance and friction between native elites and rural residents signify about culture and identity on the island? In this domain I will examine the multiple definitions of modernity by native elites and rural residents.
- To what extent are identity politics at the local level intertwined with global power relations? To answer this question, I will explore the flow of

power, from Northern European experts to local native elites and from local experts to rural residents.

In the following paragraphs, I will briefly sketch the context in which these research questions arise. During the early years of British colonialism, Cyprus was represented by several European travellers as being 'stuck in time'. As Persianis notes, Cyprus was perceived to transfer the traveller back in time, at the era that Jesus was alive (Stewart (1906) cited in Persianis 2007, p.29). In the early twentieth century, the vast majority of the population depended on agriculture for their income, which was generally so meagre that people were unable to afford basic goods and services. Inhabitants of villages and towns alike lived in extremely poor conditions with respect to hygiene, safety and infrastructure. In the 1930s and 1940s, the British promoted specific technological advances, such as the creation of transport and communication infrastructure, which led to structural changes in Cypriot society and the development of urban culture.

Despite these changes, Troodos wider region remained one of the most disadvantaged areas of the island. In particular, out of the 62 communities of Troodos region, only six of them were considered as popular hill resorts and attracted the vast majority of tourists on the island, including British colonials and native urban elites. The prosperous visitors to the hill resorts enjoyed 'European' and 'modern' amenities such as asphalt roads, electricity, running water, and theatrical and musical performances. Although Troodos was identified by the British Government as a region with high tourism potential, it did not actively invest in that potential; on the contrary, the development of

tourism was initiated by the private sector and centred in the six communities, widely known as hill resorts. Thus, tourism benefits were not shared at the time by the surrounding communities, as they remained limited to the areas of the aforementioned resorts.

In the postcolonial setting of the 1960s and 1970s, native elites reproduced the western vision of 'development', 'progress' and 'modernity' as expressed in Europe after the Second World War. The narrative and practices employed by the native elites were that of modernism focused on the unhindered exploitation of natural resources, consumption of material goods, technological advancements, infrastructure, economic growth, entrepreneurship, individualism and competitiveness. The emancipatory potential of modernity was rather ignored, since religion and nationalism were gaining power and influence over the official narrative.

The native elites' 'truth' was already defined and constrained by the power of western hegemony, to the degree that the western paradigm was considered the 'natural' and 'rational' way forward. Since local experts in the tourism and development sectors, were certain of the superiority of their European counterparts, they implemented policies and strategies that would allow them to replicate European tourism resorts. Their aim was to accomplish rapid 'progress' through the unhindered development of mass tourism in the coastal zones of Cyprus. As a result, numerous 'modern' high-rise hotels were erected on the seafront in popular tourist destinations. The number of tourist arrivals increased substantially, with thousands of Northern Europeans visiting the island to enjoy the sun and the sea. The social space of beaches subsequently acquired new

meanings, namely those of modernity, cosmopolitanism, progressiveness, prosperity and individual liberation. In this context, the beach transformed from a non-productive and low-value piece of land – unsuitable for farming – to desired high value property. The increasing tourism enhanced the prosperity level in coastal areas, which led to an island-wide acceptance of the mass tourism model as a successful one. Indeed, the vast majority considered the western principles of ‘modernity’ and ‘development’ as the most rational way forward.

While the Cypriot authorities were preoccupied with spatializing modernity in the urban centres and coastal tourism resorts, they neglected the Troodos mountainous region, as it was considered a low-priority and low-potential area. The large-scale tourism model was conceived as a means to modernity and development. Thus, areas such as the Troodos region were considered as underdeveloped; indicatively the urbanites viewed Troodos’ residents as backward peasants. Urbanites differentiated themselves yet further from their ‘inferior’ rural counterparts, while the younger Troodos’ residents abandoned their villages, farmers deserted their orchards and several local schools and enterprises closed down. Even the hill resorts that were once popular among British colonials and native elites struggled to survive amidst competition from the coastal resorts.

In the context of coastal, mass tourism Troodos was identified by the authorities as a ‘low potential’ and ‘low priority’ area. The extended negligence of Troodos by the authorities, during the period of economic growth invigorated the desire of rural residents to ‘catch up’ with the developed and modernized urban centres and seaside resorts. The economic boom that followed the 1974 invasionⁱⁱ

provided rural residents the opportunity to finally achieve 'progress' by reproducing material modernity.

Meanwhile, in the 1980s the native elites reversed the definition of modernity. The dominant discourse was transformed from being focused on the notions of unhindered development, consumption of material goods, technological advancements, infrastructure and rapid economic growth, to the adoption of the new western rhetoric of sustainable development, environmental protection and cultural heritage preservation. Native elites adopted by consent the new rhetoric, due to changing sensitivities and sensibilities.

The new development rhetoric subverted representation of the Troodos region. While, previously it was considered as a low-potential area, it was in the 1980s identified as an ideal site for the development of small-scale cultural tourism. The lack of any significant development in Troodos, which was perceived in the 1960s and early 1970s as evidence of backwardness, was a decade later perceived by local experts as a comparative advantage of the region. The Cypriot authorities, in cooperation with the European Economic Community and later with the European Union (EU), introduced numerous programmes for the conservation and promotion of Troodos' environment and heritage, with the ultimate goal of attracting local and foreign tourists. The Cyprus Tourism Organization (CTO), prompted by the international growth of cultural tourism, recognized the 'need' to promote culture as part of the Cypriot tourism product. As a result, in 1991 an agrotourism programme was launched in Troodos, the main objectives of which were to preserve the natural and cultural environment and to 'open up rural Cyprus to nature tourism by capitalizing on the island's

people, authenticity, hospitality, culture and unspoiled nature' (Saveriades 2001). Cypriot authorities aimed to 'reposition' Cyprus on the global touristic map as a quality destination with natural and cultural attractions. This new approach was also manifested in the two Strategic Plans for Tourism (2000-2010 and 2011-2015), which identified sustainable development as a major priority.

The new ideology of the native elite caused friction in the wider region of Troodos between the former and the inhabitants of the area. On the one hand, urban native elite adhere themselves to the reproduction of material tradition, such as architecture, art crafts and cuisine, because this fitted their new perception of what it now meant to be modern. For example, houses built before the 1940s had been classified in the late 1960s as old and backward dwellings that needed to be demolished (Republic of Cyprus 1967, p.169). Two decades later, those houses came to be identified as valuable 'traditional houses' that were evidence of a 'rich civilization' in urgent need of protection. Although the market value of a 'traditional house' is much higher than a recently built house, several native elites own old houses, and the ones who do not are 'being possessed by the desire of possession' (Bourdieu 1979, p. 256). On the other hand, the refusal of the vast majority of rural residents to reproduce the new paradigm of development and their persistence in striving for material modernity — which preached for unhindered exploitation of nature, rapid economic growth and consumption of material goods and technological advancements — meant that they were once again labelled as 'backward', 'ignorant' and 'parvenu' peasants. Rural residents were exposed because they

did not show any sensibility towards the protection of environment and cultural heritage.

This thesis contributes to the discussion and analysis of the aforementioned issues by raising two main arguments. The first is that the history of tourism in Cyprus reflects the wider story of self-victimisation in the face of western hegemony. Like many other colonised people, Cypriots embraced the idea that western culture is superior to their own and thus endeavoured to achieve 'modernity'. Following Foucault (Rabinow 1991 [1984]) western hegemony constitutes itself as unchallenged by constructing, legitimizing and normalizing 'dividing practices'. As a result the world is understood based on a system of binary oppositions such as West/East, First World/Third World, modern/traditional, developed/underdeveloped and urban/rural. The second argument is that negotiation, friction and resistance in Cypriot society are the result of the existence of multiple and conflicting notions of modernity and tradition in time and in space. Following Welz (2000), I claim that being 'modern' or 'traditional' means different things to different people at different times and places.

This research was born of a personal need to comprehend, in a wider historical and cultural context, the conflicting developmental visions that exist in contemporary Cyprus. When I completed my Masters in Social Anthropology at the London School of Economics and Political Sciences, I returned home searching for a related job. I ended up being employed by the University of Nicosia in the Unit of Environmental Studies. I was working with Dr Andreou (pseudonym), one of the most popular and prominent figures within

environmentalism in Cyprus. His looks made him easily distinguishable, and his insulting language to *volemenous* (ensconced) hard to forget. Dr Andreou is in his mid-sixties and has a highly sociable and confident manner; he boasts a very long white beard and is always dressed up casually, even for important meetings and events. His writings in daily newspapers and his frequent participation in talk shows on the radio and television have made him a major player in environmental debates over the last two decades. He remains the best motivational speaker I have ever met. The first time I listened to him publicly denouncing the *katestimeno* (establishment) and insulting the corrupt officials who receive money 'under the table' in return for granting construction permits to developers, he struck me as a 'hippie' who 'forgot' to compromise with the status quo.

The first time that I met Dr Andreou in person was the day that he interviewed me for the job. The first question he asked was 'Do you know what is meant by *aeiforos anaptuksi* or *viosimi anaptuksi* (sustainable development)?' I felt embarrassed, but answered with a clear 'no'. He was obviously surprised and so rephrased the question by translating the term into English. 'I cannot believe that you have never heard before about 'sustainable development'!', he exclaimed. 'Of course I know what "sustainable development" is,' I replied somewhat brusquely, 'I just didn't know the Greek term'.

The fact that I was familiar with this notion in English but not in Greek shows that my previous interaction with the discourse of sustainable development had been limited to my studies in London. Also, my inability to recognise the Greek term *aeiforos anaptuksi* reveals a lot about my own identity. Obviously,

environmental concerns and issues of sustainability were not part of the daily discourse of my family and friends, at least until then.

I was raised in a middle-class family in Anthoupolis, a low-profile suburb of Nicosia inhabited mostly by lower-income and displaced families. My family house was located in close proximity to the refugee settlement and I attended the same public schools as the majority of the children of displaced people, although I was not one myself. Anthoupolis is an area with social problems that have not been effectively addressed by the authorities, with the most prominent being juvenile delinquency. Youngsters from the area brag that 'Anthoupolis is the Limassol of Nicosia', Limassol being the second biggest city in Cyprus and a symbolic rival of the capital city of Nicosia. According to the Nicosians' rhetoric, Limassol people are lower class, involved in criminal activities such as 'placing bombs under each other's cars' and concerned only with self-gratifying pursuits. On the other hand, Limassol people accuse the Nicosians of being boring, snobbish, high-class *voutiropeda* (butter boys) and *mammothrefti* (motherboys), implying that they are overly attached to their mothers and lack masculinity. Anthoupolis' youngsters, acknowledging their cultural distance from other more prosperous suburbs of Nicosia, draw symbolic power from the Limassol residents' counter-image of Nicosia.

My parents were both born in Kyperounda, one of the largest villages in the Troodos region, and as soon as they graduated from high school they migrated to South Africa for several years, mainly for economic reasons. My father co-owned a small supermarket with his brother, a common form of employment and partnership among Cypriot immigrants. Upon my family's return to Cyprus in the

early 1980s, my parents did not even consider the possibility of going back to their village. Mastering the 'protestant ethic' (Weber 1997 [1905]) of immigrants, they built a new supermarket in Anthoupolis, above which they constructed two detached apartments in order to 'maximize the value of the land'. When I was a child, my father would often speak of the progressive attitude of his own father, a builder by occupation, who had pre-emptively covered every inch of our yard with cement, leaving a small rectangular flowerbed on one side. 'Now our yard looks nice and clean!' he used to say. In the late 1980s, my parents decided to build a second house on the outskirts of their native village of Kyperounda. Our house was seen at the time as an example of modern architecture, with a rather strange combination of black aluminium window frames and white colonial-style railing ceramic. The yard was again covered by cement, except for one small area where grass was planted. As my mother recently revealed, 'if you and your brother did not insist, your father would extend our veranda'. It seems that in my family the value of nature was based upon its productivity and not its aesthetic value, since my family maintained its own *pervoli* (tree garden) with apple trees a few kilometres away from the house. Obviously, my parents were not familiar with western environmental and sustainable development concerns, nor did they try to inculcate us with these principles.

My first in-depth interaction with the environmental and sustainable development rhetoric occurred during my employment at the Unit of Environmental Studies. I was not only enchanted by the proposed logic, but was also frustrated that I had not been exposed to this narrative earlier in my life.

Everything made sense to me, and I was left with little doubt that this was the developmental vision that we should implement on the island. It did not take me long to master the environmental narrative and to become actively involved in 'raising awareness', especially regarding sustainable tourism development in rural areas. The Unit received funds mainly from European projects and organised various events, seminars and conferences with the ultimate goal of informing rural residents about sustainable tourism initiatives and alternative sources of income. In one of our events in the Troodos region, which was attended by several local people, Dr Andreou criticized the current state of mass tourism:

The tourism that we have today in Cyprus is the tourism of the hotel, the swimming pool and the cheap beer. We created tourist ghettos with all-inclusive hotels and we enclave tourists in hotels and we give them bracelets to wear, just like sheep on a farm. The tourism that I dream to see one day is the tourism that has our culture as a flagship..., the tourism that can offer 'a piece of bread' to rural residents. I dream of the day that I could bring a group of urbanite children to rural Cyprus, stay in a farm house and have the opportunity to pick fruits themselves, to milk the goats, get dirty with soil and then bathe in the river (*na vuzaksoun tis tsoures, na lerothoun me ta xomata kai na louthoun meston potamo*)! But in order to be able to develop this kind of tourism in Troodos, you have to contribute to this effort as well. It is unacceptable to come to this beautiful village of yours and be offered a plastic chair to sit down in the village square! This is unacceptable! This is shameful, damn me (*Einai aisxro, panathema me*)! We are a diseased society that appreciates cheap materials over our local products and the labour of our farmers. (Field notes)

I began to suspect that something was wrong with the sustainable tourism narrative when I noticed the significant cultural gap between the environmentalists' and rural residents' discourses. My disenchantment with the

discourse of sustainability was gradual. During one of my walks in Omodos, a village in the Troodos region, I had a long discussion with Ms Chrystalla (pseudoname), a woman in her mid-seventies, that heralded the start of my disillusionment. The heat from the sun was particularly fierce that day, so she invited me to her house for a drink. The building was freshly whitewashed and her yard was full of small flowerpots. I sat outside on a white plastic chair and waited for her until she returned with a pitcher of cool lemonade and some homemade cookies. She gave me the impression that she was extremely happy to have someone at her house on a weekday to keep her company until the afternoon church ceremony started. Reflecting on one of the seminars on sustainable tourism, I unconsciously started to identify possible spaces for 'improvement' in the village. I naively asked Ms Chrystalla why the Community Council did not restore a nearby cement-floored alleyway to its earlier paved form, to which she replied as follows:

Why should we do that my dear? For us older people, it is much easier walking on the cement...our walking sticks do not get stuck between the stones. It is dangerous; we may fall and break a leg with these stones. ... It is also cleaner; we throw water on the cement and it is easily cleaned. If you ask younger women, they will tell you the same. They cannot walk on the stones with high heels. (Field notes)

Intrigued by Ms Chrystalla's answer, I decided to probe further. After expressing my agreement with her and admitting that her concerns were well founded, I enquired as to how she felt about the efforts of the Cyprus Tourism Organization to persuade locals to replace their plastic chairs with the old-style wooden ones. Her response was again unexpected:

I don't know what others are doing; the only thing I know is that I am not going to replace them [the chairs]. Are they [the CTO] willing to pay for the wooden chairs? Do they have any clue about how much *tonenes karekles* [handmade, bamboo-bottomed wooden chairs] cost? They are very expensive! It is not only that. ... These plastic chairs will live longer than me! You can leave them outside in the sun, the rain, the dust, and nothing happens to them! What do you think will happen if you leave a wooden chair in the rain and the sun? (Field notes)

I was astonished by both of Ms Chrystalla's answers, since I had previously been under the impression that older people at least would be eager to see their village restored to its earlier state by revitalizing the natural environment and local traditions. As a young female urbanite, I nostalgically identified elder residents of rural areas as agents of tradition. Ms Chrystalla proved me wrong. Not only did she refuse to reproduce tradition; she also seemed to enjoy modern amenities and novelties. When our conversation came to an end, she accompanied me to her front door and with a big smile on her face said: 'since you like our village, you should come and live here and I will find you a nice young man to settle down with'. I smiled and thanked her, assuming that she had interpreted the fact that I was travelling alone as a sign of me being single.

It did not take me long to realise that my own nostalgic approach to life and aesthetic inclinations were leading me astray. Nonetheless, the encounter described above was one of several incidents that at once confused and intrigued me, and that thereby convinced me of the worth of this study. I was puzzled by the fact that rural elders held many traditional ideas, such as a belief in the value of arranged marriages, but that they were not interested in restoring certain aspects of their material tradition, such as the old-style wooden chairs. How had this paradox emerge in Cypriot society? What did these preferences or choices

reveal about the elders' identity, and my own? How was this seemingly minor issue with chairs related to the broader developmental vision of rural residents in relation to tourism? To what extent did tourism development plans incorporate locals' perceptions of who they are? Was I unconsciously involved in an orchestrated effort to alter their lifestyle in order to fulfil tourists' aspirations? This thesis is the result of my efforts to find answers to these questions.

1.2 Theoretical Approaches

My theoretical approach has been highly influenced by three scholars, namely Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu and Vassos Argyrou. The theoretical approach that adopted throughout this thesis is that of critical discourse analysis. Specifically, this study focuses on the role of discourse in the (re)production of western dominance by defining modernity in the cultural setting of Cyprus.

As evident from above, one of the central concerns of this thesis is the concept of modernity. For many years, social scientists treated modernity as a Eurocentric, unilineal and uniform notion that describes the cultural conditions and ideas that emerged in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe (Giddens 1998; Szakolczai 2007; Thomassen 2012). The modern cosmotheory emerged as a division with Middle Age and Renaissance ideas. Modernity was associated with rationalizing religious beliefs, the empowerment of scientific knowledge, technological advancements, industrialization, mass production, market economy, capitalism and cultural reforms that lead to the emergence of nation states and democracy as a political institution.

Since the late 1990s, this essentialized notion of modernity has attracted growing criticism. The idea that the prototype of modernity exists in the West and that all the Others are imitating in an attempt to catch up has been challenged by several scholars. As a result, acknowledging that there are multiple possible modernities is now the dominant theoretical approach in anthropological discourse. Thomassen (2012) has provided a very useful typology of these multiple modernities. He creates five descriptive categories under which different terms for modernity are classified in relation to their theoretical framework. Among the terms used by social scientists are 'parallel modernities' (Larkin 1997), 'global modernities' (Featherstone et al. 1995), 'multiple modernities' (Eisenstadt), 'early, later or new modernities' (Kaya 2003), 'alternative modernities' (Gaonkar 2006), 'counter-modernities' (Foucault 1984), 'competing modernities' (Herzfeld 2001), 'uneven modernities' (Randeria 2002) and 'reflexive modernities' (Giddens, Beck and Lash 1994).

In this ethnography, I use the term multiple modernities not to denounce other theoretical approaches. On the contrary, I use this concept for want of better terminology. Let me clarify, though, what *I* mean when I use the term 'modernity'. Obviously, I oppose the idea of a singular, uniform western modernity that is achieved through a unilineal process of modernisation. Modernisation was a process initiated in the West as a result of specific cultural conditions that were met in that specific geographical region from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Over the last decade, however, anthropologists and other social scientists have provided evidence that, in contrast to the notion of a single western modernity, there are in fact multiple different modernities

throughout the world. This means that modernization and globalization does not passively produce a replica of western civilization, which is to say that local cultural conditions are involved in a constant interplay with western or universal principles, to such a degree that local and global processes are now intertwined and interconnected. In other words, not only are local conditions influenced by globalization, but global principles and processes are also influenced by local cultural configurations, even in the West itself.

Having said this, I do not underestimate the role of the existing power relations in the global system, which are involved in a vicious cycle of producing, maintaining, legitimizing and normalizing western hegemony. As Argyrou (2005, p.160) suggests, hegemony is 'consent based on the socio-historical unconscious – the taken-for-granted, the undisputed and undiscussed, what goes without saying because it appears natural and necessary'. As a rule, the more powerful cultures have the power to define the 'socio-historical unconscious'. Although the situation may change in the future, it seems that for now the West holds the power to define the dominant discourse, according to which western civilization is superior to the rest and the prototype of modernity.

As suggested by various ethnographies, including this one, the superiority and originality of the West is endorsed by Others to a great extent. The term 'Others' describes not only the non-western world but also sections of western societies that are considered to be less powerful or of a lower social class. For instance, the unskilled working class, engaged in blue-collar jobs, could be identified as a less powerful section of British society, one that is symbolically dominated by the assumption that their lifestyle is inferior to that of the educated, prosperous

social classes. As Bourdieu (1979, p.255) illustrates, 'the illusion of the 'natural distinction' is ultimately based on the power of the dominant to impose, by their existence, a definition of excellence which, being nothing other than their own way of life, is bound to appear simultaneously as distinctive and different, and therefore both arbitrary (since it is among others) and perfectly necessary, absolute and natural'.

A further noteworthy issue is that of resistance to hegemony, which in a sense re-injects western symbolic domination with a new value (Argyrou 1996; 2005). In other words, individuals who are aware of their symbolic domination and resist the modern or western identity imposed on them do so by defining themselves in opposition to western identity. Resistance is 'measured' by taking as one's point of reference western identity and culture. Having said this, it is essential to emphasize that I do not ignore the issue of the ambivalence and ambiguity of the notion of modernity (Mitchell 2002). Nor do I ignore the role of personal agency in conjunction with different socio-cultural contexts in altering the meaning of modernity.

Let me now turn to the concept of identity. This thesis employs this notion in a non-essentialist manner, viewing it as 'something mutable, invented and inventive, elusive, constantly subject to change, producing new subjects out of old [and new] discourses' (Tilley 2006, p.9, my addition). In this sense, identity is not only an expression of 'who a person is', but also of 'who a person is not'. This 'social articulation of difference' (Bhabha 1994) establishes bonds of distinction (Bourdieu 1979) within a specific group of people who share the same identity and simultaneously engenders exclusion and cultural distance from Others. In

other words, the notion of identity is constructed within a particular discourse, which transforms its existence into something meaningful based on cultural distinction and difference. Identity is communicated and consumed with the so-called markers, symbols or signifiers, which are bounded to create binary oppositions and cultural divisions within a group of people and the world in general.

However, it is important to highlight that the strategic positioning of the self in relation to the Other is not fixed or stable through time and space. As a result, the complex process of negotiating ones' identity involves ambivalence and contestation. In sum, it is a strategic and positional activity that produces a plurality of identities, 'fragmented and fractured..., constructed across different and often intersecting and antagonistic discourses, practices and positions' (Hall 1996, p. 17).

Taking this a step further, Spivak (1987) coined the term 'strategic essentialism' to describe the act of a less powerful or marginalized group to consciously adopt the dominant, essentialized representation of their identity, for strategic purposes. In other words, the heterogeneity of the group and the internal differences are put aside temporarily, in order to reproduce an essentialised representation of their group that will potentially result in common and shared benefits. This thesis will examine how Cypriots as postcolonial subjects and relatively power less actors, developed tourism by strategically rejecting or reinforcing essentialised identities and binary oppositions such as western, eastern, European, Mediterranean, modern, traditional, developed, underdeveloped, urban and rural.

At this stage, I would like to provide a more explicit definition of the term of reference 'native elite(s)' that is widely used through out this thesis. The term native elites refers to a group of local people who maintain a 'position of dominance over subaltern groups' (Shore 2002, p.1). The question raised by Marcus (1983, p.9) and Shore (2000, p.3) of 'how do we identify elites', since this is not a self-reference term, is an important one. Elites are a group of people who have access to resources and share similar cultural traits and visions. It is not enough to identify your self as part of the dominant elite group, it is equally important to be identified and acknowledged by others as one. As Meisel (1962 cited in Shore 2002, p. 3) argued a person who is part of the dominant elite needs to 'develop the three C's: consciousness, cohesion and conspiracy' in order to achieve the common set agenda. Marcus (1983, p.10-11) agrees with the idea of conspiracy but also addresses issues of 'agency', 'exclusivity', 'power', 'superiority' and cultural distance from their social environment. The concept of native elites used in the context of this thesis follows the working definition provided by Shore (2002, p.4) which defines elites as those 'who occupy the most influential positions or roles in the important spheres of social life. They are typically incumbents: the leaders, rulers and decision makers. In other words, they are the 'makers and shakers', 'people whose ideas and interests are hegemonic' (Shore 2002, p.4).

Having said this, I would like to emphasize that the term 'native elites' does not refer to a group of people, characterized by continuity and homogeneity. Following Watson (2002, p. 124), I do recognize that the rapid transformations of the socio-economic structures of the Cypriot society have produced equally

rapid changes in the character of local elite(s). More specifically, during the 1920s and 1930s, power derived from property—particularly fertile land— and high income, which was often linked with commercial activities*1. At this stage we can refer to a group of modernizing, urban, higher-class elite, who also constituted the ideological core of the right and left wing political movement. The 1940s social and economic structural changes enforced the evolution of the native elites group. Education was now highly valued and as a result younger members of elite families with access to resources attempted to maintain their hegemony by acquiring tertiary education, usually in United Kingdom or Greece. As Herzfeld (2000, p. 231) would argue, some of the elites did well with the conversion of property into other forms of cultural capital. Another tactic that the native elites used for legitimizing their power was by ‘monumentalising the past’ through the nationalist discourse (Herzfeld 2000, p.234). It is also worthwhile mentioning that the right wing native elites played a crucial role in the anti-colonial struggle of the 1950s and the effort to unify with motherland Greece.

From the ranks of the educated, professional elites and also the anti-colonial military group EOKA, emerged the new political and administrative elite of the 1960s. The rapid economic development that followed the 1960s and 1970s, made the accumulation of educational capital for urban middle classes possible. These people in the 1980s occupied governmental positions that in the 1960s were an exclusive privilege of the aristocratic families’ descents. Although, this new group of native elites classifies with what Giddens (1990, p. 27) would describe as the ‘rise of expert systems’, I argue that they still fulfil the definition

of 'elite(s)' as described above. They are the ones who have the power to formulate identity politics, set political agendas, prioritize based on their own mind-set and allocate European and national funds for the implementation of these action plans.

In short, I argue that 'elite(s)' is a useful term for this specific anthropological analysis, which deals with identity structures and formations at a local and global level. Following Watson (2002, p. 124) and Shore (2002, p. 12), I treat elites as fluid entities that result out of dynamic, ongoing processes. My plan in this thesis is to provide a contextualized analysis aimed at reducing the limitations associated with the term 'elite(s)'.

Lastly, I would like to return to one of the terms mentioned above 'identity politics'. The term was coined in the mid 1960s to refer to the active involvement of people in the new social movements based on gender, sexuality, ethnicity or race (Rosaldo 2006, p.118). Examples of these social movements include military groups based on ethnic, national or religious beliefs, environmentalist, multiculturalism, feminist or gay groups. In the framework of this thesis, identity politics are examined as a discourse bounded to a specific cultural context and not as a set of substantive, shared characteristics attributed to a specific group of people.

1.3 Methodology

By selecting tourism as the main focus of this research, I was well aware that the traditional ethnographic method, which is bounded to the field, would be

inadequate for analysing the complexity of the external connections and power relations involved in this domain. Tourism as a social phenomenon is intertwined with the notion of globalization, and its analysis requires 'linking the particular research moment to the broader historical context, and the particular research site to the broader transnational forces and processes that constitute the global' (Wonders and Michalowski 2001, p.546). I consider the approach of global ethnography, developed by Burawoy et al. (2000) as a method that can overcome the challenges posed by globalization for traditional ethnographic methods. As Burawoy et al. (2000, p. 2) suggests ethnography can trace the global within the local cultural setting. Global ethnographies can illustrate how 'global processes are collectively and politically constructed, demonstrating the variety of ways in which globalization is grounded in the local' (Gille and Ó Riain 2002, p.271).

Let me explain in more detail how this new mode of ethnographic research has contributed to the end result of this thesis. My plan in this thesis is to combine three of the features of global ethnography identified by Wonders and Michalowski (2001, p.546-7) and Gille and Ó Riain (2002), who adapted Burawoy's et al. (2000) methodological approach. In short, the three features of global ethnography used through out this report are the theoretical insights about global and transnational phenomena, which are connected with the subject under study, the historically contextualized approach and the ethnographic analysis of the Troodos region. In what follows, I will firstly elaborate on the three-abovementioned features of global ethnography in order

to describe in more detail this thesis' methodology and secondly, I will provide a brief description of the applied research methods that I used.

First, global forces and connections are examined in relation to the issue of modernity and western hegemony. Modernity is analysed in the framework of this thesis as a powerful discourse that defines local concerns and narratives. For example, British colonization is examined in relation to its role in the emergence of modernity and tourism as social phenomena. Similarly, the postcolonial setting of Cyprus is analysed in relation to the broader trends observed in Northern European societies, such as socio-economic changes, technological advancements and shifts in production and consumption patterns that resulted in the development of large-scale coastal tourism, initially in Western Europe and later in Cyprus. On a similar note, I illustrate the connection between the modernist paradigm as developed in the West and the developmental goal of native elites to 'modernise' and 'develop' the newborn state. Meanwhile, examining the Mediterraneanist discourse highlights the conflict between the ideas of Northern European actors such as tourism consultants and those of the native elites responsible for planning and implementing Cyprus's tourism development policy. Finally, the ethnographic analysis of the western discourse of tourism that hegemonically constituted itself as global reveals the mechanisms through which local cultures adopt, resist or negotiate global forces.

The authority of western hegemony is revealed through its power to reverse the content of the modern cultural model while still maintaining its global dominance. In order to illustrate the reversal of modern identity by the West, I analyse the transformation of the dominant tourism discourse from mass

tourism to what I call 'reflexive tourism'. I theoretically examine the changes in environment, development and culture employed by global institutions such as the United Nations, and provide field data from Cyprus in order to illustrate its influence in the local cultural setting. In order to reveal 'how global connections produce global forces' (Gille and Ó Riain 2002, p.283), I reflect on the discourse employed by a specific group of social actors, namely native elites. I also focus on the perceptions of rural residents to show how global forces, such as western hegemony, play a decisive role in framing, not only dominant ideas on tourism but also resistance and negotiation.

The second feature of global ethnography used in the methodology of this research is the historically contextualized approach. Contemporary culture cannot be separated from the historical, social and economic conditions that existed in a specific geographical context in the past. The task of providing a historically contextualized analysis of Cyprus's culture was a challenging one, since the vast majority of historical overviews focus on the political elite and conflict and not on the everyday life, beliefs, ideas and concerns of local people. Consequently, I had to rely for my analysis on ethnographic data together with the limited existing literature on the cultural history of Cyprus. I begin my historical exploration with the 1920s, mainly because this was a turning point in the history of Cyprus as well as being the decade in which my eldest informants were born. In order to acquire a more in-depth understanding of the native elites' perceptions, I searched for newspaper articles published from the 1920s onwards. The method that I followed was to emphasize rural residents' understanding and interpretation of their own past while also acknowledging

the connections with significant narratives of the political elite. Overall, the historical periods covered are British colonialism, with a focus on the period 1920-1959 and the post-independence era, which is further divided into two periods, namely, the 1960s until the late 1970s and the 1980s until the present day.

The third feature of global ethnography is the ethnographic study of a specific geographical region. The collection of ethnographic data enabled me to shed light on the 'interplay of the global and the local, treating as problematic the shifting line between them' (Comaroff and Comaroff 1993, p.xiv). In order to do so, I narrowed the analytical domain and focus on tourism discourses and related narratives, such as those concerning the environment, development and heritage. In this framework, I examine the contestation of modern identity and the conflicting meanings of modernity in Cyprus. Local people are approached as a diverse social group with their own personal agency, strategies and cultural backgrounds. Thus, the adoption, resistance or negotiation of a modern identity by locals is revealed as the cultural outcome of the authority of native elites to impose their own cultural model on the residents of rural Cyprus.

1.4 Research Methods

I will now turn to a more detailed description of the research methods applied in the course of this study. I will focus first on participant observation, which was the main method used during fieldwork. This thesis is based upon ethnographic data collected during a 12-month period of fieldwork in the Troodos region. The first phase of my extended field research was between October 2009 and June

2010 and I lived in Kakopetria village. When I returned to the field for three months between June 2012 and August 2012, I stayed in Kyperounda, my parents' village. Although these were my only periods of extensive immersion in Troodos, being a native anthropologist and a resident of Cyprus gave me the opportunity to collect data for the entire duration of my PhD programme (from 2006 until 2013). Throughout this period, conducting research for this thesis was not my only preoccupation. From 2006 until 2011, I worked for the University of Nicosia as a Research Fellow and Lecturer, which gave me an income as well as the opportunity to interact with several local and international students and to exchange views on issues of common concern.

Although my fieldwork focused on Troodos, I often used ethnographic examples from other areas of the island for comparative reasons. The only area excluded from my participant observation was the northern part of Cyprus, which has not been under the control of the Republic of Cyprus since 1974. The fact that my research dealt only with the southern part of the island is acknowledged on my part as a weakness. This conscious decision to centre the study on the areas controlled by the Republic of Cyprus was related chiefly to ease of access to archives and official information. Under no circumstances does this choice imply that I treat the two 'sides' of the island as separate and isolated entities.

Upon my arrival in the field, I revealed to locals my identity as a researcher. Although I did not misinform them, neither did I disclose all the information regarding my research. I generally stated, 'I am conducting research on the Troodos region'. In the early days of my fieldwork, most of the locals assumed that I was interested in the history of Troodos, and they would therefore talk at

length about the past in their attempts to help me. I would sit and listen to their stories for hours, although at the time I was not especially interested in what they had to say. However, when I reflected on their tales at a later date, I realized that there was no 'wasted time', as I had initially thought. On the contrary, all of the information I gathered, even personal and family stories, contributed to a more in-depth understanding of local culture and identity.

As a native anthropologist, I appropriated my parents' origins in order to establish a closer relationship with my informants. The main technique that I used, especially in the early days of my fieldwork, was to open myself up to my informants, providing them with personal information about my family and myself that I would not normally be willing to disclose to a stranger under other circumstances. I strategically invited many of my friends and relatives who have origins in the wider region of Troodos to come and visit me in order to expand my network of connections within the local community. Achieving this was relatively easy, since the first question asked by locals when they meet a new person is '*Pothen eisai?*' (Where do you come from?), which is often followed by a second question of the sort, '*Ksereis ton Yianni ton nosokomo? En koumparos mou!*' (Do you know Yiannis, the nurse? He was my best man!). In Cypriot weddings,ⁱⁱⁱ tradition dictates that all women and men can be registered as a maid of honour or best man by offering a fixed symbolic price to the couple. This is seen as a way for an individual to express his or her appreciation and establish a closer relationship with the couple. The term *koumparos* (best man) is also commonly used between strangers as a friendly way to address a man. For my research this big network of *koumparoi* (best men) in Cypriot society was

extremely useful for expanding my connections with the people of Troodos. Overall, I believe that this self-exposure demystified my initial 'strange' designation as a researcher and soon convinced the local residents that I was one of them.

Establishing rapport and trust with my informants required different approaches according to the personal traits of each individual. For instance, one of my key informants, Mr Giorgos (pseudonym) was the owner of a small *kafeneion* (coffee shop) in the old neighbourhood of Kakopetria, where I hung out each day. He was usually alone at the coffee shop, and when things got busy he used to phone his wife, Ms Maria, to ask her to join him. One day, we were sitting on the balcony of the coffee shop, facing the river and talking about his childhood, when a frequent client came in, to whom Mr Giorgos introduced me as 'a girl who is doing a research about Kakopetria'. While we were talking, a big group of tourists entered the coffee shop and in no time at all the place was packed. Mr Giorgos hurried to call his wife but unfortunately she did not answer the phone. Seeing this, I put my notebook aside and reassured him that I could help him out. He scratched his face sceptically and asked, 'have you done this before?' 'Well, no,' I replied, 'but I think I will manage!' For two hours, I took and delivered orders, made lemonades and frappes and washed and dried plates. At one point, a relative of Mr Giorgos entered the coffee shop, and I heard him asking quietly who I was. Mr Giorgos looked at me, smiled and said, 'she is Evi, a very good friend of mine'. I smiled back and continued drying the plates with satisfaction. After the tourists left, I had one of the most intimate discussions of my fieldwork with Mr Giorgos, during which he disclosed private and

confidential information about his family that I would never even consider publishing.

With some informants it took more time to build up a relationship and required a different form of engagement in their daily lives. During my fieldwork, I took part in various livelihood activities, including picking fruits from the fields, peeling fruits to make syrup sweets and training hotel employees how to use the computer or issue invoices. After a couple of months of fieldwork, I realized that the fact that I did not attend the Sunday church service was being a source of concern for a group of elderly women. However, as soon as I 'corrected' my behaviour, I became an 'insider' and was invited to their gatherings for coffee after the ceremony.

During social gatherings, I never used my audio recorder or my notebook, since I believed it would distract people and cause them to grow suspicious of my presence. I also avoided initiating discussions on topics that I was particularly interested in, preferring to participate in the ongoing, unstructured and informant-led conversations. As soon as I returned to my room or my car, I would carefully record my observations in my field diary.

As a general rule, after my first communication with a potential informant, I would arrange for a private interview in his or her home. I would kindly ask their permission to use my recorder during our interview, reassuring them that I would never use the audio file for any purpose other than my research. Throughout the duration of my fieldwork, I was never denied permission to use the recorder. My presence in my informants' homes permitted me to glean

additional contextual information gleaned from personal belongings and family photos. I would start the discussion with some general questions about their family, which also gave them the opportunity to ask me about my personal life. My interviews employed a semi-structured format, leaving plenty of space for my informants to bring their own concerns and interests to the fore. In the course of my fieldwork, I conducted forty-seven semi-structured interviews with residents of Troodos.

In addition to interviewing informants, I attended numerous public events in Troodos that were directly or indirectly related to my research. These included agrotourism seminars, master plan negotiation meetings, NATURA 2000 negotiation meetings, organized tours in villages, apple festivals, *palouze* and *shioushioukos* (traditional sweets made from grape juice) festivals, carnival parades and several Christmas and Easter events organized by community councils.

When a research project spans a long period – in my case seven years – it is inevitable that changes emerge along the way. For instance, some of my key informants died, others got married and moved away, some finished their work contracts and returned to homes elsewhere, others had accidents with a significant impact on their health, family ties were broken because of inheritance-related conflicts and in other cases neighbours that were once good friends, are now solving their differences through the court. I still try to visit my informants, when I have the chance and to maintain a relationship with them, although it is difficult to stay up to date with everything that happens in a community, or even in a family context.

Besides my interviews with residents of Troodos, I conducted 25 semi-structured interviews with key players in professional domains related to my research. I classified most of the individuals interviewed as native elites, the majority of whom were employed by the Cypriot State in vital positions. Indicatively, I interviewed officers of the Cyprus Tourism Organization, Cyprus Agrotourism Company, the Department of Antiquities, the Department of Town Planning and Housing and the Planning Bureau, as well as representatives of community councils, members of community youth boards, entrepreneurs and members of non-governmental organizations concerned with the environment, heritage and tourism. The duration of these interviews ranged from one to three hours. When the conditions allowed it, I often recorded the interviews on a digital recorder, provided my respondent consented. These interviews were of particular importance to my research, since they contributed both to illuminating the link between language and social practice and to identifying the degree to which specific sections of society, such as bodies of professionals, policy development experts and public employees, have internalized the particular discourses and practices (Smith 2006, p.15) that reproduce the symbolic domination of Troodos' residents.

In order to reveal the link between the discourse employed by native elites and western elites, I decided to investigate official documents published by international non governmental organizations that pertain to the issues under study. I must emphasize, however, that the extensive and systematic analysis of these documents was not the ultimate goal of this research; therefore, when available, I used secondary sources of information. Indicatively, I briefly

reviewed documents published by the United Nations (i.e. conference proceedings, reports, conventions and charters), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS).

In the case of documents published by the Republic of Cyprus, I conducted a thorough and systematic analysis in order to demonstrate the power of western hegemony to define the local discourse of native elites, even on issues that may seem apolitical. In addition, I attempted to uncover the relationship between native elites' discourse and their social practice. For this purpose, I reviewed the Development Plans published by the Planning Bureau from 1962 onwards. I also studied various publications by the Cyprus Tourism Organization, such as Annual Reports, Tourism Development Plans, web pages, brochures and leaflets.

Another unofficial source of information about the discourse employed by native elites were the newspapers archives of the Public Information Office (PIO), which proved highly valuable for my research. In particular, I accessed articles and advertisements published in various newspapers in Cyprus from the 1920s until the 1980s. The online software allowed me to conduct keyword searches across 38 newspapers and thus to track down the information that I needed both quickly and efficiently.

Finally, conducting fieldwork in small communities magnified in my eyes the extent to which social relations are extremely fragile. In this thesis, I decided to protect the confidentiality of my respondents by using pseudonyms instead of disclosing their real names. For the sake of clarity, after each quotation from an

informant I indicate in parentheses whether this quote was recorded, retrieved from my field notes or recalled from memory. All translations of quotations from Greek to English are my own. As a general rule, my ultimate goal was to communicate the meaning of words and not to provide the reader with a grammatically and etymologically correct translation. In addition, several long names of organizations have been shortened for the sake of concision. In these cases, I provide the full name and an abbreviation in parentheses in the first instance, after which the abbreviated form is used throughout. Should readers wish to remind themselves of the full name, they may consult the list of abbreviations.

1.5 Chapter Summaries

In the following chapters, I attempt to illustrate the power of western hegemony, which not only defines but also reverses the definition of 'modern' identity in the cultural setting of Cyprus, in such a way that the superiority of 'western culture' is maintained and legitimized. In Chapter Two, I introduce the geographical area of Troodos and examine the historical background of Cyprus, with a particular focus on the area under study. Reference is made to the Ottoman, British and post-independence periods, as well as to Troodos' residents' understandings and interpretations of their own past.

Following on from this, Chapter Three focuses on the emergence of tourism and modernity under British colonial rule, while Chapters Four and Five deal with the post-independence period. In particular, Chapter Four covers the period from the 1960s until the late 1970s. I examine the role of western hegemony in

defining the notions of 'modernity' and 'development' in the cultural setting of Cyprus. My intention is to show how the modernist discourse employed by native elites 'normalized' the development of mass tourism narratives and practices in the coastal resorts by distancing with the 'underdeveloped' and 'backward' rural areas. Chapter Five covers the period from the 1980s until today and reveals the reversal of the modernist paradigm by the West and consequently by native elites. The adoption by native elites of the western principles of 'environment', 'development' and 'heritage' produced a new tourism narrative and multiple conflicting definitions of modernity. The thesis concludes with a synopsis and discussion of the key findings and contributions of this study.

1.6 Conclusion

In this thesis, I attempt to illuminate the exercise of power by western elites and institutions that results in global and local dividing practices and classifications between 'developed' and 'underdeveloped' countries, regions, cities, villages and neighbourhoods. I believe that anthropological theory and ethnographic evidence can provide an in-depth understanding of the complex interplay of the global and local power relations involved in processes of identity formation.

Chapter 2

Troodos: 'The Green Heart of Cyprus'

2.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to examine the contemporary cultural history of Cyprus with a particular focus on the Troodos region. This chapter is of particular importance, since the historical, social and economic conditions that have prevailed in Cyprus over the last few centuries are intertwined with the contemporary culture and identity. For this reason, I provide to the reader a historically contextualized analysis of Troodos region, which is also a vital part of the methodological framework of global ethnography.

The task of providing the reader with a historical and cultural overview for a marginalized region like Troodos is a difficult one. The main reason is that the vast majority of historical accounts focus on the ideas and actions of male political elites dealing predominately with the anti-colonial fight and the political conflict between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. As Loizos (2010, p. 11) suggests, for the last 75 years the literature about Cyprus has been monopolized by the 'Cyprus problem', a term developed in the 1980s to describe the ongoing ethnic and political dispute between the two dominant communities on the island. Given this, contextual information on the everyday life, beliefs, ideas and concerns of rural residents has been retrieved mainly from ethnographic data and from the limited sideline references of historians and other scholars. It is worth noting here that the work of Persianis (2007) on the development of

urban culture in Cyprus has been of particular importance, since it draws comparisons between urban and rural areas of the island.

In sum, this chapter is a synthesis of bibliographic and ethnographic data pertaining to the historical, political, economic and social developments that have shaped contemporary culture in Troodos and in Cyprus more generally. It is separated into three sections. The first introduces my fieldwork setting, Troodos. The second and largest section is separated into three sub-sections dealing with the Ottoman, the British and the post-independence periods respectively. The last section is an outline of the main conclusions presented in this chapter.

2.2 The Setting

Although I cannot recall the first time I visited Troodos due to my lifelong personal engagement with the region, I do have one particularly vivid memory from my childhood. Every Saturday afternoon, the whole family – my parents, my older brother, my younger sister and myself – squeezed into our family car; full of bags and groceries and drove from Nicosia, to my parents' village, Kyperounda in the Troodos hills, a trip that lasted approximately one hour. When my siblings and I got tired, as we invariably did on the long windy drive, we would start asking 'are we there yet?' and 'how long before we reach Kyperounda?' Every time we asked such questions my father would respond that 'you should know where we are and which is the next village on our route'. When we succeeded in predicting the next village, we felt very proud.

On the way from Nicosia to Troodos the scenery changes tremendously, as the wheat-covered plains surrounding the capital give way to high, pine-clad mountains. The temperature is significantly lower in the Troodos region than it is elsewhere on the island. In winter, the temperature frequently drops below zero degrees Celsius, while in the summer, though the thermometer can read as high as 30 degrees Celsius, the air feels much cooler than in any other region of Cyprus.

The cultural landscape of Troodos is very diverse. When travelling in the region, one encounters scenic hillside vineyards and fruit orchards interspersed here and there by rows of abandoned cars 'parked' at the side of the road or an old refrigerator or sofa discarded by local residents. Small and picturesque villages are scattered across the Troodos region. On a winter's day, they are so still and quiet that they often look as if they have been abandoned; during national holidays, however, they may get so busy that every single street and path is turned into a car park. Old houses built in the early twentieth century sit alongside new, modern dwellings, while stone-paved paths coexist with asphalt or cement roads.

On the main road from Nicosia to Troodos, there are numerous restaurants and cafeterias where one can stop for a drink or a snack. The majority of these buildings were built in the 1980s, and although some are large enough to accommodate groups of 100-200 people, they are rarely visited nowadays by tourist buses. Coca-Cola or Pepsi branded signs advertise the names of the restaurants. Usually, these restaurants have a terrace, used throughout the summer period, where white plastic chairs and tables are set out in close

proximity to the main road. Interestingly, these terraces always face the main road and not the pine forests to the rear of the restaurants.

Let me now turn to the geomorphologic characteristics of Troodos region. Cyprus is divided into two mountain masses, between which is a plain area, called Mesaoria. Troodos is the highest mountain range in Cyprus, which is located in the centre of the island. Stretching northwest to southeast, its highest peak, Mount Olympus, rises 1,952 meters above sea level while its lowest peak, Moni Forest, stands at 700 meters. Unique in nature, it is the only place on earth where one can witness a fully developed oceanic crust above sea level. Troodos, and eventually the rest of the island, emerged from the sea following the collision of the Eurasian and African tectonic plates some 90 million years ago.^{iv} The peak of Troodos Mountain is essentially the oceanic crust that was formed by the volcanic activity on the seabed 3,000 meters below the surface of the Tethys Sea. For this reason, experts have nicknamed Troodos ‘the Mecca of geologists’.

Troodos is unique not only in geomorphological terms but also in its natural environment. Tourists visiting Troodos usually describe the Mountain as magnificent, impressive and imposing, while the region is perceived to have a ‘natural beauty’ (*fusiki omorfia*). The area is home to the largest national forest park in Cyprus, which covers an area of 9,147 hectares^v around Mount Olympus. It is considered one of the most important regions of the Mediterranean in terms of flora and fauna. The area is popular among eco-tourists, who aspire to get a glimpse of the Cypriot mouflon^{vi} and other species of particular interest.^{vii} Along with the large expanse of forest, the visitor will find cultivated vineyards and orchards on the slopes of the surrounding villages. The need to safeguard the

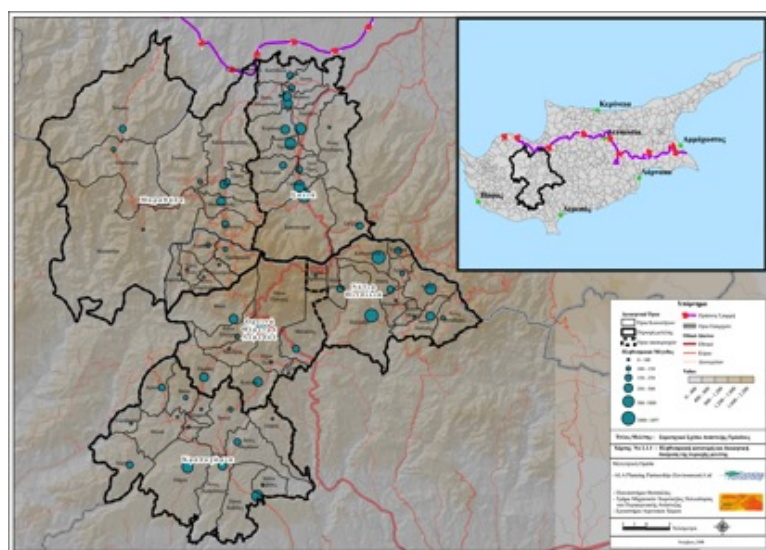
rich biodiversity and natural resources of the area resulted in the designation of five protected areas as part of the European Natura 2000 Network.

Although Troodos is *not* an administrative district, it is today frequently used to describe the surrounding villages that stretch out under the highest mountain of the island. The term is used in both official and unofficial contexts. Among the official agencies using the term 'Troodos' are the European Union, various governmental bodies and local authorities. Unofficially, locals and visitors use the term on a daily basis. Troodos is seen by many as a homogeneous, unified region due to certain geomorphological and cultural characteristics that the villages around Mount Olympus are perceived to share.

The area comprises five sub-regions: the Lemesos Mountain Resorts region (Oreina Theretra Lemesou); Pitsilia region (north and south) to the east of Mount Olympus; the Solea Valley to the north; the Marathasa Valley located at the foot of the north-western slopes of the Troodos range; and the Wine villages (Krasochoria) region located on the southern slopes. It should be highlighted, however, that the boundaries of the Troodos region are blurred and negotiable depending on the context. To elaborate, local alliances, political and social opportunities and collective and personal benefits of the people are only some of the issues that play a part in determining where the boundaries of Troodos are drawn. For example, in 2007 the 'Troodos Tourism Development and Promotion Company' was established with 103 community councils as founding members. Two years later, in 2009, 'Troodos Development Company' (TDC) was founded with only 61 community councils participating as members. I was later informed that a popular community council president urged other communities to join the

‘Nicosia Development Company’ (NDC) instead of TDC, arguing that the former would have greater access to European funds. As one of my informants revealed in a private discussion, ‘the real reason was his personal ambitions. He knew that he did not have political space to advance himself in the Troodos Company (TDC); he did not have any allies there. So he decided to join the Nicosia Company (NDC) instead, and to drag with him a large number of communities as his supporters’ (Fieldnotes). When I asked the president of a small community who followed his counterpart’s advice to join the NDC whether he considered his village closer to Nicosia than other rural villages of Troodos, he emphatically insisted that I note down the following: ‘We are still part of Troodos. We just thought that in this particular instance, our benefits as a village would be much greater if we joined the NDC instead of TDC.’ This example illustrates that Troodos is not a fixed category with set boundaries. On the contrary, it is a social space with blurred boundaries that locals renegotiate according to the context.

Figure 1: Troodos’ map



Source: Troodos Strategic Development Plan, 2008

For the purposes of this chapter, I have decided to use the definition of Troodos as outlined in the Troodos Strategic Development Plan. The region under study comprises 62 communities, which are scattered through out the aforementioned five sub-regions. In total, 21 communities belong to the Administrative District of Nicosia and 41 to the Administrative District of Limmasol.

Table 1: Troodos' sub-regions and villages

South Pitsilia	Solea	Krasoxoria-Ampeloxoria	Limassol Mountain Resorts	Marathasa
Agios Theodoros	Kakopetria	Agios Amvrosios	Mandria	Agios Dimitrios
Agios Ioannis	Galata	Agios Therapon	Omodos	Gerakies
Agridia	Tempria	Arsos	Kato Platres	Kalopanayiotis
Pano Amiantos	Evrychou	Vasa	Pano Platres	Kaminaria
Kato Amiantos	Korakou	Vouni	Kouka	Kampos
Dymes	Linou	Dora	Koilani	Lemithou
Kato Mylos	Katydata	Kissousa	Moniatis	Milikouri
Kyperounda	Agios Theodoros	Pano Kivides	Pera Pedi	Moutoullas
Pelendri	Spilia	Kato Kivides	Phini	Oikos
Potamitissa	Sina Oros	Malia		Paleomylos
Chandria	Kourdali	Pachna		Pedoulas
	Kaliana	Potamiou		Prodromos
	Flasou	Lofou		Treis Elies
		Trozena		Tsakistra

2.3 Historical Background of Troodos

The aim of this section is to outline the contemporary, cultural history of Cyprus. The historical periods covered in this chapter are the Ottoman period, British colonialism (in particular 1920-1960) and the post-independence era. It is important to emphasize that the Ottoman period is not analysed in depth. On the contrary, my aim was to provide the reader with just a brief introduction to this era, the ultimate goal being to explain in more depth the context in which British colonialism emerged. Concerning the colonial era, I deal in greater detail with the 1920s and onwards, for two reasons: first, this period was a turning point in Cyprus' history (Argyrou 1996, p. 7); and second, it was the era in which my eldest informants were born and thus, have memories to share. While the most significant accounts of political elite will be mentioned, the primary focus will be Troodos' residents' understanding and interpretation of their own past.

Ottoman Period (1571-1878 AD)

Cyprus was under Ottoman rule from 1571 until 1878, when the Sultan leased the island to Britain. During the Ottoman period, individual identity was defined in relation to a person's social-economic and political dynamics and not in relation to 'blood', in the sense that someone belongs to a 'race' (Kizilyurek 1990). The Tanzimat Reformation of 1839 brought about an important change in the millet system,^{viii} which was based somewhere between religion and ethnicity. This was the beginning of a process that reduced the importance of religion and emphasized language and ethnicity, as markers of identity.

For three centuries, poor Christian and Muslim inhabitants of the island were exploited by the ruling class, who imposed a system of heavy taxation. The Ottoman administration did not reinvest this money for the public benefit or for any development works. As Sir Harry Luke, an official in the British Colonial Office and traveller, observed, 'neglect there had certainly been in Cyprus, and that of a devastating scale; but it occurred during the three centuries of Ottoman government and the eighty-two years of Venetian rule that went before' (Luke 1957, p. 89). During the long presence of the Ottomans on the island, it is safe to say that development was not a primary concern. The construction works carried out on the island by the Ottomans did not aim at improving the living conditions of the locals. Most of them were built for religious purposes, with the exception of a small fort in Paphos and an aqueduct in Larnaca.

British Period (1878-1960 AD)

The poor living conditions that prevailed in Cyprus's city centres until the end of the nineteenth century did not allow for the division of the population into rural and urban (Persianis 2007, p. 16), at least in the contemporary sense of these terms. Persianis (2007) devotes a chapter of his recently published book reviewing living conditions in the cities when the British arrived on the island, as described by travellers at the time. On a general note, travellers were amazed by the poor (public and private) hygiene and the numerous agents of contagious diseases. Among the phenomena that were most arresting were the terrible smell emanating from the various markets and streets, the garbage spread everywhere and the mules, donkeys and camels co-existing with humans in both public places and private homes. As Attalides puts it, 'the towns of Cyprus had been nothing else than sordid' (Attalides 1981, p. 50). The lack of infrastructure,

specifically a sewage system, adequate, port, pier and anti-flood system, was also commented on by colonial visitors. Finally, the people themselves – both Christians and Muslims^{ix} – were criticized for their sluggishness, negligence and inefficiency. The following extract is a description of Nicosia in 1878 by Hamilton Lang:

The moment we enter into the city all the beauty that we saw from the outside dissolves. We pass through narrow streets without sidewalks, and the sensory organs of our nose immediately announce that there is not much care for the cleaning of the city. The ruined homes and broken aqueducts are signals that tell us that we are in neglected areas of the crescent and the star. We pass with difficulty through the market, which is filled with donkeys, mules and camels that carry products and amongst a noisy mob that wrangles over sales and purchases.’ (Cited in Persianis 2007, p. 30)

It seems that the British travellers and administrators had little tolerance for what they perceived to be a backward and uncivilized, Orient past. The British arrived on the island with ‘a clear vision of what constituted dirt and a low tolerance of it, particularly the dirtiness of Others’ (Argyrou 1997, p. 168). The colonizers burden was to guide the locals and to ‘civilize’ them in order that they might also be culturally intolerant to dirt and litter (Argyrou 1997, p. 169).

Many authors of the colonial era described Cyprus as being backward and underdeveloped. Some went even further, suggesting that the island transfers the traveller not one hundred but one *thousand* years back in time; thus, the reader is offered a brief insight into how people used to live before Jesus’s birth (Persianis 2007, p. 29). However, the discourse of the travellers and authors is complex and ambivalent. While some of them commend the ‘cosmopolitan’

lifestyle of the wealthy Greeks (Dixon 1879, p. 159, cited in Persianis 2007, p. 36), others attribute this to a cheap imitation of the European lifestyle:

The Greek portion of the community in the large towns, who consider it the 'thing' to copy European dress, generally forsake the picturesque native costume for Whitechapel slops, and their women-folk look perfect frights in awful native versions of Paris fashions of ten or fifteen years ago; though I am glad to say that this craze of *aping European customs and manners* is at present confined to the larger coast towns, and there only among a certain class, middlemen and shopkeepers, and in the more remote villages in the interior of the island the natives are unspoilt and hardly changed from the earliest ancestors in their mode of living' (Steward 1906, p. 94-5 cited in Persianis 2007, p. 39, my emphasis).

One could argue, following Argyrou (1996), that wealthy Greeks embraced the western hegemonic identity by reproducing the European dressing style, and thereby reproducing the conditions of their domination, by accepting the perceived 'superiority' of Europeans' lifestyle. More importantly, though, the colonizers' denial of the locals' cosmopolitanism is an example of what Argyrou (1996) would call the 'Sisyphus syndrome', which refers to 'the way in which Cypriot aspirations to modernity [have been] practically repudiated' (Argyrou 1996, p. 177). Wealthy Greeks living in Nicosia were accused of (poorly) imitating the European dressing style and also of losing their tradition and local character. Poor people living in rural areas, meanwhile, were indirectly acknowledged as 'authentic' Cypriots, since they fulfilled the colonizers' expectations of the exotic and underdeveloped Other.

Although a small minority of wealthy Greeks identified with the modern and European culture, it can be argued that this identification was predominantly symbolic and did not have any significant practical impact on their quality of life.

Inhabitants of villages and towns lived in equally poor conditions with respect to hygiene, safety and infrastructure. Cyprus's towns were, indeed, characterized as places that Europeans could not live (Persianis 2007, p. 30). As Persianis (2007, p. 16) argues, until 1878 there was no order or safety, nor was there the stability in administration and political institutions necessary to enable the economic, social, political and cultural development of the island's inhabitants.

Although the majority of people in Cyprus welcomed the British with excitement and hoped for a better quality of life under colonial rule (Argyrou 1996, p. 41), it soon became apparent that the years ahead would be harsh and difficult. A global financial crisis, extremely poor living conditions, rural indebtedness, prolonged droughts, lack of resources and overwhelming taxation were only some of the problems faced by natives during the period under study.

The British, seeking to create loyalty among the local population, initiated changes that were vital for the future development of the island (Attalides 1981, p. 49). In particular, two series of changes were promoted, namely, technical changes in the fields of communication, agriculture and health, and institutional changes related to education and political representation (Attalides 1981, p. 49).

In the early 1920s Cypriot society was still predominantly rural, with 83 per cent of the total population living in the countryside. (This was exactly the same proportion as in 1881, though the rural population increased from 150,000 to 250,000 in the intervening years (Censuses 1881 and 1921, cited in Attalides 1981, p. 52).) The island's economy was in a terrible condition, and those who suffered most were the peasantry. The economic crisis reached its climax in 1925, but the British administration did not make dealing with rural poverty a

main priority since there was no sign of any impending social rebellions (Richter 2007, p. 315). In 1927, the British Governor of Cyprus, Ronald Storrs,^x concerned about the spread of disease, appointed Brewster Joseph Surridge to conduct research on rural life, which proved to be one of the most useful publications on the subject (*ibid*, p. 398).

In the 1920s the great majority of the population made a living from agriculture. Data retrieved from the censuses of 1881 and 1921 reveal that, over this 40-year period, the number of landowners increased from 35,000 to 46,000, the number of people 'whose main occupation was agricultural' rose from 30,000 to 60,000 and the number of agricultural labourers (in comparison with farmers) grew from 8,000 to 18,000 (Censuses 1881 and 1921, cited in Attalides 1981, p. 52). In the 1940s, 70 per cent of the total population was involved in agriculture. This figure includes landowners who cultivated their own land as well as landless agricultural labourers (Lanitis 1944, p. 12).

One of the problems faced in the agricultural sector was that 'holdings remained small because land was not consolidated', partly due to the Law of Inheritance, which stipulated that land was to be divided among children, parents and other dependents (Lanitis 1944, p. 8). Fragmentation of land resulted in smallholdings did not yield sufficient income for their owners to survive (Lanitis, 1944, p. 10). Another problem faced by rural farmers was the lack of mechanization. All agricultural activities were performed manually, using tools such as the wooden plough, the threshing board and the hand scythe (Lanitis, 1944, p. 19).

One of the main indicators of poverty was the fact that 73 per cent of landowners were in debt (Surridge, 1930, cited in Attalides, 1981, p. 50). The real burden of

debt was on small farmers, for the majority of whom the average value of their debt was higher than the value of their property (Lanitis, 1944, p. 26-7). Urban moneylenders were responsible for sustaining the phenomenon of rural indebtedness (SurrIDGE, 1930, p.46). Lanitis (1944, p. 57) suggests that they took advantage of the peasants' need and their lack of cooperative credit institutions. The money lending class that emerged, namely the creditors, were often without morals and showed no interest in poverty and malnourishment, seeing them only as 'profit making' opportunities^{xi} (Lanitis 1944, p. 54-56; Markides, Nikita & Rangou 1978, p. 40). As a result of this money lending system, some families lost all their land, leaving them with no other option but to rent a plot to cultivate or else to work as labourers on somebody else's land (ibid, p. 10). As SurrIDGE (1930, p. 32-35, cited in Argyrou 1996, p. 31) notes, 25 per cent of landless rural families lived on or below the poverty line.

Harilaos, a 64-year-old man from the Pitsilia region of Troodos, offered a vivid recollection of his grandfather's experience of poverty. He welcomed me in his semi-detached house in Strovolos, since he abandoned his village as soon as he got married. His wife offered me *shioushiouko* (a traditional product made out of grape juice) and proudly said that *en yiorki*, meaning that it is made out of grapes from their *own* vineyards. Harilaos explained that they still cultivate their land out of respect to their ancestors.

H: My grandfather lost everything... Every piece of land he had, he lost it. He didn't have anything.

E: What happened? Why did he lose his property?

H: The moneylenders took everything he had (*Efan tou ta oulla oi tokoglyfoi*).

E: Why did he borrow money? Did he want to invest in expanding his agricultural activities?

H: To live, dear (*Gia na zisei mana mou*)! He borrowed money to buy bread... How can I explain you... To survive!

E: Who were the moneylenders? Other rich people from the village?

H: No! People from the village were more or less in the same terrible condition. Moneylenders were people from the city, rich people. My grandfather suffered a lot. He lost all his property and that was the reason why his father-in-law never accepted him. His father in law was the rich man of the village (*arxontas tou xorkou*), and he never forgave his daughter for marrying a poor man like my grandfather. As a result, my grandfather, along with my grandmother, lived in great poverty because he did not inherit anything from his father-in-law.

Poverty and long periods of drought were the main forces that drove people to seek work outside agriculture. The Cyprus Mining Company, established in 1913 by Charles Gunther, provided alternative employment opportunities. Despite the harsh conditions, people who worked under a contract were considered fortunate, since this provided them and their families with income security and stability. There was a movement of people from nearby villages to the mining areas of Amiantos and Skouriotissa. In particular, in 1928 Amiantos mine employed 9,000 people, and approximately 38,000 children were born in Amiantos' hospital that year^{xii}.

Cyprus's mines served as the catalyst for the island's industrial and technological development. Heavy machinery was imported, with the ultimate goal to technologically upgrade the mines. On another note, this was the first time in the island's history that thousands of people had worked under the same employer and faced the same working conditions and problems. Together with the spread of the socialist ideas from the Soviet Union in Europe, this created the necessary

conditions and impetus for the formation of a labour movement, which resulted in the development of the first trade unions in Cyprus^{xiii} (Antoniou and Spyrou 2005, p. 25).

Pantelis Varnava, worked at Skouriotissa mine and recalled the daily conditions in the documentary 'Troodos... and the birth of Cyprus' (2009): 'I worked at the mine in 1934 for 1-2 years. The conditions were very difficult, if not hellish... It was extremely hot. Heat was produced from the pyrite. I have to say that we used to work practically almost naked to bear the high temperature'. Similarly, Theodoros Antoniou, who also worked at Skouriotissa, described his experiences in the mine in equally negative terms:

[It was] the worse period of my life. ... You would be showered in ashes, sulphur or some other stuff and you would break out in blisters. Moving across the gallery we would find water, full of toxic and we would drink from that water... sometimes my teeth would fall out because of that water, it was terrible! (Troodos... and the birth of Cyprus, 2009).

Families in rural areas were forced to employ various strategies in order to survive. Children were not excluded from the labour force, with most participating in the agricultural activities of the family from an early age (SurrIDGE 1930, p. 26; Argyrou 1996, p. 31). In the Pitsilia region, in particular, it was common to see young girls accompanying a herd of goats (SurrIDGE 1930, p. 18, 26). Mrs. Paraskevi, an old woman (born 1926) from the village of Kyperounda, recalled having duties of this sort. When I visited Mrs. Paraskevi, she was sitting outside on a white, plastic chair at the cement veranda of her house. She smiled and welcomed me '*Kalos tin re, kalos tin!*' (Welcome, welcome!). She was wearing a dark blue rope with small white flowers and her

long braids were tightly wrapped around her beautiful, round face. Although, it seemed difficult for her to get off the chair, she stood up and offered a chair to me. Her bowed legs and slow movements were evidence of a harsh life:

In the olden days, people would send their daughters to primary school until the fourth grade...if they were lucky enough. I was nine years old when my parents told me that I could no longer attend school because they did not have the money to support me. I had to mature very early in my childhood, not like children today. I had to lead a herd of goats from Kyperounda to Agios Georgios [a distance of 20 kilometres] and back all by myself. I had to lead them to graze and drink water, [and I had to] milk the goats one by one and then prepare the milk for the whole family. Some times, I had other things to do and I would stay alone in Agios Georgios, picking olives, harvesting wheat and making bread...

If the family was in a terrible economic situation, one solution was to send their young daughters to work as *dhoules* (literally, slaves, i.e. domestic servants) for wealthy families in the town (Argyrou 1996, p. 31). These girls were generally poorly treated by their employers, who would beat and occasionally sexually harass them (Argyrou 1996, p. 32). Similarly, young sons would be 'adopted' by landholders to serve as *mistarkoi* (unskilled manual workers); they would work long hours in the fields, and their only payment was in kind (i.e. food, accommodation and clothing) (Antoniou and Spyrou 2005, p. 22). Better-off families would send their children to work as *mathitevomenoi* (apprentices) to learn a particular skill. However, *mathitevomenoi* were usually overworked, and they had to pay a symbolic fee to the craftsman under whom they studied. According to Giorgos, a 74-year-old man from Kakopetria, popular professions at that time included seamstress for women and shoemaker, silkmaker, saddler and miner^{xiv} for men.

Perceptions of official education were ambivalent. On the one hand, education could not provide children with the specific knowledge and skills needed for manual work, but on the other hand, some parents reasoned that education could offer a way out of the perpetual cycle of manual labour. The government's decision to offer a small subsidy and to grant local authorities permission to impose taxes in order to finance schools were two beneficial changes introduced in the early colonial years.

Cypriot political leaders were quick to grasp that schools could serve as 'an important vehicle for nationalist education' (Attalides 1981, p.51), and their numbers soon increased. As Bryant (2004, p.155) argues 'education was ... transformed into a vehicle for nationalism'. Specifically, both languages, Turkish and Greek, were used to develop two distinct, culturally homogeneous groups, irrespectively of their social class, genealogy or place of residence^{xv}. As a result, Cypriot educators, in both communities, were concerned with safeguarding continuity and patriotism (Bryant 2004, p.154).

Moreover, the British administration, consciously or unconsciously, contributed to the politicization of the traditional differences between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, and thus to the construction of the term, that nowadays we all use so 'naturally', 'communities'.^{xvi} They established two separate, modern systems of education. Greek Cypriots attended the Greek schools and received their books from Greece and Turkish Cypriots were registered in the Turkish schools and received their books from Turkey (Attalides 1981; Kizilyurek 1999).

Education started at the age of five or six and lasted for six to seven years (Surridge 1930, p.17). In 1929, the average school enrolment rate in villages was

92 per cent for boys and 55 per cent for girls. Although these rates appear surprisingly high, what is more telling are the drop-out rates in the years following enrolment. The proportion of pupils leaving school at the end of the first year was 20 per cent. According to Surridge's (1930, p.18) rural report, 68 per cent of Christian girls attended school for less than three years and only nine per cent graduated from primary school.^{xvii} Christian boys appear to have had a lower drop out rate, since only 40 per cent failed to move beyond the third year of school and 30 per cent remained in education up to the sixth and final year. It seems that education was not the priority of rural families. On the contrary, their main concern was survival as opposed to improving their quality of life or living conditions. Surridge (1930) provides an enlightening account of everyday living conditions in rural areas:

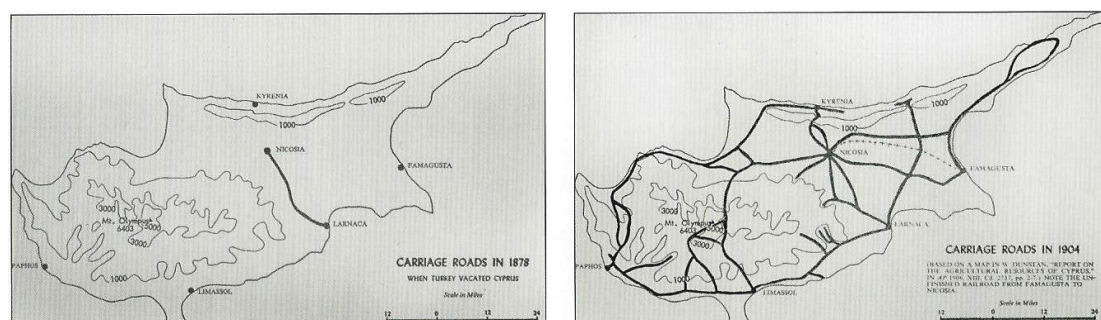
Their construction [of village houses] is a reminder of ancient times when men crowded together on account of fear and town-planning had not been conceived. The houses are built of stone in the hills and in the plains of mud-brick faced with a plaster weather-beaten to the colour of its original earth. The house usually consists out of one long low room with one or two openings as for windows closed by wooden shutters. In the hills there are rough fireplaces with old petroleum tins acting as chimney-pots ... There are glass windows in 10-15% of the houses mostly of recent construction and belonging to the more well-to-do peasants in the large villages (Surridge 1930, p. 12).

In the 1930s, only 212 villages, on the island, had piped water for each household, which meant that each family had to carry water from the village tap to their house for their daily needs. According to Surridge (1930, p. 14), 429 villages depended on streams, wells and aqueducts. Given these circumstances,

bathing and personal hygiene in general were not a foremost priority among rural residents.

Despite the island's desperate economic situation, Storrs, the British Governor of Cyprus, managed to promote specific technological changes, which favoured mainly urban development (Attalides 1981, p. 50). Transport and communication were among the top priorities of the colonial government, since these served military purposes. Loizos (2010, p. 12) compares two diagrams that appeared in Jenness's (1962) *The Economics of Cyprus: A Survey to 1914*, which indicate the rapid developmental works initiated on the island by the British (Figure 2). Storrs proudly mentions in his memoirs that in 1931 and 1932, 300,000 pounds sterling were spent on the construction of several hundred miles of asphalt road and 400 miles of gravel road, which led to a significant reduction in transport costs and travel times (Richter, 2007, p.407).

Figure 2: Carriage roads in Cyprus in 1878 and 1904



Carriage Roads in 1878

Carriage Roads in 1904

Source: Jenness, 1962 (cited in Loizos 2010, p. 12)

In addition, this period saw the reorganization of Cyprus Railway, which was used primarily for transportation of products. The railway had a total length of 100 kilometres and connected the Famagusta, Nicosia, Morphou and

Skouriotissa mines. The train was used mainly for portage of copper, chromium and asbestos from the mines to Famagusta port for exportation (Richter 2007, p. 408).

Older residents of Solea valley, located on the northern side of Troodos, vividly recalled how the train, as a technological force, promoted the development of their villages. Informants from Kakopetria often told me that rich people from Nicosia, Famagusta and Morphou used the train to travel into the countryside and then took a carriage to the village (Kakopetria). They used to rent the houses of local people for five or ten pounds per month during the summer period. Mrs. Panagiota, a seventy-four-year-old, shop owner in the old Kakopetria recollects her experiences: 'We slept in the fields in order to rent out our houses, not only my family but everybody in Kakopetria. Local families would transfer their mattresses and household necessities into their orchards and would stay there until their tenants vacated their properties, usually shortly before the schools reopened'.

Another technological change introduced by Storrs was the reconstruction of Famagusta port. Completed in 1932, the upgraded port was the largest and deeper in Cyprus, thus it was the only one with the facilities to host bigger boats. Storrs also advocated the development of an extensive telephone network, which was implemented shortly after he left the island (Richter 2007, p. 408-9).

It seems, however, that the technological and infrastructural advances that Storrs so proudly promoted did not have a significant positive impact on the local population's quality of life. In April 1930, Storrs recognized that the miserable economic conditions in Cyprus was related with the wider worldwide

financial crisis, which resulted in increased unemployment and great poverty (Richter, 2007, p. 466). Nevertheless, what Storrs failed to recognize was the natives' dissatisfaction towards the British administration and policy, along with the rise of elite's nationalism would lead to public upheavals. As a result, on 21-22 October 1931, non-organized groups and individuals lashed out against the British authorities. The ensuing riots, which are historically known as *Oktovriana* (named after 'October', the month that the riots took place), occurred mainly in the cities of Nicosia, Limassol, Famagusta and Paphos (Attalides 1981, p. 51; Richter 2007, p. 489).

With the exception of those who travelled to the cities for work, Troodos' inhabitants did not experience the riots firsthand. Many older people in Troodos remember British soldiers being transferred from Troodos' camp to Nicosia by buses and train. Obviously, the soldiers were more urgently needed in Nicosia, where there was civil unrest, than in the Troodos region, where the situation was relatively calm.

When Britain and France declared war on Germany in September 1939, Cyprus involuntarily became part of the warzone. Most of the Cypriots who attempted to join the British Army in London before the war were rejected based on the policy that soldiers should be *European* looking. It was clearly stated that 'dark skinned Cypriots, whom the normal person could class as coloured', would not be accepted (Asmuseen 2006, p. 168). Cypriots were perceived as being incapable of keeping military secrets due to their lack of absolute loyalty to Britain. After the outbreak of the war, all restrictions were abandoned and 30,000-35,000 Cypriots were recruited by the British Army.

The dire economic situation on the island and the lack of employment opportunities significantly encouraged Cypriots to join the British Army (Argyrou 1996, p. 31). It is noteworthy that the basic army salary was three times that of an average labourer at the time (Asmuseen 2006, p. 169; Richter 2007, p. 621). The British Colonial Government also made it 'comfortable' for idealists to join the army by exploiting the rising hopes of Greek Cypriots that Cyprus would be unified with Greece after the war. One of the recruitment slogans captures this ideological slant: 'By enlisting in the British Army you fight with Greece and for your freedom!' (Asmuseen 2006, p. 172).

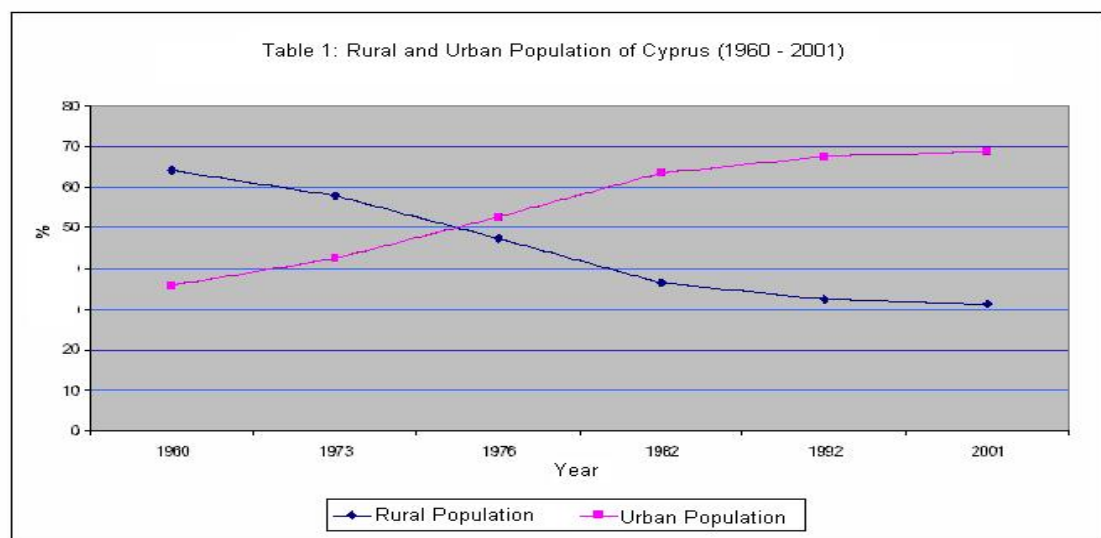
More than one thousand Cypriots, including 225 women, joined the Cyprus Volunteer Force, which was responsible for defending the island in case of a possible attack. With many men posted abroad, Cypriot women had access to a range of new roles and opportunities that had previously been unavailable in the patriarchal society (Richter 2007, p. 635). Indeed, the 1940s is generally acknowledged as a period of structural changes for Cypriot society and culture (Loizou 1975, p.36; Attalides 1981, p.53; Argyrou 1996, p. 86). The transformation of Cypriot society was driven by two major changes (analysed further below), namely, demographic change and the modification of existing employment patterns, which set the framework for the island's economic development. Both of these changes contributed to the creation of 'rural' and 'urban' spaces in Cyprus.

A comparison between the registered population in 1931 and 1946 reveals that the total population of the island increased by as much as 29 per cent during this period (from 347,959 to 450,114) (Richter 2007, p. 689). The proportion of the

population living in rural areas decreased slightly from 78.3 per cent in 1931 to 74.4 per cent in 1946. By 1956, however, this proportion had dropped to just 67.3 per cent (Richter 2007, p. 689). Although the abovementioned changes were significant, Cyprus remained a predominantly rural society until the 1960s (Richter 2007, p.689).

From the 1960s and onwards, there was a rapid decrease in the rural population, as many people, especially the younger generation, moved to the cities. As indicated in Figure 3, until the early 1980s the vast majority of the country's population lived in urban areas. This trend of urbanization influenced, unavoidably, the Troodos region as well.

Figure 3: Rural and urban population of Cyprus (1960-2011)



Source: Population Census, Statistical Service, Ministry of Finance, Republic of Cyprus

The lack of employment and educational opportunities in the countryside were the primary factors behind people's decision to abandon their villages for the urban centres (Attalides 1981, p. 55). Living in the city provided people with access to human and material resources that were unavailable in rural areas. It is

worth mentioning that the movement of people out of Troodos in the early 1970s coincided with the increased mechanization of the Amiantos mine, which led to significant job losses. Some of those affected turned to agriculture, which in the following decades proved to be a nonviable choice. Following the technological developments introduced in the mining industry, in the early 1970s the first steps were taken towards the mechanization of agricultural and the industrialization of production (Attalides 1981, p.55). These factors played a significant role in minimizing the importance of agriculture in Cyprus as a profession and a source of household income.

A further factor behind the degradation of agriculture as a profession was the change in dominant cultural beliefs. Being a farmer was not considered a high-profile occupation. The occupation lost its prestige to such a degree that young women were not interested in getting married with a farmer (Markides, Nikita & Rangou 1978, p. 43). Moreover, if someone was a farmer it meant that he was a *xorkhatis* (peasant), an adjective that literary means someone from a village but also indicated backwardness and ignorance. In one of my discussions with a woman born in Nicosia in 1933, I had the opportunity to address the issue of peasantry. I met Marie at her house in Strovolos, a suburb of Nicosia, and she explained me that she lived her whole life in Nicosia, with limited visits to the rural areas of the island, since she feels nausea when travelling in high altitudes. Until her retirement, she worked as a secretary in one of the biggest architectural offices in Nicosia. As a student she attended Phaneromeni School in the 1940s and recollects vividly her classmates' perceptions of people coming from a village:

Peasants were different. A peasant (*xorkhatis*) didn't know how to speak correctly; he was not educated. Their behaviour was different; they didn't know how to behave properly in an event, in a living room (*den ikseran na simperiferthoun kathosprepi se mia ekdilosi, se ena saloni*, literally meaning a prosperous house, since only prosperous people had the chance of having an actual living room). Young girls of marriageable age would say, 'I don't want a peasant, I want someone from Nicosia!' (*Den thelo xorkhati, thelo Lefkosiati!*).

Similar views were held for women from villages, as Marie explained:

People used to say, 'she is a peasant, she is backward' (*touti en xorkhatissa, en piso pou ton kosmo*), and they meant that she is a peasant and that is why she is backward, ignorant. Women from Nicosia considered themselves superior to women from villages. Peasant women did not dress up like women in the town. For example, if a specific design was considered fashionable in Nicosia, the peasants would not follow the fashion of Nicosia. They didn't have the bravery to wear a décolleté dress, and the same later with mini dresses. Women from Nicosia were the first to start work and to get paid for it! Peasant women (*xorkhatisses*) were working in the fields all day long with no salary.

Since the city was the primary symbol of modernity, it bestowed 'symbolic capital' (Bourdieu 1980) on its residents. Young people living in the cities were recognized as different and more prestigious than those who remained in the villages (Argyrou 1996, p.36). My father Andreas (born 1947) recalled leaving his village Kyperounda, in Troodos region, to study at Limassol High School:

I wanted to go to Agros High School, the school that all my friends were going to, but my father insisted, 'No, you will go to Limassol, end of discussion'. Later on, I felt different from my classmates and my friends back in the village because I lived in the city... I saw more things, something different... I attended a prestigious school in Limassol, unlike Agros' school, which was a neglected school in a rural area... All the ignorant teachers were sent to schools in the countryside. Whenever I used to return to the village for the holidays, all my friends would gather around and question me about the things I saw and experienced in Limassol. Back then it was very prestigious for somebody to live

in the town, not like today, when it doesn't really matter where you live. If you live in Kaminaria or if you live in Nicosia, you are still the same person.

It is obvious that in the 1950s and 1960s, the dominant perceptions linked the identity of the person the place that a person used to live. Being able to move to the town was an achievement in itself, something to be admired by those remaining in the village. The town had the power to bestow symbolic capital on the self and the identity of the person.

The construction of urban and rural, as separate concepts and spaces, was well formulated and internalized by natives in the 1950s and 1960s. Following Attalides (1981, p. 50), I argue that after the Second World War, it was not only the financial relation between the town and countryside that changed, but also the ideological and symbolic relation. The concepts of urban and rural were social and historical products of colonialism and European/Western dominant discourse. These perceptions were now reflected not only in the dominant ideas and beliefs of natives, but also in the landscape of Cyprus.

The contribution of the colonizers and the West to the construction of 'urban space' was twofold. First, the British initiated the political, economic and social conditions required for the development of towns as they experienced them back home. The mechanisms of social control that were enforced in towns created a feeling of security and prosperity, technological advancements and constructions created positive atmosphere and a willingness to invest, while communication and transport facilitated commerce and the influx of immigrants. Second, towns were spaces inhabited not only by the British but also by the Cypriot intellectual elite, most of whom were educated in the United Kingdom,

France or Greece. Educated native elites were greatly influenced by the western ideals and movements such as the Enlightenment and Romanticism. Secularism and rationalism were now reflected in the dominant discourse of the urban intellectual elite (Persianis 2007: 65).

While the urban space was associated with western modernity, progressiveness, prosperity and development, the rural space^{xviii} was associated with backwardness, poverty and underdevelopment. These dominant perceptions were reflected in the landscape of the region and the everyday life of the people. I argue that from the late 1940s to the early 1960s, a huge cultural gap divided the towns from the villages of Troodos. The feeling of security established in the towns by the British was something that people living in rural Troodos did not have. Panagiota (born 1937), a resident of Solea valley, spoke of how rural families had to protect their property by themselves:

During the summer, when the trees were full of fruit, we used to sleep in the fields and not in our houses. It wasn't only us; all the children did the same. We protected the fruits until nighttime, when our parents would arrive and sleep in the field. They used to steal each other's fruits! Once, we left my half-paralyzed brother to sleep in the field. All the apples were packed into baskets, the intention being to send them to the market in the town the following morning. However, somebody who knew that my brother was paralyzed came and stole all the apples. Even later, when I was married and pregnant, we used to sleep in the fields.

Another incident mentioned by Andreas, my father, supports the idea that the security system that was upgraded by the British, was ineffective in Troodos region. As a result, self-organized neighbourhood-watch groups emerged in the 1950s aiming to protect their community:

I remember clearly how when I was six or seven years old, Turkish people were organized in gangs and would attack the villages and steal or kill people. They did all this because the British covered for them. For some time these attacks were on the rise, so the people of the villages organized themselves into groups in order to protect their properties and families. These groups had night shifts and were something like the guards of the village.

As far the technological advancements and development of infrastructure promoted by the British were concerned, locals felt that they never reached the Troodos region. It is still widely believed by the people of Troodos that all of the development schemes implemented by the British were designed to benefit the colonizers rather than the local population. Savvas a 63-year-old electrical engineer who left in 1981 his village in Pitsilia region to live permanently in Nicosia with his family made the following comment:

What did the British do to help the locals? The mines? It was all for their own benefit! It was them who took advantage of the resources. The ports? They constructed ports because they wanted to export oranges and other products! The road network? They built roads only to places that *they* would visit often. For example, in Kyperounda it wasn't until after the Independence that they connected the village with the main road network. Until then, the asphalt was only up to the sanatorium, which was used mainly by British patients with tuberculosis.

In general, the quality of life of people living in the Troodos region was extremely poor compared to that of town dwellers^{xix}. This is borne out by the following testimony from Kyriacos who comes from Kyperounda and lived in Limassol from 1960 to 1966 for his High School studies:

Life for families in the villages was very different than life in the towns. For example, families in Limassol were different ... in relation to their house, their food... In villages, people were poor, very poor; they did not have money to buy whatever they wanted. My mum used to send me to the grocery... What do you

think I used to buy my dear? A tin of condensed milk, sugar and sometimes a herring! Did we buy peanut oil? No! What do you think we bought from the minimarket? One, two, three things, and that was the shopping for the whole family ... my mum did not use peanut oil; she had a tin with animal fat and she used to cut a piece and use this for frying. In contrast, in the town the families could afford to buy peanut oil. Why? Because in the cities men had the opportunity to work on a daily basis, unlike the situation at the village... In the villages they worked in their fields, and if they were lucky enough they would find an employer for three months per year... In the town they worked 360 days a year, and in some families the wife was also working. So they had the opportunity to buy different things for their families... I remember how when I was young we didn't even use toilet roll! My father was working in construction and he used to collect the lining of the cement bags and bring this home to use as toilet roll. In 1957 my father constructed a toilet in our house with European standards! It was the first European toilet in the village! In the villages, people didn't have the money to buy toilet roll like they did in the cities. People were using waste paper, old clothes, sometimes even rocks! Many houses did not even have their own toilet! They [the occupants] used to shit in their garden! What else can I say to make you understand better my dear? We didn't have electricity until 1962 or running water in our houses until 1963!

I will now briefly sketch the most important historical events related to the ethnic conflict between the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, since it had a significant impact on the contemporary history of the island. The poor living conditions, coupled with the extensive influence of nationalistic and romantic ideas spread mostly by priests and teachers, convinced a significant number of Troodos' residents to become involved in the Greek Cypriot organization EOKA^{xx} (National Organization of Cypriot Fighters), which in 1955 commenced the armed, anti-colonial struggle, with the ultimate goal to de-colonise Cyprus and unify the island with Greece (*enosis*).

In Chandria, for example, a small village in the Pitsilia area, 69 out of a total of 560 inhabitants (i.e. approximately 13 per cent of the total population) participated actively in the anti-colonial struggle. Several informants proudly emphasized their contribution to this cause. One informant described it as follows:

People in the village were fighting also for their ideas and identity. In general, it is proven that the person who is living a good life will not fight for anything. Struggles are led by people who suffer from hunger... While people living in the towns had their jobs, most of them governmental, they were well paid, they had their cars, their houses, they were eating well... Ok, some people from the towns fought as well, and also some educated folk, but generally people who live a good life do not fight. In contrast, if you are hungry, what do you have to lose?

While EOKA focused primarily on British targets, it also attacked Greek and Turkish Cypriots who publicly campaigned against *enosis* or were supportive of bi-communal cooperation. In response to EOKA's goal, the Turkish Cypriots founded Volkan in 1955, which in 1958 was transformed into TMT (Turkish Resistance Organization). The aim of TMT was to achieve *taksim* (partition of the island). The TMT also attacked Greek and Turkish Cypriots who were not supportive of its goals. According to the Greek-Cypriot official narrative, the British decision to employ Turkish Cypriots as policemen during violent clashes with EOKA led to the growth of violent communal conflicts (Attalides 1981, p. 115).

Independence Period (1960 - today)

The anti-colonial struggle and bi-communal conflicts led to a settlement between Britain, Turkey and Greece in the form of the 1959 'London and Zurich Agreements'. The result of the agreement was the establishment of the Republic

of Cyprus in 1960. The newborn state was characterized as an 'unwanted child', since *enosis* remained a political aim of Greek Cypriot politicians until 1968 (Mavratsas 1998, p. 46-7). In addition, the constitutional deadlock led to inter-ethnic hostilities in December 1963. As a result, Turkish Cypriots decided to move (according to the Greek Cypriot narrative) or were forced to flee (according to the Turkish Cypriot narrative) to enclaves under Turkish Cypriot administration. The Turkish Cypriots also withdrew from the administration of the state, declaring it unconstitutional and unrepresentative of their community. In response to this, Greek Cypriots invoked 'the act of necessity', thus they consider their state as legal (Salih 1978, p. 22, 75).

The period of 1963 to 1967 was marked by further inter-communal violence and atrocities, with the Turkish Cypriots population being the hardest hit in terms of the numbers of people killed, missing or displaced. The first military interventions took place, with the UNFICYP arriving in Cyprus in 1974 and guarding the 'Green Line' that divided the two sides (Papadakis et al. 2006, p. 3). Although by 1967 the two sides had begun negotiations, other problems arose around this time, such as the military junta that took charge in Greece that same year. As a result, Greek Cypriot political leaders distanced themselves from the ideal of *enosis* and focused their efforts on achieving stability and unity on the island (Papadakis et al. 2006, p. 3). Despite these efforts, however, in December 1967, the Turkish Cypriots established the 'Turkish Cypriot Provisional Administration'.

Although the official discourse of the Republic of Cyprus, which was now administered solely by Greek Cypriots, shifted towards the reinforcement of

unity and the independence of the 1960 state, a right wing extremists group of Greek Cypriots, in cooperation with the Greek junta, formed a paramilitary group, 'EOKA B',^{xxi} whose ultimate goal was to fight for *enosis*. To this end, EOKA B and the Greek junta staged a military coup on 15 July 1974 in order to isolate President Makarios and achieve the long-term aim of *enosis* (Papadakis 2004). On 20 July, Turkey invaded the island, which led to the mass movement of Greek Cypriots to the south and Turkish Cypriots to the North and placed 37 per cent of the island under Turkish control. This time it was the Greek Cypriots who suffered the most in terms of people killed, missing or displaced (Papadakis et al. 2006, p. 3). Today, Turkey's intervention is represented by the Turkish Cypriot official authorities as a 'peace and liberation operation' that re-established security and freedom among Turkish Cypriots (Papadakis 1996, p. 359; Yashin 2003, p. 110). In contrast, the official narrative employed by the Greek Cypriot authorities represents the events as an 'invasion and occupation' by Turkey under the pretext of a coup. For the two communities – Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot – the events of 1963 and 1974 respectively are remembered in a similar way: as a time of death, displacement, violence and suffering (Papadakis 1996, p. 357).

After the events of 1974, a large number of displaced people^{xxii} fled to the Troodos region, where they were hosted by local families until the state provided them with temporary housing. Several of these displaced people who now lived in Famagusta described this experience as a blow to their pride. The poor living conditions that existed in Troodos stood in marked contrast to the quality of life they enjoyed in their hometowns. Irene, an informant from

Lapithos, a large village in Kyrenia district, was 18 when her family had had to abandoned their house and flee first to the mountains and then to Limassol. She described her first impressions of Troodos' villages as follows:

I was shocked not so much by the sight of the high mountains but by the people: they were behind the world [i.e. backward]; they didn't have the progress that we did [*itan piso pou ton kosmo; den eixan tin ekseliksi tin diki mas*]. They were more close, conservative and reserved... How can I explain it to you? They were peasants (*xorkhatoi*). They didn't have any progress, streets or new houses, in contrast with us in Lapithos, where in the last 10 years [mid-1960s until 1974] we had had rapid development: we had wide streets, new and big houses (some of which even had swimming pools); other houses were built on the beach, [and] we even had foreigners in the village. We were used to interacting with foreigners and they were not. They were very hospitable and kind but they were different from us... Our region was much more developed and progressive than the mountains.

Irene's youthful impressions are indicative of the rapid development that occurred in specific regions and their inhabitants' perceptions about Troodos being underdeveloped and backward. Another displaced informant who fled to Kyperounda with her family admitted that she was amazed that some families in the village did not have what she called 'basic and necessary amenities' such as a refrigerator, oven and television.

In one of several discussions I had with Irene about Lapithos and her traumatic experience of abandoning her homes, she kept emphasizing how developed and progressive Lapithos was in comparison with rural Cyprus, particularly Troodos. One comment still echoes in my head: 'While we used to live in palaces, they [Troodos' residents] used to pee in their backyards [*ton tzairo pou ezousame emeis mesta palathkia, tzeinoi ekatourousan mes tis avlaes tous*]. The Turks knew

very well what they were doing!’ Irene’s bitterness about the loss of her developed and progressive village (and the fact that the underdeveloped and backward peasants were able to keep theirs), was shared by other displaced people, such as refugees from Famagusta.

After the 1974 events the state continued persuading the ‘rapid development’ model by investing in urban centres and other coastal resorts such as Limassol, Paphos, Protaras and Ayia Napa. The prolonged neglect of Troodos by the authorities at a time of growth and prosperity created a stronger urge among locals to ‘catch up’ with the developed and modernized towns by following their ‘successful’ development model or by migrating to the towns.

Table 2: Troodos' population by sub-region in 2001, 1992, 1982 and 1960

Region	2001	1992	1982	1960
Solea	5,003	5,597	6,368	6,752
Marathasa	2,145	2,871	4,333	7,948
Mountain Resorts	1,694	2,226	3,057	4,594
South Pitsilia	4,866	5,242	6,917	9,423
Wine villages	2,883	3,322	4,575	7,709
Troodos Total	16,591	19,258	25,250	36,426
Cyprus Total	689,565	602,025	522,845	573,500

Source: Statistical Service of Cyprus, Census of Population 2001

As apparent from the figures presented in Table 2, the 1980s was the period of the greatest migration out of Troodos region. In 1960 the total population of

Troodos region was 36,426, but by 1982 this number had dropped to 25,250. The reduction in population continues to this day. The most recent data available show that the total population had fallen to just 16,591 in 2001. A more detailed examination of the demographic figures of one of Troodos' villages suggests that perhaps the residents justifiably refer to the 1960s and early 1970s as the 'golden decades of Troodos'. Pelendri, a village in the South Pitsilia region, reached its highest population in 1973 (Please see Table 3). After the 1974 Turkish invasion and the economic growth in the towns, a huge number of people migrated from Troodos' villages to Nicosia and Limassol. One informant explained his reasons for leaving his village as follows:

First of all we needed to work in order to live; we had family. Jobs were available only in Nicosia... If we stayed in the village the only job that I could do was farming... What else could I do in the village? A farmer does not earn enough money to sustain his family.

Table 3: Pelendri village population (1891-2001)

1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1946	1960	1973	1976	1982	1992	2001
515	579	715	797	982	1504	2094	2253	2216	1739	1377	1185

Source: Community Council of Pelendri village (the color indicates the population density)

It is also evident from figures available from the Statistical Service of the Republic of Cyprus that the population is not only shrinking but also becoming older. In other words, the majority of those leaving Troodos are young, so the average age of those remaining in the area is steadily increasing. Almost one third (28.25 per cent) of the total population of the Troodos region is above 65 years old. The corresponding proportion for the total Cypriot population in just

11.67 per cent (Census of Population, 2001). It is telling that more than 50 per cent of the total houses in Troodos are 'second homes' with no permanent residents (Census of Population 2001). Numerous kindergartens and primary schools have closed down. Local enterprises have a difficult time sustaining themselves and entrepreneurs are generally unwilling to invest in an area with a declining and aging population. The state, too, has neglected Troodos; the public facilities are poor, and today the region is widely considered one of the most disadvantaged in Cyprus.

Turning now back to the 'ethnic problem', as the Greek Cypriots politicians refer to the division and the problems occurred from it, until today, it remains unresolved^{xxiii}. This is often being used on behalf of the Republic of Cyprus, as the major reason for not dealing sufficiently with other socio-economic issues of public concern. As Loizos (2010, p. 11) indicated citizens are 'encouraged to think both that the Cyprus Problem was the most important thing in their lives and... the most important thing in the world'. Several informants from Troodos region often told me that politicians are still using the 'Cyprus Problem' as an excuse of not dealing with the demographic collapse of Troodos sufficiently.

2.3 Conclusions

The cultural conditions that prevailed throughout Cyprus until the end of the nineteenth century did not allow for the division of the population into rural and urban. Inhabitants of villages and towns lived in equally dire circumstances in terms of hygiene, safety and infrastructure. It was only after the arrival of the

British that order, safety and stability were established and the conditions necessary for the creation and development of urban centres were met.

In addition to the political, social and economic reforms promoted by the British, the diffusion of cultural traits from western societies to Cyprus, also contributed to the construction of the binary opposition 'urban' versus 'rural'. In the early 1920s, when Cypriot society was still predominantly rural, a group of professionals, mostly doctors and lawyers who studied in Greece, the United Kingdom and France, contributed in the development of urban culture. These professionals, along with the British colonizers, were the initiators of a process of modernization and urbanization in Cypriot society. The ideas and beliefs expressed during this period were heavily influenced by the ideological movements of the Enlightenment, romanticism and nationalism. Rationality, progressiveness and liberalism were the key components of the type of modernity established in Cyprus's towns in the early twentieth century.

After the end of World War II, Cyprus experienced a period of rapid economic growth and social structural changes. Between the late 1940s and early 1960s, urban culture and ideas of modernity became well formulated and were internalized by the majority of the population living in towns, including many lower- and middle-class citizens. At the same time, the cultural gap between towns and rural areas increased. Until the early 1960s, people in the vast majority of Troodos villages were still struggling for survival; agriculture yielded little income, and only a few people enjoyed 'modern amenities' such as electricity or running water in their homes. The poor living conditions in rural Cyprus did not permit its inhabitants to engage actively in the process of

modernization, as the town bourgeoisie did. Most of the residents of mountainous areas only experienced the towns through rare visits or the tales told by others. Towns were portrayed as symbols of modernity, of which rural visitors consumed the material expressions but not the cultural elements of it, such as gender equality or secularism.

According to Attalides (1981, p. 192), 'the nationalist movement and widespread education assured a high degree of cultural uniformity of middle and lower level urban dwellers and rural dwellers... So in many respects to speak of "urban" and "rural" is misleading.' Although Attalides (1981, p. 190) identifies an interrelation between towns and villages – since they are part of the same society – he fails to see the actual relationship between the two and their role in the process of urbanization and modernization. I argue that from the late 1940s to the early 1960s, the perceived cultural gap between towns and villages was huge. In other words to speak of 'urban' and 'rural' is not misleading, since locals themselves internalised the binary opposition of 'urban' versus 'rural' and attributed a set of specific values to what they considered 'urban' and 'rural'.

In the years following the Turkish invasion of 1974, Cyprus experienced rapid economic growth and a significant percentage of Troodos' inhabitants migrated to the towns for better educational and employment prospects. Their preconceived notions of what it meant to be modern and urban were based largely on the consumption of material aspects of modernity, such as technological devices (e.g. television, radio, car), architecture and fashion. I argue that these rural inhabitants identified and associated modernity and urban lifestyle with a specific set of values and symbols of modernity. The rejection of

the emancipatory elements of modernity, such as the questioning of religious beliefs and the acceptance of gender equality and gay rights, allowed them to construct their own notion of modernity that did not pose a fundamental challenge to their existing mindsets. In a nutshell, it is my contention that the definition of what it means to be modern or traditional, urban or rural, varies according to the context in which these ideas are examined.

Chapter 3

The emergence of tourism during the colonial era

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide the reader with a historical and cultural background to the emergence of tourism^{xxiv} during the colonial era in Cyprus. My plan here is to address the issue of tourism in relation to two of the features of global ethnography identified by Wonders and Michalowski (2001, p. 546-7). In particular, I will examine tourism in the context of colonialism with the ultimate goal of illustrating the global forces and connections that are intertwined with the development of tourism and modernity on the island. The second feature of global ethnography used in this chapter is the historically contextualized approach, which focuses on the cultural conditions that facilitated the emergence of tourism during the colonial era.

The vast majority of the literature dealing with tourism in Cyprus was authored in the late 1980s and 1990s. In these works the subject of tourism is usually investigated from the wider perspective of economics, management and planning perspective (Andronicou 1983; 1986; 1987, Kammas 1991, 1993; Witt 1991; Ioannides 1992, 1995, 1999; Godfrey 1996; Sharpley 2000, 2001, 2003; Ayres 2001; Louca 2006; Ivanov & Webster 2007), with only a handful of authors adopting a social science standpoint. For example, Toufexis-Panayiotou (1989) focuses on tourists themselves and the factors influencing their decision to visit

Cyprus, while Akis, Peristianis and Warner (1996) employ a quantitative approach to examine attitudes to tourism development among Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Altinay and Bowen (2006) evaluate the impact of nationalism and politics on tourism in the context of a potential federal solution, and Scott (1997; 2001; 2001b; 2003; 2005) focuses primarily on tourism development and gambling on the northern side of the island. Similarly, a recent study by Farmaki (2012a) considers the motivations of tourists visiting rural settings, with a particular focus on the Troodos region. In another article Farmaki (2012b) identifies and compares the projected and perceived images of Cyprus following the repositioning from the Cypriot tourism authorities. Perhaps the most relevant contributions to this body of literature in relation to this thesis are the publications by Welz (2004), Welz and Andilios (2004) and Michael (2005). The first two works examine the relation between food culture, industrialization and tourism, while the latter investigates the uses of the past in the formation of contemporary Greek Cypriot identity.

Most of the authors who have attempted to examine tourism in Cyprus from a historical perspective locate the beginning of this phenomenon after Independence (i.e. in the 1960s), ignoring the development of tourism in late colonial years (Witt 1991, p. 37; Akis, Peristianis & Warner 1996, p. 483; Godfrey 1996, p. 117; Sharpley 2001, p. 65, 2003, p. 249; Louca 2006, p. 604). Aside from Michael (2005), who has discussed colonial-era tourism in some detail, these scholars have confined their contribution to a short description of the emergence of tourism during the British period. The reason for this may be that the colonial-era tourism is considered either not relevant or not significant enough to examine further (Andronikou 1987, p. 15; Kammass 1991, p. 10, 1993, p. 71;

Ioannides 1992, p. 718; Ioannides & Apostolopoulos 1999, p. 51; Ayers 2000, p. 115; Sharpley 2002, p. 235). Consequently, the existing literature on tourism during the colonial era is limited to a few short passages.

Given this dearth of academic analysis, the task of providing the reader with a historical and cultural overview of the emergence of tourism during the colonial era is a challenging one. In order to examine the discourse employed by native elites in relation to tourism, I use as a source of information the newspapers archives of the Public Information Office (PIO). In particular, I accessed articles and advertisements published in various newspapers in Cyprus from the early 1920s until the late 1950s. The information presented in the following section is a synthesis of the limited academic literature, information retrieved from newspapers and my own ethnographic data.

This chapter is separated into four sections. The first two sections are descriptive, while the last two analyse the subject under discussion in more depth. I begin by introducing the reader to the emergence of tourism on the island during the British colonial era. In this section, I refer to the role of early travellers and photographers in promoting Cyprus as a potential tourism destination in Europe and to the moves made by the colonial government to support tourism on the island. The second section deals with the emergence of Troodos' hill resorts as a popular tourist destination during the colonial era. In the third section, I argue that the development of tourism in Troodos' hill resorts acted as an agent of modernity, enhancing the division within the region. The last section is an outline of the main conclusions presented in this chapter.

3.2 Tourism during the British Colonial Era

British colonization contributed significantly to the development of tourism as a leisure activity in early twentieth-century Cyprus. The island had been visited by a few travellers while under Ottoman rule, but the number increased significantly with the arrival of the British in 1878, after which Cyprus was considered a 'safe' destination for western travellers (Persianis 2010, p. 29). Immediately after the arrival of British troops and colonial officers, the first travellers and photographers arrived on the island. An indicative list of early western visitors would include authors and photographers such as Hamilton Lang (1878), John Thompson (1878), Hepworth Dixon (1879), B. Stewart (1906) and Magda Hermann Ohnefalsch-Richter (1913). Their aim was to observe the lifestyle and living conditions of people in a so-called exotic and backward society in order to decode their own European origins. For example, B. Stewart (1906), a British traveller, claimed that Cyprus transfers the traveller 'not one hundred but one thousand^{xxv} years back in time', such that readers would be able to understand how people used to live before Jesus was born (Persianis 2007, p. 29).

The travel accounts of these authors were filtered through the ideological lenses of western thought and lifestyles. As Philippou (2007, p. 16) argues, the survey that John Thompson, a British photographer, conducted on the island in 1878 is *not* particularly revealing about the social and cultural conditions that existed in Cyprus at the time. However, his photographs and captions are enlightening about the dominant colonial perceptions of Cyprus and its culture. Today, the work of early travellers and photographers is used not only as a source of

information but also as politicized representation that provides information about the cultural legacy of colonization in Cyprus. In sum, it is important to note here that the representations of early travellers are ambivalent. Some travellers romantically represent Cyprus as a traditional and exotic paradise, ignoring any dissonance caused by modern additions to the cultural landscape. For example, Thompson's photographic depiction of Cyprus elided any modern amenities and failed to acknowledge the existence of social and political turmoil on the island (Eftychiou and Philippou 2010, p.70). However, some of the travellers who visited Cyprus towards the end of the colonial period, such as Lawrence Durrell (1957), did not ignore these factors.

Interestingly, the vast majority of early travellers and photographers who arrived in Cyprus during the early colonial era came from northern European societies, such as Britain, which had already experienced the early stages of large-scale tourism development. As a result, some of the travellers aimed, *inter alia*, to present the culture and landscape of Cyprus, which was at the time a new destination, to a wider audience and potential future visitors. For example, John Thomson (1878) stated that 'the present work will afford those of my readers who have not visited Cyprus a fair notion of the topography of the country and its resources; and, on the other hand, those who have themselves traveled through the island will find these volumes a faithful souvenir of their wanderings' (Thomson 1985, p. xxii cited in Michael 2005, p. 108).

Although the development of mass tourism will be analysed further in Chapter Four, it is important to note here that industrialization created the social, economic and cultural conditions that fostered the development of large-scale tourism in European societies. For example, technological advancements that

occurred during the nineteenth century in Europe, such as the development of railways, enabled Thomas Cook to establish the first 'modern travel agency' in 1842 (Graburn 1989, p. 29; Cheong and Miller 2004, p. 247). As soon as Britain declared Cyprus a part of the empire, Thomas Cook published a report recommending British potential tourists to refrain from travelling to Cyprus during winter (Demetriou and Mas 2004, p.27). A few months later, the agency announced its intention of organizing tours on the island:

Should sufficient number be registered for a tour in Cyprus at either of the dates, we shall send our own camp equipments from Palestine, so as to insure ample and good accommodation. In due course we shall also advertise special parties direct from England to Cyprus, to fall in with the dates of the completion of the Palestine Tours at Beyroot. (Thomas Cook & Son 1878, p.14, cited in Michael 2005, p. 107)

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Cyprus, along with other countries in the East, emerged as a religious tourism destination. The island became 'an obligatory stop' on the Biblical routes of British elites and American religious travellers (Demetriou and Mas 2004, p. 30). Cyprus was part of a greater religious tour, which included the Greek Archipelago, Malta, Egypt, Turkey and the Holy Land. Religious travellers used the New Testament as a guide, with most visiting sites on the island related to the life of St Paul and St Barnabas (Demetriou and Mas 2004, p. 30).

The British Government recognized the potential of Cyprus as a future tourist destination; however, the limited budget available for this purpose and the infrastructural conditions of the island delayed any actual promotion of tourism until the 1950s (Jarratt 1952, p. 3). It is said that Sir Gamet Wolsely, who in 1878

became the first British High Commissioner of the island, foresaw the potential of the hill resorts and their role in the future development of the island as a tourist destination. He predicted that Cyprus' 'pine-clad mountains, with their invigorating air and freedom from malaria, would become a tourist health resort' (Jenness 1962, cited in Kammass 1993, p.71). Interestingly, the British administrators at the time did not perceive the coastal zones as having a high potential for tourism development. On the contrary, their focus was on the mountainous areas, and in particular the Troodos region.

The positive attitude towards the development of tourism in the early twentieth century was also shared by Governor Ronald Storrs, who was in command from 1926 until 1932. Although Storrs was enthusiastic about the development of tourism on the island, the investment required for this project was considered too high for the colonial office at that time. The lack of financial resources was an issue discussed in the British Government Handbook of 1931:

[T]he general idea seems sound enough. But I very much doubt whether Cyprus can afford this at the present juncture ... to start a new tourist resort – and Cyprus would necessarily, owing to its situation, have to cater for somewhat a 'luxury' clientele – large expenditure is essential ... Greece offers very much more than Cyprus; and Greece – despite lavish expenditure in certain directions – has hitherto been able to do little or nothing to attract tourists. (CO 67/239/8 1931, p.3 Memo from Cambell 9th June 1931, cited in Michael 2005, p.108)

While the British Government did not take any actual steps towards the development of tourism during this period, many visitors promoted Cyprus as a tourist destination through their travelogues and guidebooks. Demetriou and Mas (2004, p. 31) argue that between the 1920s and late 1940s, such travel

accounts portrayed Cyprus as 'an orientalist paradise island in the Mediterranean'^{xxvi}. Specialized guidebooks were published with the ultimate goal of informing potential visitors about sites of interest, available routes and services. The intended audience for these guidebooks was wealthy individuals from the major European countries, as evidenced by the fact that they offered information on how to get to Cyprus from mainland Europe. The guidebooks also provided the reader with information about hotels and services 'of near-European standards' (Demetrious and Mas 2004, p. 31, my emphasis). Among the guidebooks published during this period were *A Short Guide to the Island of Cyprus* (1931) by H. Preston Giles and Albert Rowland Maiden, *Cyprus: How to See It* (1934) by Alexander R. Cury and *Romantic Cyprus: A Comprehensive Guide for Tourists and Travellers* (1946) by Kevork Krikor Keshishian (Demetrious and Mas 2004, p. 31). The latter was published in seventeen editions (from 1947 until 1971), which indicates the increasing demand for tourism among Europeans, especially after the end of the Second World War.

At an official level, meanwhile, the ongoing investigations into the tourism potential of Cyprus during the 1940s, started to bear fruit in the 1950s. In 1947, a report published by Mr Briault, entitled 'Encouragement of tourist industry' (CO 67/358/2 1947, p.24-72, cited in Michael 2005, p.109), identified several areas that needed to be improved in order to develop the tourist industry. The main problems identified by the report (as well as by travellers, traders and intellectuals who published their views in the daily newspapers) were the hot and dry climate during the summer months, the lack of advanced sanitation, the limited transport facilities, the distance from Europe and the high cost of travelling to and from Cyprus, the scarcity of decent hotels and the lack of

publicity and printed materials about the antiquities of the island^{xxvii} (Ioannides and Apostolopoulos 1999, p. 51; Demetriou and Mas 2004, p. 28; Michael 2005, p. 109).

Coupled with the establishment of the Cyprus Tourism Development Office (CTDO), Briault's report set the foundations for a specific tourism development programme in Cyprus, under the guidance of G. F. Jarrat, who was appointed Director of the CTDO in 1949 (Andreou 2010, p. 33). Official support for tourism development began in the 1950s (Jarrat 1952, p. 3). Among the measures taken by the colonial government, as detailed in the Annual Report of the Tourist Development Office for the Year 1951, were the classification of hotels into different categories according to their amenities, the inspection and supervision of hotels in order to ensure compliance with the Hotel Regulations, the establishment of the Tourists Information Bureau, which was responsible for helping visitors to plan their trip to Cyprus, the creation of the Tourist Reception Office, which welcomed visitors upon their arrival, agreements with shipping companies for travel purposes and the publication of various informational materials, such as pocket guides for walks in Troodos, brochures, leaflets, newspaper articles, posters and maps (Jarrat 1951, p.4-5). It should be noted that the measures taken by the colonial office had only a short-lived impact, since they were hindered by the political instability during the anti-colonial struggle from 1955 to 1959.

3.3 Troodos' hill resorts as a popular tourist destination

During the colonial era, the mountains of Troodos were the main attraction In

Cyprus for tourists; locals and foreigners. Indeed, if there is one thing that the authors who have examined the pre-Independence period agree upon, it is that tourism emerged first in the hill resorts and later in the coastal zones of the island (Andronikou 1987: 15, Kammas 1991: 10; 1993:71, Ioannides 1992:718, Ayers 2000:115, Sharpley 2002: 235). Although it is widely recognized that Troodos' mountain resorts attracted the vast majority of the total number of tourists on the island (Andronikou 1987: 15, Kammas 1991: 10; 1993:71, Ioannides 1992:718, Ayers 2000:115, Sharpley 2002: 235), exact visitor numbers for the hill resorts are not available. However, the number of annual arrivals to Cyprus during this period is known. For example, in 1931, 940 tourists visited the island; one year later, in 1932, the figure had increased to 1,574, and in 1933 the island attracted a total of 2,822 tourists.^{xxviii} A rapid annual growth in arrivals followed, with 8,000 tourists visiting in 1938 and 18,000 in 1950 (Christodoulou 1992, cited in Ioannides and Apostolopoulos 1999, p. 51). The growing popularity of Cyprus as a holiday destination was now firmly established, with some 25,700 tourists visiting the island in 1960^{xxix} (Ioannides 1992, p. 718).

Although the numbers mentioned above are indicative of the general state of tourism during the colonial era, they do not reflect the actual scale and intensity of tourism in the Troodos region for several reasons. Firstly, they do not take into consideration the number of local holidaymakers, which was not insignificant. In the *Cyprus Study of Tourist Development* (1962), a comparison is made between the proportion of local tourists visiting Kyrenia and the amount visiting Troodos' hill resorts:

In the mountains,...their [local tourists'] proportion is more important, for the

mountain area is the main holiday centre of the Cypriots. The number of hotel nights registered can give but a vague idea of the extent of the exodus towards the heights which takes place during the months of July and August: the estimates should be nearer 250,000 or more nights divided between hotels, private villas, rented houses and rooms. (Beaudouin, Baud-Bovy and Tzanos 1962, p. 58)

Secondly, I estimate that at least half of the total number of visitors spent their holiday in the Troodos region. According to Ioannides (1992, p. 718; Sharpley 2002, p. 235; Ayers 2000, p. 115), in 1960 the island had 4,000 bed spaces for tourists, out of which approximately forty-five per cent were located in the Troodos region. The coastal zones, meanwhile, provided less than thirty per cent of the total bed spaces (Ioannides 1992, p. 718). Thirdly, the intensity of tourism was relatively high in specific communities and not equally spread across Troodos region. For example, in Troodos, which comprises 62 communities, only six communities were popular hill resorts, namely Platres, Kakopetria, Prodromos, Pedoulas (Ioannides 1992, p. 718), Moutoullas and Kalopanayiotis. During the summer, in particular, the number of visitors concentrated in these communities was so high that all available hotel beds were occupied.^{xxx} In the communities of Pedhoulas and Kakopetria, for instance, the population during July and August increased tenfold (Beaudouin et al. 1962, p. 58). Lastly, tourism in the aforementioned communities was predominantly based around renting houses from local families (usually for a period of three months), which meant that most tourists were not reliant on hotel facilities. An article published in 1936 in the newspaper *Neos Kypriakos Fylaks* authored by the director of a popular hotel claimed that 87 per cent of foreigners and 90 per cent of local

tourists rented a family house rather than staying in a hotel room (Evthivoulou 1936, p.3).

The main attractions of Troodos' hill resorts were their climate and natural environment. The cool weather offered relief to visitors during the hot and dry summer months, while the landscape was seen as idyllic and relaxing. Furthermore, some villages were appealing to tourists because of the natural resources available, such as thermal springs or good quality of air, and their perceived health benefits. Meanwhile, medical tourism became common throughout Europe during the eighteenth century (Urry 2002, p. 17). In particular, a number of spa towns developed with the purpose of providing healing services to visitors. As Urry (2002, p. 17) notes, in Britain people believed that a number of disorders could be cured or at least improved by swallowing or bathing in spa water.

It seems that similar views were shared by people in Cyprus during the first quarter of the twentieth century, since spa towns such as Kalopanayiotis and Moutoulas became popular among patients with muscular and arthritic complaints. Hotel owners took full advantage of this development, as evidenced by an advertisement for the Elioupolis hotel, (located between Kalopanayiotis and Moutoula) published in the newspaper *Neos Kypriakos Fylaks* in 1930, which proudly announces the availability of sulphur springs on the hotel premises in European bathrooms made from porcelain.^{xxxix} Likewise, an advertisement for the popular Hotel Pavsilypon in Kakopetria claims that the healthy climate of the village, the cold and digestive waters (*xonevtika nera*), the sulphur springs and the magical surrounding landscape will undoubtedly attract many holidaymakers^{xxxix} (see Figure 4). Pure, clean spring water of such high quality

was a valuable natural resource, one that was then unavailable in many areas, especially in Nicosia. Similarly, Kyperounda's climate was identified by the British as ideal for patients suffering from respiratory diseases. For this reason, the British government inaugurated a sanatorium in the area in 1939. The clinic was initially used for the treatment of patients with phymatiosis and tuberculosis, but it later also accepted children with asthma.

Figure 4: Advertisement for Hotel Pavsilipon in Kakopetria

Publication: FYO; Date: Jul 12, 1930; Section: None; Page: 6

ΟΙΚΟΓΕΝΕΙΑΚΟΝ ΞΕΝΟΔΟΧΕΙΟΝ
ΤΟ «ΠΑΥΣΙΛΙΠΟΝ»
ΠΟΛΥΒΙΟΥ Γ. ΔΡΟΥΣΙΩΤΟΥ
ΕΝ ΚΑΚΟΠΕΤΡΙΑ

Ἀνακαινισθέν τελείως ἤρξαν ἤδη τὴν λειτουργίαν του ἐν τῇ ὄρει Κακοπετρίᾳ τὸ μοναχικὸν καὶ ὁρειότατον ηλεκτροπνίσσον Ξενοδοχεῖον τὸ «ΠΑΥΣΙΛΙΠΟΝ» ὑπὸ τὴν διεύθυνσιν καὶ πάλιν τοῦ γνωριστάτου καὶ περιποιητικωτάτου κ. Πολυβίου Γ. Δρουσιώτου.

Ὁ ἰδιοκτήτης αὐτοῦ μὴ φοβούμενος δαπάνης ἀνακαίνισα τοῦτο εἰς ὅλον ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὸ διερρόθμισε κατὰ τοιοῦτον τρόπον ὥστε νὰ μὴ ὑστερῇ ποσὶς τῶν ἐυρωπαϊκῶν θερέτρων. Διὰ τοῦτο οἱ μέλλοντες νὰ παραθερίσωσιν ἐν αὐτῷ θὰ ἔχωσιν ἄνεον καὶ εὐχάριστον διαμονὴν μὲ ὅλα τὰ δυνατὰ *comforts*.

Πλὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἀνακαινισεων προστέθη εὐρυχωροτάτη αἴθουσα χοροῦ, ἣ ὅποια νὰ ικανοποιῇ καὶ εὐχαριστῇ πάντας τοὺς χοροφίλους.

—Ἐπιπλα καὶ σκευὴ τελείως καινούργη.
 —Δωμάτια εὐάερα, εὐήλια καὶ ὑγιεινά.
 —Καθαριότης ἀμειψτος καὶ μοναδική.
 —Μαγειρικὴ πλουσία καὶ ὑγιεινή.

“Ὅσοι λοιπὸν θέλετε θέρετρον μὲ κλίμα θαυμάσιον καὶ ὑγιεινὸν μὴ ἀποκαίμενον εἰς μεταπτώσεις προτιμήσατε τὸ Ξενοδοχεῖον «ΠΑΥΣΙΛΙΠΟΝ» τῆς ὄρειας Κακοπετρίας, διότι ἐκεῖ θὰ πύρηντε ὅλα τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῆς ἐξοχῆς καὶ τὸ σπουδαιότερον καὶ τιμὴς λογικῆς.

Ἐπίσης εὐρωπαϊκὰ μπάνια ἐντὸς τῶν δωματίων μὲ τὸ θαυμάσιον θειοῦχον νερὸν τῆς Κακοπετρίας.

ΣΗΜ.—Τακτικὰ διηγεροδρομικὰ συγκοινωνία Λευκωσίας—Κακοπετρίας πρὸς 2 δελ. μετ’ ἐπιστροφῆς καὶ Κακοπετρίας—Εὐρύτου δι’ αὐτοκινήτων πρὸς 1 δελ. μετ’ ἐπιστροφῆς.

Διὰ πληροφωρίαν γράψατε:
ΚΟΝ ΠΟΛΥΒΙΟΝ Γ. ΔΡΟΥΣΙΩΤΗΝ
 [5] **Στοὰ Ἀνεγνωμένης ἄρ. 21—ΛΕΥΚΩΣΙΑΝ**

Source: Newspaper *Eleftheria*, 12 July 1930, p. 6.

The first visitors to take the initiative to establish tourist resorts at the peak of Troodos mountain and Platres were the British colonial governmental officials (Ioannides 1992, p. 718), who stayed in the region from June until October each

year.^{xxxiii} These colonial officers were followed by the troops, their families and their camp followers (i.e. servants such as shoemakers, tailors, nurses and nannies). A newspaper article published in 1936 by an unknown author poses the question 'how does the life of high-class people fit with that of their inferior servants and workers in the Troodos mountains?'^{xxxiv} The author proceeds to argue that this may not be a problem, since the British live their own, typically English lives, which revolve around eating a rich breakfast, sitting and reading in a cosy chair, playing tennis, having tea at the exact second that it is scheduled, going for walks and attending dances and concerts.

In addition to the British and other Northern European holidaymakers, a number of Middle Eastern visitors were attracted by the cool climate of the hill resorts (Kammas 1991, p. 1, 1993, p. 71; Ioannides 1992, p.718), including people from Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Israel and Lebanon. The importance ascribed to the arrival and impressions of foreign tourists is evident from public announcements in the press. During the 1950s newspapers would publish data regarding the exact number of tourist arrivals, their country of origin, their destinations and their mode of transport.^{xxxv} On another note, columnist in daily newspapers would preach to the indigenous population about how to behave correctly to the tourist, for example not to beg or what needs to be done in order to fulfil the aspirations of tourists.^{xxxvi} The tourists' impressions were significant to the authorities and a boost for the local society. For this reason, positive tourists' views on Cyprus were proudly announced in the press (Persianis 2007, p. 176).

It did not take long for the Cypriot elite to follow the British-inspired trend of holidaymaking in the hill resorts. Villagers saw these domestic tourists as 'high-class people' and, in some cases, as agents of modernity and cosmopolitanism.

People who could afford to rent a second home for three months in order to avoid the heat and aridity of the town were obviously from wealthy families. Even today, villagers proudly state that the holidaymakers in their region were *apo tzaki* (literally, from the fireplace), which implied that they belonged to a higher social class, in essence a 'good' family. On several occasions, my informants insisted that I note down that their visitors were not just anyone but were high-profile people from *dialektes oikogeneies* (special or distinctive families), such as doctors, lawyers and traders. Their wealth and educational background justified their superiority in the eyes of the locals. Villagers were eager to tell me about some of the well-known families who used to spend their summers in the village. They wanted to ensure that I appreciated their value as a community and subsequently as persons.

The increasing demand among native elites for holidays in Troodos' hill resorts contributed to a greater-than-ever interaction between locals and tourists. I asked several elder residents of Kakopetria how they used to feel about coexisting with tourists for at least three months each year in the past. Their answers were ambivalent. Some people felt privileged in comparison with other communities in the region, proudly asserting '*to xorko mas edialeksan to oi ksenoi*' (our village was chosen by foreigners). This notion of *choice* reveals that symbolic capital is acquired from the status of the choosers, that is, the *ksenoi* (foreigners), who had the authority and power to actually make a choice. Nonetheless, the villagers' feelings of superiority (i.e. in relation to other local people) were reduced when they compared themselves to the foreigners. Mr Giorgos, a 73-year-old man, owns a coffee shop in the old Kakopetria and he explained this to me over a drink:

Let me explain it to you my dear. In the 1930s, 1940s, some foreigners [*ksenoi* – meaning people with no origins from Kakopetria] started to buy land and build their own houses in Kakopetria. The Dionysos Club was owned by Ms Thecla Christophi, an extremely rich lady [*polla, para polla plousia geneka*]. She owned business in Cairo, Egypt. We had another popular rich man... I do not remember his name; he was Armenian, dealing with issues of Melkonian School.^{xxxvii} Also, Soleas! He was a very rich tradesman, also from Nicosia [*Lefkosiatis tzai toutos*]! These foreigners, they left...life in Kakopetria [*toutoi oi ksenoi afikan... zoi sti Kakopetria*]! People from Kakopetria were extremely poor, and they [the foreigners] were extremely rich! (recorded)

It seems that the kind of ‘life’ that these prosperous foreigners left or brought to the village was not by increasing the population of the village but by bringing prosperity. Mr Giorgos proudly said that new Kakopetria, where all the tourists were based, had had electricity since the 1920s, and was also home to four cinemas, two *mylous* (mills) and several hotels. All these modern amenities were also symbols of modernity, since they were often portrayed by residents of Kakopetria as evidence of progressiveness and the development of their village.

It is important to note here that only the newly built part of the village was popular among holidaymakers during the colonial era. My elder informants from Kakopetria would often refer to the 1940s and 1950s when they moved out of the houses in new Kakopetria in order to rent them to tourist families. Locals would move their belongings either to the old rundown houses (that they abandoned for a better life in the newly build houses) or out into their fields (*mes ta xalamantoura i mes ta pervolia*). Mr Giorgos, who is one of the most positive and warm-hearted people I have ever met, fondly recollected his experiences as a child:

When I was in primary school, our parents used to rent our house in new Kakopetria for five or ten pounds per month. That was a lot of money back then [*Itan kamposa riallia tote*]! We used to live in our fields, among apple trees! We transferred our mattresses and kitchenware into the fields and we spent three months there. People from Nicosia, Larnaca and Varosi rented our house. That was our life in the past! We did not have any demands [*En eixame apaitiseis*], just a pair of trousers, nothing more! When we [Mr Giorfos and his peers] were six or seven years old, we were sent by our parents to sell some apples to the foreigners in order to make a living. We looked forward to the summer, when our friends from Nicosia would arrive, bringing their toys, and we would all play together! Sometimes we used to steal some of their toys and hide them so our parents would not find them! If they saw the stolen toys, we would get beaten [by our parents]; good times [*tha etroamen ksulo, oraies epoches*] (recorded)!

Panayiota, in a lady in her mid-seventies, recollects how she took the decision to become a *dhoula se archontiko* (domestic servant in a manor house) for a family from Nicosia who spent the summer in Kakopetria. I visited her at the small souvenir shop she ran in the old neighbourhood. Her black dress, worn to mourn the recent loss of her husband, stood in stark contrast to her bright white hair and sky-blue eyes.

In 1947, when I became a *dhoula*, I was only 10 years old. They [people from Nicosia] told my bare-footed mum [a sing of her families poverty] to take me to their hotel so I could play with their baby (recorded).

She paused for a few seconds and took a deep breath. I stared at her wrinkled face for a while, thinking that she must have suffered a lot in her life. Her tired, weary tone was embodied in the way she sat, surrounded by scattered, dusty souvenirs in her small shop.

We suffered a lot my dear [*En polla ta vasana mas mana mou*]! They were rich; the father of the family was a doctor! They persuaded me, my dear, to go [to the hotel] and play with the baby [*Ekalaran me kori mou na pieno na paizo me to moro*]. All day long they used to feed me chocolates and candies! Eeehm... had I ever seen these things that they gave me before? No! Eee...I went with them (recorded)!

It seems that the development of tourism at the hill resorts created division within division. On the one hand, division was created between the hill resorts, popular among Cypriot elites and British administrators, and the other villages in Troodos. The former's residents perceived themselves and their villages as superior in comparison to the surrounding 'underdeveloped' communities; in effect, they accrued symbolic capital from the status of their visitors. On the other hand, the narratives of hill resorts' residents changes, and their status is lost, when they compare themselves with tourists in their villages. The issue of 'division within division' will be examined in more detail in Chapter Four.

3.4 Tourism as an agent of modernity

In this section, I argue that the development of tourism in Troodos' hill resorts acted as an agent of modernity, enhancing the division within the region. I begin by exploring the changes in the dominant discourse and practices in relation tourism. First, I will look at the transformation of *khania* (inns) into 'modern' hotels. Second, I will focus on the 'modern' amenities that hill resorts enjoyed. Lastly, I will reflect on the strategic use of 'European' or 'modern' identity in the

dominant rhetoric of the era.

Let me now turn to the transformation of *khania* into 'modern' hotels. The first 'hotels' on the island, which existed up until the early twentieth century, were remarkably different from those one sees today. Known as '*khania*', they provided cheap accommodation for travellers that covered their basic needs of a roof and safety (Michaelide 1985, p. 82, cited in Argyrou 1996, p. 142). The rooms were equipped with the bare minimum of facilities, namely a bed and a bucket with water for washing. *Khania* also provided meals to guests or passing by travellers. In addition to *khania*, visitors to Troodos also had the option of staying in 'camp hotels', which were particularly popular among British travellers.

It was not until the 1920s and more intensively in the 1930s that the prevailing ideas changed and a new type of 'modern' hotel came to be established in Cyprus. Perhaps the most significant differences at that time between hotels and *khania* were the motives and needs of the guests. Specifically, guests staying in the *khania* were primarily concerned with subsistence, whereas those accommodated at hotels were also interested in leisure, comfort, privacy, relaxation, hygiene and cleanliness. Such notions are, after all, social products of modernity, constituting the guests of hotels as modern subjects.

This change in dominant ideas and beliefs prompted the transformation of *khania* to 'modern hotels' as we know them today. Modern hotels, in opposition with *khania*, did not fulfil only the basic needs for the survival of their guests. On the contrary, hotels were expected to provide several amenities, facilities and luxuries with the ultimate goal to pamper their guests. In 1924 Elvetia Hotel in Platres was the biggest hotel on the island with 50 rooms and 100 beds. The

decision to name the hotel Elvetia, which means 'Switzerland', suggests that the owners perceived their hotel to be as wealthy, advanced and modern as its namesake. According to advertisements for Elvetia^{xxxviii} in the local press, the hotel provided its guests with all the comforts that they would find in European hotels, such as electricity, cold and warm running water, electric room bells and toilet facilities.^{xxxix} In the 1930s, the number of 'modern' hotels that fulfilled the international criteria grew, especially in the Troodos region. Architects from abroad were employed to design the new symbols of modernity on the island. Interestingly, the vast majority of new hotels were built by expatriates who took the decision to return to Cyprus after becoming aware of their homeland's tourism potential. For example, Berengaria Hotel in Prodromos, which was designed by the British architect Walter Henry Clarke, was built in 1931 by Mr Kokkalos, a Cypriot expatriate who had spent several years in Egypt (Andreou 2010, p.77, 88). Similarly, Forest Park Hotel in Platres was designed by the architect Samuel Barkai^{xl} and built in 1936 by Mr Skyrianides, the first Cypriot graduate in hotel management from the world-famous Ecole Hôtelière de Lausanne in Switzerland (Hami 2011). Expatriates, young graduates and architects from Europe thus transferred to Cyprus the western cultural model of the modern European lifestyle.

The term 'tourist' was not widely used in the dominant discourse of the Cypriot society in the early twentieth century. A brief perusal of the newspaper archives pertaining to this period reveals that the term *ksenos* (foreigner) was used much more frequently than the term *touristas* (tourist). *Ksenos* described any non-local traveller who was on the island for a period of time for leisure or not^{xli}. Within a village, the term '*ksenos*'^{xlii} would also be used to describe someone who was

Cypriot but was not from one's own village. In the 1920s, the presence of foreigners was often described as *viomixania ton ksenon*^{xliii} (foreigners' industry), which suggests that Cypriots had a utilitarian approach towards this phenomenon. It was later, in the 1930s and 1940s, that the dominant discourse was 'touristified' and subsequently modernized. In other words, the terms 'foreigners' and 'foreigners' industry' were abandoned in favour of 'tourists' and 'tourism', respectively. These terms continue to be used to this day, and their application is rarely challenged.

In the case of the popular hill resorts, tourism served as an agent of modernity, since the locals enjoyed 'modern amenities' that were not available in the surrounding villages of Troodos and even in some parts of the towns. These amenities were the result either of privileged treatment of communities on behalf of the British administrators or of locals' private initiative intended to fulfil the aspirations and demands of tourists. For example, although roads paved with asphalt and access to electricity for domestic use were rare in the wider Troodos region, these facilities were available in Platres and Kakopetria. An article published in 1936, entitled 'Troodos: Home of Gods', described the peak of Troodos mountain and Platres as modern towns:

[...] 1000 people, and even more than that, were at Troodos^{xliiv}! In a place where before the British colonization, humans did not make their appearance, only vultures and moufflons would enjoy Troodos; now it has become a small, modern town with asphalt roads –six English miles of asphalt road are found here on top of the mountain! [...] lively, with lots of people, especially English, men and women, ladies and nannies that they accompany two or three English children each one. While walking in the main avenue you can find the Post Office,

the Telephone Centre, the Office of the Inspector of military engineers and shops^{xlv}.

On a similar note, my informants in Platres and Kakopetria were extremely eager to share with me their views that both villages were privileged since they had access to electricity since the early 1920s. Nicolas, is a 50-year-old man from Platres, who as a teenager, in the early eighties, used to work for the local disco as a ticket boy and later as a bartender and DJ (Disk Jockey). I still remember the first time we met. He was wearing light blue jeans and a white T-shirt on top. In my eyes he looked like a 'teddy boy' who grew up, gain a few wrinkles and a couple of pounds. As he says being from Platres is part of 'who he is'; it is what defines his identity. He is very proud of his village and collects information regarding the history of the place and its people. As he explained me, 'the British established their summer camps in Platres; that is why we were one of the first villages with access to electricity. Electric lighting was also available for the roads, not only for houses and hotels! Platres was, and still is, the elite of the mountains [*Platres itan kai einai i elite ton vounon*].' This sense that Platres is somehow 'elite' was shared by many of its residents.

The British were not so generous in the case of Kakopetria. One of my local informants proudly emphasized that it was *their* progressiveness that stimulated the rapid economic growth witnessed in the village. In 1920, a local electrical engineer designed and built his own water-powered generator, which produced electricity for the new part of Kakopetria.

We had electricity earlier than Paphos^{xlvi}! The generator was functioning [on week days and], also on Sundays and during summer when the tourists were present. For example, I was born in 1939 and I do not have any memories of the

old oil lamps that people used in the other villages. People from Kakopetria were always progressive [*Oi Kakopetrites itan panta proodeftikoi*]. This is what saved us [*En touto pou mas esose*]! (recorded)

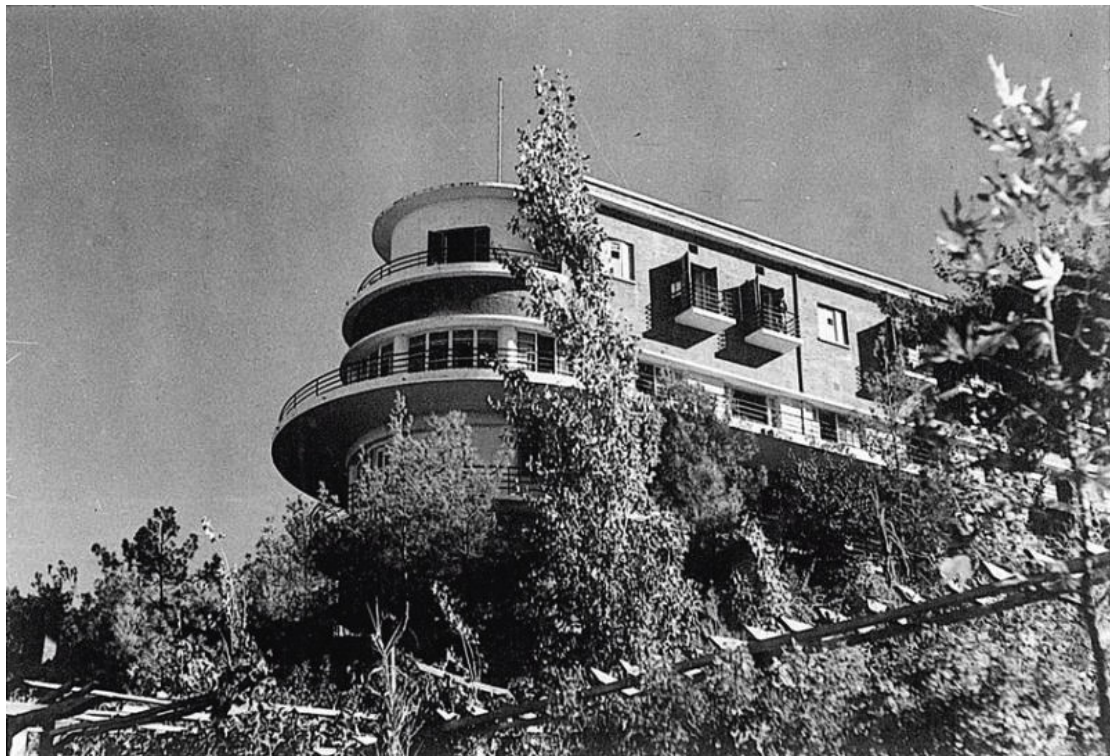
This self-identification as progressive reveals an ‘illusion of “natural distinction”’ (Bourdieu 1979 [2008], p. 255) on the part of the Kakopetria residents. In other words, their natural distinctiveness made them more advanced and modern in comparison with the surrounding villages, which were backwards and underdeveloped. Moreover, it seems that this progressiveness was manifested less in ideas than in specific material symbols of modernity, such as electricity.

Hotels – as both structures and institutions – were also agents of modernity. The modern architecture of hotels reflected urban aesthetics and the cosmopolitan lifestyle of their guests. Forest Park Hotel, which opened in Platres in 1936, was considered an attraction itself, since it was the first hotel with a swimming pool and the first to use reinforced concrete (see Figure 5). According to its owner, there was a rumour at the time that ‘the terrace would fall because they had no experience working with it [i.e. reinforced concrete]’.^{xlvi} Forest Park was the first hotel that fulfilled the international standards outlined by the Cyprus Tourism Development Office, boasting facilities such as individual bathrooms, dining rooms, a large ballroom, a bar, a library, a lounge, a billiards room and a tennis court^{xlvi}. Hence, through its imposing structure and sophisticated clientele, Forest Park Hotel came to function as a symbol of cosmopolitanism in rural Cyprus.

Apart from the modernizing force reflected in the landscape of the hill resorts, it is useful to examine the strategic use of ‘modern and European’ as notions. Locals appropriated the notions of modernity and europeaness in order to

attract more tourists. Most local people considered that their prosperous clients, who were chiefly foreigners or residents of Cyprus's major towns, shared and aspired to an urban, modern, European way of life. The analysis that follows is based on a synthesis of various advertisements published in the local press between 1920s and 1940s.^{xlix}

Figure 5: Forest Park Hotel built in 1936, Platres. Troodos



Source: Forest Park Website, <http://www.forestparkhotel.com.cy>, Date accessed: 19 February 2012

Residents of Troodos who were actively involved in the tourism industry employed a narrative in which they praised the modernity and Europeanness of their tourism facilities. The notions of cosmopolitanism, modernity and Europeanness were strategically used in hotel advertisements published in the press. Cosmopolitanism was advocated by the hotel owners, through the various

events organized and advertised in newspapers. These included theatrical shows, dances (e.g. carnival dance, summer dance), and musical performances (e.g. classical music concerts, jazz sessions, Palestinian music nights). In addition, the hotel owners ensured that the advertisements would emphasize the prosperity and material wealth of the place, along with the spacious rooms available.

Another issue that appeared in the vast majority of hotel advertisements was the one of cleanliness, which was over emphasized by hotel owners. According to Argyrou (1997, p. 160), 'litter – ultimately an eyesore that spoils a good picture – is a cultural construct and emerges as a truth under determinate social conditions'. One could argue, following Argyrou (1997), that the cultural conditions that existed in Cyprus in 1920s and 1930s made it 'mandatory' for the locals to denounce any evidence of their oriental, uncivilized, and uneducated past. The cleanliness and healthy living at their premises was a confirmation of their association with a superior, European culture. Besides cleanliness and its association with Europeanness, the issue of European standards and comforts, such as bathroom facilities, electric lighting and electric room bells, was also highlighted in the hotel advertisements. For example, in an advertisement for Pavsilypon Hotel in Kakopetria, it is written that 'the owner, *not being afraid of the expenses*, renovated this hotel in a way that will *not* be inferior to European resorts'¹ (my emphasis) (see Figure 6). It is interesting how the notion of being a *fouartas* (big spender) blends together with notions of European identity. Being a *fouartas* was (and still is) a disposition that 'every man who respected himself and expected to be respected by the community' needed to have (Argyrou 1996, p. 74). However, the new cultural conditions demanded that a man should be not

only be a *fouartas* but also adaptable to European and modern lifestyle.

Similarly, in an article published in a daily newspaper the author emphasized how a hotel in Pedhoulas employed European-looking and well-mannered waiters: 'They will offer you a soft drink and everything else ordered will be served in European manners by good-looking and polite waiters'^{li}. When I asked Andreas, a hotel owner in Kakopetria, to elaborate on what they meant by 'European manners', he explained that 'employees were trained to behave correctly to tourists'. His response stirred my curiosity. 'Can you describe what you mean by "behave correctly towards tourists"?' I asked. He hesitated for a while, and then said, 'what we take for granted today, that the client is always right, was not the case in the past. People would be spontaneously impolite and disrespectful towards the tourists if they [the tourists] made them angry. In other cases, they would be too spontaneous, not filtering their thoughts before speaking loudly' (fieldnotes).

Although the hill resort stakeholders asserted their European and modern identity in the press, this was obviously not enough. The more compelling evidence of their Europeanness and modernity was that prominent personalities selected their hotels and villages as holiday destinations. The names of their high-profile guests were published in the newspapers as confirmation of their cosmopolitanism and modernism. According to this logic, if the hill resorts and their hotels were not cosmopolitan or modern, they would not be visited by politicians and royal families (see Figure 6). The visits by prominent personalities enacted as the verification of their superior status, among other villages in the wider Troodos region.

Figure 6: Advertisement for Elvetia Hotel in Platres, Troodos

Publication: ALI; Date: Jun 13, 1924; Section: None; Page: 4

ΜΕΓΑ ΞΕΝΟΔΟΧΕΙΟΝ
“ΕΛΒΕΤΙΑ,”
 Ν. ΚΥΠΡΙΩΤΗ (ἐν Πλάτραις)

Τὸ ἡλεκτροφωτιστικὸν Ξενοδοχεῖον «ΕΛΒΕΤΙΑ» ἀνακαινισθὲν ἐφέτος ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου εἶνε τὸ μεγαλύτερον καὶ τελειότερον ξενοδοχεῖον ἐν Κύπρῳ ἔχον 50 δωμάτια ὑπνου με 100 κλίνας.

Εἶνε ἐκτισμένον ἐπὶ ἐνὸς ἐκ τῶν θελκτικωτέρων τοπείων εἰς Πλάτρεις ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ἀπεράντου δάσους ἐκ πεύκων εἰς ὕψος 4000 ποδῶν με θαυμασίαν θέαν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν.

Διαυθύνεται ἐφέτος ἀπὸ διευθυντὴν εἰδικῶς ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ διορισθέντα πολὺγλωττον καὶ πεπειραμένον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου.

Ἔχει ὅλας τὰς ἀνάσεις (comfort) τῶν Εὐρωπαϊκῶν ξενοδοχείων, λουιτρά θερμὰ καὶ ψυχρὰ (douche) ἡλεκτρικοὺς κώδωνας καὶ ἀποχωρητήρια τελειοτάτου συστήματος.

Ἔχει κλᾶδους εἰς ὅλας τὰς πόλεις τῆς Κύπρου.

Διαθέτει τὰ τελειότερα αὐτοκίνητα διὰ τὴν συγκοινωνίαν.

Παρέχει καθαρὰν, ἀφθονοὺν καὶ ποικίλην τροφήν, τὴν ὁποίαν θὰ ἐπιμελῆται εἰδικῶς καὶ πεπειραμένος ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μάγειρος.

Κάμνει τὰς μεγαλειέτας ἐκπτώσεις εἰς τὰς οἰκογενείας.

Περὶ ὅλων αὐτῶν ὁμιλεῖ καὶ ἡ Α. Β. Ὑψηλότης ὁ Πρίγκιψ Γεώργιος τῆς Ἀγγλίας καὶ ὁ Νάαρχος J. M. de Rombech.

9 Ἰουνίου 1924

Εἶδον τὸ μέγα ξενοδοχεῖον «Ελβετία» Πλάτρεις πολλὸ ἀνέτον καὶ τὸν ἡσυχίτην κ. Κυπριώτην, πολλὸ ὑποχρεωτικὸν καὶ περιποιητικὸν, καὶ ἔχει μεγάλην εὐχαρίστησιν συνιστᾷν τὸ ξενοδοχεῖον εἰς τοὺς ἐπισκέπτας.

ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ
 Πρίγκιψ τῆς Ἀγγλίας
 καὶ J. M. de Rombech Νάαρχος

Τὸ Ξενοδοχεῖον ἀνοίγει ὡς πάντοτε τὴν 15ην Μαΐου καὶ λειτουργεῖ μέχρι τῆς 15ης Ὀκτωβρίου.

Source: *Alitheia* newspaper, 13 June 1924, p.4

Another revealing issue is the lifestyle associated with the imposing modern hotels, which accommodated prominent personalities such as royals, politicians, lawyers, traders and intellectuals. A significant social distance separated their lifestyles and socio-economic status from those of the local working class (Argyrou 1996, p.151, 157). As one informant from Platres recollected,

foreigners were nicely dressed, especially women. You could see them with their beautiful dresses, following European fashion, and they had lipstick on... There was an incident once where the village priest kicked a woman from Nicosia out of his church. He was in constant conflict with women from Nicosia because they

had lipstick on and he did not approve of them kissing the icons.

It seems, then, that not everyone at the time was willing to reproduce modernity in the rural setting of Troodos. It is important to note here that resistance was largely related with the ideological aspects of modernity and not so much with its material expressions. In the case of the angry priest, it seems that the resistance expressed towards women with lipstick can be interpreted as resistance towards the symbolic meaning of lipstick, namely, the western trend of female emancipation.

The modernity of tourists was evident not only in their appearance but also in their everyday practices. The visitors were engaged in numerous leisure activities including dances in hotel ballrooms, musical performances, games and gambling and long walks while discussing poetry, literature or science (Hapipi 1939, p.1; Montis 1936, p.1).

Gambling tourism^{lii} was very popular in the hill resorts of Cyprus, predominantly among Middle Eastern and Cypriot tourists (Platritika Nea 1935, p.2; Montis 1936, p.1; Aimilianides 1939, p.1). Although British law forbade gambling, the mentality of gambling was tolerated to a certain degree (Scott 2003, p. 269). According to Scott (2003, p. 269) gambling, card playing, gaming and betting were very popular activities among tourists in the hill resorts and a few prosperous locals. For example, wealthy urbanites spending their summer in Kakopetria would meet in hotels and play poker for money. One of my informants, Mrs Andriani, grew up in Kyperounda but worked as maid in a hotel in Kakopetria in the late 1950s and early 1960s. When I asked her whether she ever encountered any gambling during this period, her eyes lit up and a mischievous smile crept across her face:

You reminded me of our gossip! We were gossiping about this with my friends, the other girls working as maids at the hotel! Rich people from Nicosia met in Kakopetria during the summer months and they played the cards with money [*epaizan xartia me lefta*] in the hotel, in a special room on the first floor. They played poker and *pokerize* [a variant of poker]. They didn't do anything else during the day. Cards were their leisure, their entertainment. They would start the game at ten o'clock at night and sometimes they wouldn't go to sleep until early in the morning. We had orders that we should not clean their rooms in the morning but we should wait until they wake up in the afternoon and then clean their rooms. Most of the gamblers were tourists from Nicosia. The locals also played in the local coffee shops, but with these rich people only the elite of Kakopetria [*i afrokrema tis Kakopetrias*] would play. I remember this rich man from Nicosia who was making a living out of gambling; he was a professional gambler and that was his full-time job!

Gambling was (and still is) a popular activity in the villages of Troodos, but my informants did not describe it as a leisure activity. On the contrary, it was described as a sickness (*arrostia*). Based on the ethnographic material collected I identified three main differences between prosperous, urbanites gamblers and the lower social class gamblers of Troodos region. The first was that gambling in rural Cyprus was a predominantly a male sub-culture, often associated with masculine traits. For this reason, women were (and still are) excluded from this type of activity. On the contrary, women of prosperous families residing in the urban centres enjoyed gambling as one of their hobbies. The second difference was that gamblers in villages would gather 'secretly' in the local coffee shops. I was fortunate enough to have a glimpse of the 'inner gambling room' at a few *kafeneia* (coffee shops) or *ethnika somateia* (national clubs), when I was

conducting a research on coffee shops (Eftychiou and Philippou 2010). Not all coffee shops or clubs have an 'inner room', and those that do are restrictive with access, especially for women. As soon as I entered, I was struck by the stale smell of cigarettes, which seemed to ooze from the dirty grey walls. The room was dark since the curtains were closed; in the middle, lit by a bare strip light, was a felt-top gaming table with a couple of chairs. Andriani told me that the effort to keep gambling as secret as possible was common also in the past among locals. In opposition to the urbanite gamblers, that used to gather in luxury hotels or poker clubs and with no intention of keeping this a secret. The third and perhaps most significant difference was that although local men were struggling to survive, they were willing to bet their small salaries – and even their personal belongings – on the roll of a dice. When I asked Mrs Andriani to describe how gambling in Kyperounda compared to that in Kakopetria, her face changed again and she shook her head in a way that showed that local gamblers did not deserve her respect or pity:

These men were sick [*arrostoi*]. They could not stop playing although their families were suffering because of their bad habit. I remember my mum talking with other women in the neighbourhood about Yiorkis, who used to gamble [*epaize koumari*]. He used to work at Amiantos mine and spent his salary on gambling. One day he lost all his money and then he bet his donkey! After losing his donkey, he bet his wife! When his wife learned that he was losing everything, she showed up at the coffee shop. As soon as she entered, the winner started laughing and told her 'come with me, I can do whatever I want with you now, you are mine!'. She responded by beating her husband and everyone else in the room with her crook.

On the one hand, the gambling conducted by prosperous tourists in hotel rooms

might be described as a 'modern leisure activity' (Scott 2005, p.52). On the other hand, gambling existed in Cyprus during the Ottoman period and the word *kumari* (gambling) is derived from the Turkish word *kumar* (gambling). Some of the locals argue that the reason why gambling was so popular in rural Cyprus during the colonial era was the lack of alternative leisure activities. The phenomenon of gambling in Troodos region needs to be further investigated in relation to identity and tourism, in order to provide to the reader a more in depth insight.

3.5 Conclusion

Tourism development in Cyprus began during the colonial era with the arrival of the first European travellers and photographers. The British first identified the tourism potential of the island in the early twentieth century, although they could not afford to invest in it at the time. Nevertheless, it was the British who created the culture of holidaymaking in the hill resorts of Cyprus. The colonial government spent the hot summer months in Troodos, and Cyprus's urban elites soon followed suit.

The 1930s was a period of widespread structural and cultural change in Cyprus. The transformation of cultural values that had been initiated in the towns soon came to bear on the rural areas, where local elites eager to reproduce the modern lifestyle of the Western colonizers inspired the trend of rural tourism. Troodos' residents, in their effort to fulfil the aspirations of foreign tourists and local native elites, they reproduced modernity, which was associated with

material symbols of modernity such as electricity, asphalt roads and imposing buildings with European facilities. The shift in cultural ideas is reflected in the change in cultural products, such as the transformation of the humble *khani* into grand modern hotels. The creation of such hotels in the hill resorts of Cyprus created competition and social tension not only between hosts and guests, but also between the resort towns and the surrounding villages.

Chapter 4

Mass Tourism: The epitome of modernity in Cyprus

4.1 Introduction

When identity is examined in the context of tourism, issues under examination can get very complicated but also interesting and enlightening. My plan in this chapter is to examine the interplay between tourism and identity in Cyprus after Independence by taking into consideration dominant discourses as produced in specific historical and political contexts. My main argument is that Cypriots, as relatively powerless actors, attempted to adopt or reject the symbols and discourses of more powerful societies^{liii} in their efforts to create cultural bonds and divisions within the wider framework of power relations. In particular, in attempting to develop large-scale tourism, Cypriots appropriated symbols and practices of the dominant European societies so as to mark or construct cultural similarities that made clear reference to a 'modern, developed, nation state'. While, they rejected the antagonistic, Mediterraneanist image that Northern Europeans have of Cyprus, native elites redefined and reconstructed their own version of Mediterranean identity in order to fulfil the aspirations and expectations of tourists.

In this chapter, I will examine the development of tourism in Cyprus from Independence until the late 1970s by taking into consideration the dominant discourse and practices in other more powerful societies. Specifically, I will focus on four changes in the cultural setting of the island that I believe shaped the content and structure of tourism in Cyprus. These changes are linked with

cultural processes that took place in European societies after the end of the Second World War until the early 1960s.

The first change is the birth of mass tourism, which resulted from the socio-economic development and technological advancements, that took place initially in Northern Europe and later in Cyprus. The second change is the emergence of Mediterraneanist discourse in Northern European societies, which contributed to the construction of an essentialized vision of 'Mediterranean' space and culture. The Mediterranean imaginary identity is the aftermath of the interplay of dominant global discourses and local cultural configurations. The third change is the transformation in the dominant beliefs of Europeans about the beach, which was linked with pleasure and enjoyment. These traits were diffused in Cyprus and contributed to the development of Cyprus as a primarily 'sun and sea destination'. The last change that is examined is the adoption and reproduction of the western modernist paradigm as emerged in the West by the native elites. The developmental vision of native elites to 'modernise' and rapidly 'develop' Cyprus is critically examined in relation to the dominant western ideas. These changes, which are discussed in turn in subsequent sections, produced the cultural conditions in which identity defined tourism and tourism defined identity in a recursive fashion.

On a general note, I am not suggesting that tourism as a phenomenon was influenced *only* by the aforementioned cultural changes. Globalization, technological advancements and currency fluctuations are just a few of the issues that can potentially influence tourism, though these are not discussed in this chapter or elsewhere in this thesis. In a similar vein, nationalism, the media

and the financial crises may have significant implications for identity, but none of these is discussed in this study. What I am interested in is the interplay between tourism and identity and how these two notions formulate and reformulate, define and redefine each other in an ongoing process. The issues under discussion are those that I believe have been the most influential in this complicated interaction between identity formation and tourism development in Cyprus.

4.2 The Development of Mass tourism in Europe and Cyprus

The aim of this section is to provide the reader with a brief historical and socio-economic background to the development of mass tourism in the western world. The first part focuses on the socio-economic changes and technological advancements that took place during the nineteenth century in the West that facilitated the development of mass tourism in European societies. In Cyprus, these cultural conditions were met when colonial rule came to an end in the 1960s. The development of large-scale tourism in Cyprus will be examined in section 4.2.2.

4.2.1 The Development of Mass Tourism in Europe

As mentioned in Chapter Three, tourism is not a contemporary phenomenon. Since Imperial Rome, people have travelled for short periods of time for pleasure, trade and pilgrimage, as well as for educational and health reasons. Early tourism occurred on a small scale and was restricted to the aristocracy and the elite of European societies, who were the only people who could actually

afford to travel. Until the eighteenth century, northern elites would undertake expeditions such as the 'Grand Tour', which took in trips to Paris and major Italian towns such as Rome, Venice, Florence and Naples (Löfgren 1999, p. 160).

The development of large-scale tourism is a much more recent phenomenon, occurring in parallel with the socio-economic changes and technological advancements that took place in the West during the nineteenth century. Specifically, industrialization had as a result the increasing prosperity, which provided extra income and enabled the working classes to save some money for holiday. In addition, the establishment of fixed working schedules and the standardization of urban centres in order to accommodate the needs of the growing working class contributed to a 'relatively time-bound and space-bound activity, separated off from play, religion and festivity' (Urry 2002, p. 19). As a result, the necessary conditions were met for a new cultural mindset to arise. Firstly, there was an increased interest in romanticism, which encouraged people to relax while enjoying the beauty of the natural environment (Graburn 1989, p. 29, Urry 2002, p. 20). Secondly, work ethics became increasingly rationalized. Work was highly controlled and separated from play and enjoyment, which resulted in the 'need' of people to 'alter state', that is, to break the routine of compulsory working schedules through travel and tourism (Graburn 1989, p. 21).

Another factor that significantly contributed to the boost of tourism was the technological advancements that occurred during the nineteenth century, and in particular the improvement of public transportation systems. The railway, which was previously used primarily for transferring goods and wealthy passengers,

was now opened to the working class. This change resulted in a rapid increase in the number of travellers (Urry 2002, p. 21). Thomas Cook (established in 1842) was the first one to take advantage of the new railway system and today is considered the founder of the 'modern travel agency'. The company was the first to provide organized excursions and all-inclusive trips abroad by issuing railway or ship tickets and taking care of every minor detail in the unknown destination (Graburn 1989, p. 29, Cheong and Miller 2004, p. 247). This facilitated travel for the wider population and opened up to the lower-middle and working classes destinations that were once enjoyed exclusively by the elite and aristocracy.

The new socio-economic and cultural conditions created in the nineteenth century in Europe changed 'the tourist map of the Mediterranean' (Löfgren 1999, p. 162). While Italy remained the 'must-see destination' for every educated European, other destinations were added to the popular itinerary including Spain, Greece, Cairo, Palestine and Cyprus. Thomas Cook claimed in a British promotional leaflet from 1898, that Cairo has become 'no more than a winter suburb of London' (Löfgren 1999, p. 162). In Cyprus, the colonial presence facilitated travel and opened up the Mediterranean as a tourist destination to northern Europeans.

By the end of the Second World War, tourism was a well-established institution in western societies (Cohen 1984, p. 376; Pi-Sunyer 1989, p. 192; Urry 2002, p. 26). The economic prosperity that followed, the improved infrastructure, such as transportation and communication systems, and the existing tourism brokers contributed to the widespread geographical distribution of this recreational activity and the development of a new leisure class, namely the tourists. It was

within this wider context of large-scale tourism that the Mediterranean was packaged by tourism agents and transformed into a popular destination for the masses in the early 1960s (Löfgren 1999, p. 157). This subject will be further discussed in the second section of this chapter, which deals with Mediterraneanism.

Tourism is nowadays considered as one of the largest ‘industries’ on a worldwide basis. The number of international tourists in 1950 was 25.3 million; two decades later, in 1970, this figure had increased to 169 million (Cohen 1984, p. 377). Today, although the global economy is facing challenges, such as the so-called economic crisis, tourism continues to grow as an industry. According to the UNWTO World Tourism Barometer, the number of international tourists between January and June 2012 grew by 5 per cent (the increase is equivalent to 22 million people) in comparison to the same period in 2011.^{liv}

The increasing number of international tourists and their input to the GDP of their destinations contributed significantly to tourism being viewed as a ‘new opportunity’. The increased interest in tourism as a ‘development tool’ is a ‘modern’ idea shared by western states and powerful international organizations such as the United Nations World Tourism Organization^{lv} and the World Trade Organization.^{lvi}

The idea that tourism development could create the prospects for achieving ‘progress’ and ‘modernity’ was particularly popular in mid twentieth century for newborn states that acquired their independence after several decades of colonial rule. In such cases, the colonial past and the post-independence bonds

with the colonizers were appropriated by the former colonies in order to attract tourists from the West. As Decosta and Patrick (2011) argue, there is a continued colonial legacy in tourism in post-colonial contexts. It seems that Cyprus is no exception to this 'rule', since the island still depends on its former colonizers for the vast majority of tourist arrivals. The following section focuses on the development of mass tourism in Cyprus in the post-Independence period.

4.2.2 The Development of Mass Tourism in Cyprus

As discussed in Chapter Three, tourism emerged in Cyprus during the British colonial period. Until the 1960s, tourism was focused on the hill resorts and occurred only on a small scale. The vast majority of tourists were British administrators who lived in Cyprus permanently, wealthy visitors from the Middle East or prosperous, high-class Cypriots from urban centres. The first official policies to promote tourism were implemented in the 1950s. The results were not impressive, however, since the budget was limited and the political instability between 1955 and 1959 made it difficult to attract foreign tourists to the island (Annual Report of the Information and Tourist Services 1955, p. 3).

A major milestone in the development of mass tourism in Cyprus was the island's independence from the British in 1960. The dominant discourse in the newly formed Cypriot state conceived of tourism as a 'development tool' and a 'source of national wealth'. The Cypriot elites, who served now as political leaders and governmental administrators, recognized the need for rapid development in order to 'catch up' with the well-established tourist resorts that emerged in Europe after the end of Second World War. The mass tourism

development model was already known, having been applied in resorts such as the French Riviera and Cannes, and domestic elites perceived this model as not only successful but also desirable. The strategies and policies enforced by the Cypriot authorities contributed significantly to transforming Cyprus into one of the most well-established and popular 'Mediterranean summer sun' destinations (Peristianis et al. 1996, p. 483; Sharpley 2003, p. 251). For this purpose, development was now redirected almost exclusively to the coastal zones (Sharpley 2003, p. 249). Thus, the pattern of development undertaken in Cyprus in the 1960s was quite similar to that of other Mediterranean islands and regions.

What follows is a short overview of significant quantitative data on tourism development in Cyprus. While I acknowledge that these figures do not allow for a profound analysis of the cultural changes seen in Cyprus, I believe figures are a useful tool for familiarizing the reader with the rapid growth and structural changes that occurred on the island in a short space of time. For example, the number of tourist arrivals in Cyprus exploded from just 25,700 in 1960 to 264,000 in 1973, which represents an increase of over 900 per cent (Witt 1991, p. 37; Sharpley 2003, p. 249). This extremely high rate of growth was unique at the time, since the corresponding percentage of international tourist arrivals for the same period was only 175 per cent (Witt, 1991, p. 37).

The rapid rate of growth of tourism had a direct impact on the format and structure of the existing economic system of the country. Until 1960, Cyprus's economy was based primarily on agriculture. Specifically, 46 per cent of the total labour force was employed in the sector of agriculture, which contributed only 16 per cent of the GDP (Witt 1991, p. 41; Kammass 1993, p. 73). To put this

another way, approximately half of the population depended on agriculture for very little income. The contribution of tourism to Cyprus's GDP increased significantly in the first years after Independence. In 1960, for example, tourism contributed just 2 per cent of GDP, but by 1973, this figure had risen to 7.2 per cent (Kammas 1993, p. 73). At a more general level, within 14 years of Independence Cyprus's economy was transformed into a 'free enterprise economy based on trade and agriculture', and the island had managed to achieve a higher standard of living than most of its neighbour states (Brey 1995, p. 92, cited in Sharpley 2003, p. 250).

Tourism development in Cyprus after Independence increased year on year, except for during periods of political instability, which had a strong effect on the industry. The political unrest of 1964, which saw bi-communal fighting between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, had a particularly negative impact on the number of arrivals, and consequently on tourism's contribution to GDP, which fell from 3.8 per cent in 1963 to 0.9 per cent a year later (Kammas 1993, p. 73).

Similarly, the Turkish invasion of 1974 violently interrupted the steady growth of tourism. The Republic lost 40 per cent of its land, which remains under the control of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus to this day. As a result, 200,000 refugees who fled from the North were forced to resettle in the South.^{lvii} The loss of Famagusta and Kyrenia, the towns with the most extensive tourism infrastructure, made the recovery of the so called 'tourism industry' more difficult. According to Witt (1991, p. 38), approximately 65 per cent of the bed capacity and 40 per cent of restaurants and bars were inaccessible after the invasion and subsequent division of the island. In the post-invasion era, the focus of tourism development efforts shifted to the southern coastal cities of Limassol,

Paphos, Paralimni and Ayia Napa. Thus, although the impact of the invasion was devastating, it was short lived.

The so-called economic miracle, which occurred after the Turkish invasion in 1974, managed to re-establish the island as one of the principal Mediterranean destinations (Sharpley 2001, p. 66). Approximately 2.4 million tourists visited Cyprus in 2011,^{lviii} equivalent to 2.7 times its own population.^{lix} Although the authorities interpret the increasing number of arrivals as a positive development, tourism as an industry is facing numerous problems.^{lx} I do not intend to expand on these here, since they are beyond the scope of this thesis.

While the abovementioned figures provide a useful insight into the scale and growth of tourism in Cyprus, it is necessary to look in more detail the cultural conditions that allowed or even ensured the development of mass tourism in Cyprus. My aim is to incorporate into my observations the wider social structure. In particular, I will examine the relationship between dominant cultural perceptions and the wider political, ideological and institutional, global structures of which Cyprus is a part. In other words, I seek to show how cultural changes in more powerful societies can have significant theoretical and practical implications for other less powerful and influential societies, such as Cyprus. I will now turn to the role of Mediterraneanism, as a discourse, in the development of mass tourism in Cyprus.

4.3 'Mediterraneanization' of Cyprus

The aim of this section is to examine the role of 'Mediterraneanism' in the representation and development of Cyprus as a mass tourism destination in the 1960s. 'Mediterraneanism' is a term used by Herzfeld (1987) to refer to the 'reification of a zone of cultural difference through the ideologically motivated representation of otherness' (Herzfeld 1987, p.64). In this section, I argue that Mediterraneanism contributed to the construction of a shared essentialized vision of 'Mediterranean Cyprus' as a space and culture, which had, *and still has*, practical implications for the way that locals and others perceive their identity and culture.

The politicized representation of the Mediterranean was related to the dominant discourses of colonialism, evolutionism, industrialism and romanticism. These perceptions contributed to the construction of 'Mediterranean identity', which was first posited by early travellers in the seventeenth and eighteenth century and later widely reproduced by travel agents, the mass media, the education system and tourists themselves. Interestingly, anthropology as an academic discourse also contributed to this 'ideologically motivated representation' (Herzfeld 1987, p.64) of the Mediterranean by providing to interested readers with a more systematic version of the popular discourse.

This section is divided into two parts. Firstly, I will briefly discuss what Mediterraneanism is and under which conditions it emerged in Europe. To this end, I will focus on the role of early travellers, photographers, academics, scholars and tourism brokers in the ideological representation of the

Mediterranean as an essentialized culture and identity. It is important to note here that an in-depth examination of representations of the Mediterranean was considered beyond the scope of this thesis. The ultimate goal of this general overview is to demonstrate the connection between Mediterraneanism and the development of tourism in Cyprus, which is discussed in more detail in the second part of this section. In relation to tourism in Cyprus, two further issues will be analysed, namely Mediterraneanism as imposed or promoted from above and Mediterraneanism from within.

4.3.1 Mediterraneanism

‘Mediterraneanism’ is a term used by Herzfeld (1987), inspired by the ‘Orientalism’ of Said (1978). For Said (1978), ‘Orientalism’ is a system of thought or ideological construction that is the dominant western discourse about the East and that legitimizes western hegemony (Said 1978). In a similar vein, Mediterraneanism is an ideological construct that represents or treats the Mediterranean as a distinct cultural region with common cultural and social structures. More specifically, the Mediterranean region is represented as having a culture based on ‘traditional value systems’ that are primitive in character and static in time. In other words, Mediterranean countries are depicted as not being sufficiently bureaucratic, rational or modern to organize a “proper” state apparatus (Mitchell 2002, p.154). This system of thought emerged in the context of colonialism and evolutionism in Northern Europe. The list of contributors to the theory and discourse of Mediterraneanism is long and includes colonizers, travellers, photographers, writers and scholars. Mediterraneanists were, in

general, people who had the political power to define the symbolic representation of the Mediterranean region.

The essentialization of the Mediterranean as a region and culture was a complex process comprising several phases that had various implications for the development of tourism in Cyprus. As Löfgren (1999, p. 157) suggests, economic and cultural changes during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries shifted the focus of European societies towards the northwest and Atlantic coasts. In light of this change, the dominant perceptions transformed the Mediterranean region in the centuries that followed into a backward periphery of Europe. In this context, the Mediterranean journey or the 'Grand Tour' undertaken the British nobility, who were later joined by other Northern European elites, was considered a 'slid back into history, a space for time travel back to the grandeur of earlier eras, classical antiquity or the Renaissance' (Löfgren 1999, p.157). The journey was seen as a search for the origins of Western civilization. It was expected that by uncovering their own historical past, the young nobles would increase their knowledge, have cosmopolitan experiences and build self-confidence (Löfgren 1999, p. 157). One of the most popular quotes in relation to the Mediterranean tour was made by the English writer Dr Samuel Johnson in 1776:

A man who has not been in Italy is always conscious of an inferiority, from his not having seen what it is expected a man should see. The grand object of travelling [*sic*] is to see the shores of the Mediterranean. On those shores were the four great empires of the world: the Assyrian, the Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman. All our religion, almost all our law, almost all our arts, almost all that sets us above savages, has come to us from the shores of the Mediterranean.^{lxi}

In some cases, the dominant belief that the Mediterranean was the birthplace of Western civilization and that Mediterranean people were the living ancestors of

Europeans caused embarrassment, especially in the case of Mediterranean countries under the colonial rule. As Herzfeld (1987 [1999], p. 74) argues, in the case of Cyprus, the British colonials legitimized their presence on the island by reiterating the need to 'restore' civilization and bring it up to date with contemporary standards. In Chapter Three, I briefly sketched the representations of Cyprus by various early travellers. The vast majority of these visitors agreed that according to the western standards, Cyprus was not modern. However, some of them perceived this as evidence of backwardness and inferiority, while others taking a more romantic perspective saw it as the hallmark of a traditional and exotic culture.

By the mid-twentieth century, the discourse of Mediterraneanism became so popular that it was theorized by scholars. Academics, and particularly anthropologists, played a crucial role in the conceptualization of 'Mediterranean culture' as a unified entity and in the 'validation' of the Mediterraneanist discourse. Their argument was based on the belief that these small-scale societies have common social structures, which create and reproduce a communal consensus (Goddard 1996, p.7). Phenomena such as honour and shame, gender roles and family values were analysed in relation to each other and were considered part of Mediterranean culture, that had a definite and shared structure. In short, scholars came to represent the Mediterranean as a culturally homogeneous region with shared social structures by implicitly ignoring the cultural diversity that exists in the region.

Likewise, Mediterranean societies were identified as 'traditional' in opposition to the 'modern' European societies. It was believed, however, that modernization

and urbanization would eventually break down the 'traditional value systems' of these communities, since 'traditional' communities were in the process of 'modernization'. Ethnographers had the tendency to focus primarily on rural or marginal communities, since these were considered to be more 'pure' and still largely untouched by modernity. It was only a matter of time, they believed, before these peripheries would develop and modernize, just like the core areas of the nation states (Cole 1977, p.361).

During the 1950s and 1960s, a number of classical ethnographies marked the Mediterraneanist discourse in the anthropological theory (Pitt-Rivers 1954; Campbell 1964; Peristiany 1965). Along with these publications, various seminars and conferences were organized to explore the question of Mediterranean distinctiveness (Gilmore 1982, p. 175; Goddard 1996, p. 4-5). The increasing interest in the region was reflected in the creation of Mediterranean research clusters within departments of anthropology and the production of specialized periodicals and other publications (Peristiany 1976, p. 1; Goddard 1996, p.4-5).

Academics became increasingly critical of the failures of the structural-functionalistic approach of Mediterraneanism, during the 1970s and early 1980s (Cole 1977; Davis 1977; Boissevain 1979; Giovannini 1981; Gilmore 1982; Llobera 1986; Herzfeld 1987; Pina-Cabral 1989; Argyrou 1996; Goddard 1996). Criticism centred on the tendency of Mediterraneanists to tribalize and isolate the communities under study from the wider socio-economic context and to focus only on rural or marginal areas (Cole 1977; Herzfeld 1985, p. 778-779; Llobera 1986; Herzfeld 1987, p. 64; Goddard 1996). Their fixation with gender

roles and 'traditional' values such as honour and shame^{lxii} led Mediterraneanists to ignore ethnographic evidence of similarities between western societies and Mediterranean communities such as the centrality of masculine traits in lower class and rural areas (Argyrou 1996, p. 158, 161).

Mediterraneanists also portrayed their region of study as being stuck in time. Historical data were neglected, a fact that limited the analysis to solid, static cultural values. Therefore, Mediterranean people were represented as passively following the traditional values of their society and thus lacking any agency (Goddard 1996, p.16; Cole 1977, p.361). By the same token, change was understood as the product of external pressures that were diffused from the wider European culture area. This contributed in the endorsement of the division of the world into Europeans and others. In addition, the European or western model of development was established as the ideal option to be followed by the rest of the world (Cole 1977, p. 361).

4.3.2 Mediterraneanization and tourism

Mediterraneanization is the result of a complex process of constant interplay between global discourses and local cultural configurations. The imaginary construct of Mediterranean identity and culture is not static in time, and this can be illustrated by focusing on tourism. Tourism and Mediterraneanism are socially, economically, historically and culturally intertwined. In this section, tourism is treated as cultural space, in which a contested Mediterranean identity emerges. The main argument raised in this section is twofold. On the one hand, the Mediterranean emerged in the mid-nineteenth century as an exotic,

unspoiled destination among Northern Europeans who aspired to experience a traditional society 'frozen in time'. On the other hand, the development of large-scale tourism by native elites, coupled with the demand for modern amenities by tourists, brought about dramatic changes in the Mediterranean cultural landscape and imaginary. This issue will be examined in detail in section 4.5 that follows.

By the mid-nineteenth century, socio-economic conditions and technological advancements had made the Mediterranean region easily accessible by Northern Europeans. The package tours organized by Thomas Cook, the new transport infrastructure and the colonial presence in the Mediterranean 'opened up' destinations such as Spain, Greece, Egypt, Palestine and Cyprus to an increasing number of tourists (Löfgren 1999, p. 162). By the early twentieth century, Nice and the French Riviera were already well-established winter resorts frequented by fun-seeking tourists with little interest in region's culture or classical heritage (Löfgren 1999, p. 165).

The cultural landscape of the popular Mediterranean tourists destinations changed as they were transformed from 'communities' to 'resorts'. Löfgren (1999, p. 165) suggests that 'tourists demanded modern amenities: water, sanitation, and tidy streets', which contributed to the homogenization of the Mediterranean tourist resorts landscapes. Casinos and spas were also created to provide entertainment to/for the amusement of visitors'. By the 1920s, a new trend of summer tourism had emerged in the French Riviera that focused on swimming and tanning. The emergence of beach culture will be discussed further in section 4.4 that follows.

Mediterraneanism from above

Although the cultural landscape of the Mediterranean was changing to meet global and local demands, Northern Europeans did not abandon their preconceived notions about the region. As a result, the vast majority of Europeans who had never visited the Mediterranean region already had a preconceived notion of what the region should look like. These notions were shared not only by grassroots society but also by Northern European tourism brokers and consultants, who internalized the dominant discourse and exercised their authority in order to normalize the essentialized vision of the region.

According to Herzfeld (1987, p. 12, 64; 1985, p. 778-779), Mediterraneanism was inscribed by a western cultural superiority, that is still held by the wider European population. The polarity of the Mediterranean – European culture is being internalized and reproduced by various tourism brokers, such as travel agents, popular media, travel writers, novelist, bloggers, film makers, tourism consultants, academics, journalists, politicians and tourists themselves.

Taking this one step further, I argue, following Foucault (1980), that western tourism brokers, who appear to have nothing to do with political power, exercise their authority over the less powerful Mediterranean people by constructing and reproducing a traditionalized representation of the Mediterranean region. In addition, the power of Northern Europeans to define Mediterranean culture as traditional and static in time reproduces the powerful binaries of Mediterranean/Europe, traditional/modern, underdeveloped/developed and inferior/superior. In order to support my argument, I will focus in more detail on the first official study employed by the newborn Cypriot state in 1962, which

was authored by Northern European ‘experts’. The work in question, which was produced by the French consultancy firm Société Centrale pour l’ Equipement du Territoire, was commissioned by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry of the Republic of Cyprus and was entitled *Cyprus Study of Tourist Development*.

Reading this report, the impact of the dominant discourse of Mediterraneanism on the tourism consultants is readily apparent, since their vision of Cyprus is based on the idea of a traditional Mediterranean island preserved in timeless bubble. Any change is approached as a diffusion of cultural traits or as a poor imitation of the West on the part of the passive locals. The comprehensive extract that follows illustrates this Mediterranean ‘illusion’, which was widely held by Northern Europeans at the time:

Folk traditions in Cyprus are fast disappearing from the island. The *westernization of habits* and the *invasion* of the country by foreign manufactured products have already jeopardized the fate of local craftsmanship. Only two generations ago, all the bed linen, all the clothes were still woven in each household: but their cost, *unfortunately*, has now become prohibitive. Plastic is a serious rival to earthenware, whilst bottles and cans are bettering carved gourds. To make matters *worse*, local pottery tries to imitate European mass produced goods.

Certain crafts, though, have undergone a process of re-adjustment, so to speak, and now produce articles sought after tourists: Lefkara lace woven cloth from Lefkoniko and Phiti; but why in so many cases have the traditional forms and designs be replaced by others of *western origin*?

... In this island where folk traditions have been so wonderfully alive, it would be a great pity to continue importing “local souvenirs” “made in Greece,

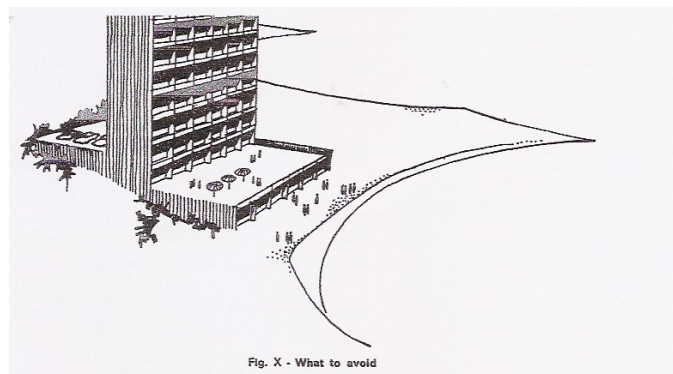
Czechoslovakia or Japan” for the tourist to buy. (Beaudouin et al. 1962, p.45, my emphasis)

In this report, Cyprus was clearly identified as ‘traditional’ in comparison to the ‘modern’ western societies. Thus, Cypriots ‘ought’ to remain stuck in time, reproducing the traditional lifestyle, so that tourists could enjoy a ‘pure, authentic Mediterranean island’ without any western intervention or modification. In other words, Cypriots were expected to reject cultural change, which was identified as being of western origin, and maintain their ‘original, traditional’ lifestyle. For instance, by abandoning the carved gourd (used as a bottle in the past) and adopting the glass bottle, they are not only abandoning their traditional lifestyle, but also sadly imitating the western lifestyle. As Argyrou (2002, p. 31) argues, Europeans reject Cypriots’ modern identity by explaining its manifestation as imitation of western culture or loss of their local authenticity.

Following Meethan (2001, p. 37) I suggest that the French consultants attempted through their development plan ‘to control, direct or mediate the dominant form of spatial practice’ in Cyprus, based on their perception of what a Mediterranean island should look like. Spatial practice is defined as the ‘production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets of characteristics of each social formation’ (Lefebvre 1991, p. 33, cited in Meethan 2001, p. 36). The consultants drafted out detailed plans explaining how each space should be developed and provided the locals with visual diagrams of ‘improper’ (see Figure 7) and ‘proper’ (see Figure 8) spatial practices. One focus was tourism development in seaside area, since the authors had anticipated the growing trend towards coastline tourism.

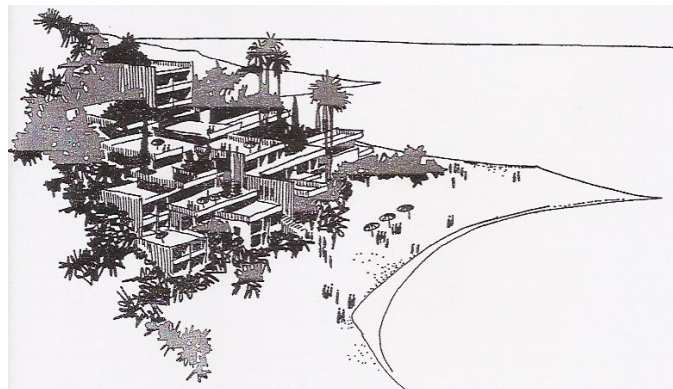
Great care must be taken, however, that these 'large hotels' do not turn out to be huge barracks or 'slabs' out of all proportion. No tourist wishes to find in Cyprus the same block of flats where he lives all the year round! Many too, are the sites which would be spoilt by the erection of a building simply 5 or 6 floors high. The new hotels must emphasize the holiday feeling of relaxation, of life close to Nature; there must be enough atmosphere and personality about them to appeal to all tourists (Beaudouin et al. 1962, p. 45).

Figure 7: 'What to avoid' - graphic image by French consultants



Source: Beaudouin et al. 1962, p.45

Figure 8: 'What to do' - graphic image by French consultants



Source: Beaudouin et al. 1962, p.45

It seems that the French consultants would agree with MacCannell's (1976) basic argument that tourism is a cultural product of 'post-industrial modernity'.

The tourist is perceived by the consultants to be an alienated modern individual in search of the 'wholeness and structure absent from everyday contemporary life' (Selwyn 1994, p. 729, cited in Meethan 2001, p. 12). Hence, the touristic experience should create a distance between the tourist's modern, standardized, stressful routine and what he/she experiences in Cyprus. The tourist is perceived to want to recover, temporarily, his relationship with the natural environment, his surroundings and his past. Based on these perceptions, the consultants produced a 'representation of space' (Lefebvre 1991, p.38, cited in Meethan 2001, p.36) that fulfilled, first and foremost, their own vision of a 'proper' Mediterranean island, and second, the expectations of European tourists. Thus, a high-rise building – a symbol of urban culture and modernity – would be perceived as out of context if placed on a Mediterranean coast.

Such was the authority that Northern European institutions, such as consultancy firms, had that defined what it means to be Mediterranean. Although the above extracts suggest that the tourism development plan by the French consultants is apolitical, I argue that this study is highly political, since the authors had the knowledge and authority to impose their vision as 'scientific input', which was difficult for natives to challenge since they did not have access to the specialized knowledge involved in formulating 'development plans'. I contend, following Foucault (Rabinow 1984), that tourism consultants enacted their power by normalizing the dominant vision of Mediterraneanism. Nevertheless, native elites resisted the dominant idea of Mediterraneanism. Not only did they refuse to act as agents of tradition and exoticism in Cypriot society; they also

reproduced the paradigm of modernity and development. I will discuss this issue in detail in section 4.5 that follows.

Another example of Mediterraneanism exercised 'from above' is related to the power of tourists first to define the value of material culture according to their own cultural beliefs and second to produce change in the local cultural setting. In other words, Mediterraneanism created cultural conditions in which the tourists had the power to normalize their vision of the Mediterranean in Cyprus. In order to support my argument, I will examine the notion of cultural heritage preservation.

In the early 1970s, tourists, most of whom shared the essentialized vision of the Mediterranean, sought to obtain traditional handcrafts to take home with them as souvenirs (Markides et al. 1978, p. 77). As Markides et al. (1978, p. 77) note, it was very common for villagers to sell their old furniture or house decorations to visitors with the intention of replacing them with new, modern versions. In the 1960s and early 1970s, when tourists were in search of the pure, authentic cultural heritage of Cyprus, Cypriots were very often willing to 'get rid of this junk' (*na ksefortothoun tin paliantzoura*), as many locals put it.

Marie, one of my informants, recalled meeting a couple of French tourists who spent a fortune (*ksodepse mia periousia*) buying an old, rusty door handle from a villager who was going to throw the door away anyway. They took their 'trophy' back home, cleaned it, polished it, painted it blue and gave it a pride of place in their living room. Marie giggled like a little girl as she told this story. "They even sent me a photo of the handle!" she exclaimed. "So proud they were!" It seems

that Marie thought that the old man had tricked the couple into spending a fortune for a useless and worthless object.

At the time, tourists who were exposed to the Mediterraneanist discourse felt that the best souvenir that they could take back home from Cyprus was a piece of the cultural heritage of the island. This attitude contributed to normalization of the Mediterraneanist discourse and practice among visitors and locals alike. As a result, educated Cypriots, who usually resided in the cities, consciously sought to differentiate themselves from the *ignorant* peasants who could *not* appreciate the value of cultural heritage, and became collectors themselves.

This change caused the reaction of many villagers, who stopped selling their 'junk' not because they appreciated the value of cultural heritage but because they appreciated the monetary value of the object. Mrs Panayiota, a resident of Old Kakopetria, referred to one incident when a middle-aged man had entered her yard and timidly asked her if she was interested in selling an old bag that she had hanging on the wall. 'To be honest my dear,' she admitted to me,

I did not want that junk! It was hanging on my wall for so many years; it was old and dirty, so I said yes. But when he offered me 40 pounds for that *paliantzoura* [junk], I thought that it might be worth something! So, why should I give *him* the bag and not to my children? So, I kept the bag and gave it to my daughter!

It seems that most of the villagers, especially the elders, had a utilitarian approach towards cultural heritage and tradition.

Markides et al. (1978, p. 77) argued that 'tourists have also helped *awaken* the Cypriots to the importance of their folkloric heritage' (my emphasis). The above quotation is indicative of the internalization of colonial and Mediterraneanist

discourse by native scholars. Markides et al. (1978) do not critically examine the idea that cultural heritage and tradition is a valuable asset to be protected; on the contrary, they take this for granted. They endorse and reproduce the colonial discourse by suggesting that Cypriots were 'awakened' by the tourists, as if the former were 'sleeping' before the arrival of European tourists on the island. As I will discuss in more detail below, the internalization of the ideological representation of the Mediterranean region is a trend that is observed among not only native scholars but also the Cypriot authorities and the wider population.

Mediterraneanism from Within

In this section, I suggest that Cypriots have strategically reproduced their own indigenous version of Mediterranean identity. 'Mediterranean culture' is being represented, consumed, reconfirmed, negotiated and modified not only by others but also by locals. This representation is being normalized and internalized by the subjects themselves. According to Foucault, the subjectification of the subject is the process of self-formation in which the person actively reproduces the dominant discourse (Rabinow 1984, p.11). Spivak (1987, cited in Mitchell 2002, p.155) takes things one step further and uses the term 'strategic essentialism' in order to highlight the strategic role of personal agency in ignoring dissonance while reproducing the dominant collective and essentialized identity. It is suggested that under certain circumstances, less powerful postcolonial groups consciously reproduce the essentialized representation of their identity in order to achieve common goals, such as fulfilling tourists' aspirations.

It seems that tourism and the commodification of culture created a context in which Mediterranean societies actively participated in reproducing the essentialized image of Mediterranean identity. Mediterranean people were 'trapped' in the image of the Mediterranean region as produced, packaged and served by tourist agents. As a result, 'customs that are found in one Mediterranean country ... tend to become defined as the whole Mediterranean package, as a cultural requirement' (Black 1996, p. 117). The Mediterranean package as promoted by the various tourism brokers included references to a pure peasant lifestyle and warm hospitality, traditional lifestyles and crafts, sandy beaches, crystal clear waters, traditional cuisine, dances and costumes and often classical archaeological sites (Michael 2005, p.104).

Globalization and tourism created the need for Cypriots to construct a representation of the self for consumption by others. As a result, customs and traditions were invented (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983) in order to meet tourists' expectations. For example, 'Cypriot traditional dances', which nowadays appear to signal a link with the past and folklore of the country, are only a few years old. The notion of 'traditional dance' was developed in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Until then, dance was an individual issue, where dancers performed 'for themselves' by following the music, moving to the rhythm and making *tsalimia* (improvisations) depending on their emotions, spirit, knowledge and ability (Sofocleous 2002). There was no standardization or official choreographies, and hence reproducing the same dance for a potential audience was impossible. What Cypriots and tourists perceive today as 'traditional dances' were invented by Gregoris Ashiotis, a dance teacher who admitted that he 'felt

jealous' of Greek dances, which had structured, predefined steps that dancers could actually count and follow. These characteristics, which was previously lacking in Cypriot dance, facilitated the group performances in front of an audience. As Gregoris Ashiotis recolects: 'I realized that I had to *invent* the steps of every single dance, count them and along with the moves put them in a single set of performance, so every dancer knows what the next one is doing' (Sofocleous 2002, p. 26, my emphasis). The result of Ashiotis's efforts was the invention of a new, standardized group performance with 'traditional costumes'. Some of the invented performances included males and females dancing together, which was considered as provocative at the time (see Figure 9). For example, *h stamna* (terracotta pitcher), the most popular joint 'traditional dance', was first performed in 1957 at the Moscow Festival and was considered innovative at that time. As Ashiotis proudly admitted, 'it was the first time that a Cypriot group was presenting our culture and civilization abroad' (Sofocleous 2002, p. 36). After the first performance, many more followed in tourist locations, such as the Constantia Hotel in Famagusta and Pellapais archaeological site. Although there were initially some complaints from Cypriots that 'our dances are not danced like that', after a few decades the performances were institutionalized as 'traditional dances', since they were *certified* as such by the Cultural Services of the Ministry of Education and Culture, taught in schools and broadcast by the media (Sofocleous 2002).

Although the desire of Gregoris Ashiotis to produce and standardize choreographies of Cyprus' traditional dances might be related to nationalism and his admiration of Greek dances, it seems that the massive and rapid reproduction

of these dances had more to do with tourism, in particular the 'need' to present to tourists an apparently timeless dance that would symbolize tradition. Ironically, although these performances were born of the need to represent local heritage to others, they are nowadays acknowledged by locals as an authentic part of their past and tradition.

Figure 9: The invented joint (female and male) 'traditional dance' *h stamna*, as performed by Ashiotis' dance group at Pellapais site



Source: Sofocleous 2002, p. 67 (The photograph was captured between 1958-1962)

The invention of customs and traditions with the aim of fulfilling tourists' expectations has also been observed in other Mediterranean regions, such as Malta (Boissevain 1996, p.12) and Greece (Herzfeld 1984; Zarkia 1996). One example of the consumption of Mediterranean culture is the commercialization of the evil eye (Herzfeld 1984, pp.441-450). Souvenir shops in Cyprus, Greece, Turkey, Italy and Tunisia are now packed with cheap, Chinese-made evil-eye crafts in various different forms, including bracelets, necklaces, earrings, key

rings, bookmarks and car decorations. Since the stereotype sells, locals consciously or unconsciously participate in the construction of a commercialized Mediterraneanised culture. It is crucial to highlight that the 'Mediterranean' (and/or 'European') dimension, traced in self-stereotyped people corresponds to the need for an internal and international audience (Herzfeld 1984).

Figure 10: Cyprus Tourism Organization's stand at the 11th Cyprus International Fair



Source: Public Information Office Photo Archive 24A-0063

In Cyprus, 'strategic essentialism' (Spivak 1987) is used not only by locals but also by official authorities, such as the Cyprus Tourism Organization. Thus, we can refer to an 'institutionalized strategic essentialism', which reproduces the essentialized Mediterranean identity by ignoring the cultural differences between Mediterranean regions, in order to attract tourists. One example is the

appropriation of the popular 'Myconian style' (Zarkia 1996, p.160), now one of the most successful symbols of the Greek islands, by the Cypriot authorities at the 11th Cyprus International Fair (see Figure 10). Although Cyprus's architecture is very different from the white arches and vaults of the Myconian monuments, native elites strategically used specific images to portray Cyprus in as similar light as possible to the 'imagined Mediterranean setting' (see Figure 11).

Figure 11: Cover Page of the 1988 Annual Report of the CTO capitalizing on the Myconian style of architecture



Source: CTO Annual Report 1988

The appropriation of Mediterranean identity is still one of the basic strategies employed by native elites who hold key positions in tourism authorities. The extract that follows is from the official brochure of the Cyprus Tourism Organization for the campaign 'Love Cyprus: The year round-island':

Sink your toes into warm sand, feel the sun on your skin and look out on the sparkling blue Mediterranean Sea. Nothing beats Cyprus for a beach holiday. With a wealth of beaches to choose from, you are bound to find one that suits your taste. There are fine white sandy beaches with shallow turquoise waters, or deep water bays with rocky outcrops perfect for snorkeling or diving.... Savour fresh Mediterranean flavours at numerous restaurants featuring both local and international cuisine and live the night away to the latest sounds or join in a Greek sirtaki dance.^{lxiii} Alternatively, just lie back and enjoys Cyprus' magical evenings gazing at the stars through clear skies and lulled by the gentle sounds of the night crickets. In Cyprus the living is laidback; you set your own pace... You'll be given the warmest of welcomes in Cyprus. As you travel round the island you will find that the spirit of hospitality is very strong.^{lxiv}

In the above extract, the Cyprus Tourism Organization strategically uses the concept of Mediterranean culture and highlights specific notions or objects that function as 'symbols' of Mediterranean lifestyle, in order to attract potential visitors. Moreover, the reference to the island's laidback lifestyle is a positive reproduction of the colonial discourse about Cypriots' fatalism and their disorganized and inefficient culture.

This should not lead us to the conclusion that Cypriots passively reproduce the Mediterraneanist and colonial discourse. In other contexts, Cypriots highlight their 'European identity'. For instance, Cypriots strategically emphasize their 'Europeanness' when comparing themselves with natives Greeks. I once overheard a Cypriot professor explaining to an American student the difference

between Cypriots and Greeks: 'Cypriots are hardworking people in comparison with the Greeks, who only care about having fun. Our state is well organized and more efficient in comparison with the chaotic Greek bureaucracy.' The professor then turned my way, acknowledged my presence, and said, '*Afikan mas tzai kati kalo oi Englezoi, ennen?*' (At least, British people left us something good, didn't they?). The opposition of Mediterranean – European culture is internalized by the local population, who occasionally proudly indicate to Others their distinguished 'Mediterranean culture' or their superior 'European identity' (Herzfeld 1984, p.441). In short, the native population's self-representations are not static in time and context.

The abovementioned opposition between Mediterranean and European identity are evident in the following extract from the Cyprus Tourism Organization website:

Cyprus is an island of legends that basks all year round in the light of the warm Mediterranean sun. A storied past 10,000 years long has seen civilizations come and go... Aphrodite made her home in Cyprus... Today Cyprus is a modern country that effortlessly marries European culture with ancient enchantment. Here you will discover a compact world of alluring beaches and fragrant mountain peaks, vineyards studded with olive trees and ancient ruins that stir the imagination, citrus groves and old stone villages...^{lxv}

I argue that Cypriots have strategically essentialized their own indigenous version of Mediterranean identity. When Cypriots were finally granted the authority to represent themselves, they actively renegotiated the content of Mediterranean identity by strategically rejecting some aspects of their representation as a 'traditional' people, such as the idea of being stuck in time, while endorsing others, such as the evil eye. They reproduced and commoditized

the island's sun-and-sea image, with ancient history but modern lifestyle, while also highlighting the warm, hospitable, laid back culture. The reproduction of the modernist discourse by native elites will be discussed in more depth in section 4.5 of this chapter.

Conclusively, the emergence of Mediterraneanism cannot be attributed to a single individual or discipline. Mediterraneanism is the result of a complex system of socioeconomic, political and historical factors, power struggles and the westerners' personal presuppositions. Mediterraneanism can only be understood in a social and historical context. Using Mediterraneanism *as if* it is a static or monolithic concept contributes to an essentialized vision of Mediterraneanism, *as if* it was constructed, promoted, reproduced and consumed by scholars, colonizers, locals and visitors for the same reasons and in exactly the same ways. I shall now turn to the issue of how the beach is transformed into a symbol of the Mediterranean landscape.

4.4 Cyprus: A Mediterranean Sun and Sea Destination

My plan here is to illustrate the power of western hegemony to change the definition of a space, specifically the 'beach', in less powerful societies. I argue that native elites in Cyprus adopted and reproduced the dominant discourse and cultural practices concerning the beach that emerged in western societies in the first half of the twentieth century. By focusing on Famagusta, the first large-scale coastal resort in Cyprus, I argue that the beach was transformed from a worthless, unproductive strip of land into a valuable asset for the attraction of

modern tourists and a symbol of modernity, cosmopolitanism, progressiveness and individual liberation.

In the first part of this section, I will briefly sketch, with reference to Britain, the transformation of the beach from a medicalized space to a pleasure space. My ultimate goal is not discuss in detail the emergence of the western ideas that allowed the transformation of the beach into a pleasure zone but rather to illustrate their connection with the change in cultural ideas about the beach in Cyprus. The development of sea-bathing culture in Cyprus is discussed extensively in the second part of this section.

4.4.1 The culture of the beach

I have shown above how the ‘democratisation’ of travel (Urry 2002, p.16) – that is, the opening up of tourism, as a leisure activity, to the working classes – developed in parallel with the cultural changes and technological advancements that took place in the West during the nineteenth century. Likewise, the development of the popular three S’s of tourism, namely sand, sun and sea, is also linked to the cultural conditions of the nineteenth century and the ‘new modes by which pleasure was organized and structured’ (Walton 2000, cited in Urry 2002, p.17).

During the eighteenth century, numerous spa towns were developed all over Europe with the aim to treat medical conditions, such as arthritis or muscle disorders. It was believed that drinking or bathing in the mineral water that emanated from these thermal springs was therapeutic (Meethan 1996, p.180; Urry 2002, p. 17). During the same period, people with medical conditions were also increasingly advised by their doctors to practise ‘sea bathing’, that is

immersion in the water, in opposition to what we know today as swimming or playing in the water (Hern 1967: 21, cited in Urry 2002, p.17). This prescribed and structured ritual contributed to the medicalization of the beach. Thus, as Urry (2002, p.17) puts it, 'the beach was a place of "medicine" rather than "pleasure"'.

Bathing in Britain, whether in a spa or at the seaside, remained a privilege of the wealthy social classes and the aristocracy. This therapeutic activity was available only to those who could afford, firstly, to pay for transportation to and from the bathing sites and, secondly, to rent or own accommodation in the towns in question (Meethan 1996, p.180; Urry 2002, p. 17). Meethan (1996, p.180) discusses how the Prince Regent contributed to the reputation of Brighton as the leading British resort by constructing the marine pavilion. By building what is today known as 'Royal Pavilion' in Brighton, he contributed to changing the dominant beliefs about the seaside. As Meethan (1996, p.180) suggests, 'the consumption of sea air and water was not only accepted medical practice but also conspicuous show of wealth and privilege'. Based on this new mindset, Brighton was symbolically transformed from a downgraded fishing village into a symbol of prosperity, pleasure and luxury.

Up until the first half of the nineteenth century, seaside resorts like Brighton experienced rapid demographic and economic growth. This was related to the opening up of the railway to working classes, which contributed even further to the establishment of 'seaside resorts' as sites for the masses as opposed to only the elites. The beach became an open space for social interaction and pleasure, which was impossible to remain a privilege of the elite. Needless to say, from the

moment that seaside resorts were opened up to the wider population, they began to lose much of their previous glamour for the rich and famous.

Thus in the course of the nineteenth century, the social construction of the beach as a medicalized space was replaced by an image of the beach as a pleasure space open to all. People of various cultural backgrounds and social classes shared the same noisy and crowded beach in a playful mood (Urry 2002, p. 29). The emergence of the beach as a social space, as we know it today, was a consequence of modernity and the mass movement of population that occurred in the nineteenth century.

4.4.2 The development of Sea-bathing Culture in Cyprus

Turning now to Cyprus, I suggest that the social construction of the beach as a zone of 'pleasure' in western societies, and in particular British society, colonized the consciousness of natives, who internalized the dominant discourse and ideology and reproduced their own vision of tourism development as a 'modern' state. In the late 1950s and 1960s, seaside resorts gained increased popularity in expense of the spa villages in the hill resorts, which were restricted to a small number of wealthy people. Tourists arriving on the island, most of whom were of British origin, unintentionally diffused their cultural traits, which had an impact on the natives' perceptions of the beach. In addition to this, the mass media endorsed the idea of the 'global beach' with a specific set of universal characteristics (Löfgren 2004, p.39). My intention here is to use the example of Famagusta, the first large-scale seaside resort in Cyprus, to illustrate the links with wider social structures and the huge impact that more powerful societies can have on the formulation of self-identities and development visions in

dominated societies. Finally, I will illustrate how the notion of ‘the beach’ as it emerged in Famagusta during the 1960s and 1970s was associated with modernity, prosperity, progress and individual liberation.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, two of the most popular spa villages were located in Troodos region, namely Kalopanayiotis and Moutoulas. Locals claim that thermal springs were used by prominent personalities for healing during the Roman, Venetian and Byzantine periods. During the Ottoman period, use of the thermal springs decreased for unknown reasons. With the arrival of the British in the late nineteenth century, however, the idea that thermal springs have medical properties was revived. Elders from Kalopanayiotis remember that *iamatika loutra* (healing waters) attracted mainly wealthy visitors to the local hotels as early as the 1920s. Hill resorts maintained their glamour as tourism destinations for the elite until the 1950s. In the Annual Report of the Tourist Development Office published in 1953 by the British Government, it was stated that a new type of tourist was visiting Cyprus, one who had a preference for the seaside resorts and the capital city (Jarrat 1953, p.4). By the late 1950s, the trend towards the seaside resorts was well established^{lxvi}, and the owners of hotels in the hill resorts were facing difficulties in sustaining their business. In the following years, the so-called Troodos problem (*to provlima tou Troodous*), which referred to the rapid abandonment of the mountainous region by its visitors, was widely discussed among the various tourism stakeholders.

By the end of British colonization, it was clear that ideas on sea bathing changed but that they were not yet ‘inscribed’ spatially, since the number of tourists arriving on the island was relatively small and no significant developmental

projects were realized for tourism purposes. The huge impact that these cultural traits had in formulating spatial perception and behaviour became obvious after Independence. I argue that the dominant perception of the beach as a place of 'pleasure' defined the cultural landscape of Cyprus. Here, I use the concept of landscape to imply a 'place', similar to Rodman's definition of it as a 'politicized, culturally relative, historically specific, local and multiple constructions' (2003, p. 205).

The newly formed Republic of Cyprus invested in the coastal regions with the aim of attracting large numbers of tourists interested in the three 'S's of tourism: sand, sea and sun. The policies enforced reversed the regional distribution of available accommodation, since the coastal zone prevailed over the hill resorts that had previously been the main draw for tourists. Tellingly, in 1960 the hill resorts accounted for approximately 45 per cent of total available beds on the island, but 13 years later the proportion had dropped to just 10 per cent. It could be argued that development was monopolized by the northern side of the island, especially Kyrenia and Famagusta, which are today under the control of TRNC (Kammas 1993, p. 71). For example, in 1973 the two towns accounted for 58 per cent of available beds and hosted 73 per cent of the tourists arriving on the island (Andronicou 1987, p. 26; Sharpley 2003, p. 249).

For the purposes of this chapter, I will focus in more detail on the case of Famagusta (or Varoshia, as the locals call their city), which is considered to be the first seaside resort and was for several years the prototype of large-scale tourism to be followed by other towns on the island. After the end of the Second World War, Famagusta flourished economically and socially. Two of the most important factors behind this economic growth were the railway system, which

facilitated transportation of goods and passengers, and the construction of a new port in 1932, which led several residents to get involve with commercial activities. The dredging of the port in 1956 allowed cargo and passenger ships to access the port, which resulted in a rapid increase in levels of imports and exports (Ammochostos Documentary 2010). The increased prosperity that resulted from trade, fostered the development of a community of intellectuals, such as poets, painters, doctors and lawyers, who contributed to creating the necessary cultural conditions for the development of mass tourism in the decades that followed.

During the 1950s, tourism was still in its infancy, although Famagusta was privileged economically and socially in comparison with other regions of Cyprus. The town was home to a few seaside hotels, which mainly hosted travellers from Britain or business people from other regions of the island. In 1961 there were only 451 beds available in Famagusta's hotels (Michaelides, unpublished article). Interestingly, until the 1950s, prosperous people from Famagusta who could afford to rent a house or a hotel room spent the hot summer months in the hill resorts of Troodos instead of at the beach. The major attraction of the town, namely the Golden Sands Beach was at the time partly used by the British as a rehabilitation camp, where tents were erected and used to accommodate British soldiers for recuperation. One British soldier noted in his diary how the camp was basically a tented village and was located 'a mile outside the town back up from the beach areas and in some scrubland'.^{lxvii} The seashore was generally downgraded since, according to locals, it was also known to host several *paragkovious* (slum area residents). As one of my informants put it, 'the sandy beach that hosted thousands of tourists in the 1960s and 1970s was a slum area

housing various people searching for employment at the port, in warehouses or in the fields' (fieldnotes). It seems that the seaside was not socially constructed as a place of pleasure. In short, the 'beach' as we know it today did not exist before the 1950s.

The beach emerged in Cypriot society in the 1960s as a culturally and socially constructed space that signified modernity, cosmopolitanism, progressiveness and individual liberation. The popular 'Golden Sand Beach' in Famagusta fulfilled the criteria of the 'global beach' as portrayed by the western mass media since the 1950s, since it provided tourists with the three 'S's': sand, sun and sea (Löfgren 2004, p. 39). Löfgren (2004, p. 39) argues that according to tourists' perceptions, 'a real beach' should have palm trees and white or golden sand and should also look clean. Andreas, a 64-year-old man born and raised in Famagusta, proudly emphasized that in the 1960s the beach was cleaned by hand, even though it stretched for more than two kilometres. The sand was shovelled by the municipality workers and thrown onto a special net in order to be cleaned. Andreas used to work for the Cyprus Tourism Organization, and after the Turkish Invasion he became actively involved in the effort to revitalize the tourism industry in Cyprus. Now he is involved in a non-governmental organization that promotes sustainable tourism initiatives. He suggested that I meet him at the lobby area of Hilton Park Hotel, one of the most luxurious hotels in Nicosia, which is a popular meeting place for a coffee among native elites. He sounded very friendly over the phone and was clearly excited about sharing his memories of his beloved hometown. 'You will not miss me', he said. 'I am very tall and I have white hair.' He arrived at the hotel with a Mercedes crossover, dressed in beige trousers and a striped Ralph Lauren shirt. He was very

passionate about Famagusta, and his nostalgia over an idealized past was leading him astray. For him, Famagusta was the most progressive and innovative city in Cyprus before the invasion, and its residents owed everything to the progressive mayor they had:

I will give you an example of how many years in front [i.e. how progressive, *posa xronia mprosta itan*] our mayor was! In Limassol in the 1980s, although machines were invented by then for cleaning the sand, they did not even think of the prospect and the importance of providing to the tourists a clean sandy beach. Limassol in the 1980s was so dirty; it was a tragedy, unlike Varosi, which had a sewage system, clean roads, pavements, lighting at night and a clean beach! The situation was so bad [in Limassol] that I remember once I told the mayor in a public meeting that if Varosi [Famagusta] is ever open again, tourists will drive out of Limassol on their way to Varosi and they will not even bother to stop! (recorded)

As Argyrou (1997, p. 170) suggests, the urban middle classes perceived litter as evidence of backwardness, underdevelopment and ignorance. It seems that Andreas's emphasis on cleanliness was intended to illustrate how Famagusta in the 1960s was a 'civilized', 'European', 'developed' town, so much so that 20 years later Limassol was still struggling to 'catch up'.

The Famagusta Municipality undertook the responsibility of organizing the layout of this thin sandy zone dividing the sea from the land. Umbrellas were provided for free and were placed in two rows, leaving enough space between the sea and the sand for jogging, playing games, building sand castles or just sitting back and enjoying the space. Andreas mentioned that his father, a doctor who studied and lived in Germany, used to go jogging on the beach every day of the year regardless of the weather: "These were new ideas that were diffused in the town. When they saw my father jogging at the beach, they said, "since the doctor is doing this, it must be good for us too". This is how others started to

think about doing things such as jogging' (recorded).

Around this time, the sea itself came to acquire a new meaning among locals. The water was now a source of romantic tranquillity; it was there for people to gaze on (Urry 2002). This notion of gazing out to sea was a new cultural trope that created the sense that land in proximity to the beach or with a view thereof was somehow favourable. Needless to say, as the basic axiom of Thomas suggests, the effects of romanticism had real consequences, which is to say that the higher status of the coastal zone was reflected in the market value of the land. For instance, before the development of mass tourism in Famagusta, land was valued according to its agricultural productivity (Andronicou 1979, p. 261, cited in Smith 2004, p. 362). Sand dunes were perceived as useless land, since they could not possibly produce any valuable agricultural goods for export. From 1960 until 1973, the value of a third of an acre of land near Cyprus's coast increased from 4,000 US dollars to 375,000 US dollars. In contrast, the market value of one acre of agricultural land only increased from 250 US dollars to 400 US dollars (Smith 2004, p. 363).

In other parts of the island that did not develop touristically, this notion of sea gazing only developed much later. For example, on the coastal road from Latchi to Pomos, one of the most geographically isolated areas of Cyprus, one can find several houses built in the 1960s and 1970 whose verandas face the street instead of the sea. In contrast, villas built in the last two decades face the shoreline, and this is considered as a privilege, which is reflected not only in the value of the houses but also in their architecture, which monumentally praises the sea. Marios, one of my informants who originated from this region explained this change in the following way:

The older generation cannot appreciate the real value of their land. They are ignorant of the rules of the contemporary market. For example, one co-villager of mine owns one of the nicest plots, [which is] suitable for development, since it is big enough and stretches all the way to the seashore. He is in his late seventies and still cultivates part of the land. His children are not wealthy; they are struggling to survive just like any other typical middle-class family. Several businessmen who are interested in giving him millions in exchange for the land have approached him but he stubbornly refuses, because he doesn't have any other plot to cultivate! I will tell you one thing for sure: his children are going to be really happy when this old man dies! (fieldnotes)

Marios' claim that his elderly neighbour was ignorant is an oversimplification of the conflict between the dominant ideas manifested in this case. My informant ignored the fact that the old man held a different cultural model to his children, and according to the old man's perceptions the value of the land is based on its productivity. Since the land was still producing for him, he had no reason to let it go.

Returning now to Famagusta, since the cultural model changed spatial practices were also transformed. The bay that had once been a 'slum area' was now transformed into the 'Golden Sand Beach' – the jewel of Famagusta – complete with numerous high-rise, luxury hotels and apartment buildings facing the sea. Specifically, the number of beds was increased from 457 in 1961 to 9,155 in 1974 (Michaelides, unpublished article). Though not all beds were located in the coastal hotels, this increase is indicative of the construction fever that occurred during this period, especially on the town's seafront. At the same time, the sea acquired new meaning and functions; it became a 'playground' where people could float, swim, dive and do water sports instead of just 'immersing' themselves (Löfgren 2004, p.39).

Figure 12: Water Sports in Famagusta



Source: Public Information Office Photos Archive 25A-0089 (unknown date)

The third basic element of the beach as a constructed place was the sun. The cult of sunbathing fundamentally changed the concept of holidaymaking and the idea of the beach, conferring a strong competitive advantage on most Mediterranean destinations and leading some northern resorts to collapse. The fashion of the highly desirable pale complexion was replaced in the 1920s by the trend of the sexually attractive and tanned skin (Urry 2002, p. 35; Löfgren 2004, p. 41). The sun was associated with health, sexual attractiveness, individual liberation and

communion with nature (Graburn 1989, p. 30; Urry 2002, p. 35; Löfgren 2004, p. 41). Sunbathing remains a dominant cult on the island to this day. Locals often laugh at the sunburnt northern tourists who manage to 'bake themselves' (*na psithoun*) in the desperate pursuit of a suntan. Tourists themselves ascribe symbolic value to the tanned body; their distinctiveness from their compatriots, who did not travel in the Mediterranean region, is achieved through their bronzed bodies. As they often claim, a suntan is a 'souvenir to take back home', a 'certified' proof that they have been on holiday in Cyprus. While the locals look down on the 'reddish tourists', for the locals it is also important to acquire a tanned body. It seems that for some tourists and locals, tanning is much more important than swimming or any other activity conducted at the beach (Löfgren 2004, p. 41). It is not rare to see individuals spending a whole day at the beach, ritually tanning themselves, with no intention or desire to even approach the sea.

Figure 13: Tourists posing at Famagusta beach



Source: Public Information Office Photos Archive P6-006-011, Date taken:

22/06/67

The beach, as it was socially constructed in the 1960s and 1970s, was a product and also a symbol of 'modernity'. It was a cosmopolitan place that permitted the social gathering of locals and foreigners, higher and lower social classes (Urry 2002, p. 29). Just like other public places in modern societies, people abided to its unwritten rules and regulations. Kaufmann (1995) argues that individuals exposing themselves at the beach know exactly where the borders are, 'how to look, how to dress and undress, how to move their bodies' (cited in Löfgren 2004, p.44). Modern people mastered the various techniques of appropriate public gazing. For instance, a true modern man knows that he should pretend not to look or look only from the corner of his eye when bodies are exposed in public view (Löfgren 2004, p.44).

A film produced in Cyprus in the 1980s, entitled '*O Ayianapitis*' (The Man from Ayia Napa), illustrates magnificently the perceived division between modernity and tradition and its relation to the social context of the beach. Andreas Argyrides, the star of the film, acts as a young man from Ayia Napa who becomes a millionaire overnight after inheriting a large swathe of valuable agricultural land on the coast. In the film, he is shown wearing a *vraka* (men's traditional costume) and travelling by a donkey even though he owns a BMW. The *Ayianapitis* spends each day 'parked' with his donkey and personal belongings on the rocky terrain of the beach, watching with his huge binoculars the topless tourist women from Northern Europe. When a woman journalist visits him for an interview, knowing that he has broken the privacy rules of modern society he claims that he is an ecologist and birdwatcher. In short, although he is portrayed as deeply traditional, the *Ayianapitis* is aware of the rules of modernity and

privacy; hence, he strategically renegotiates his identity by resisting his labelling as traditional, unsophisticated and vulgar.

In conclusion, the cultural shift of ideas and practices in western societies regarding the beach as a 'place of pleasure' is reflected in the changes that occurred in Cypriot society during the 1960s. Although the idea of the beach may seem of little or no political importance, it is argued that the impact of these ideas is inscribed in the cultural landscape of Cyprus and everyday practices of locals and tourists. It illustrates the authority of western societies to reverse the definition of the beach and its symbolic meaning on a universal level.

4.5 Modernity, Development and Tourism

The aim of this section is to reveal how Cypriot elites had different perceptions of who they were and how they should proceed in the future to their northern European counterparts, who nostalgically aspired to experience a traditional Mediterranean Cyprus. In contrast, domestic elites aspired to create a developed, modern nation state modelled on those of western Europe. But what was the cultural link that justified Cypriots' ambition of 'becoming Europeans'? The logic was simple and straight forward: ancient Greece was seen by westerners as the cradle of European civilization (Shore 1993; Argyrou 2005, p. 4), and Greek Cypriots, in turn, saw themselves as an essential part of Greek culture and identity and thus as an integral part of Europe and the West in general.^{lxviii} It was believed that specific historical factors, such as the Ottoman and British colonizations,^{lxix} left Cyprus 'behind' in the process of modernization. For Cypriots, the way forward was to accelerate developmental growth based on the

‘successful’ western paradigm.

My aim in this section is to critically approach the dominant conceptualization of development after Independence by focusing specifically on tourism. Cypriot elites, politicians, governmental officers, business men and intellectuals acted as agents of ‘modernization’ by creating a normalizing discourse regarding what is a ‘rational’ or ‘acceptable’ development vision and practice and what is not. The main argument of this section is twofold. Firstly, I illustrate how native elites in the 1960s adopted and reproduced the paradigm of modernity as it emerged in the West after the end of the Second World War. Secondly, I argue that the native elites’ vision of ‘modernity’ and ‘development’ was defined and constrained by the power of western hegemony, constituting an alternative vision unthinkable.

4.5.1 The ‘Modernist’ Paradigm

In the post-Independence era, Cypriot brokers, representing the elite of the Cypriot society, reproduced and endorsed the western vision of development, as outlined by the modernist paradigm. In the twentieth century, the dominant rhetoric divided countries into three categories: underdeveloped, developing and developed (Argyrou 2005, p. 27). Cypriots saw themselves as belonging in the second category, which affirmed their supposed separation from the so-called developed countries. The aim of the Cypriot elites was to ‘develop’ Cyprus as a society in order to achieve modernity. My plan here is to first briefly sketch the modernist paradigm as developed in the West, and not discuss this issue extensively. A short outline of these ideas will provide the reader with the background necessary to illustrate the link with the dominant discourse employed by native elites in Cyprus after Independence. Secondly, I will

introduce the implications of the western model of modernity for the tourism discourse as reproduced by the elite in the newly established Republic of Cyprus. The modernist paradigm, as constructed in the nineteenth century, is Eurocentric and derives its authority from the superior status that northern Europeans held in the world (Argyrou 2005, p. 15). Europeans legitimated their power from their knowledge and ability to master or subordinate nature to their needs. Their ability to control the physical and social environment was based on the authority of scientific evidence and rationality and not on supernatural powers or forces (Argyrou 2005, p. 11). In essence, the modernist paradigm is unilineal and progressive, meaning that there is only one way for the rest of the world to achieve modernity and that is to follow the European development path.

After the Second World War, the European elites adopted the American paradigm of modernisation and development, which was similar with the European on the theoretical level but was more systematic and quantifiable on a practical level (Argyrou 2005, p. 26-7). Scientists and institutions drafted reports and guidelines to be followed by the 'backward' and 'traditional' countries on how to 'modernize' in order to develop economically (Escobar 1991, p. 663; Argyrou 2005, p. 28). This discourse was now internalized by native elites who were educated in western universities and reproduced in their homelands (Argyrou 2005, p. 29). As a result, the rhetoric of modernization and development had significant implications for how people in the rest of the world perceived themselves and how they should proceed in the future.

The internalization of the modernization and development discourse by the rest of the world produced a new world order, that of western hegemony (Argyrou

2005, p. 22-27). Western hegemony should not be dismissed as simply another school of thought or another popular ideology. The main difference between the two concepts is that ideologies are conscious, meaning that a person is aware of alternative ideas that exist out there but 'consciously' accepts some and rejects others. Hegemony, on the other hand, is much more powerful; it produces specific cultural conditions in which alternative visions are unthought, unnatural or irrational (Comaroff 1991, p. 23, cited in Argyrou 2005, p. 23). As a result, native elites affirmed the inferiority of their own culture by admitting that their countries were left 'behind' and needed to 'catch up' with the western world (Argyrou 2005, p. 26). For example, development, as defined by the western cultural model, was a 'certainty', and the 'need for it could not be doubted' (Escobar 1995, p. 5). As Escobar (1995, p. 5) argues 'reality, in sum, had been colonized by the development discourse' as it emerged in the West.

The way forward was proudly and 'generously' shared by the western world with the 'underdeveloped' and 'developing' countries, based on the belief that the latter should not waste time 'inventing the wheel' (Argyrou 2005, p. 33). The idea was simple and straightforward: 'developing' countries should skip the process of struggling to find out how to proceed, and should instead take the opportunity to accelerate the developmental phase and achieve modernity by following western technological 'knowhow'. In other words, they should 'leap across the centuries' and transform their 'traditional', 'backward', 'underdeveloped' countries into 'modern', 'developed' nation states (Argyrou 2005, p. 33).

Escobar (1991, p. 668) refers to the efforts of Euro-American industrialized nation states to modernize rural areas and the Third World after the Second

World War according to their own cultural model. In this process, international funding agencies such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the World Bank, the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and United States Agency for International Development (USAID) played a crucial role. Funding was made available with the ultimate goal of modernizing traditional and rural societies 'through careful tailored interventions' (Escobar 1991, p. 664). These 'interventions' were presented as the result of 'rational' and 'objective' planning and management that appeared to derive from scientific analysis and *not* from the political decision of the Euro-American world to impose their own cultural model of modernity and development on less powerful countries (Escobar 1991, p. 667; Escobar 1995, p. 194).

Turning now to Cyprus, it seems that western hegemony defined the content of Cypriot identity and consequently the natives' vision of tourism development. The western rhetoric of 'modernization and development' dominated the discourse of the newly formed Republic of Cyprus. Native elites, most of whom were educated in the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Greece or Turkey, internalized the assumption that they could indeed take a 'leap across the centuries' and rapidly transform their homeland into a modernized, developed tourist destination. Rapid 'development' and 'modernization', based on the successful western model, was perceived as the 'natural' and 'expected' way forward. Anything other than that was simply unthinkable or irrational (Comaroff 1991, p. 23 cited, in Argyrou 2005, p. 23). Such was the power of the western model of development that after Cypriots gained their independence, there was no public debate about who they were, where they belonged, where they were going and what their vision for their country should be. As Bauman

(1996 p. 19, cited in Tilley 2006, p. 11) argues, identity questions are born of uncertainty, and in the case of postcolonial Cyprus it seems that native elites were certain about the superiority of European civilization and its technological and scientific achievements. In short, the natives' 'truth' was already defined and constrained by the power of western hegemony (Foucault 1980, p. 131).

It should not be assumed, however, that the affirmative stance of native elites on the western development path and modernization went completely unchallenged. I suggest that Cypriots partly challenged the intellectual and spiritual aspects of modern European identity. Two points will be raised in relation to this issue. As Argyrou (2005) mentions in the postcolonial contexts of India and Africa, there was a paradoxical acceptance and rejection of Europeans' superiority. While natives recognized the contribution of European civilization in material goods, such as the outcomes of economy, technology and science, they rejected what Europe had to offer on a spiritual level (July 1968, p. 476 cited in Argyrou 2005, p. 22; Chatterjee 1993, p. 6). In the case of Cyprus, the material aspect of western civilization was not only acknowledged as superior; it was also desired for over the years (Markides 1978, p. 205). There were no voices objecting to the transfer of western technological advancements, such as electricity, water supply systems, road and building construction, televisions, radios and so many other 'modern amenities' that Europeans widely enjoyed. Regarding the intellectual and spiritual aspects of modernism, natives raised concerns mainly about religion, family values and gender roles. A common criticism centred on women's emancipation in Europe and their changing roles in family and society. In this case, being characterized as a 'modern woman' was offensive to the woman herself, since it implied immodest behaviour. The

‘achievements’ of ‘modern women’, such as undisciplined behaviour, improper dressing and sexual relations, were ironically exposed in local newspapers, some times with a humorous tone (Monternismo 1969, p. 3).

A young *modern, very modern* miss ... was holding the hand of a short, fat and bald man and asking for him to attend a concert by a modern shake band in Nicosia.... When the decent man said that he was not feeling well, the young lady insisted and threatened him to denounce their relationship to his bossy wife.^{lxx}

In rural settings, this behaviour was also perceived as an imitation of the ‘urban way of life’, and women were isolated and harshly criticized for being shameless (Markides 1978, p. 89-90). In Platres, one the hill resorts of the Troodos Mountains, the priest of the village used to ban ‘urban’, lipstick-wearing women from his church because their behaviour was improper. In this historical context, a woman wearing lipstick was seen as a signifier of a modern lifestyle and European attitudes.

The second point I would like to raise in relation to the non-monolithic reproduction of modern identity is the development of two distinct national identities on the island. I take the stand that national identity is a cultural product of modernity (Anderson 1983; Gellner 1983; Hobsbawm 1983), although in Cyprus the two processes (i.e. modernity and nationalism) were complementary. An interesting peculiarity concerning the case of Cyprus is that native elites, be they Greek Cypriots or Turkish Cypriots,^{lxxi} internalized the modernist discourse as produced in the West, yet instead of developing one national identity, they developed two separate and antagonistic identities. As mentioned before, none of them desired the formation of a Cypriot nation state. Instead, they remained rooted in the traditional divisions of religion and

language that existed under the millet system of the Ottoman Empire. Although two antagonistic national identities were formed, both adopted the western discourse of 'modernity' and 'development'. However, to say that natives endorsed the modernist vision and there was no debate about the content of their identity, is not to suggest that there was no challenges to national identity in Cyprus. For example, Greek Cypriots elites endorsed the colonial discourse, which represented the Ottoman period as 'backward' and fixed in time (Argyrou 2006, p. 41).

4.5.2 The Vision: Accelerated and Unhindered Development

I will now return to the issue of western hegemony in postcolonial Cyprus, which essentially constructed the notion of 'development' and defined the natives' perceptions of themselves, their past and their future. My plan here is to examine the dominant discourse in relation to tourism in order to provide the necessary evidence to support the claim that native elites had a different perception of who they were and who they should be in comparison to the nostalgic views that Northern Europeans held about Mediterranean populations. I will examine the dominant discourse about tourism development and its implications for practices and the production of the cultural landscape in Cyprus. The research method that I use is discourse analysis of the most significant policy documents produced by the Republic of Cyprus, including the Development Plans published by the Planning Bureau and reports issued by Cyprus Tourism Authority. The CTO was founded in 1979, so for the period under study there are no official development plans that focus exclusively on tourism. In their absence,

information pertaining to tourism was obtained from the general development plans, which usually devoted a section to the 'tourism industry'. In addition, I use newspaper articles, which also reflect the dominant perceptions of native elites, along with ethnographic examples from the field.

Establishing and governing a newborn state in the 1960s was a considerable challenge for the inexperienced native elites of Cyprus. Practically, it meant that the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, who had previously come into conflict over the unification with Greece, initially had no other choice but to cooperate in running the Cypriot state (Panteli 1990, p. 190). The role of the educated elite in formulating the content of development plans and indicating the way forward should not be underestimated. As in many other postcolonial settings (Argyrou 2005, p. 21), young people from the higher social classes who could afford to study during those difficult times were educated at western universities. Young graduates, most of whom studied law and medicine, were educated in the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Greece and Turkey, where they were introduced to western ideals. As far as Turkish Cypriot elite is concerned, Turkish secularism had a significant impact on their vision of the world. Kemal Ataturk's ideas about the superiority of European civilization set the foundations of the Turkish Cypriot notion of identity. Ironically, if there was one thing that Greek and Turkish Cypriot elites agreed upon, it was that they wanted to 'become Europeans'. In other words, they accepted the superiority of European civilization and acknowledged the necessity to 'catch up' with the rest of Europe. The dominant discourse of the elites, as outlined in the development plans and newspaper articles, recognized tourism as one of the 'tools' that could contribute to the rapid 'development' of the country.

The newborn Republic of Cyprus launched its first 'Five-year Programme of Economic Development Plan' for the period 1962-1966. Two more development plans followed for the periods 1967-1971 and 1972-1976. After the Turkish invasion of 1974, five Emergency Development Plans were drafted in order to deal with the situation, covering the period up to 1991. The aforementioned plans followed a similar rationale. The subsequent development plans will be examined in combination with other official documents in Chapter Five.

The broader rationale of the official plans implemented between the early 1960s and the late 1980s was the 'full utilisation of the productive resources of the island' in order to 'accelerate the rate of economic development' and achieve 'higher levels of prosperity' (Republic of Cyprus 1967, p. iii). In essence, Cypriot elites envisioned 'developing' and 'modernizing' their homeland to bring it in line with the economically 'advanced' countries that they had experienced during their studies or travels in Europe. Based on this philosophy, there was a consensus that tourism should be treated as a primary concern of the government and as a developmental priority, since it was considered to be a source of income for Cyprus as a whole (Republic of Cyprus 1961, p. 13). In other words, tourism was approached as the tool that would allow Cyprus to 'take the leap' and transform into a prosperous modern state.

It is important to note that the newly formed Cypriot state was not the first country to use tourism to boost its economy. Since the 1950s, tourism was promoted internationally as the 'fuel' of newly established economies and states (Ioannides 1992, p. 719). For example, the United Nations conference on International Travel and Tourism in 1963, following the recommendations of the Checchi Report, emphasized the significant contribution that tourism could make

to the growth of economies and suggested that ‘governments do everything in their power to actively promote this industry’ (Ioannides 1992, p. 719). Likewise, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) highlighted the importance of tourism for all developing countries, noting that it ‘stimulates investments, provides means of earning foreign exchange and is a source of employment’ (cited in Republic of Cyprus 1967, p. 205).

In a similar vein, the local elites internalized the dominant discourse and reproduced it internally. Tourism was perceived to be a potential income generator and an indisputable source of national wealth (*pigi ethnikou ploutou*).^{lxxii} Tourism was directly associated with the economic development and prosperity that Cypriots wished to enjoy. The utilitarian approach of Cypriots towards tourism is evident in a humorous column in a local newspaper published in 1961, which read ‘Viva tourism, our friends, viva tourists and everybody who will fill with pounds our empty wallets!’ (*Zito, filoi, o tourismos mas, zito kai oi touristes oloi pou me lires tha gemisoun to ... isxno mas portofoli!*).^{lxxiii} Even the Christian Orthodox Church of Cyprus, who one might expect to have a conservative approach towards tourism, invested heavily in the sector, ultimately becoming one of its greatest advocates (UNDP 1987, p. 6).

It seems that the native elites’ reality was colonized by the modernist discourse. Their appreciation of prosperity, their desired ‘economic development’ and their willingness to change and take risks in order to achieve progress are characteristics of a ‘modern individual’. Indeed, cultural values such as competitiveness and individualism were prerequisites for the development of a ‘modern economy’ and ‘growth’ as aspired to by native elites.

For the purposes of this chapter, I will focus on four core ideas that emerge out

of the broader vision of development as outlined in the official plans published between the early 1960s and the late 1980s, namely the utilitarian approach to nature, rapid and unhindered development, growth fetishism and the ‘necessity’ of modern amenities.

4.5.2 The Utilitarian Approach to Nature

For native elites, it was evident that the relationship between ‘man’ and the natural environment was essentially a utilitarian one. Nature existed to serve the needs of ‘men’, that is, to be utilized according to their own will. One of the objectives of the *Second Five Year Plan 1967-1971* was the ‘full utilization of the island’s productive resources’ (Republic of Cyprus 1967, p. 22). The plan promotes the ‘efficient and rational utilization’ of natural resources, not because they are seen as valuable and fragile assets, but simply because their depletion could seriously hinder the developmental process on the island. In the *Second Five Year Plan 1967-1971* it is mentioned that:

An efficient and rational utilization of the scarce factors of land and water will comprise one of the fundamental objectives of long-term economic development policy. This is because at the moment and for a very long time ahead these two factors will be of vital importance as major sources of domestic production, exports, employment and raw materials for local industry. (Republic of Cyprus 1967, p. 23)

It seems that this attitude towards nature is reflected also in the construction policy of the newly formed state. In the development plans construction has positive connotations and is directly linked with economic growth and ‘development’. It is approached as the ‘vehicle’ through which investment will take place and hence the economy will be enhanced (Republic of Cyprus 1967, p.

163, Republic of Cyprus 1972, p. 254). A 13-page section of the *Second Five Year Plan 1967-1971* devoted to construction deals exclusively with the value added, growth potentials and contribution to the local economy. No restrictions on construction are outlined in detail. The only reference that is made to regulating construction appears to originate from the elites' need to safeguard economic development as opposed to the natural environment:

It [the forthcoming Master Plan] will lay down the criteria and will provide the means in which land for residential, industrial and tourist purposes will be developed in a controlled and regulated manner *so that physical factors may not evolve as bottlenecks in the process of optimum economic and social development.* (Republic of Cyprus 1967, p. 173, my emphasis)

Cypriot elites following the cultural model of modern Europeans (Argyrou 2005) viewed nature as a 'force' that could actually block the developmental process. Thus, it was seen as important for them to use their knowledge to control and manipulate nature in order to fulfil their aspirations of economic development. The native elites' perception that the value of nature was reducible to its potential worth for economic development is evident in the targets set in the *Fifth Economic Action Plan for Tourist Development 1987-1991*. Among the projects advocated was the creation of integrated holiday centres, which referred to units that would provide accommodation, leisure activities and other services to the tourists (Andronicou 1987, p. 30). The philosophy of these 'villages' was that all the tourists' needs would be covered by on-site facilities, such that one could theoretically spend one's whole vacation in the resort. The plan identified possible 'underdeveloped' areas for the construction of the proposed tourists villages. Ironically, one of the proposed areas was Lara, the well-known coastal turtle reserve on the Akamas peninsula, which was declared

a protected site in 1989 (Welz 2012, p. 1989). The issue of Lara beach and other protected regions will be revisited in Chapter Five.

The second project proposed by the *Fifth Economic Action Plan for Tourist Development 1987-1991* was the creation of golf courses, based on the logic that those who play golf are wealthier (Andronicou 1987, p. 31) than the average middle-class tourist, and hence they would spend more thereby increasing the tourist income of the Republic. The plan suggested that the government should provide incentives such as low-rate loans or 'free land' granted by the state to interested stakeholders.

Following a similar logic, the third project proposed in the plan was the creation of additional marinas with precisely the same ambition, namely to attract higher-income tourists (Andronicou 1987, p. 31). Today, Cyprus has 13 marinas, but it is worth noting that Limassol Marina, the epitome of modernity and prosperity that has been sought after by tourism authorities for so many years, is still under construction. The broader project that included the Limassol Marina is very similar to constructions undertaken in Dubai, comprising of an artificial island extending from the shore that will feature luxury villas, private beaches and a shopping mall. It could be argued that the philosophy behind the Limassol Marina reflects the core values of the dominant development vision for the island:

Limassol Marina's Island Villas epitomise the essence of 'living on the sea'. Surrounded by the sparkling Mediterranean, just a stroll away from the heart of the most cosmopolitan city in Cyprus, these luxury homes offer the unique opportunity to moor yachts of up to 60m outside your very own garden. Drive up to one door and sail away from another... Limassol Marina is destined to become the most exclusive marina resort in the Mediterranean – and one of the finest in the world. A perfect blend of luxury and elegance, comfort and

convenience, privacy and community. A modern resort at one with the natural beauty of the Mediterranean.^{lxxiv}

4.5.3 Rapid and Unhindered Coastal Development

If there is one basic principle that is embedded in the development plans of the 1960s and 1970s, it is the 'necessity' for 'rapid and unhindered development'. The idea that Cyprus was 'left behind' and needed to quickly 'catch up' with other European nations is reflected in almost all sections of the development plans. For the purposes of this thesis, I will focus on the case of tourism development.

One of the main targets and policies of the Republic in relation to tourism was to 'introduce such legislative and institutional changes...[that] will enable the accelerated and unhindered development of the industry' (Republic of Cyprus 1967, p. 206). There was evidently an urge to ensure 'speedy development with quick returns' (Republic of Cyprus 1967, p. 209). As a result, the state played a significant role in channelling investment and giving priority to regions that the native elites identified as 'areas with tourism potential' (Republic of Cyprus 1961, p. 13). In particular, the second plan identified Famagusta and Kyrenia as the coastal zones with the highest potential for rapidly increasing the returns from tourism (Republic of Cyprus 1967, p. 209). In due course, three more coastal zones were added to the priority list of the state, namely Limassol, Larnaca and Paphos (Republic of Cyprus, 1972, p. 210).

The native elites were very quick both to internalize and to capitalize on the cultural change in western societies that linked tourism with sea bathing. The beach was now perceived by westerners as a 'zone of pleasure' and relaxation. As mentioned above, the culture of swimming and sunbathing conferred on the

Mediterranean region significant added value, which the native elites acknowledged and manipulated for their advantage. It was clear to the elites that

tourists who come for more than a short stay are attracted principally to the beaches and that this is where the emphasis of the development should be concentrated – in erecting hotels *on* or near the beaches and along the coast, improving and developing beaches themselves, and providing all the additional sports, recreational and other facilities that are normal features of holiday resorts. (Republic of Cyprus 1967, p. 207, my emphasis)

Figure 14: Famagusta coastline hotels, now under TRNC control



Source: Lordos Company website, www.lordoscontracta.com, Date accessed: 15 March 2012

As a result, Kyrenia and Famagusta, which are located on the northern side of the island, enjoyed a monopoly on development activity (Kammas 1993, p. 71). Thus, in the post-Independence era the regional distribution of available accommodation was reversed, since the coastal zone prevailed over the hill

resorts that were once the primary attraction of tourists. Specifically, the construction of new hotels in Famagusta continued unabated until 1974, when the town came under the control of TRNC. Between 1961 and 1974, the number of available beds increased by 2000 per cent.

In the 1960s, Famagusta's seafront was transformed into a zone of high-rise, 'modern' hotels, each competing with the others with their imposing structures. Building huge modern structures on the sandy beach was a statement of power, a manifestation of the ability of natives to conquer nature. Cypriots were proud of Famagusta seafront, and it was often portrayed on postcards promoting the island as a tourist destination.

Figure 15: Typical Famagusta postcard depicting the seaside by night



Source: <http://www.pbase.com/alexis/famagustapostcards>, Date accessed: 1 September 2012

Figure 16: Typical Famagusta postcard portraying the high-rise hotels



Source: <http://www.pbase.com/alexis/famagustapostcards>, Date accessed: 1 September 2012

Developing Famagusta's shoreline – in other words, building on the coast – was seen as the correct or rational thing to do by native elites. Such was their eagerness to 'develop' that they fully ignored the guidelines provided by the French tourism consultants on 'what to do' and 'what to avoid' (Figure 8 and Figure 9). This type of development was conceived by the Northern European consultants as 'out of place' and disrespectful towards the environment. Interestingly, nowadays the Cypriot authorities forbid any type of construction on the coast due to its significant environmental impact.

The loss of Famagusta after the Turkish invasion of 1974 was a significant drawback for tourism in the Republic of Cyprus. After the Turkish invasion, the Cypriot authorities tried to revive the economy by applying the same 'successful'

model as before, namely rapid, unhindered coastal development. Hotel owners that lost their property were classified as 'refugees' and received low-rate loans and land leased by the government in order to revitalize the tourism industry in the other half part of Famagusta district that was still controlled by the state. As a result, development was redirected towards Ayia Napa, a coastal village of the wider Famagusta District.

In the mid-1970s, Ayia Napa was a small village whose inhabitants made a living out of agriculture and fishing. Houses were spread around the ancient monastery of Saint Napa. No tourists knew about it, and even many Cypriots were unaware of its existence (Ioannides 1992, p. 722). Nowadays, Ayia Napa is a famous tourist resort that was known for the typical four 'S's' of tourism, namely sun, sea, sand and sex. The village was transformed in a very short period into a tourist, leisure theme, urban centre. Locals sold their houses or converted them into clubs, bars, pubs or restaurants. Ayia Napa, like Blackpool in UK, tried to 'construct itself as irreducibly modern, as a cosmopolitan, international leisure center' whose nightlife resembled that of Las Vegas (Urry 2002, p. 33). A popular saying among tourists in Ayia Napa makes the connection with Las Vegas even more explicit: 'what happens in Napa, stays in Napa'.

Today, Ayia Napa attracts thousands of tourists each year, especially youngsters from Northern Europe. During the summer, all accommodation units, which today account for approximately 20,000 beds, are fully booked (CTO 2010, no page). At night, the town is transformed into a debauched playground where 'everything is allowed', with the yard of the monastery, ironically, serving as a giant dance floor for tourists and a few locals. For many young Cypriots, a visit to Ayia Napa is something of a rite of passage. Young graduates from high schools in

Nicosia usually spend a week with their friends in Ayia Napa before the girls enter tertiary education or employment and the boys join the army. For young men, it is an opportunity to see provocatively dressed foreign women, pole dancing and compete with their friends in *kamaki* (flirting with foreign female tourists with the intention of having sex) (Zinovief 1991). Given that most of the young women will refrain from having sex with foreign male tourists – and that if they do, they cannot openly boast about it – they must obtain emancipatory capital from other activities, such as their experience of watching tourists having sex in clubs or swimming naked at night. Today, Ayia Napa is competing with Ibiza in Spain for the title of the most famous ‘party capital’ in Europe.

4.5.4 Growth Fetishism

The unhindered development principle goes hand in hand with the Cypriot authorities’ fixation with growth. The elites running the political and administrative affairs of the Cypriot state adopted the neo-functionalist approach to development (Attalides 1993, p. 218). All plans treated the notion of development as exclusively linked with growth, something quantifiable and measurable. Detailed tables indicated, among other things, the number of arrivals, hotels and travel agents, the cost of investments and the gross earnings from tourism. Figures were compared with the previous programme period and, somewhat ironically, the conclusion was always the same: ‘we did well but we need more’. Although Cyprus during the 1960s and early 1970s achieved an unprecedented increase of 900 per cent in tourist arrivals (Witt 1991, p. 37), the third development plan, published in 1972, sticks to the objectives of its predecessors. In particular, the main objectives of the third plan are ‘to attract

increasing numbers of foreign tourists and excursionists, ... to increase the average length of stay... [and] to encourage investment in hotel accommodation and in other ancillary facilities' (Republic of Cyprus 1972, p. 208). The authorities' fixation with growth resulted in the promotion of specific measures for accelerating the pace of tourism development. Specifically, the state introduced a specialized long-term, low-rate loan scheme for hotel units and the leasing of land, which led to a dramatic rise in the number of potential investors in the field of tourism. Furthermore, a campaign was launched that promoted Cyprus as a Mediterranean destination to tour operators as a package holiday destination.

In the decades that followed, the dominant discourse continued to reproduce the abovementioned developmental mentality. The growth rationale was also reproduced in the daily newspapers, with their numerous articles proudly citing the increasing number of tourists and hotels in the country as proof that the tourism industry was doing well.^{lxxv} As Attalides (1993, p. 219) suggests, the dominant perception about tourism was that it was 'doing well' only if the arrival numbers were increasing, the percentage of hotels' occupancy was high and the gross earnings were rising. Such was the urge of elites to instantly have access to material goods and prosperity that it rendered any other type of development discourse unthinkable. Even the articles published by non-governmental tourism brokers in local daily newspapers during this period fully agreed on the core values of the developmental vision as outlined by the Planning Bureau. Ironically, the only publication with a critical approach – not on the type of development, it should be noted, but on the carrying capacity of the island – was a translated article from the British newspaper 'Tourism – Travels', published in

the left-wing Cypriot newspaper *Haravgi* in 1973.^{lxxvi} The British author criticized the overgrowth of tourism in Cyprus, which he saw as liable to result in overcrowding and congestion.

Nonetheless, the lack of any constructive criticism or at least public discussion in relation to other aspects of tourism, beyond the preoccupation with figures, reveals the power of native elites to construct knowledge by normalizing the discourse that defined what is sensible, normal or acceptable and what is not (Cheong and Miller 2004, p. 240). In this case the native elites, derive their power from their authority to define the content of development plans, laws and regulations as well as the actual measures taken by the state.

The elites' growth fetish, that is, their desire for more tourists, more hotels, and higher income, led them to adopt the logic of the internationalization of one's tourism product (Urry 2002, p. 45). In other words, what Cyprus provided to the tourists was compared in terms of price, quality and quantity with other destinations. To this end, tourism brokers in the 1990s adapted their product to the culture of the package or inclusive holiday in order to reduce the cost for their clients and increase demand.

All-inclusive packages are considered a 'must' by tourism consultants for the development of large-scale tourism with minimum investment costs. What this logic fails to acknowledge, however, is that growth benefits are distributed unevenly throughout societies, since it is largely hotel owners who actually profit from mass tourism.

Costas, a 55-year-old informant from Paphos, had owned the 'Happy Island' restaurant for the last 25 years. The restaurant, which is located on the busiest beachfront street in the city, looks a bit rundown, though one could tell that it

would have been very 'trendy' and 'modern' in its heyday. As soon as one enters, one's gaze is immediately drawn to the imposing wooden bar with its mirrored backing and its shelves full of dusty bottles. Costas serves his clients a variety of dishes, including Cypriot meze, fresh fish, Italian pasta, schnitzel and hamburger and chips. When I asked him about the business, he took a deep breath and explained how things were getting worse year by year:

Things are not like before. In summertime we struggle to survive [*koutsopernoume*], and during wintertime we kill flies [*skotonoume mougies*] (we have nothing to do)! Some clients that we have, even they hesitate to spend money! For instance, yesterday a British couple came and they ordered one omelette to share! Our best clients are the Cypriots. They never say no to food. (fieldnotes)

The 'all-inclusive' concept, introduced in the late 1990s, was a revolution for the tourism product of Cyprus, one that had a negative impact for the majority of small-medium enterprises such as restaurants, bars and supermarkets. The all-inclusive package provides tourists with cheap air tickets on charter flights and hotel accommodation with free meals and drinks for the whole duration of their stay. These tourists are usually provided with a special plastic bracelet that serves as a signifier of their 'all-inclusive status'. The packages provide maximum income for the travel agents and hotel owners since they guarantee full occupancy. Tourists take advantage of the lower prices and physical security, provided by the protected, artificial and 'sterilized' environment of the resort and have minimal interaction with the locals. Andreas, a 40-year-old chef who had worked in the industry for 15 years, noted that the demands of the 'all-inclusive tourists' were restricted to western amenities such as air conditioning, satellite TV, swimming pools and other advantages such as abundance of alcohol

and middle-class-quality food. 'As long as the sun is shining,' he claimed, 'they don't care if they are in Cyprus, Greece, Italy or Portugal' (from memory).

I asked Andreas whether the all-inclusive culture had had a positive or negative impact on local society. He was crystal clear in his answer: the 'all-inclusive mentality' made the rich people richer and the middle-class people poorer. He elaborated by describing the 'tragedy' that had befallen several of his colleagues who had lost their restaurants, and in some cases even their families, due to debts incurred as a result of these cultural changes. On the overall, the all-inclusive culture promoted since the later 1990s had exacerbated existing social inequalities and made the gap difficult to bridge.

The growth fetish is not limited to the elites. Growth and the unmet 'need' to have more and more reflects the mentality and lifestyle of the 'modern' individuals in the Cypriot society. My discussion with Stella, a newly married middle-class Cypriot woman from a suburb of Nicosia, about the 'all-inclusive' philosophy was revealing in this regard. I met Stella in a cafeteria on the day after she had returned to Cyprus from her honeymoon in Mauritius. She proudly showed me her brand new bag and asked me whether I liked it. I kindly replied that I did, which prompted her to say excitedly, 'you will not believe what a bargain this was! I got this bag for only 400 euros!' (fieldnotes). When she saw the amazement on my face, she explained, 'this is not just any bag, this is Louis Vuitton. I bought this in Dubai, during a three-day layover on our way to Mauritius.' After Stella had given me an extensive description of the shopping malls of Dubai, discussion turned to the all-inclusive hotels in Cyprus, and Stella expressed her disapproval. I was naïve in my assumption about her disapproval, since I thought that she was concerned about the impact of all-inclusive resorts

on the local economy and family businesses. In fact, her distaste was more aesthetic than moral:

Last summer we stayed in a hotel for one week, and we paid for the 'all-inclusive' status. Well, I regretted that a lot! My husband and I gained three kilos each in one week! We could eat as much as we liked! Let me give you an example, so you can understand better. When we are at home, we never eat breakfast, but at the hotel we both had a rich breakfast [*plousio progevma*], then we would drink our coffee or soft drink near the pool, [and] at lunch we both filled our plates to the top [*troulloname ta piata mas*], and [we did] the same for dinner. I continuously felt like a stuffed turkey! But I paid for it, so I had to take advantage of it! (fieldnotes)

4.5.5 The 'Necessity' of Modern Amenities and Infrastructure

An extension of the abovementioned materialistic approach to development was the great significance that native elites attributed to modern amenities and infrastructure. As described previously, the state not only considered the erection of modern hotels a necessity; it also actively encouraged hotel owners either to build new units or to modernize the existing ones using a system of low-rate loans as an incentive. Modern hotels were identified as units that 'have a bath or a shower in every room and suit the needs of the middle or upper-middle class traveler' (Republic of Cyprus 1967, p. 207). During this period the Cypriot authorities followed the example of other developing countries by seeking to provide what First World, modern people perceived as everyday necessities, such as hot showers, hygienic conditions, central heating and air-conditioning (Smith 2004, p. 361).

It appears that the provision of modern amenities and infrastructure for tourists (and also locals) was among the top priorities of the Cypriot state in the 1960s. In particular, the transport and communication sector, which included roads and

highways, ports and airports, telecommunications, postal services, radio and television, was identified as a key field to be further developed (Republic of Cyprus 1967, p. 176). As mentioned in chapter 2, the British introduced several technological changes and developed or improved existing infrastructure on the island. Indicatively, in 1932 Famagusta port was upgraded (Richter 2007, p. 408-9), in 1930 Nicosia airport was built and 19 years later improved, in 1953 the radio broadcasting corporation was founded and in 1957 the television broadcasting corporation^{lxxvii}. It is essential to highlight thought that under the colonial rule, only a very small minority of locals had access to the aforementioned amenities, established by the British.

The post-independence administrative and political elite of the island endeavoured to make these modern amenities available for the mass society. The importance of this sector is reflected in the amount invested in the first programming period, which totalled some 22.4 million Cypriot Pounds, equivalent to 19 per cent of the total budget (Republic of Cyprus 1967, p. 176). To put this in context, the amount spent on the preservation of antiquities during this period was just 0.25 per cent of the total budget (300,000 Cyprus Pounds) (Republic of Cyprus 1967, p. 14).

Having reflected on the importance attributed to this sector, it is interesting to consider the function of such modern infrastructure and amenities in wider Cypriot society. The first function, as identified by the Planning Bureau, was its favourable impact on the economy. Specifically, in the *Second Five Year Plan 1967-1971*, it is stated, 'a good road network is a necessary prerequisite for accelerated economic development' (Republic of Cyprus 1967, p. 176).

As far as the social function of the transport and communication sector is

concerned, it seems that the Planning Bureau acknowledged, albeit vaguely, that it could have positive effects on 'social development' (Republic of Cyprus 1967, p. 176), yet it neglected the transformative role that mobility in space and time has on people's identity (Urry 2004, p. 440). This regional and global interconnectedness can lead to a 'world full of movement and mixture, contact and linkages, and persistent cultural interaction and exchange' (Inda and Rosaldo 2002, p. 2). Thus, the creation of transport and communication infrastructure in Cyprus led to increasing homogeneity and diffusion of cultural traits from urban centres to rural areas. In addition, interconnectedness on a global level can result in increased mobility of 'capital, people, commodities, images, and ideologies' (Inda and Rosaldo 2002, p. 2).

The third function of the new infrastructure was a symbolic one. Highways, road networks, Famagusta port, Nicosia International Airport and the Cyprus Broadcasting Cooperation (CyBC) are just a few of the symbols of modernity that the newborn state used to demonstrate its progress and development to the masses. In order to provide the necessary evidence for my claims, I will examine in more detail the case of Nicosia Airport, which was abandoned during the invasion of 1974 and is now under the jurisdiction of the United Nations in the Buffer Zone^{lxxviii}.

Construction of Nicosia International Airport was completed in 1968, and soon after the government initiated new flight connections with *European* cities (Republic of Cyprus 1967, p. 185-6; Ioannides 1992, p. 720). The airport as a space served as both an agent and a symbol of modernity. The imposing structure of the building was considered a 'miracle' of modern architecture and technology. More importantly, however, it enhanced the status of native elites by

providing the masses with visual evidence of the progress and prosperity that *they* brought to the island (Smith 2004, p. 364).

At the time, Nicosia Airport was used by a small minority of wealthy Cypriots, since for the majority of the population air travel was considered a luxury. It is interesting to note, however, that the airport was visited daily by people from the lower and middle classes, even though few had any intention of travelling abroad. Marie, an 80-year-old resident of Strovolos (a suburb of Nicosia) and one of the few people in Cyprus of her age who defined themselves as a left-wing atheist, fondly recollected the 'good old days' when she used to go with her husband every single Sunday to the airport. When I asked her why they had done this, she replied, 'Oh! Just for coffee! We really enjoyed ourselves there. It was not only my husband and me; all Nicosia used to gather in the airport on Sundays! It was like an excursion for us...' (from memory). A letter to the editor, written by a reader of Haravgi newspaper in 1968 sheds further light on people's reasons for visiting the airport:

Lots of people rush every Sunday to admire the new building of Nicosia Airport. To check out the doors, which open and close by themselves, the shop windows, which are still empty, to sit down and enjoy their coffee or the dryness of the scenery. ... The building is nice... but we need to put some order in it. People are wandering in and out of the airport's halls and corridors. This cannot be continued in the future! What are the foreigners going to think about this? Visitors should enter the building quietly and civilized, take their drink or coffee and then go. They should not wander through the corridors purposelessly with their wives and children! We built something to be proud of! We should take care of it in order to maintain its position as an attraction!^{!xxix}

It seems that the airport was a 'monument' paying tribute to modernity. Following Urry (1995, p. 141), I argue that the airport visitors constituted

themselves as modern subjects, since mobility is a central idea of modernity. Devotees of modernity – in other words, people who thought of themselves as progressive – made a statement about who they were and what they believed by undertaking a ‘pilgrimage’ to the ‘temple of modernity’.

In short, the dominant discourse as reflected in the official development plans formulated by native elites indicates the basic principles and values of the cultural model developed in Cyprus after Independence’. In the following section, I will examine the implications of the modernist paradigm for rural areas, and in particular the Troodos region.

4.6 The Troodos Region: Division within Division

As discussed above, the hegemony of the modernist paradigm created cultural conditions in which challenging the notion of ‘modernity’ and ‘development’ was unthinkable. The power of native elites to construct the acceptable vision of tourism development had significant implications for the Troodos region’s perceived identity. As I will argue in more detail in this final section, the native elites’ modernist discourse normalized the representation of rural areas as backward, traditional and underdeveloped, thereby creating a division between rural and urban Cyprus that paralleled the wider division between the First and the Third Worlds. The second argument raised here is that the inhabitants of rural Cyprus remained trapped in the modernist paradigm and internalized the discourse, creating ‘division within division’, that is, a separation between the villages known as hill resorts and the remaining, non-touristic villages of the Troodos region.

Let me turn now to the native elites' normalizing discourse, which produced a fixed, unchallenged vision of development for Troodos and rural areas in general. Despite being a popular resort during the colonial period, the Troodos region was not considered a priority for development by the newborn state, since it was not classified as an area with high tourism potential. For example, the development plan published by the Planning Bureau in 1967 stated that

the special problem of the hill resorts must be mentioned. The fact has to be faced that in the next few years one cannot forecast with much confidence a rapid growth of foreign tourism in this region for the very reason that, for the time being at least, there exists this marked preference for the coast. (The Republic of Cyprus 1967, p. 209)

Native elites assumed that the lost prestige of the hill resorts would be recovered if they were developed as a major Recreation Center of Mediterranean. They envisioned a reputable recreation and sports centre that would serve the whole complex of mountain resorts all year round (The Republic of Cyprus 1967, p. 212). This vision of a group of hill resorts with recreation amenities suggests that the elites were still reproducing the western development model of tourism, and in particular the successful example of popular resorts of the Austrian and Swiss Alps. Some of the hotel owners in the region capitalized on this idea by strategically establishing links with the natural and cultural environment of the Alps. For example, the names of the New Helvetia and Edelweiss hotels in Platres alluded to an affiliation with the Alps and the Swiss tourism product as developed in the nineteenth century (Tissot n/a, p. 4). Furthermore, the website of Edelweiss advertises the hotel's modern amenities while inventing cultural links with Austrian resorts: 'the heated and air-conditioned rooms at Edelweiss Hotel offer balconies with valley and countryside views... Fitted with wooden

décor, the Austrian-style restaurant serves local and international cuisine. The hotel bar offers a selection of local wines and drinks that can be enjoyed by the fireplace.’^{lxxx}

The ‘Alpinization’ of the Troodos region is not in contrast with the wider modernist cultural model promoted by the native elites. The Alpine tourism product that emerged in the nineteenth century revolved around man’s desire and ability to conquer the might of nature, that is, regions that were relatively untouched before industrialization and modernity (Tissot n/a). The popularity of the Alps among Europeans transformed them into a universal symbol of mountainous tourism that spread rapidly around the world as a ‘label’.

Such was the urge to ‘catch up’ with the seaside resorts and towns that the hotel owners in the hill resorts had their own vision about Troodos recreational park. They argued that the park should include restaurants, ballrooms, theatres, nightclubs, casinos and cabarets.^{lxxxi} Such ideas are still heard among Troodos’ residents. In 2005, I gave a presentation at a conference in Agros village on ‘Sustainable Development and Local Agenda 21’, which outlined my ideas on how Troodos region could develop sustainably. During the coffee break, I discussed the region’s prospects for development with a male resident of the area. He was a short man in his mid-forties with a kind face and a big moustache. His hands were covered in scars, presumably from a lifetime of hard agricultural labour. I was really astonished when he interrupted me and said,

All these things are bullshit [*Touta oulla en malakies*]! The only thing that we need up here is a casino and a cabaret! Nothing else! You will see that Troodos will survive just fine without all this bullshit that all of you have been spouting all morning! As simple as that! (from memory)

This was the last time that I agreed to publicly advocate about ‘sustainable development’. On the other hand, moments such as this, when I was confronted with the gap between Troodos residents and my perceptions of development, gave me the food for thought that lead to this thesis.

Turning now to the development vision promoted by the elites for the villages in the wider Troodos region, I suggest that this too did not escape from the modernist paradigm either. Rural areas were seen as disadvantaged, peasant and backward. As a result, the native elites drafting the strategic plans of the state identified the *need to modernize* rural Cyprus. In the *Second Five Year Plan 1967-1971*, the policy makers stated that ‘one of the principal social objectives is to provide better opportunities for those living in rural areas to enjoy and participate in *the social advantages of a modern society*’ (The Republic of Cyprus 1967, p. 24, my emphasis). I will focus on the example of houses to make my argument clearer. Rural residents were viewed as disadvantaged individuals because they did not enjoy the modern amenities available in the cities. Housing conditions were one of the issues that, according to the government, needed ‘urgent’ attention. The elites perceived old houses (i.e. those built a few decades ago) as symbols of a non-modern society, and they felt that this had to change.

More specifically, they pointed out that

although on first impression most houses in Cyprus’ towns appear to be new and modern, the 1960 Census revealed that 40% of all urban dwellings and 65% of all rural dwellings were built prior to 1945. There is no doubt that considerable *progress* has been made since that time, but there are still substantial margins for *improvement*, especially in the villages. (Republic of Cyprus 1967, p. 169, my emphasis).

One of the ways in which the government sought to improve existing housing

conditions was by encouraging some form of mass production and standardization of construction, which was the result of native architects' exposure to 'modern architecture' (Republic of Cyprus 1967, p. 172; Ferreos ?, p. 24, Meethan 2001, p. 21). In short, old houses were perceived as a symbol of backwardness, whereas new, standardized houses were a symbol of progressiveness and development. It is clear therefore, that modernity was desired not only for the urban centres but also for the rural areas of the island, which were treated as embarrassing signifiers of an unwanted past.

In sum, Troodos, as a low-priority region, was neglected by the Cypriot authorities for several decades, since it was not considered 'rational' or justifiable to invest in an area with limited 'advantages and resources' (Republic of Cyprus 1967, p. 24). As a result, the cultural gap dividing urban centres from rural areas became enormous and difficult to bridge. In order to illustrate this point, I wish to highlight the developmental paradox that existed in Cyprus in the 1960s: in Famagusta, tourists and locals enjoyed amenities such as storage heaters, fans and hot showers and entertainment such as fashion shows, beauty contests and water sports, whereas elsewhere on the island, there were 200 villages without access to the electricity supply programme of the government and 33 per cent of the rural population had no access to running water in their homes (Republic of Cyprus 1967, p. 128, 162).

Therefore, the division between rural and urban areas was the result of negligence on the part of the state together with the dominant discourse employed by native elites. The division was based on the ideologically motivated representation of rural areas as backward, peasant and thus inferior. In contrast, urban areas were represented as progressive and modern and thus as superior.

The exercise of power by native elites upon rural residents by defining their lifestyle as inferior contributed significantly to identity formation in the Troodos region. It is not my intention, however, to argue that Troodos' residents shared a fixed, unified identity, as *if* homogeneity existed.

Multiple and flexible identities emerged in the Troodos region, which resulted in the creation of 'division within division'. I will briefly examine this notion at two levels. The first is the division between the villages that emerged as tourist attractions during the late colonial period (i.e. the hill resorts) and the surrounding villages, whose population made a living from agriculture and mining. In this context, villages such as Kakopetria and Platres enjoyed amenities that were not available in nearby villages, such as electricity, connection to the road network, running water, cinemas showing popular Greek movies, restaurants and imposing hotels. People from Kakopetria often mentioned these amenities as evidence of their higher status relative to the surrounding villages. They all attributed this superiority to the progressive mindset of people from Kakopetria (*proodeftiko mualo ton Kakopetriton*). It did not take me long to realize that this assumed 'progressiveness' was something of a standard answer that everybody repeated with pride whenever I asked certain questions. In contrast, people from Galata, a hamlet of Kakopetria, sensing the perceived superiority of Kakopetrites, made an explicit effort to undermine their neighbours' status. When I told to a man from Galata village that I live in Kakopetria, although I have no origins from the village, he said:

Kakopetrites are willing to eat each other for money [*na fan o enas ton allon gia ta riallia*], [they are] self-seekers... They were lucky; because of tourism they enjoyed so many things. This is it my dear: along with the basil, the pot was watered also [*E to mana mou, mazi me ton vasiliko, epotizetoun kai i glastra*]!

The second level of ‘division within division’ that I would like to highlight here is the divide within the hill resorts themselves. Kakopetria, for example, is divided into old and new neighbourhoods. In the 1960s and 1970s, only a small number of elderly residents were still living in the old neighbourhood, since it was a life dream, especially for young unmarried women to abandon Old Kakopetria. Mrs Stavroula, who had lived in Old Kakopetria since 1963, described the neighbourhood as it had been before to the 1970s:

It was a big mess, very dirty. Instead of this stone paved street that you see now, it was dirt road, with no sewage system. People used to throw dirty water from their houses’ balconies, chickens were running up and down... There was an old man who could not move easily and he used to empty his chamber pot off his balcony. It was so cheap to buy a house here, only 100 pounds. If I had money, I could have bought the whole neighbourhood. People who had money used to buy big fields in the new village and they could build their house as big as they wanted. (recorded)

Following Bourdieu (1979 [2008]), the new neighbourhood gave wealthier people the opportunity to distinguish themselves from their ‘inferior’ co-villagers, establishing a division within the village. Most of the new houses were of a similar style: multi-storied, imposing, modern structures with technological amenities. The house was now perceived as a signifier of social status, prestige and identity. The desire to build multi-storied houses that were bigger and more ostentatious was common in many of the region’s villages at the time (Markides 1978, p. 78).

Figure 17: Old and new Kakopetria village



4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored the interplay between the development of large-scale tourism and identity in Cyprus after Independence. The notion of identity and tourism 'development' demonstrates how issues that may seem non-political are inextricably linked to power relations on multiple levels. I suggest that the emergence of large-scale tourism in Cyprus – and its ongoing interaction with notions of Mediterraneanism and modernism – is the result of a complicated flow of power from western societies, which in the current international arena have the authority to define concepts and practices by attributing claims of superiority or inferiority. Elites at both the local and international levels exercise their power by normalizing discourses that define the content of identity, culture, tourism and development. Although the authority of the western world to define the acceptable and superior paradigm is evident, the result is not its

passive reproduction. Individuals and groups, are equipped with the agency to endorse, negotiate or reject elements of the identities or development models prescribed by more powerful social groups. The result of this continual process is the constant invention and reinvention of what it means to be Mediterranean, European, modern and developed.

Chapter 5

The change: The emergence of ‘reflexive tourism’ discourse in Cyprus

5.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to examine the emergence of reflexive tourism discourse in Cyprus in the 1980s and onwards and the way in which it is intertwined with the legitimisation and maintenance of power at both a local and a global level. The main argument of this chapter is that in the 1980s native elites adopted and reproduced western principles concerning the environment, heritage and development, which changed the dominant tourism narrative and rhetoric in Cyprus. To elaborate, the rhetoric of the 1960s, which supported the rapid development of mass, packaged and standardized tourism in coastal areas, was transformed in the 1980s into the discourse of ‘reflexive tourism’, which advocated small-scale, high-quality development in rural areas. As a result, the definition of what it means to be modern or traditional was reversed in such way that the ‘cultural superiority’ of the West is maintained and legitimised.

This chapter consists of a discourse analysis of the most significant and relevant policy documents produced by the Cypriot state, along with qualitative data collected from the field. The documents examined include official publications of the Republic of Cyprus, such as Development Plans published by the Planning Bureau, Tourism Development Plans published by the Cyprus Tourism Organization (CTO), CTO Annual Reports and information material published by

the Department of Town Planning and Housing. I also draw on policy documents produced by the European Union and international organizations. In order to examine the link between particular discourses and the practices of specific sections of society, I have conducted participant observation and interviews among local 'experts', active members of non-governmental organizations and employees in the public sector, such as workers from the Department of Town Planning and Housing, the Cyprus Tourism Organization, the Department of Antiquities and the Planning Bureau. In the Troodos region, where I conducted fieldwork for nine months, I obtained information from community council representatives, hotel and restaurant owners, entrepreneurs, tourists and locals.

Chapter Five is divided into four sections. The first section examines the change of discourse in the late 1960s and 1970s that contributed to the emergence of concepts such as 'environment', 'sustainable development' and 'heritage'. The second section introduces the concept of 'reflexive tourism' discourse and illustrates the link with the dominant discourse in Europe. The third section is divided into two parts. The first part provides a descriptive account of the development of rural cultural tourism in Cyprus from the late 1980s until today. The second part analyses the tourism discourse employed by native elites and highlights the link with discourses reproduced in the so-called more advanced countries. The final section is devoted to the practices of monitoring and inspecting aesthetics employed by local 'experts' and the resistance tactics used by Troodos' residents.

5.2 The emergence of ‘environment’, ‘sustainability’ and ‘heritage’ in Europe

The aim of this section is to illustrate how cultural changes in the dominant global rhetoric are intertwined and interconnected with local discourses and practices, in Cyprus. I begin by offering a rough sketch of how the dominant discourse of modernity and development in the so-called more advanced and powerful countries changed the content of the western paradigm in the 1960s (Argyrou 2005). In particular, I will focus on the emergence of three concepts – namely, the environment, sustainable development and cultural heritage – that led to the formulation of the tourism phenomenon and identity at a local level. It is important to note that this is a broad outline of what has happened in the European cultural setting over the last five or six decades and not an in-depth examination of the three concepts under study. As mentioned above, the ultimate goal of this section is to demonstrate that changes in the dominant discourse of western societies have been adopted by native elites in Cyprus. Taking this into consideration, a detailed exploration of the emergence of these concepts in the European cultural setting was considered unnecessary in the framework of this thesis.

The first issue that I will examine is the emergence and use of ‘environment’ as a concept instead of ‘nature’. As discussed in Chapter Four, ‘nature’ was perceived by Europeans to be a wild force with its own agency that needed to be controlled by the ‘civilized man’. After the end of the Second World War, the modernization and development narrative identified science and technology as the tools that

would provide 'underdeveloped nations' with the power to 'master nature' (Argyrou 2005). In the early 1960s, the dominant rhetoric in the European cultural setting started to change. As a result, the 'wild nature' rhetoric was replaced by the narrative of the fragile 'environment' that needed to be protected from the impact of harmful human activities (Escobar 1995 [2012], p. 196; Macnaghten and Urry 1998; Argyrou 2005, p. 39). Global institutions and funding agencies such as the United Nations adopted this new rhetoric^{lxxxiii} and contributed to its worldwide proliferation'. For example, a United Nations report published in 1963 represented the planet as a small and 'fragile' domain that was 'entrusted' to man (UN 1963, p. 3, cited in Argyrou 2005, p. 39). The forests, the soil, the atmosphere, the sea and the unprotected living creatures were just a few of the domains that were seen to be at risk from the destructive interventions of the man. By the mid-1960s, the idea of a vulnerable and fragile planet had been integrated into the dominant political discourse of 'advanced countries', such as the United States and Britain (Macnaghten and Urry 1998, p. 47-9).

By the early 1970s, the concept of 'environment' had acquired such a currency in the British and American context that it was perceived as an absolute truth and not as a cultural product of its time. Environmentalism became a new 'doctrine', one that was greatly influenced by and interconnected with other social movements^{lxxxiv} within the broader liberation framework. Universities were an intellectual nest of this new counter-culture, which criticized the existing capitalist system, post-war modernity and its fundamental values of unlimited growth, 'materialism, individual achievement and technological progress' (Macnaghten and Urry 1998, p. 48). As Martin (1981, p. 15) puts it,

environmentalism represented a 'new cultural style – an expressive set of values, assumptions and ways of living' (cited in Macnaghten and Urry 1998, p. 48).

In the meantime, the 'truth' of environmentalism as a counter-culture spread rapidly through media exposure of environmental NGOs such as Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace (both founded in 1969), which organized campaigns that gained extensive publicity. The widespread environmental discourse contributed to the idea of shared responsibility for the 'Only One Earth', an idea which was the key theme at the United Nation's Stockholm Conference in 1972 (Macnaghten and Urry 1998, p. 47-48). This philosophy was efficiently communicated with the slogan 'think globally, act locally' (Woods 2003, p. 274).

Besides the environmental NGOs' critical attitude towards modernity and their media exposure, there were two additional factors that contributed to the emergence of environmentalism, namely 'scientific knowledge' and English romanticism. In the case of the former, scientific evidence and facts were utilized to support or develop environmental claims. It is important to emphasize, however, that the arguments or data shared by scientists would not have been perceived or treated as facts if they had not acquired meaning in the existing cultural setting (Argyrou 2005, p. 47). Taking the power of knowledge a step further, environmental movements employed scientific discourses 'to translate their sentiments about behaviour into the political mainstream' (Abram 1998, p. 9). The scientific evidence that supported the environmental risk discourse was presented as objective truth and not as a subjective 'matter of cultural perception' (Douglas and Wildavsky 1982; Douglas 1994, cited in Argyrou 2005, p. 47).

Another issue to raise here is the link between the emergence of environmentalism and the Anglo-American^{lxxxv} romanticism, which, according to its intellectual founders, 'established a particular way of sensing, experiencing and engaging with nature during the nineteenth century' (Macnaghten and Urry 1998, p. 176). More specifically, romanticism as a cosmotheory blended narratives of nature with the idea of rurality^{lxxxvi} and countryside (Macnaghten and Urry 1998, p. 177; Woods 2003, p. 273). According to this narrative, the rural landscape was pure, idyllic, recreational, bucolic and picturesque, and it thus offered people the opportunity to live in harmony with nature, engage themselves in benign agricultural activities and live peacefully with each other (Bunce 2003, p. 14). The philosophy of romanticism contributed to the emergence of the 'rural idyll', which Urry (1995) defines as a 'cultural desire' to visit rural areas.

The idealization of the rural landscape and the social construction of the binary opposition between rural and urban were enhanced by the impacts of massive urbanization and the cultural conditions created in the urban centres (Bunce 1994). The urban-industrialized cultural setting, modern values such as individualism and materialism and the perceived alienation of humans from nature fostered feelings of nostalgia for the rural lifestyle. In England, the generation of a normative nostalgic idea of the rural idyll was spread to the wider society through poems, literature, radio and television. It is suggested by Bunce (2003, p. 16, 21, 24) that through commoditization, a global rural idyll and a specific set of vernacular aesthetics is nowadays being promoted, and that this is directly linked with the contemporary movement of environmentalism.

Let me turn briefly to the second concept under study, namely sustainable development. In the 1970s, sustainability became part of the environmental narrative, which proved to be highly influential in the years that followed. The idea of sustainability dates back to the 1972 Stockholm Conference, where discussion centred on establishing 'limits to growth' (Macnaghten and Urry 1998, p. 213). The term sustainable development was first introduced in a report entitled 'Our Common Future' (also known as Brundtland Report), produced by the United Nations' World Commission of Environment and Development (WCED) (Macnaghten and Urry 1998, p. 213; Argyrou 2005, p. 45). The report defined this new concept as 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs' (WCED 1987, p. 43 in Argyrou 2005, p. 45). As the title of the report suggests, this definition of sustainable development was based on the assumption that all humans were 'in the same boat' and thus equally responsible for protecting the Earth for future generations to come (Finger 1993, p. 42 cited in Macnaghten and Urry 1998, p. 214). In this framework, 'global environmental management' became the mechanism through which sustainable development^{lxxxvii} would be implemented (ibid.), thereby ensuring that the economic growth of this generation would not threaten that of future generations by causing irreversible damage to the environment.

The sustainable development approach advocated that the non-western world, once acknowledged as 'backward and underdeveloped', had a significant contribution to make. In particular, by the mid-1980s, many people had come to believe that the 'traditional' lifestyle of native populations was based on a sort of

‘ecological wisdom’ that had been lost in the West (Argyrou 2005, p. 68). It is worth citing a paragraph from the Brundtland Report in order to illustrate the shift in cultural assumptions embedded in the institutionalized discourse employed by the United Nations:

The isolation of many [native populations] has meant the preservation of a traditional way of life in close harmony with nature. Their very survival has depended on their ecological awareness and adaptation. ... These communities are the repositories of vast accumulation of traditional knowledge and experience that links humanity with its ancient origins. Their disappearance is a loss for the larger society, which could learn a great deal from their traditional skills in sustainably managing very complex ecological systems. (WCED 1987, p. 114-5 cited in Argyrou 2005, p. 68)

The paragraph above illustrates the change in the dominant discourse and the representation of indigenous groups and their cultures by those who defined the content of sustainable development. In summary, in the 1950s and 1960s, western experts argued that the modernization of society was essential for achieving development. Thus, any ‘ancient philosophies’, superstitions or backward techniques should be replaced by ‘modern’ ideas and ‘efficient methods’ that would not hinder development and progress. This discourse was reversed in the 1980s and 1990s, when western experts identified exactly the same ‘phenomena not as obstacles to modernity but as an essential part of the modern paradigm. In other words, what were previously seen as useless ‘ancient philosophies’ in need of eradication were now identified as ‘traditional knowledge/skills’ and ‘ways of life’ that could teach westerners a ‘lesson’ about sustainable and ecological behaviour and that should therefore be preserved (Argyrou 2005, p. 70). As Argyrou (2005, p. 68) argues, this change in the

dominant environmental discourse 'attempts a sort of status reversal between the west and its others'.

The Rio Earth Summit of 1991 validated the proposition that indigenous people could contribute, through their 'knowledge and traditional practices', to 'rediscovering' 'environmental management and development' (UN 1992, p. 11, cited in Argyrou 2005, p. 68). The outcome of Rio Summit, Agenda 21, was one of the most widely read and influential documents approved by the United Nations. According to Agenda 21, 'states should recognize and dully support their [indigenous people's] identity, culture, interests and enable their effective participation in the achievement of sustainable development' (UN 1992, p. 11, cited in Argyrou 2005, p. 68).

Tradition as a concept was incorporated into the dominant environmental rhetoric and discourse in the 1980s. The preservation of tradition was presented as a 'natural extension' of the counter-culture of environmentalism and its critique of modernity. The institutionalization of this discourse by global organizations, state authorities and universities and its largely unchallenged reproduction by the mainstream media resulted in the wide dissemination of these ideas in western societies. As Lowenthal (2005, p. 85) argues, 'the heritages of culture and nature came to be viewed as interconnected, indeed, indivisible'. The cultural outcome and practical implications of this change was a production and reproduction of a 'habitus' (Bourdieu [1980] 1990) in western contexts that unconsciously merged the concepts of environment and tradition. In other words, for the individual who acknowledged the importance of protecting the environment, it also seemed 'sensible' and 'reasonable' to

safeguard and preserve tradition. The proposed counter-culture was shared and enacted by a specific group of individuals who had access to the nascent environmental discourse through their affiliation with universities, state authorities or non-governmental organizations. This new 'logic' (Argyrou 2005) or rationale was more than a simple set of views on the environment and tradition; it was a novel mindset that distinguished its proponents as 'reflexive' in comparison to the rest of the society, who uncritically reproduced the 'modernity and development' narrative of the 1960s (Beck 1992 [1986]). Thus, environmentalism defined the way people saw the world, their lives and their role as agents. In other words, it had theoretical and practical implications for individuals' everyday choices.

I will now turn to the third concept under discussion, namely 'cultural heritage'. Although a concern for protecting archaeological antiquities can be traced back to the Renaissance, Enlightenment and the movements of romanticism and nationalism (Lowenthal 1979, p. 553; Cleere 1989, p. 7, cited in Byrne 1991; Lowenthal 2005, p. 82), for the purposes of this thesis, I will focus on the discourse of heritage that created 'a particular set of cultural and social practices that have certain legacies in the context of late modernity' (Smith, 2006, p. 42). In other words, I am not dealing with the early modernist approach to cultural protection, as manifested in museums that portrayed the past as backward, in opposition to the superiority of the 'modern' present (Richards 2005, p. 14). Rather, I am interested in the set of ideas, developed in late modernity, that acknowledged the preservation of 'tradition', 'the past' and 'cultural heritage' as an alternative way of living that could improve 'modern' people's quality of life.

In western societies the emergence of the discourse of heritage has had to a largely parallel trajectory to that of the discourse of environment. In the second half of the twentieth century, there was an increasing concern in western societies about the loss of the 'past', the fate of antiquities and the need to preserve 'cultural heritage'. The discourse of heritage as it emerged in the 1960s and more actively in the 1970s reproduced the western idea that 'heritage can be mapped, studied, managed, preserved and/or conserved and its protection may be the subject of national legislation and international agreements, conventions and charters' (Smith 2006, p. 3). The urge to protect, preserve and conserve heritage was a cultural product of its time. An increasing number of people in so-called advanced and developed countries felt that the post-war promises and expectations that all problems would be solved had not been met. Indeed, people attributed to 'modernity' and 'progress' prevailing social and economic problems such as economic deprivation, inflation, massive urbanization, materialism, consumerism, increasing dependence on technology and alienation of individuals from nature and their ancestors' legacies. Overall, people felt that the present could not fulfil their aspirations, so they nostalgically turned their attention to 'the past' (Lowenthal 1979, p. 554). Other factors that might have contributed to the growing public interest in 'the past' were the increased leisure time available to people (Hunter 1981 cited in Smith 2004, p. 5), the emergence of cultural tourism (Urry 1990) or even nationalism and conservative politics (Lowenthal 1995, cited in Smith 2004, p. 5). Finally, the role of academics and archaeologists should not be underestimated. The narrative of rationality, objectivity and scientific values that held sway in western countries during the 1960s and 1970s created a fertile ground for archaeologists, conservation

architects and other experts to lobby authorities to develop a legal framework that would protect their 'object of study' and 'data', that is, 'heritage' (Byrne 1991, p. 270; Smith 2004, p. 5-6). Taken together, the aforementioned conditions and developments contributed to the establishment of a new heritage discourse and practices.

The important thing to note here is that European ideas of heritage preservation, similarly with environmental concerns, were spread to other parts of the world as 'the truth'. One factor that contributed to the universalization of heritage was the imposition (through legislation) of western preservation ideas and practices in several colonial settings. For example, in 1863 the British colonial government introduced legislation intended to protect buildings with historical and architectural value (Smith 2006, p. 21). In several postcolonial contexts, such policies were developed further by native elites many of whom had been educated in western countries and were subsequently recruited by the newly formed governments.

A second factor that contributed to 'naturalising' and 'globalising' the discourse of heritage was the efforts of international organizations such as the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) to universalise these ideas (Smith 2006, p. 21). One of the most influential documents on cultural heritage is The Venice Charter 1964, adopted by the Second International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments^{lxxxviii}. It included in its definition of historic monuments 'not only the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular

civilization' (ICOMOS 1964, Article 1). The Charter, which was based on western principles, treats 'monuments' and 'heritage' as intrinsically valuable, thereby ignoring other approaches towards these issues. It is important to note that the 'international' committee that drafted the aforementioned charter consisted mainly of Europeans and representatives from Mexico, Peru and Tunisia. One year later, in 1965, ICOMOS was founded in order to support the aims and philosophy of the charter (Smith 2006, p. 89).

In 1972, UNESCO adopted the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, which was another significant milestone in the process of 'universalizing' the discourse of heritage. According to the convention, heritage was a 'problem' that needed to be dealt with at an international level. Like the environmental narrative, the rhetoric of heritage, which emerged in the wake of the massive urban development and rapid social change of the 1960s, emphasized the urgency of global cooperation in dealing with the problem of heritage loss. As Smith has argued (2006, p. 27), 'under this convention, heritage is not only monumental, it is universally significant with universal meaning, and it is, ultimately, physically tangible and imposing'. Among the results of the Convention was the development of the now widely known 'World Heritage List', which identifies sites of 'universal' importance and binds the relevant authorities to follow specific 'management plans' and practices.

Several scholars have criticized the universalization of the concept of heritage as another form of western hegemony (Byrne 1991; Lowenthal 1998; Cleere 2001; Smith 2006). Byrne (1991, p. 271), for example, argues that Europeans have universalized their own notion of continuity with the past while ignoring other

forms of continuity that are meaningful in other, non-European societies, which are usually classified as less developed. In short, one of the outcomes of the European Enlightenment was the idea of 'cultural continuity', which highlighted the need to conserve authentic material expressions of culture in their initial forms, such as monuments, buildings, gardens or landscapes (Cleere 1989, cited in Byrne 1991, p. 271). By contrast, in other cultures, such as that of the Australian aborigines, the notion of 'spiritual continuity' made much more sense to them than that of 'cultural continuity'. The concept of 'spiritual continuity' highlighted the ongoing spiritual relationship of people with material objects, which allowed Australian aborigines to engage in modifications according to their needs in the present without reducing their cultural value. Byrne (1991, p. 274) refers to an ethnographic example from Western Australia of aboriginals who periodically retouch their paintings of Wadjina figures, which portray their ancestral beings. In 1987, outsiders argued that this longstanding practice of aboriginals damaged universal heritage. The above ethnographic data suggests that western principles have been the benchmark that governs the international charters on cultural heritage. Taking this a step further, Cleere (2001, p. 26, cited in Smith 2006, p. 98) argues that the UNESCO World Heritage List 'has proceeded within a more restricted perception of heritage, deriving from largely European aesthetic notions relating to monumental cultures'. As a result, in 2005 49 per cent of the properties identified as 'world heritage' were within European borders. Smith (2006, p. 99) attributes this imbalance to the 'authoritative heritage discourse' (AHD), which has the power not only to identify but also to define which sites, landscapes or buildings are legitimately eligible and

significant enough to be included in the 'World Heritage List'. In other words, AHD has the power to universalize European legacies and practices.

So far, I have discussed the role of international charters and conventions in universalizing the western definition of 'heritage'. Let me now turn briefly to issue of authenticity. The international organizations and funding agencies dealing with the issue of authenticity have managed to naturalize and universalize another western principle. Authenticity has been one of the most debated issues at a multidisciplinary level; scholars from archaeology, architecture, geography, sociology and anthropology have been struggling with this issue for the last few decades. In what follows, I will examine the emergence of the concept of authenticity and the process of its universalization.

The concept of 'authenticity' in relation to 'aesthetics' was first identified as a problem in the Charter of Venice 1964 (Starn 2002, cited in Smith 2006, p. 27):

The conservation of a monument implies preserving a setting which is not out of scale. Wherever the traditional setting exists, it must be kept. No new construction, demolition or modification which would alter the relations of mass and colour must be allowed. ... The process of restoration is a highly specialized operation. Its aim is to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historical value of the monument and is based on respect for original material and authentic documents. (ICOMOS 1964, Article 6 and 9)

As Starn (2002, p. 2 cited in Smith 2006, p. 26) argues, the Venice Charter is 'the canonical text of modern heritage practices'. The Charter managed to normalize and present as 'common sense' the western principle that cultural heritage has

an innate value and significance and should be preserved and conserved in its initial form.

The idea of 'authenticity' was extremely significant for the international charters and conventions that followed. The same logic was in evidence in the 1972 UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage and the 1999 Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance (also known as the Burra Charter). However, one of the most influential documents on the issue was the NARA Document on Authenticity (1994), which was the result of a joint conference between UNESCO, ICOMOS and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM). The Nara Document attempts to address the critiques raised by different indigenous groups and to make a clear statement about the need to protect and enhance cultural and heritage diversity (Article 5). According to the Document, 'cultural heritage diversity exists in time and space, and demands respect for other cultures^{lxxxix} and all aspects of their belief system' (Article 6). Ironically, although the document advocates respect for other cultures and beliefs, the discourse employed reproduces the western principle of authenticity and assumes the moral responsibility of universalising these values. Specifically, authenticity is treated as a quality that can be objectively attributed according to scientific and other criteria. As mentioned in Article 10, 'the understanding of authenticity plays a fundamental role in all scientific studies of the cultural heritage, in conservation and restoration planning, as well as within the inscription procedures used for the World Heritage Convention and other cultural heritage inventories'. Thus, authenticity is identified as one of the

criteria that must be fulfilled in order for a building or monument to be considered worthy of classification and included in the World Heritage List. According to the document, the authenticity of a site can be gauged by looking at its 'form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, and spirit and feeling and other internal and external factors' (Article 13). Although there is an attempt by the authors to take into consideration the beliefs of indigenous populations, the Nara Document the paper nonetheless reproduces the western principle of conserving material aspects of heritage that have not been modified or altered and thus retain their 'authentic' qualities.

This section has shown how the discourses of 'environment' and 'cultural heritage', which emerged during the 1960s in so-called advanced and developed countries in the West, have followed parallel trajectories. These discourses were adopted by people with a critical approach towards the post-war rapid 'development', urbanization and technological 'progress'. The increasing disenchantment with the modern lifestyle created a sense of nostalgia and convinced people of the need to search for value in the past and the pure relationship with the natural environment. The discourses of environment and cultural heritage were produced and reproduced largely by the upper-middle classes of educated elite, university students, scientists and intellectuals. The 1970s witnessed the emergence of the concept of sustainability, which brought together concerns about environmental and heritage protection. International organizations, NGOs and funding agencies adopted the dominant discourses and contributed significantly to universalising western principles and practices of

environmental protection, sustainable development and cultural heritage by inadvertently neglecting concepts that were meaningful to non-European cultures. The effort to apply the dominant practices of environmental and heritage conservation globally created resistance and friction, not only in non-western contexts but also in the West itself. Finally, it is important to note that competing discourses on environment, development and heritage did and still do exist in the West, but they did not manage yet to challenge the existing hegemonic ideas. The issue of competing discourses will be revisited in section 5.5 by drawing on ethnographical data from Cyprus.

5.3 The emergence of 'reflexive tourism' discourse

The concept of 'reflexive tourism' is inspired by the work of Beck (1986) and Giddens (1994) on 'reflexive modernization' and Welz (2000) on 'reflexive traditionalization'. Before I define the term 'reflexive tourism', it is important to clarify that, following Lee (2008, p. 67), I treat the concept of reflexive modernisation as a discourse and not as an actual distinct phase of second modernity, which is objectively characterized by reflexivity and a questioning of its own foundations and values (Beck 2003, p. 16). Although I am aware of the criticisms raised against the theory of 'reflexive modernization' (Alexander 1996; Argyrou 2003; Latour 2003; Shields 2006; Lee 2006, 2008), I believe that the term 'reflexive' is as useful as an analytical tool for the examination of tourism.

I use the term reflexive tourism to refer to the discourse emerged as a critique of the mass tourism discourse in the same way as reflexive modernity stemmed from the critique of early modernity. 'Reflexive tourism' is an umbrella term used to cover a wide range of tourism practices that have developed over the last three decades, such as cultural tourism, eco-tourism, rural tourism, agrotourism or agritourism, heritage tourism, religious tourism, culinary tourism, alternative tourism and geotourism.^{xc}

This section examines how tourism discourse is related to the dominant rhetoric of modernity in the European context. Specifically, I argue that tourism discourse has been substantially shaped by the discourses of 'environment', 'heritage', 'sustainable development' and 'reflexive modernization' that emerged in the European cultural context during the 1980s.

Let me now turn to a more detailed examination of the first phase of tourism discourse, namely 'mass tourism', in juxtaposition with the second phase of tourism discourse, namely 'reflexive tourism'. In the first phase of tourism discourse, as developed between the 1960s and the 1980s,^{xc} mass tourism reflected the fundamental premises of the 'modern', European cultural setting, which demanded 'mass production, large-scale economies, standard products and low prices' (Poon 1993, p. 38, cited in Sezgin and Yolal 2012, p. 86). More specifically, tourism was developed to such a degree that it was normalized by the dominant discourse as a new 'industry' (Löfgren 1999, p. 157). The fundamental 'modern' values of standardization, mass production and low costs were translated by tour operators and agents into the development of standardized vacation packages, fixed charter flights, accommodation at chain

hotels and optional inclusive tours. The holidaymakers were mostly Northern Europeans, who aspired to break away from their daily routines in the Mediterranean region (Sezgin and Yolal 2012, p. 76, 81). Most of the vacationers spent a week in their destination, and their motives were largely leisure related. Mediterranean mass tourism was based on the four 'S's – sun, sea, sand and sex – which contributed to a growth model that reproduced the logic of 'development' and the exploitation of coastal regions and their natural environment. During the boom in foreign tourism in the 1970s and 1980s, numerous remote fishing villages were transformed into a homogeneous tourism product consisting of giant cosmopolitan coastal resorts with high-rise buildings, swimming pools, bars, restaurants, tennis courts, golf courses, spas and other facilities (Löfgren 1999, p. 174). As noted in Chapter Four, the modern vision of development was founded on the premise of endless growth and on the exploitation of nature. As Beck et al. (2003, p. 4) argue, in modernity, 'nature is conceived as a neutral resource, which can and must be available without limitation'. This 'progressive' vision was also supported by scientists and experts. According to Latour (2003, p. 50), 'society was conceived as a linear system' and based on this premise, mass tourism was identified as the stepping-stone for many developing states to achieve modernity and development.

I shall now turn to the second phase of tourism discourse, namely 'reflexive tourism', as developed in the European cultural context from the 1980s onwards. I argue that the transformation of tourism discourse that occurred in the 1980s is linked to the discourse or myth (Argyrou 2003) of reflexive modernization, as reproduced by several Europeans nowadays and theorized by Beck and Giddens.

One of the basic premises of the reflexive modernisation theory is that in the 1980s, an unintended 'fundamental societal transformation [occurred] within modernity' (Beck et al. 2003, p. 2), which changed the meaning of modernity and tradition (Welz 2000, p. 11). 'Reflexive tourism', just like reflexive modernization, was the result of 'unintended consequences of actions [that] reverberate(d) throughout the whole of society in such a way that they have become intractable' (Latour 2003, p. 36). Furthermore, the new discourse that emerged in the 1980s, of environment, development and cultural heritage, was the outcome of the wider unintended or undesired consequences and critiques of modernity. As a result, the empowered agents, in this case the European educated elite, changed the content of the dominant discourse and produced a counter-modernity that facilitated the emergence of the 'reflexive tourism' discourse. I will now focus on four changes that I believe highlight the challenge posed by the new logic of 'reflexive tourism' on mass tourism discourse.

Firstly, mass tourism discourse advocated the development of large industrial-scale tourism. This idea was later challenged by the counter discourse of 'reflexive tourism', which encouraged the development of small-scale tourism on an individual basis. It seems that agents of 'reflexive tourism' discourse, such as tourists and tourism operators, share the views of Beck and Giddens, albeit in a less theorized format. Specifically, according to the agents of reflexive tourism, one of its fundamental values is its commitment to examining the 'unquestioned basis' of mass tourism 'in terms of its rationality' (Beck et al. 2003, p. 16). In other words, reflexive tourists share a new mindset, a new logic, which allows them to challenge the so-called benefits of mass tourism with reference to the

environment, the economy and society in general. They consider themselves responsible for their own individual choices and accountable for the impact of their stay or actions on the host society. In a sense, national rights and responsibilities become global rights and responsibilities (Lash 2003, p. 53). To put this in another way, global citizens or reflexive tourists are concerned about the distribution of profits and the environmental and social impact of their choices on the local society and the world in general. The new discourse of reflexive tourism was manifested in one of my discussions with a 30-year-old man from Israel who was holidaying in Kakopetria. He explained his logic to me over a glass of 'traditional' Cypriot rose water on the balcony of his rented agrotourist house:

By spending my vacation at the Hilton or any other chain hotel, I am aware that the economic benefit that will result from my stay will help a global company to increase even more its profit by taking advantage of cheap labour. The benefits for the local society are minimized, while the environmental and social impact is increased. On the other hand, by choosing to stay at a small-scale hotel which respects traditional architecture, culture and the surrounding environment, I contribute to the boost of the local economy and minimize the negative impact on the local society and environment. (fieldnotes)

In sum, reflexive tourists believe that they are in a position to 'reflect on' or 'self confront' (Beck, 1994, p. 5) the impact of their choices or actions on the environment, economy and society in general.

The second change that attests to the transition from mass tourism rhetoric to reflexive tourism discourse is the shift from regulated, packaged and standardized vacations to unregulated, self-organized and differentiated forms.

It seems that there is an increasing independence of agency from structure (Lash 2003, p. 50), which in the context of reflexive tourism is translated into an increasing independence of tourists from tourism operators and agents. In mass tourism discourse, individuals were dependent on travel agents for the arrangement of flights, hotels, tours and even lunches and dinners. Their motive was to feel secure and to minimize the risk and anxiety that may result from being in an unfamiliar cultural context. The feeling of 'safety' was promoted as an advantage by the tour operators, who created groups of culturally homogeneous tourists that stayed in the same hotels, ate at the same restaurants and traveled in the same buses to the same places. Vacations were standardized to such a degree that packages in the Mediterranean were identical, regardless of whether one was in Spain or Greece (Löfgren 1999, p. 188). According to Löfgren (1999, p. 194) the Mediterranean tourism product became so homogenised that 'a traditional Greek dinner, served in Rhodes or Tenerife, might include Danish imitation feta cheese, Taiwan bamboo skewers for the souvlaki, and Amstel beer brewed on license'. In contrast, reflexive tourists dislike travelling in groups, staying at large hotel chains and eating at cosmopolitan restaurants that do not 'respect' the cultural history of their surroundings. They organize their vacations themselves with the intention of avoiding popular touristic attractions and high seasons (Kneafsey 1994, p. 105), as if the presence of other tourists will detract from the 'authenticity' of the experience. In brief, reflexive tourists are intrigued by unknown cultural contexts (Boissevain 1996, p. 3).

The third significant change in tourism discourse concerns the motive for travelling, which has shifted from leisure to responsible experience. As Valene

Smith argues, 'a tourist is a temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing change' (1989, p. 1). Indeed, leisure and recreation were perceived to be key motives of tourists during the golden age of mass tourism. The phenomenon of mass tourism contributed to the emergence of a new 'class' of people, namely tourists, who demanded a specific standard and variety of services, products and amenities. This demand, coupled with the increasing homogenization of the tourism product (Löfgren 1999, p. 188), resulted in competition between destinations that was predicated more on the facilities they had to offer and the cost of the package than on the country itself and its cultural or natural assets. As mentioned in Chapter Four, the increasing demand for these standardized packages led to a drastic homogenization of the natural and cultural landscape, especially in the Mediterranean region. To put it another way, the tourist wanted to enjoy his/her English breakfast, French filter coffee, banana split, Greek salad, steak Diane, schnitzel, hamburger or carbonara while sitting under the palm trees of the pool bar at a four-star beach hotel, regardless of whether he or she was in the French Riviera, the Costa del Sol, Corfu, Tenerife or Cyprus (Löfgren 1999, p. 194, Smith 1989, p. 9). As Smith (1989, p. 14) notes, for charter tourists, the destination might be of very little importance.

With the shift to reflexive tourism discourse, it seems that tourism has lost its taken-for-granted motive, namely leisure. As a result, mass tourism becomes 'reflexive' when it 'dissolves' or 'disenchants' leisure by scrutinizing the impacts of holidaymakers' choices (Beck 2003, p. 3). Leisure and entertainment are replaced by the 'moral economy of responsibility' (Herzfeld 2001, p. 186, cited in

Welz 2012, p. 189), the willingness to learn and the experience of the 'authentic' Other in a vanishing cultural and natural environment. The isolation of tourists from the host society in 'all-inclusive' hotels is giving way to their active involvement with this society through various cultural activities. Specifically, 'reflexive' tourists prefer to stay in small-scale, traditional accommodation in their host community. In some cases, this might include the option of overnight stays in the homes or farms of indigenous people (Smith 1989, p. 10, Smith 2003, p. 41). Reflexive tourists want to be actively involved in their host society, with the ultimate goal of indulging themselves in the local culture or having an adventure or the 'experience of a lifetime'. The emergence of volunteer tourism in the 1990s illustrates my point neatly. Volunteer tourism is undertaken mostly by European school or university graduates who are looking to contribute towards social causes such as reducing poverty or promoting sustainable development. Typical assignments include cultivating rice in Peru, working in an orphanage in Cambodia and teaching English in China.^{xcii} The important thing to note here is that it is a prerequisite for 'reflexive tourists' that all these activities will be fulfilled in an 'ethical', 'responsible'^{xciii} and 'sustainable' manner that will maximize the economic benefits for locals and reduce the social and environmental impacts of their stay. The slogan 'Impact the world. Impact yourself' captures the philosophy of 'reflexive tourism'.^{xciv}

The fourth and final change that signifies the transition from mass tourism to 'reflexive tourism' concerns the shift in perceptions of nature from something to be freely exploited to something 'fragile' and in need of protection. As discussed above, during the golden era of mass tourism, natural resources were treated as

humans' ownership to be utilized in order to achieve unlimited growth, progress and 'development'. Following Beck (1999, p. 21), I argue that one of the unwanted effect of modernity was the change of its cultural model into a reflexive model that 'rediscovered' nature and tradition. Nature, the force that should be mastered, was transformed into a 'fragile environment' that in its 'pure' form is considered an 'asset' to the tourism industry. Landscapes are romantically represented as 'natures' miracle', to be consumed by gazing upon them. Similarly, tradition, which was once associated with backwardness, is transformed into cultural heritage, which should be protected, preserved, conserved and above all organized and displayed for tourist consumption. Although these ideas first appeared in Europe and North America, they were subsequently reproduced in other parts of the world. For example, Moeran (2004, p. 115) refers to a new tourism approach that emerged among Japanese in the 1980s, which was clearly influenced by the discourse of sustainable tourism, environment and heritage. Specifically, the Japanese tourists in the 1980s were interested in immersing themselves in their host society by trying the local cuisine or participating in local people's activities, whereas a few years before all they wanted to do was 'see the sights' of the country (Moeran 2004, p. 115).

So far we have discussed the most significant changes that mark the transition from mass tourism to 'reflexive tourism' discourse.^{xcv} It is important to note that I do not suggest that mass tourism has vanished. Rather, mass tourism overlaps with reflexive tourism, and this is what makes issues more complicated and interesting. In a similar vein, when I argue that 'reflexive tourists' emerged in the

1980s in the western cultural context, I do not ignore the existence of tourists interested in experiencing the 'local culture', history or natural beauty of their destination prior to this.^{xvii} The key thing to highlight here is that during the golden era of mass tourism, those interested in the cultural and natural heritage of destinations were members of the intellectual elite (Smith 1989, p. 5), and that this reflexivity was thus a marginal trend. As Richards (2005, p. 13) states, 'until recently, the development of tourism and culture was relatively independent. The number of "cultural tourists" was small, and tourism consumption of cultural facilities during their travels tended to be incidental.'

This prompts the question, since cultural tourists existed well before the 1980s, are we justified in talking about a transition from mass tourism to reflexive tourism discourse? I believe that we are. Over the last three decades, an increasing number of tourists identifies their tourism practices as cultural tourism, eco-tourism or alternative tourism.

Let me focus on one of the several tourism practices that falls under the broader term 'reflexive' tourism, namely cultural tourism. Several scholars have identified cultural tourism as a major future growth area (Januarius 1992; Zeppel and Hall 1992; Boniface and Fowler 1993, cited in Richards 2005, p. 31, Smith 2003, p. 31). Figures provided by the World Tourism Organization show that the increase in the number of tourists who identify themselves as 'cultural tourists' is not merely a theoretical assumption. In 1991, for example, 70 per cent of international trips made by Europeans tourists who identified themselves as 'independent travellers', a stark contrast with the all-inclusive mentality that was dominant a few decades before (Urry 2004, p. 438). The number of cultural

tourists in 1995 was 37 per cent, and nine years later the percentage had increased to 40 per cent (Richards 2011, p. 23). In 2009, there were 375 million cultural trips made globally (Richards 2011, p. 23), which suggests that cultural tourism is no longer a marginal activity performed by a small group of intellectual elites. On the contrary, cultural tourism has been opened up to a wider audience (Richards 2005, p. 13; Smith 2006, p. 41) outside the higher social classes. It seems that young people increasingly and consciously reject the mass tourism model, which promotes standardized packaged holidays (Desforges 1998, cited in Urry 2002, p. 47). Furthermore, the figures above do not include the number of trips or vacations that are identified as eco-tourism, alternative tourism, rural tourism, agrotourism or any other practices that fall under the proposed definition of 'reflexive tourism'. Had such figures been available, it seems likely that the global proportion of 'cultural tourists' would have been much higher. In sum, I argue that 'reflexive tourism' as a discourse and a practice has changed from an elite or marginal pursuit to a cultural need or desire of the masses.^{xcvii}

Bearing in mind the previous points, I suggest that the transition from 'modern' to 'reflexive' discourse is also echoed in the new tourism discourse and practices that emerged in the 1980s in Europe. According to Argyrou (2003, p. 28) the myth of reflexivity is a western construct that re-establishes western identity as superior to that of Others. The process by which the West is renewing the 'contract' with modernity, enables Western identity to maintain 'a sense of distinction' (Bourdieu 1984, cited in Argyrou 2003, p. 28) and this is achieved by creating cultural distance from Europe's 'modern' past. In a global context, this

process leaves further behind the so-called developing nations, which are struggling to catch up with modern, 'advanced' nation states (Argyrou 2006). On another level, the process has created a new 'class' – the 'reflexive' moderns – who distinguish themselves as *real* moderns or *more* modern than the simple moderns. As a result, 'reflexive' moderns create cultural distance from the internal Other (i.e. immigrants and the working classes), who are still striving naively for simple modernity, without being concerned about the environment, sustainable development or cultural heritage.

I will refer to an example from the United Kingdom in order to illustrate the perceived superiority of the 'reflexive' moderns in comparison with the simple moderns in the western cultural context. In 2013 the Green Party of Southampton campaigned in the framework of the City Council elections with the slogan 'Green Party *Real Progress*'^{xcviii} (Figure 18), which connotes that the others, who are *not* concerned about the environment are deluded to perceive themselves as progressive but they are *not* in reality. Thus, the environmentalists perceive themselves to be in a superior position than the rest, since they are in the position to *know* the truth of what *real progress* is about.

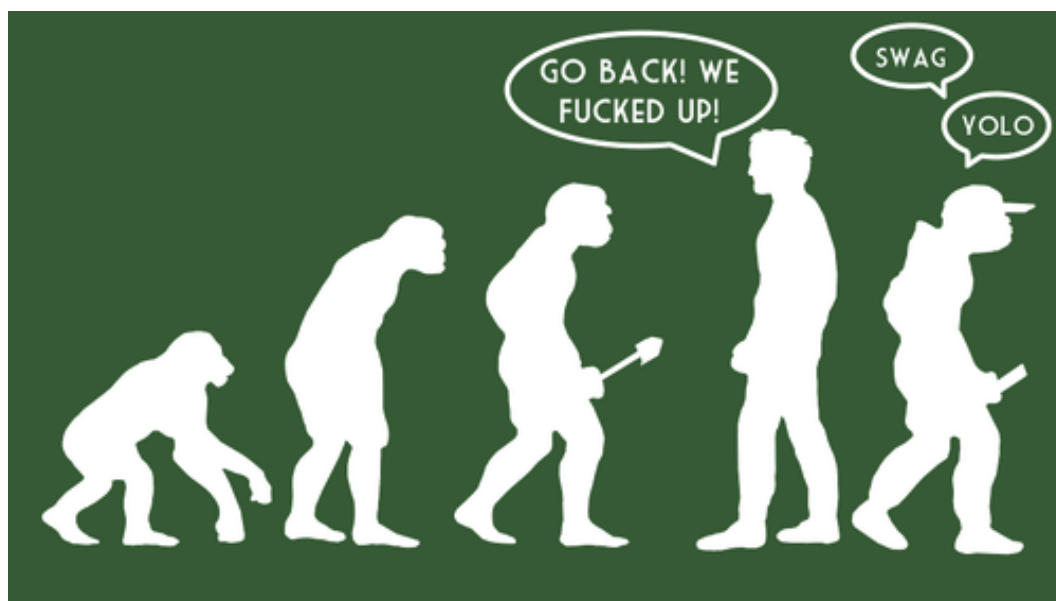
Figure 18: The Green Party of Southampton campaign slogan for City elections in 2013



Source: <http://swhantsgreenparty.blogspot.com/>, Date accessed: 10 June 2013

Another example of a sign, which communicates the superiority of the 'reflexive' modern individual is a graphic image which is entitled 'Go back, we fucked up!'^{xcix} (Figure 19). The visual image is gaining increasing popularity in the social media networks and it reverses the evolution theory. It portrays the evolution of humankind, from apes to modern man and communicates the message that real evolution will happen only if humans return 'back' to safeguarding environment and tradition. While the *real* modern man is aware that he or she should turn 'back', the one who continues to strive for simple modernity is portrayed as backward. Interestingly, the image portrays the simple modern man as less human, closer to his or her animal instincts. Following Argyrou (2005), I argue that the graphic image under discussion signifies the western principle of evolutionism is still dominant but its content is reversed. In other words, what is challenged is the content of evolution and not the concept as such.

Figure 19: The graphic image entitled 'Go back, we fucked up'



Source:<http://www.yeousch.com/community/threads/go-back-we-fucked-up....3795/>, Date accessed: 10 June 2013

Let me now turn to the cultural setting of Cyprus and illustrate how the discourse of 'reflexive' tourism has created a new class of 'reflexive tourists', who distinguish themselves from the masses that are still striving for standardized, packaged tourism. Constantinos, a 30-year-old man, university graduate who studied Greek Literature and is now working in the tourism sector, explained to me who can be classified as a 'modern' or 'quality' tourist and how his or her demands differ from those of the mass tourist:

The modern tourist is the man who is interested in learning something; he is interested in having an experience on his trip. He wants to see places, to visit monuments. He wants to eat authentic local food, get to know the local tradition, so he wants a quality restaurant that offers traditional dishes. He wants to know the tradition of the place he is visiting; he wants to buy traditional products, go to cultural workshops and events. In sum, he wants to gain an experience from his trip, and in order to do so, he needs all the things that I mentioned. The mass tourist is the type of tourist that Cyprus attracted for so many years, the thousands of tourists who still visit the coastal areas. They are the tourists who buy package tours. This tourist can go anywhere depending on the cheap package that the agent will offer. How can I explain you? It is a different quality of people. They are not interested in seeing something or in doing something. They will go to the hotel, put on their wristband and stay in the hotel, basking in the sun like hens [*na liazontai mes ton ilio san tis ornithes*] with their skin all wrinkled because they have been in the water for twenty hours [*na zaronoun giati itan mes to nero eikosi ores*]. This is a type of tourist that I don't want to see in Troodos, nor do I have anything to offer him. (recorded)

In the following section, I will illustrate the reproduction of reflexive tourism discourse and practice in Cyprus in order to shed light on the ambivalence and complexity inherited in the process of universalizing modernity.

5.4 Re-inventing Cyprus in the framework of 'reflexive tourism'

5.4.1 Rural cultural tourism in Cyprus

As discussed in Chapter Four, post-colonial Cyprus developed during the 1960s and 1970s into one of the major mass tourism destinations in the Mediterranean region, capitalizing mostly on its twin assets of 'sun and sea'. The 1974 Turkish invasion briefly interrupted the rapid growth and development, but the tourism industry had fully recovered by the early 1980s (Sharpley 2003, p. 257). The vision of mass tourism development was so dominant in Cyprus that it was perceived as the 'normal' way forward and was difficult to challenge. In the early 1970s, there were some unofficial critiques raised by a small minority against the course of development in Cyprus. However, these critiques did not result in any changes in public policies, since the impacts of the subsequent invasion enhanced the discourse of rapid development and growth on the island. Nonetheless, during the 1980s the dominant rhetoric of development began to change and the necessary cultural conditions were met for the development of rural cultural tourism in Cyprus. The change in the dominant discourse of environment, development, heritage and tourism will be examined in more detail in section 5.4.2.

The emergence of rural cultural tourism as an alternative vision of development was not surprising, taking into consideration the change of rhetoric in relation to the environment, development and heritage elsewhere in Europe. As a result of this change, cultural tourism was promoted in several countries in southern Europe, especially in rural areas, which were considered socially, economically

and demographically disadvantaged (Sharpley 2002, p. 234; 2003, p. 257; Smith 2003, p. 76). On the one hand, tourism was seen as the tool to reverse the demographic and economic decline of rural areas. On the other hand, it seems that the revitalization of rural areas was not always the main concern of policy makers. In fact, it appears that a scarcity of resources and the need to upgrade their tourism product left the Mediterranean islands with little choice but to embrace rural cultural tourism (Smith 2003, p. 76). Several authors have addressed the issue of cultural or rural tourism in southern Europe, such as in Spain (Waldren 1996), Portugal (Silva 2011; 2012), Italy (Van de Borg and Costa 1996), Malta (Boissevain 1996), Greece (Kalogeropoulou 1996; Caftanzoglou 2000) and Cyprus (Sharpley 2002; 2003; Farmaki 2012).

As Smith (1977, p. 4) argues, cultural tourism attracts people who feel nostalgia for the past and peasant lifestyles and are in search of the 'picturesque' and 'local colour', which are endangered by modern lifestyles. The term 'cultural tourism' refers to the consumption of culture, nature and tradition on a small scale. It may include art performances, cultural tours, participation in festivals and other cultural events, monuments and site visits, the study of nature, tradition and religious events. The term 'rural tourism',^c meanwhile, refers to any of the abovementioned activities undertaken in a rural setting (Farmaki 2012, p. 73). In the context of cultural and rural tourism, each area is supposed to have 'its own authentic, specific character', which is derived from its cultural heritage and preservation of tradition. In other words, each area has to construct, confirm and promote a stable identity, which is verified and authenticated by others, in this case the tourists (McKercher and Cros 2002, p. 1).

Returning now to Cyprus, although the need for a more 'balanced [and] sustainable approach to tourism' was mentioned in several reports and measures announced by the CTO in the 1980s, it seems that the Cypriot authorities were largely unsuccessful in implementing until then any actions to this end (Sharpley 2003, p. 257). During the mid-1980s, the issue of 'sustainability' was a concern of other Mediterranean tourism destinations, such as Malta (Boissevain and Theuma 1998, p. 99) and Portugal (Silva 2011; 2012). It seems that Malta and Portugal followed a parallel discourse trajectory to Cyprus, since the growing public concern with 'sustainability' resulted in the implementation of actual measures and policies in the early 1990s.

Specifically, in the 1990s the Cyprus Tourism Organization acknowledged the international tendency towards cultural tourism and the so-called crisis in the Cypriot tourism industry. In 1990, the CTO officially changed its planning and marketing objectives for the first time. Among other objectives were the advancement of special interest tourism and alternative forms of tourism (e.g. agrotourism), the promotion of individual, non-organized tourism, the development of winter tourism and the diversification of tourist markets (CTO 1990, p. 32).

The perceived 'necessity' of promoting culture as part of the Cyprus tourism product was the idea that formulated one of the basic objectives of the tourism policy. In 1991, the CTO officially launched a cultural rural tourism programme, entitled 'Agrotourism'. The main objectives of this programme were to preserve the natural and cultural environment and to 'open up rural Cyprus to nature

tourism by capitalizing on the island's people, authenticity, hospitality, culture and unspoiled nature' (Saveriades 2001).

In one of my numerous visits to the CTO offices I met Emilios, the coordinator of the agrotourism programme. Emilios, was trained as an architect in the United Kingdom and he has been working for the CTO for more than two decades. When I entered in his office I saw a polite man in his late fifties, with white hair, moustache and glasses, who later took me my surprise by how well articulated he was. I could feel his genuine enthusiasm in the way he talked about the background story that led to his decision to promote agrotourism:

I was working in England, and when I came back to Cyprus we created with some friends the '*Ikologiki Kinisi*' [Ecological Movement], which has since been transformed into the Green Party. In 1985, we created the '*Filoi tou Akama*' [Friends of Akamas] in order to bring to the table some ecological concerns and issues. That Akamas' poster that you can see on the wall, it is my creation, I painted that in 1989. Anyway, back then in 1986-1987, we were discussing alternative approaches to development and tourism and especially the Akamas issue. So, I wanted to see all these things implemented'. I needed to see the preservation of cultural heritage in the countryside. I was not so much interested in tourism as such, but I could not see any other way to save the villages. Back then, they [rural residents] used to demolish traditional villages; they did not appreciate the value of traditional houses. They wanted to demolish the houses in the centre of the village in order to create spacious streets, big enough for the tourist buses. Under these tragic conditions, we tried to learn from what was going on in Greece... That was when we found out about the newly established agrotourism companies and women's cooperatives.

In this context of increased sensibilities about the environment and cultural heritage, the CTO, working in conjunction with other governmental departments, initiated two development schemes within the framework of the agrotourism

programme. The first scheme provided subsidies to local authorities for the restoration, upgrading and 'embellishment' of public spaces that could contribute to the enrichment of the tourism product of the wider region and interested villages (CTO 1991, 21). It involved the restoration of village squares and public buildings with traditional architecture and the creation of natural paths. The second scheme provided financial incentives to owners of traditional houses to restore and convert them into tourism-oriented facilities (Sharpley 2002, p. 238). By 2003, the scheme ceased to exist since it was believed by the management of CTO that firstly it fulfilled its objectives and secondly, it was the time for the Town Planning and Housing Department to undertake this responsibility. The material outcomes of the program were 72 traditional accommodation units (with a total of 575 beds) operating in 31 villages on the island (CTO 2003, p. 17). Other restoration and conversion projects included catering establishments, craft shops, museums and exhibition halls (Michael 1998). In 1995, the Cyprus Agrotourism Company was established by the CTO and registered as a non-profit organization with the main purpose of marketing its members' agrotourism establishments. Today, the online reservation system and the annual booklet are seen as the main promotional activity to all establishments.^{ci}

The efforts of the Cypriot authorities to promote sustainable tourism policies and particularly agrotourism were invigorated by the European Union after Cyprus submitted an application for full membership in 1990. The EU, through its numerous policies, strategies and funding schemes, has become politically involved in the process of spreading European ideas in Cyprus (Welz 2012). In

the mid-1990s, the involvement of the European Union and its close cooperation with Cypriot tourism authorities resulted in the 'Europeanization' of Cyprus' tourism product. Since 1995 a special section has been included in the Annual Reports of the CTO entitled 'European Union', which describes the process of aligning Cyprus's tourist model with European Union Directives and Regulations (CTO 1995, p. 16). One year later, the CTO announced that the European Union had approved [and funded] the Programme for the revitalization of Cyprus Tourism within the framework of the Union's Action Plan for the support of tourism. Participants at the Programme are, besides the CTO which is the coordinator, relevant organizations from Cyprus and Counselor Companies from Germany, the United Kingdom and Ireland (CTO 1996, p. 17). Among the activities implemented, as part of the programme were the organization of seminars on 'Cultural Tourism and Special Interest Tourism', the active involvement of the CTO in founding a relevant association and conducting promotional campaigns on cultural tourism and authentic Cypriot cuisine (CTO 1996, p. 17).

The important thing to note here is that, according to the Cypriot and European authorities, the development of infrastructure was not sufficient in itself for the development of cultural tourism on the island. It was clear in the eyes of bureaucrats that Cypriots needed to be 'trained' in the basic principles of cultural tourism. As a result, in 1998 the Department of Agriculture of the Ministry of Agriculture, Natural Resources and Environment, offered support for the agrotourism programme by providing 'enriching' activities and training for the inhabitants of rural areas. Among other things, these local people were offered

training in traditional embroidery techniques, traditional cooking and traditional interior design in order to ensure that their hotels, restaurants and shops possessed the appropriate aesthetics. The Department of Agriculture also promoted the setting up of small-scale industries for the production traditional handicrafts and the creation of traditional restaurants and shops (PIO 1999, p. 13-14). In addition, informational materials and vocational training were delivered as part of the Leonardo da Vinci project 'Cultural Heritage Tourism Network', which was co-funded by the European Union and coordinated by the CTO (CTO 1999, p. 15).

In 2000, the CTO published the 'Strategic Plan for Tourism 2000-2010', which set the foundations for a new era of tourism based on the logic of sustainable development (CTO 2000, p. 5). Within this framework, a number of projects were implemented and co-funded by the Cypriot state and the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). For example, three cultural routes were developed, namely Aphrodite Routes,^{cii} Religious Routes and Wine Routes. In addition natural trails were created including the European Long Distance Trail E4 and a cycling routes network.^{ciii}

Meanwhile, policies and projects implemented by other national authorities in cooperation with the European Union complimented the efforts of the CTO to 'reposition Cyprus' as a quality destination. I will focus only on two such policies, namely the NATURA 2000 network and Agrotourism Funding Scheme, in order to illustrate my point better. Let me first turn to the NATURA 2000 network, which has played an important role in developing a new, 'upgraded' tourism product in Cyprus. NATURA 2000 is a European network of nature-protected

areas established under the Habitats Directive of 1992. The areas designated as NATURA 2000 sites are monitored according to the individual management plan developed by a committee that may include scientists, governmental officers, environmental organizations, entrepreneurs, politicians and local people (Welz 2012b, p. 186). The management plans define the forms of land use and development that are permitted in the protected areas, their main aim being the conservation of biodiversity (Welz 2012b, p. 179). According to the last update of the NATURA 2000, the network accounts for 15.1 per cent of the total land controlled by the Republic of Cyprus, which is under the jurisdiction of management plans.^{civ} Although NATURA 2000 has caused friction^{cv} in Cypriot society, the preservation of a green, 'unspoilt' environment is seen by many tourism brokers as a significant asset in their efforts to promote alternative tourism practices.

The second policy under examination is the 'Funding scheme for small-medium enterprises (SMEs) for promotion of agrotourism in rural areas',^{cvi} which is co-funded by the European Union and the Republic of Cyprus. This funding scheme is part of a broader regional development scheme known as Operational Programme 'Sustainable Development and Competitiveness 2007-2013', which is part of the Convergence and Regional Competitiveness and Employment objective, co-funded by the Cohesion Fund (CF) and the European Regional Development Fund.^{cvi} At the national level, the authority responsible for monitoring and administering the agrotourism funding scheme is the Department of Town Planning and Housing. The implementation of this scheme has two main objectives. The first is the promotion of investment by SMEs in

sustainable tourism entrepreneurship, which is related to the enhancement and promotion of the cultural and natural assets of rural Cyprus in order to supplement the income of local residents. The second objective is the protection, preservation, restoration and aesthetic improvement of the traditional character and authenticity of rural Cyprus. The cultural and natural environment of rural Cyprus and countryside residents are considered vital elements in the process of providing an 'integrated, authentic tourist experience' (Town Planning and Housing 2007, p. 2). To date, 90 projects have been funded and finalized, and several more will be funded during the ongoing open call for submission of proposals.^{cviii} According to the CTO, in the last quarter of 2012 there were a total of 1,346 beds available in traditional hotels or hotel apartments in Cyprus, in comparison with the total number of 86,744 beds available on the island.^{cix}

Finally, a significant impetus for the emergence of Cyprus as a distinct destination for cultural rural tourism was the CTO's development of a 'Regional Tourism Strategy and Action Plan for Cyprus' Hill Resorts' in 2006-2007, which was co-funded by European Regional Development Fund (CTO 2007, p. 51). The focus of the plan was the Troodos area, which was treated by the CTO and the Greek consultancy firm that developed the marketing vision as a culturally and naturally unified region. The marketing experts suggested that Troodos should develop its own marketing strategy, promoting its distinct, unique character from the rest of Cyprus. In other words, tourism authorities and brokers should develop and promote 'Troodos brand' (SPEED 2007, p. 244). Ironically, the local distinctiveness of Troodos was established 'through relations with the outside

world [e.g. marketing consultants] rather than as a result of isolation' (Abram 1997, p. 7).

In 2007, the 'Troodos Tourism Development and Promotion Company'^{cx} (henceforth the Company) was established to promote the revitalization of the Troodos region and forms of mild and sustainable tourism development. Since its foundation, the Company has been very active in submitting proposals for funding under various European schemes. In 2007, due to my preoccupation with tourism in Troodos region, I was approached by one of the most active members of the Company, who happened to be a good friend of mine and he asked for my help. Specifically, my friend Nicolas asked me to write a proposal for Troodos that they were planning to submit to the European Destinations of Excellence (EDEN) competition for funding purposes.^{cx} EDEN is a competition run by the European Commission that promotes regions, which develop sustainably as 'destinations of excellence'. Initially I declined to help with the proposal, but my friend was very insistent, arguing that it would be difficult to find another person who knew about rural tourism and European funding and who also loved Troodos and its inhabitants. Although I knew that this was not part of my role as researcher, I could not resist the temptation to help my friend achieve his 'life dream', so I went ahead and wrote the application. I felt very uneasy to once again be preaching about sustainable tourism development but the difference was that I was now reproducing the discourse at my informants' request. In the end, Troodos won the EDEN award, and as a result, its visibility as an emerging European destination was enhanced through the publication of

leaflets and audio-visual materials, funded and promoted by the European Commission as part of the award.

Like other European countries, the development of Cyprus's tourism product and its content is directly related to the initiatives of the European Union and its policies (Meldon 1994, p. 87). For example, between 1989 and 1993, 5.5 per cent of the European Union structural funds were distributed to Objective 1 regions, that is, regions that are defined as 'structurally backward' for tourism development purposes (Sharpley 2002, p. 233). The decision of how to allocate the available funds is a political one that has a significant impact on the developmental vision and identity of the native population, especially in disadvantaged areas. The construction of this new identity is being co-funded by the European Union and the Cypriot state. In sum, the European Union, in collaboration with the member states, seeks to create a new kind of European and modern identity that will be shared by all European citizens.

5.4.1 New discourse, new identity?

The aim of this section is to outline the new tourism discourse that emerged in Cyprus during the 1980s and 1990s and to show how is it related to discourses of 'environment' and 'heritage'. I will address the following key questions: How and why did the dominant discourse change? Who were the agents of this change? And how is this change of discourse related with issues of power at the local and global level?

The main argument made in this section is that the power of western hegemony not only defined but also reversed the definition of modernity in such a way that its authority in the Cyprus cultural context is maintained and legitimized. The change of discourse from mass tourism to reflexive tourism in the so-called more advanced countries changed native elites' perceptions of the modernist paradigm. According to Welz (2011), modernity and tradition are not what they used to be. In more detail, what was perceived in the 1960s as 'tourism development', 'growth', 'progress' and 'cosmopolitanism' was reconceptualized by native elites and experts in the 1980s and 1990s as 'unsustainable', 'irresponsible', 'inauthentic' and 'kitsch'. The 'reflexive tourism' discourse and the new spatial practices have created friction between native elites and rural residents, who continue to cling to the modernist paradigm of the 1960s. In short, the existence of multiple modernities and the ongoing process of being and becoming on the island are reflected in contested identities, practices and landscapes.

Before examining the change of discourse of environment, development, heritage and tourism in the 1980s and 1990s, it is helpful to consider the cultural background and profile of the native elites – the agents of change – in order to illustrate the link between their own views and the dominant European principles. Let me clarify, though, that when I use the term 'native elites', I do not refer exclusively to an upper class of individuals who belong to aristocratic families or who have inherited great wealth. This term includes individuals who would classify themselves as middle or upper-middle class, such as professionals with university undergraduate or postgraduate degrees who have access to

political power through their role as experts or active citizens. For example, the term includes governmental officers, consultants, experts, intellectuals, artists and NGO members. It is important to highlight that the majority of native elites have a similar cultural profile and background. Most were born in the 1950s and 1960s in Cyprus and have spent some years living abroad as university students and/or professionals. There was no university in Cyprus until 1989, so those graduates of the 1970s and 1980s who could afford to study, left the island to obtain their degrees in the United Kingdom, Greece, Germany, France or the United States. Native elites are often multilingual and have high intercultural competencies. During their studies or stays abroad, most were exposed to the new discourses of 'environment', 'cultural heritage' and 'sustainable development' that emerged in the West. With their return to Cyprus, they brought with them the legacy of this 'new modernity'. Each one from their position started to reproduce this discourse, feeling the 'burden' not to *civilize* the Others, as the colonizers had attempted a few decades before, but to *modernize* those who were not lucky enough to know what real modernity was about. Arguing along the same lines as Argyrou (2006, p. 219) they 'revealed themselves as neo-colonial subjects'.

In order to illustrate my point, I will focus on the profile of environmentalists in Cyprus. In the 1980s, two of Cyprus' most influential environmental NGOs – 'Friends of Akama' (established 1986) and 'Ecological Movement' (established 1989) – were established to protect the Akamas region in the face of government plans to allow the construction of tourist resorts in the area. Ecological Movement, which later developed into the Green Party of Cyprus, was at the time

the largest and most active NGO on the island. In 1994, its members consisted mainly of architects, engineers, teachers, doctors, lawyers, accountants, economists, civil servants, students, business owners, journalists and artists (Argyrou 1997, p. 164). Some of these individuals were also active in or had close relationships with members of the Cyprus Architectural Heritage Organization (CAHO), which was founded in 1979. The interesting thing to note here is that many of these individuals now work as experts, and I therefore met and interviewed several of them during my research in the Planning Bureau, Department of Environment, Department of Town Planning and Housing, the Cyprus Tourism Organization and the European Parliament in Cyprus.

One of the environmental activists in the 1980s was Emilios, the initiator of the agrotourism programme in Cyprus, who was a member of Ecological Movement and CAHO. I enquired as to what made him environmentally conscious and he replied as follows:

This is a very difficult question; maybe my studies abroad, although my studies were strongly influenced by the modernist movement. I am a pure child of modernism, although in the last years of my studies a critique emerged against modernism... I have to admit that although I accepted and internalized some aspects of the critiques, I did not completely denounce modernism.

I suggest that native elites enacted as agents of change in the Cypriot cultural setting. In the 1980s, these elites were very active in reproducing the western discourse and practices of sustainable tourism, which began to bear fruit in the early 1990s. Following Cheong and Miller (2004, p. 240), I argue that native elites used their power and authority to construct new policies and strategies

that would provoke change in Cypriot society. In other words, they used their power to produce new domains of knowledge and normalize the discourses of 'sustainable development', 'environment' and 'cultural heritage'. As a result, native elites re-defined modernity and laid the foundations for a revised modern identity in Cyprus, in such a way that domestic elites had the power to 'monitor', 'inspect', 'approve' or 'disapprove' material expression of this identity. This subject will be discussed further in section 5.5.

Let me now examine the emergence of the concepts of 'environment', 'sustainability' and heritage' in the tourism discourse of Cyprus in the 1980s. I will illustrate how native elites reproduced western principles of 'environment', 'sustainability' and 'heritage' and will show how these are intertwined with the new discourse of 'reflexive tourism' that emerged in Cyprus in the late 1980s and 1990s.

'Environment', 'development' and 'sustainability'

The national authorities were relatively slow to react to the new discourse employed by the native elites in the 1980s. By the late 1980s, the official rhetoric of national authorities came into terms with the dominant discourse employed by native elites, who in turn reproduced the discourse of their European counterparts.

The first official document that signified the transition to a new discourse and rhetoric was the 'Five Year Development Plan 1989-1993'. It should be noted that after the invasion of 1974, the Planning Bureau published the so-called

emergency plans. The last of these was the Fifth Emergency Economic Plan 1987-91, which was never approved by the Government since according to them it needed to be revised. Instead of revising the Fifth Emergency Economic Plan 1987-91, the government decided to proceed with a new development plan since the previous one

did not express the philosophy and the economic programme of the Government of President Vassiliou. This was particularly true regarding the *need for a new, flexible approach* to socio-economic planning, which would be consistent with the rapid technological progress... The Plan adopts ambitious but yet feasible targets, and it is characterized by a long term scientific approach to socioeconomic development. (Republic of Cyprus 1987, p. 1-2, my emphasis)

This excerpt from the opening section of the development plan reveals how its authors view development as a scientific and rational process and not as something that is 'fundamentally political in nature' (Wood 1985, cited in Escobar 1991:667), reproducing in this way the modernist paradigm as inscribed by the West.

In the Fifth Development Plan, the rhetoric of modernization and development was redefined and new concepts and meanings emerged. Concepts and practices that had positive connotations in the 1960s were reconceptualised as negative and undesirable in the late 1980s. The desire for 'accelerated and unhindered development' and 'speedy development with quick returns (Republic of Cyprus 1967, p. 209) was turned on its head, giving rise to a critique of such notions and practices:

The high rates of development and the intense utilization of natural resources, especially in the post 1974 period, combined with the intensive economic and construction activity in the area under Government control, have resulted in the alteration and downgrading of the environment. More specifically, pollution problems have begun to appear while ecologically sensitive areas face pressure from tourist development. (Republic of Cyprus 1989, p. 268)

The basic objective of this development plan was 'the management of the natural environment in a manner that ensures the protection of the ecosystems and the natural resources of the Island, in the course of the social-economic development of the country, and the physical and mental health of both the present and the future generations' (Republic of Cyprus 1989, p. 269).

The discourse employed by native elites in the 1980s reversed the definitions of concepts such as 'development', 'environment' and 'natural resources'. The large-scale extraction of natural resources was no longer perceived as something positive or desirable. Tourist development, which was represented in the 1960s as a growth mechanism and a panacea for the financial problems of the newly established state, in the 1980s it came to be seen as a 'pressure' on the 'ecologically sensitive areas'. New concepts emerged in the official narrative of the state, such as 'ecosystem', 'pollution', 'environmental planning and monitoring system', 'environmental degradation', 'ecologically sensitive areas' and 'environmental awareness' (Republic of Cyprus 1989, p. 268-273). In addition, the concern for present and future generations established a link with the dominant narrative of 'sustainable development' as developed in 'European countries. All of these terms, which are today normalized in the

dominant tourism narrative, were then new concepts introduced with difficulty into the official discourse by native elites.

Menelaos, a retired employee of the Planning Bureau and one of the authors of the Fifth Development Plan, explained to me how there was disagreement between the older and younger economists working for the Planning Bureau over the meaning of the terms 'development' and 'environment':

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, new economists arrived at the Planning Bureau, young graduates from British Universities, just like myself, who had different ideas for development. We referred to social development, cultural activities and theatre... The concept of 'development' was suddenly broader than what is used to be in the past. Then 'environment' was included in this broad concept of development. But do not think that this was easy... Back then, people perceived environment as an old olive tree or some poppies. They did not know that 'environment' is the air we breathe, architecture, our road network, pavements and all these things... If somebody was trying to introduce 'environment' into the planning process, he would find himself exposed to the attacks of older colleagues as if he was possessed by evil spirits, or else he would be ridiculed.

When I asked Menelaos why it was that he had a different view on the 'environment' to his older colleagues, he replied, 'I brought these ideas with me from England. When I was a student, it was the time when economics on a theoretical level changed its approach.'

The subsequent development plans of the Cypriot state followed the same 'environmental' rhetoric, with two notable additions. The first was the objective of harmonizing with the European Acquis Communautaire^{cxii} and adopting numerous European regulations and directives. The second was the emphasis on

the need for a 'rational and sustainable management of natural resources' with a long list of specific measurable indicators of success (Republic of Cyprus 1994; Republic of Cyprus 1999, p. 423-431; Republic of Cyprus 2007, p. 92).

The emergence of 'the concept of the environment' in Cyprus of the 1980s was a complex process that was closely related to the transition from the 'mass tourism' discourse to the 'reflexive tourism' discourse. I will now discuss three changes in the discourse reproduced by native elites in relation to 'environment' and 'development', in order to illustrate the transition to 'reflexive tourism' discourse.

First, the idea that nature and all its resources should be made available for the large-scale tourism development was replaced by ideas about the need for 'controlled' or 'sustainable development' (Republic of Cyprus 1989, p. 156; CTO 2000, p. 12). In other words, the 1980s discourse reiterated the need to protect the environment from any potentially harmful tourism practices. The Five Year Development Plan 1989-1993 refers to the need to address the issue of 'environmental degradation' and suggests that the improvement and diversification of the tourist product should be implemented 'in harmony with the environment' (Republic of Cyprus 1989, p. 156-158).

A few years later, the CTO's 'Strategic Plan for Tourism 2000-2010' and 'Strategic Plan for Tourism 2011-2015' declared 'sustainable development' a major priority (CTO 2000, p. 12; CTO 2011, p. 15). The ultimate aims of this strategy are to improve the life of local people, to upgrade the experiences offered to the visitor and to maintain environmental quality. Sustainable

development is acknowledged in the plan as a 'new orientation' in tourism development policy that 'will exploit the available resources without exhausting them, allowing in this way for the destination to successfully respond to the present and the future needs of the visitor as well as of the locals' (CTO 2000, p. 12). The 'protection, preservation and upgrading of the natural environment' is treated not only as an ethical responsibility but also as a prerequisite for maintaining the competitiveness of Cyprus as a destination (CTO 2011, p. 53).

On another note, in the context of 'reflexive tourism' discourse, natural landscapes are romantically represented as available for the tourist gaze (Urry 1990). The official narrative of the CTO promotes a very specific way of sensing, experiencing and engaging with the natural landscape of the island. This is apparent in the following extract from CTO website, which promotes the Troodos Mountains:

[H]ere some fine walking is to be had along trails that go through scented forests of pine, past waterfalls and take in magnificent panoramic views across the island. Many important features or plants are signposted along the way pointing to the numerous endemic plant species of the area. Birdwatchers may also spot the rare and protected eagle, the griffon vulture, or the colourful hoopoe, and of course the nightingale... Occasionally, if you are lucky you may see a Cyprus mouflon.^{cxiii}

'Troodos Tourism Development and Promotion Company' since its foundation was very quick to appropriate the dominant discourse and commoditize the island's natural environment. The company identified the Troodos region's environment as a major asset and attraction. Following the advice of marketing consultants to build a 'Troodos brand', the company developed a logo that

encapsulated the dominant rhetoric (see Figure 20). The logo consists of a green heart and the slogan 'Troodos: The Green Heart of Cyprus'^{cxiv}, implying that the Troodos Mountains and forests are key to the island's survival.

The second change that signifies the transition from mass tourism discourse to 'reflexive tourism' discourse was the replacement of the large-scale, unhindered coastal development of the 1960s with the small-scale, rural development of the 1980s. The dominant development discourse of the 1960s envisioned (and encouraged through financial incentives) the expansion of hotels in coastal areas and the maximization of available bed spaces. In the framework of 'reflexive tourism' discourse, however, the definition of 'development' was seemingly reversed. In this case, the target was quality as opposed to quantity or growth. The dominant discourse of the late 1980s referred to the formulation of a 'long-term strategy of *controlled* development' (Republic of Cyprus 1989, p. 156, my emphasis). Growth was no longer desirable in terms of visitor numbers, though it was still strived for in terms of income. One of the aims of this new strategy was 'the substantial *slow-down* in the rate of growth' (Republic of Cyprus 1989, p. 156, my emphasis). The goal was no longer to attract more tourists, but rather to attract 'quality tourists' who would spend more while being on holiday. Based on the 1960s development model, Famagusta and Kyrenia were identified as the regions with the highest tourism potential, while rural areas were largely overlooked. However, this assessment was reversed with the development of agrotourism and eco-tourism in the 1980s, when the Troodos region was identified by the CTO as the area with the highest potential for the development of rural tourism.

Figure 20: Troodos brand logo: 'The Green Heart of Cyprus'



Source: CTO website, www.visitcyprus.org, Date accessed: 10 June 2013

Let me now turn to the last change that signifies the transition from 'mass tourism' to 'reflexive tourism' discourse. In the 1960s, leisure was perceived to be the primary motive behind people's decision to engage in tourism. However, the 'reflexive tourism' narrative employed by native elites 'disenchanted' leisure by emphasizing the social, financial and environmental impact of tourists' choices. Specifically, domestic elites were concerned about not only the environmental but also the social impact of tourism. As stated previously, one of the basic objectives of the tourism development plan issued in 2000, was the 'maximization of social benefits and prevention of the negative social impacts of tourism' (CTO 2000, p. 12). A few years later in 2011, the CTO published another plan that clearly stated that the new tourism trends reveal that the '*modern* tourist' is environmentally conscious and highly 'sensitive' to social issues (CTO 2011, p. 53, my emphasis).

Cultural heritage, tradition and authenticity

Let me now turn to the emergence of the discourse of 'cultural heritage', 'tradition' and 'authenticity' in the cultural setting of Cyprus, which followed a parallel trajectory to that of the discourse of 'environment'. The discourse of

heritage emerged in Cyprus among native elites in the 1980s but was only incorporated into official rhetoric in the late 1980s. While in the 1960s, the growing concern, among domestic elites, about 'the past' was focused on 'antiquities' or 'historical monuments' such as archaeological sites, during the 1980s, the term 'heritage' was used in a broader sense to denote antiquities, monuments, museums, architectural heritage, literature, folk music and dance.

In the heritage discourse of the 1980s new concepts emerged such as the 'architectural heritage' or 'folk architecture'. This is another example of how the new discourse reversed the definition and symbolic meaning of concepts and practices. Specifically, the desire of the 1960s to modernize the old rural dwellings and provide modern hotel establishments to tourist (Republic of Cyprus 1967, p. 169), was replaced in the 1980s with the necessity to protect, preserve and promote folk architectural heritage (Republic of Cyprus 1989, p. 260; Republic of Cyprus 1994, p. 316). The ultimate objective as stated in the Five Year Development Plan 1989-1993 was to 'save the architectural heritage and functionally integrate its elements, in the active town and country planning development' (Republic of Cyprus 1989, p. 260). In order to achieve this, the CTO developed several revitalization schemes along with a package of subsidies and economic incentives.

In addition, it seems that the Cypriot elites internalized the western idea that 'heritage can be mapped, studied, managed, preserved and/or conserved and its protection may be the subject of national legislation and international agreements' (Smith 2006, p. 3), since the specific measures proposed for attaining the objectives outlined in the development plans of the 1980s and

1990s follow exactly this logic (Republic of Cyprus 1994, p. 290). For example, one of the major objectives is the

accomplishment of a full inventory to register and classify, in terms of importance, all the traditional buildings/areas of Cyprus, the preparation of a specific action programme with respect to the issue of preservation orders, the preparation of fully informed topographical plans in villages to enable the identification of worthwhile buildings and the preparation and execution of Revival Plans and Area Schemes for the most sensitive traditional areas (Republic of Cyprus, 1989, p. 261).

Western preservation ideas and practices were spread all over the island and imposed through legislation and regulations. Preservation experts saw the strengthening of the legal and institutional framework as vital for achieving their ultimate objective of protecting cultural heritage in Cyprus and ensuring the safeguarding of authenticity (Republic of Cyprus 1989, p. 260-261). Their efforts were further invigorated in the 1990s with the need to harmonize with European regulations and directives (Republic of Cyprus 1999, p. 415).

Besides legislation and preservation regulations, the Cypriot authorities identified the 'need' to 'normalize' preservation ideas through a number of measures designed to raise awareness in the Cypriot society. One of the goals was the 'continuous *enlightenment* and learning of the public, so that the importance of preservation may be recognized and the necessary positive social and cultural climate may be developed' (Republic of Cyprus 1989, p. 262, my emphasis). Native elites perceived grassroots society as not being aware of the importance of preservation, hence the need to teach people *how* to think and *what* to think about heritage. The idea of *enlightening* the wider public suggests

that experts saw the majority of the population as backward people who lived in the darkness of their ignorance.

The belief that the general public are ignorant about cultural heritage preservation is still evident among the experts who work in Cyprus's governmental departments, which manage the funds and subsidies for heritage preservation. For example, one of the responsible officers at the Department of Town Housing and Planning made the following comment about a preservation project that the Department was funding: 'That [building] is lousy, it sucks... he [the owner] is completely clueless! Just like the vast majority of Cypriots! (*En mavrogerimo pou to ekame ekeinos, einai xalia mavra, en gia ta panairka... afou einai asxetos pantelos! Opos oi parapano kupreoi!*) (recorded).

Native elites, who had access to the 'objective truth', felt responsible for sharing their knowledge with the wider population through lectures, informational materials and tours (Republic of Cyprus 1994, p. 287, 305; Republic of Cyprus 1999, p. 418). In other words, these elites have spent the past few decades striving to convince the natives of the legitimacy of their new discourse. Furthermore, through legislation and preservation regulations, revitalization schemes and plans, experts have managed to monitor and control the vast majority of the material representations of heritage and to define their content and expressions.

I suggest that the terminology and discourse reproduced by the 'experts' has contributed to the 'securitization' of the environment, according to which saving and protection of cultural heritage is presented as an existential threat.^{cxv} For

example, the term 'sensitive traditional areas', used frequently in the dominant discourse, suggests that tradition is a fragile and endangered domain that requires citizens' active intervention to ensure its survival (Republic of Cyprus 1989, p. 261). The loss of tradition and cultural heritage is presented and perceived as an existential threat, since it forms part of the cultural identity of every individual in Cyprus. Specifically, in the Development Plan 2007-2013, the authors make the claim that 'we' need to 'protect and promote our cultural heritage, which is also European and universal and it is directly linked with the cultural identity of individuals' (Republic of Cyprus 2007, p. 120).

This securitized notion of preserving cultural heritage was also mentioned in one of my discussions with Klelia, an archaeologist in her fifties who had worked at the Department of Antiquities for the last 20 years. Klelia was critical of the government plans to develop golf courses and villas in order to attract foreign buyers and tourists. I agreed with her and commented on the problem of drought that Cyprus had been facing over the last few years, since it is estimated that golf courses need significant water reservoirs. Her response was rather intimidating:

Drought is not the problem! That is an issue that we can confront with technology. The destruction of cultural heritage, though, is not something that you can confront later! Cultural heritage is the most valuable asset that we have as a country! We do not have technological achievements, nor industrial... the only thing we have is cultural heritage, nothing else. Every single individual needs to understand this and act accordingly. My worse fear is that until we become aware of the significance of cultural heritage we will not have anything to present to Cypriots or visitors... (recorded)

The discourse of 'heritage', like the one of 'environment', was closely related with the transition from mass tourism to 'reflexive tourism' discourse. I now wish to focus on one major change that signifies this transition. The idea that the modern tourist is no longer interested in regulated, packaged and standardized vacations and is instead interested in unregulated holidays that will allow him or her to experience the authentic cultural heritage of the host society, is reproduced in the discourse of tourism as it emerged in Cyprus from the 1980s and onwards.

Tourism brokers consider cultural heritage as a significant asset that can aid their efforts to attract cultural tourists. The tourist policy announced by the CTO in 2000 defines the area of culture as a strategic priority (CTO 2000, p. 12; CTO 2011, p. 9). In particular, the CTO tourism development plan mentioned that 'the preservation, strengthening and promotion of tradition and history of the island, but also the support of the cultural expression of contemporary Cypriots are a basic presupposition for a successful repositioning of tourist Cyprus (CTO 2000, p. 19). In sum, agrotourism is seen by CTO as a type of tourism that could reposition Cyprus as a quality destination. Specifically, it is stated that agrotourism is linked with a number of 'products that derive from Cypriot tradition, purity and authenticity, in such a way that the experience differentiates from mass tourism' (PIO 1999, p. 12).

In the repositioning of Cyprus, culture and heritage are considered valuable assets; nevertheless, the dominant discourse was strategically selective, concerning the historical periods that are promoted by the tourism authorities. The new marketing strategy of the CTO issued in 2000 made the claim that the strongest element of Cyprus's tourism product was its diversity and density of

culture. According to the CTO report Cyprus is 'a mosaic of nature and culture, a whole magical world concentrated in a small, warm and hospitable island in the Mediterranean, at the crossroads of three continents, between West and East that offers a multidimensional qualitative experience' (CTO 2000, p. 18). Although this cultural diversity is acknowledged as the result of successive conquests of the island by major civilizations, 'Hellinism' is considered the keystone of Cypriot culture (CTO 2000, p17). As Michael (2005, p. 122) argues, the Cypriot authorities contributed to constructing a 'tourist imagery' that is connected to classical Greece through its antiquities and to contemporary Greece through its religion, culture and language. Interestingly, the Cypriot authorities seem to have made a strategic decision to ignore much of the Ottoman past of Cyprus and its monumental legacy. There are some notable exceptions to this trend, such as the Turkish Baths, in Nicosia, which were preserved with funding from the USAID and UNDP. The CTOs decision to construct a Hellenistic imagery is born not only of nationalistic concerns but also of a desire to renounce the island's Ottoman past while emphasizing its cultural links with the western world.

5.4 Monitoring, Inspection and Resistance

The aim of this section is to show how the new tourism discourse that emerged in the cultural setting of Cyprus in the 1980s and 1990s is intertwined with the legitimisation and maintenance of power at both local and global level. The arguments to be advanced in this section are threefold. The first argument is that the new dominant discourse that emerged in the 1980s redefined to the point of

reversal the conceptualization of modern identity, which led power to be legitimately maintained by the 'superior' native elites. The second argument is that the efforts of elites at both the local and the European level for normalizing the discourse of reflexive tourism suggest that there is a two-way flow of hegemony: from European experts to local native elites and from local experts to rural residents. This process is deeply intertwined with power struggles at a local and global level. The third argument made in this section is that the process of normalizing modernity is so complex that it gives rise to multiple conceptualizations of modernity in time and in space.

As discussed above, in the 1980s Cypriot native elites reproduced the definition of 'modernity' first formulated in the West in the 1960s and 1970s. In this process, concepts such as 'environment', 'development' and 'heritage' were redefined in such a way that their definition was reversed. For example, according to the rhetoric of native elites in the 1960s, modernity was oriented towards the development of large-scale coastal tourism and rapid and unlimited growth. While Famagusta's coast was extensively developed and became a popular and cosmopolitan tourist destination, in the Troodos mountainous area many communities still lacked electricity and running water. Residents of rural Troodos experienced modernity through their visits to the towns or through the accounts of others. As a result, the vast majority of Troodos' inhabitants consumed the material expressions of modernity and not the various intellectual ideas that accompanied it. In addition, when technological advancements such as electricity, asphalt roads and television were made available to rural residents, they co-existed with traditional values such as gender inequality or religion. In

the 1980s, the notion of modernity was redefined by native elites in such a way that the vision was the development of small-scale, unpackaged, rural tourism oriented towards the protection of 'environment' and 'heritage'. Ironically, according to this new understanding of modernity, if one wants to be perceived as 'modern', one needs to respect tradition. Paradoxically, native elites adopted the material expressions of tradition but not the intellectual aspects of it. For example, a 'modern' individual might be willing to live in a house with traditional architecture, to cook traditional recipes and to decorate his or her home with traditional art and crafts, but he or she might not be willing to adopt traditional values, such as gender division. Emilios, the CTO responsible officer for the agrotourism programme, explained to me how he sees himself as 'modern' because he was greatly influenced by the modernist paradigm, although in the last years of his studies in the United Kingdom, he was also exposed to critiques of modernity:

'I carry with me a sensitivity towards environment, long-term planning and design. I am forced to have a good connection with the land... I refer to tradition often with a romantic and nostalgic approach about the various types and expressions of tradition. What is really important, though, is that tradition keeps me well connected with the past... there are several values [of tradition] that we choose to leave behind, and we preserve the 'looks' of tradition... there are so many things [traditional values] that I had to get rid of. For example, gender inequality or the dowry system – all these mentalities and behaviours that are linked with another society, not the contemporary one.' (recorded).

Nowadays, the younger generation experiences the reinvention of tradition as evidence of their modernity and 'coolness'. One day, while I was having a coffee at the local coffee shop in Kakopetria, I met a 25-year-old Cypriot woman who

was dressed in tight jeans, an eye-catching fuchsia t-shirt, white high heels and a white matching necklace. She told me how she was spending the weekend with her boyfriend in one of the popular, local agrotourism hotels. When I asked her why she had chosen to stay in Kakopetria, she replied, 'I heard about Linos [her hotel] by word of mouth. Everybody says, "I went to Linos, I went to Linos in Kakopetria" – it is like brainwashing! If you do not go, you are not in!' (fieldnotes).

The interesting thing to note is that although modernity is redefined and reversed, it maintains its authority. On a local level, native elites have inverted the dominant paradigm in such a way that their authority remains largely unchallenged. They have the power to 'normalize' the new discourse and to represent themselves as the 'experts' who have access to knowledge and who know the 'truth'. In the framework of this linear approach, the wider society is expected to catch up, to become aware or to be 'enlightened' about the 'real' meaning of modernity. As Klelia, the archaeologist from the Department of Antiquities, explained to me, 'in Cyprus the need for development is so huge that I honestly believe that after a couple of decades, people will be grateful to the Department of Antiquities for hindering development and construction (recorded). In other words, Cypriots are currently unable to appreciate the value of heritage and the environment, but in a few decades' time, when Cypriots 'catch up' with 'modernity' and the more 'advanced' countries, they will not only understand, but they will also be grateful towards the native elites who safeguarded local environment and heritage.

At present, the dominant discourse is normalized through a series of lectures, trainings, seminars, publications, policies, funding schemes, regulations and laws. Through these mechanisms, native elites are able to define what is modern, traditional, authentic or aesthetically beautiful and what is not. Thus, experts have the power to maintain their authority through the procedures that they set up targeting at persuasion or imposition of their logic. A major tool used by native elites to force individuals to 'voluntarily' reproduce the dominant definitions of modernity and tradition is the various funding schemes and financial incentives. In the case of funded preservation projects, the Department of Antiquities and the Department of Town Planning and Housing give their approval and release the final payment after the completion of work. During the implementation phase, they monitor and inspect the materials and techniques used. The inspecting authority has the power to identify botchery and to exercise control over aesthetics. Costas, the responsible officer at the Department of Town Planning and Housing, explained this process as follows:

Sometimes, we are confronted with some awful buildings with the intention of the owners to use them as agrotourism establishments. For example, they will use aluminium windows, even though the establishment is located in an environment with several other houses in conservation. When we have the authority to interfere, we threaten them [the owners] that we will not give them the remaining funding. When we do not have authority, we consult them [the owners] to do it the way we want. (recorded)

When I discussed this issue with Eleni, a neighbour in old Kakopetria, she expressed considerable frustration towards the archaeologists of the Department of Antiquities:

If they [archaeologists] want something, they will get it! We preserved our house without receiving a cent from the Government. Nevertheless, the Department of Antiquities used to come and check everything and many times insisted that we do things their *own* way. Ok, I also wanted to preserve the traditional character of the house, but some things we could not have done them. For example, the ceiling is made out of canes, and whenever it rains water drops into the house. It was not a nice feeling, because they had to come check everything and *only* if they were satisfied would they give their approval in order to provide us with electricity. Can you live without electricity? (recorded)

In cases where persuasion or imposition is not efficient, the last resort for the Department of Antiquities is coercion through the legal framework of the country. During my stay in Kakopetria, I heard of several instances of the authorities filing court cases against the owners of traditional houses or agrotourism establishments or at least threatening to do so. The efforts of rural residents to bypass conservation regulations, in other words, resist the hegemonic positions of conservation is what causes power to be ‘in the end essentialized and absolutized’, since it leaves no space for alternative expressions of tradition to take place (Poulantzas 1978, p. 150, cited in Heller 1996, p. 99). As a result, the hegemonic definition of tradition is imposed on locals from above through state coercion.

Let me now turn to the issue of western authority exercised by European experts and policy makers over local native elites. As discussed above, Europeans universalized their own perceptions of ‘environment’ (Argyrou 2005), ‘development’, ‘heritage’ (Byrne 1991) and tourism, which are used in Cyprus as benchmarks of modernity. Since the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus, native elites have participated in their own domination by adopting European

discourses. For example, they have depended on 'foreign experts' from more 'advanced' countries to instruct them on how to develop the country. During one of my visits to the Planning Bureau, I talked to Menelaos, one of the authors of the Development Plans, who is a retired employee of the respective office. I asked Menelaos about the inspiration behind the plans and his answer was quite revealing:

M: We used to study the development plans of other countries. For example, we were really interested in the United Kingdom. When we had to develop the National Health Plan, we studied the British health plan, then the German and the French. There were several details that we did know how to handle, and we followed the examples from these countries. For example, we learned how to build and design a big hospital.

E: Did you ever look at development plans from outside Europe? For example, the Cuban National Health Plan?

M: No... no we did not go so far... We used to look only at what was going on in Europe.

E: Why?

M: We used to search for good or bad examples from Europe. We did not fully copy something [development policies]. For example, for the National Health Plan, we did not look only European plans; we looked at Canada and Australia also... You know, advanced countries... We did not take into consideration what was going on in Vietnam; there was no reason to this. We also received advice from the United Nations and also our foreign experts were from western countries. (recorded)

It seems that native elites internalized the view that the benchmark of modernity and development was set and defined by Europe. Accordingly, Cyprus's modernity was to be 'graded' in comparison with western, more advanced countries and not with eastern or Third World countries. In this sense, native elites consented to their domination by the West. They acknowledged the superiority of the West and reproduced the hegemonic identity by themselves.

On similar note, an archaeologist working for the Department of Antiquities claimed that the mentality of Europeans is different from that of Cypriots, since the former are more sensitive and informed about cultural heritage issues. The reason that Cypriots lacked this mentality, he claimed, was that the island 'did not have the time to mature as an independent state. After Independence, development was so rapid that people were in a state of "amok", striving for prosperity, to build, to progress... Another reason for this is the lack of education... unfortunately we are uneducated.'

The representation of Cyprus as a country that is still trying to 'catch up' with other European countries is typical among native elites. The vast majority of these individuals are well travelled, and they tend to bring to the table examples from other European countries to demonstrate that Cyprus is still 'behind' in comparison with the West. Phrases such as 'We are one hundred years behind' (*eimaste ekato xronia piso*) and 'In Cyprus we are not Europeans, we are Euro-Penis' (*sti Kypro den imaste Evropaioi, imaste Evro-Peoï*) indicate that native elites classify Cyprus as a less-developed country struggling to imitate and catch up with the 'prototype' of modernity – the West.

At the local level, there is a flow of power from native elites to the wider population, and in particular to the residents of rural areas. Local experts derive their power and superiority from their knowledge. They feel a responsibility to impose their worldviews, since they are in a position 'to know better'. A fifty year old woman working at the European Parliament Office in Cyprus emphasized the need to raise awareness on the issue of sustainable development: 'we need to inform people, show them good examples and what other countries have

succeeded. Cypriots need to travel and see things outside Cyprus. If you do not know that Americans landed on the moon, you are not aware that this is even possible! Finito!' (recorded).

Following my discussions with local experts, the vast majority of whom worked in governmental departments that manage funds related with heritage preservation, I created a list of adjectives that they used to describe in a downgrading mood the applicants for funding in rural areas and Cypriots in general, which included the following: *xorkatoi* (peasants), *asxetoi* (clueless), *amorfotoi* (uneducated), *axaparoi* (ignorant), *palavoi* (stupid), *pelloi* (crazy) and *xydaioi* (vulgar). The terms used to describe various preservation projects or embellishment schemes in the mountainous areas were equally disparaging: *aisxos* (disgrace), *aidia* (disgusting), *karakitsiaro* (really kitsch), *psevtoparadosiako* (pseudotraditional), *mavrogerimo* (big mess), *ektroma* (abnormity?) and *arxontoxoriatismos* (parvenuism). The adjectives that native elites use to describe the Other reveals a lot about their own perceptions of who they are. The representation of rural residents by native elites is done in such a way that the latter maintain their superiority in Cypriot society. Thus, the elites not only upgrade but also legitimize their role and power by representing themselves as agents of a hegemonic identity.

Nevertheless, the redefinition of modernity and development by native elites does not imply, under any circumstances, an essentialized and homogeneous identity in Cyprus. Rural people resist the hegemonic ideas and spatial practices induced by local experts. Let me now refer to some examples from the field that

illustrate the flow of power from native elites to locals and also locals' resistance to the hegemonic ideas being imposed.

On one of my visits to Omodos, Maroula, one of my informants offered to give me a tour of her son's traditional tavern and agrotourism guest house. She told me that she lived permanently in the village but that her son lived in Limassol and commuted to Omodos each day for business. The following excerpt is from a discussion we had about the 'irrational requirements' imposed on her son by the Department of Town Planning and Housing:

M: It was a big help for us to receive some money from the government to fix this old house and transform it into what you see. But they were so irrational that many times, I honestly wanted to give them their money back and do what ever we wanted to do. They were opinionated about everything: the windows that we will put, the doors, the floor, the roof! We followed what ever they told us, we received the final payment, and after a while, I did the changes I wanted!

E: For example?

M: Do you see this ceramic tiles? When they approved the construction, they [the ceramic tiles] were not here! They forced me to put those ugly tiles that we had in our houses in the past. I explained to them that those tiles are not good, but they did not understand.

E: Why do think that the tiles the recommended are not good?

M: You cannot clean them my dear. You cannot mop them. Look, these tiles I put now, how nice, clean and shiny they look! Do not misjudge me, I respect tradition and I want to protect tradition. But I just cannot understand what the problem is with fitting aluminium window frames that look like wood... This way we will maintain tradition and we will also have insulation. (fieldnotes)

In a similar vein, people in Kakopetria constantly complained about the strict aesthetic requirements imposed by the 'Museum', as they called the Department of Antiquities, and the Department Town Planning and Housing. The authorities sought to restore the Old Kakopetria to how it was in the pre-modern period,

with the ultimate goal of turning the area into a tourism attraction. Archaeologists and architects participated actively in what Urry (1999, p. 220) has described as 'designing for the gaze'. In order to achieve the pre-modern and traditional style, they had to impose a number of spatial practices and a specific set of vernacular aesthetics that would lead to the purification, ruralization and traditionalization of the area (Figure 22). This process involved removing elements and materials associated with modernity and novelty and replacing them with 'natural' or 'traditional' materials. For example, aluminium window frames were replaced with wooden ones, asphalt roads with stone-paved roads, iron railings with wooden railings and plastic chairs with wooden chairs. Furthermore, modern technological devices such as air conditioner superchargers, central heating boilers, solar panels, television antennas and satellite dishes were perceived as polluting the purity of the area and were thus removed or hidden. The 'inspecting gaze' of the museum representatives became part of the daily routine of locals, especially during the 1990s. Some of the locals were dragged to court for refusing to make certain changes or for not complying fully with the requirements of the authorities. The vast majority of those who inherited a house in the Old Kakopetria strongly expressed their frustration and anger towards the 'Museum'. People who took the conscious decision to buy a second house in the Old Kakopetria were more supportive of the museum's restrictions. The following excerpt is from a discussion I had with Andreas, a 50-year-old resident of Kakopetria, about the 'inspecting gaze' of the archaeologists:

A: When we were restoring the house, we did not ask for any money from the Museum; we did everything by ourselves. But we were unlucky because the Museum told us that our house was the oldest house in the Old Kakopetria, so

they took the initiative and declared the building an ancient monument. They used to come often and check up on the restoration of the house. Every time they came, we used to fight with them. One time, that lady from the Museum [archaeologist] came, and she said to me that I have to restore the old door and put it back on the house. I told her, 'The door is very low, and we will hit our heads on the lintel upon entering the house'. It was only one metre and forty centimetres! Look at me! I am two metres tall!

E: Why was the door initially so low?

A: Because in the past the lower level of a house was used for animals. So basically, the opening was high enough for animals.

E: What happened later, did she accept the alteration?

A: No! She insisted that we restore the old door and put it back on the house. Then I asked, 'How will we enter the house?' She did the mistake, and she told me that we should bend upon entering! That was my chance to get her back, and I replied, 'Listen to me: only women bend down, not men!' (recorded)

Andreas was very proud to share his story with me. He repeated while laughing the part where he made a comment with a sexual connotation towards the archaeologist. When he left to go to the coffee shop, Georgia, his wife, told me that after that wrangle with the archaeologist, they received a letter received a court summons. Georgia, said that the Department of Antiquities used as a pretext for the court summons the fact that they pulled down an old wall and had rebuilt it with bricks. 'We could not do this otherwise!' she explained. 'It was going to fall on us sooner or later – I do not regret it!'

Locals used various different methods to evade the 'inspecting gaze' of the 'Museum' officers. Stavroula, a woman in her seventies, told me that when the 'Museum ladies' ordered her to replace her aluminium window frames with wooden ones, she had replied: 'Look my dear, I do not have money. If you have money and you want to buy me wooden frames and install them also, be my guest. Since then, they never threaten me again with a court case.'

Figure 21: Old Kakopetria as depicted by the CTO



Source: CTO website, www.visitcyprus.org, Date accessed: 25 April 2012

The vast majority of the residents of Old Kakopetria continue until today to make alterations to their houses, thereby resisting the dominant representation that keeps them 'stuck in time' and requires them to embody the aesthetic of a pre-modern era (Figure 22). They argue that daily life is extremely difficult in preserved and restored houses, and that instead of being supported by the authorities, they are threatened with eviction. It is common to hear people claim that 'traditional houses are good only as second houses and not for daily living'. When I spoke to local residents about the 'Museum', their anger and frustration were palpable. People said that they felt like second-class citizens, and some claimed that the authorities were violating their human right to private property.

Figure 22: A photograph of a building in Old Kakopetria, showing the alterations that owners have made



Let me now turn to the second example of friction from the field, namely the conflict triggered by the implementation of the NATURA 2000 network and the development of golf courses in the rural region of Paphos. Specifically, I will focus on the conflict between the state, environmental organizations and the inhabitants of Pissouri village and surrounding area. The Cyprus Tourism Organization and other public authorities ignored all concerns raised by environmental groups in relation to the limited water resources of the island, the high cost of desalination and the destruction of the natural landscape. In one

particular case, local landowners resisted the creation of golf courses near Pissouri village in Paphos district. Their reaction was not fuelled by environmental concerns, but by feelings of anger towards corrupt governmental officers and politicians. Some of the local landowners sold their properties at exceptionally low prices to a very wealthy Cypriot businessman because they were informed that their property was included in the protected NATURA reserve and hence no development would be allowed. A few months later, the border was 'magically' shifted and the businessman's property, along with the newly bought area, was removed from the NATURA zone. A few years later, one of Cyprus's biggest and most expensive tourist villages was built in the area, complete with the golf courses so desired after by the Cypriot state.

With their land either sold off or else included in the NATURA reserve, the local residents' hopes for developing their own mass tourism facilities collapsed. At one of the NATURA information days held in Pissouri village, as one member of the 'experts team' shared with me, locals actively resisted the power and authority that scientists, university professors and governmental officers assumed they had. The scientists, who were experts in biology and botanology, prepared long presentations in order to explain to the locals in 'simple, non-scientific terms' the 'objective criteria' used for defining the area as protected. They emphatically acknowledged that it was difficult for the *aplo politi* (simple citizen/average person), to understand the complexity of the issue. During the presentation of one of the biology experts, one of the landowners stood up and issued an angry protest:

Did I come to your house Mr Professor to tell you what to do? Why do you come to my house to tell me what I should do? The same goes for you, government officers; you work in your little offices in Nicosia [and] at the end of every month you receive one track full of money [*ena karo lires*] (a reference to governmental officers high salary) and you appear out of nowhere on weekends to tell us what to do! Go home and never set foot here again [*Na pate esso sas tzai na men ksanapatsete dakato*]! (fieldnotes)

The landowner's face looked ready to explode from anger. As he shouted at the panellists, he gripped the chair in front with both hands, moving it around aggressively. He finished his speech by throwing the chair at the higher in command representative of the Department of Environment and threatening to kill him if he dared to set foot in the village again. Similar hostility on the part of local residents was evident in the follow-up meetings that I attended. Needless to say, the specific government officer did not dare to show up at these meetings; instead, a young, newly hired and extremely polite and timid environmentalist represented the Environment Department. Following Welz (2012, p. 16), it would be an oversimplification to suggest that this conflict was sparked simply by 'divergent material interests'. Environmental conflicts (and I would add heritage or developmental conflicts) are better understood in the context of opposing perceptions of modernity and development.

It is important to note that the process of normalizing the native elites' discourse is complex and intertwined with the power struggle at a global and local level. At the local level, rural residents, in their efforts to produce change in the face of the hegemonic positions of the native elites, resist the aesthetic traditionalization and 'arbitrary' regulations imposed on them. Their counter-hegemonic perceptions of modernity, tradition and development are repressed but not

always eliminated by the hegemonic ideas of native elites. While 'moderns' respect material traditions, they strategically reject specific 'traditional' ideas, such as gender inequality. In contrast, individuals who identify themselves as 'conservative' or 'traditional' strive for material modernity while strategically rejecting specific 'modern' ideas such as gay rights. As a result, throughout this complex and ongoing process of being and becoming, multiple modernities and traditionalities have emerge in the Cypriot cultural context (Welz 2000, p. 11).

5.4 Conclusion

The emergence of the 'reflexive tourism' discourse in Cyprus in the 1980s and 1990s and its link to discourses employed by experts in Europe in the 1960s and 1970s show how relatively powerless actors adopt the discourses of 'more advanced' countries in such a way that power, at both the local and the global level, is maintained and legitimized.

At the global level, the division between developed countries and developing or underdeveloped countries is maintained, since the rules and content of 'development' are set by the 'more advanced' countries of the West. As a result, developing and underdeveloped countries strive to reproduce western principles and visions, since 'developed' countries are seen as the benchmark by which modernity is evaluated. This is not to say that western countries have produced the 'prototype' of modernity and that within their societies one finds an essentialized and homogeneous modern identity. On the contrary, modernity is not an entity or a fixed concept, and it never has been; rather, it is a flexible and dynamic discourse in time and space.

At a local level, native elites reproduce the western paradigm in such a way that their authority is maintained and legitimized. In the 1960s, the rapid 'progress' and development of mass tourism in the coastal zones of Cyprus left the residents of Troodos exposed as underdeveloped, non-progressive peasants. While striving to achieve material modernity during the years of prosperity on the island, the native elites changed the definition of modernity and once again exposed the people of Troodos as 'backward', 'ignorant', 'parvenu' peasants. At the same time, native elites appropriated material traditions (such as traditional architecture houses) in order to achieve 'modernity'. This paradox lies at the heart of modernity and tradition, as concepts and practices, in the European cultural context. Having said this, I do not suggest that identity categories and boundaries between 'modern' and 'traditional' are static in time and space. On the contrary, I argue that being 'modern' or 'traditional' means different things to different people at different times. In other words, multiple modernities and traditionalities exist, in space and time, in the cultural setting of Cyprus.

Chapter 6

Conclusions

6.1 Introduction

This ethnographic study set out to examine the disputed identity of rural Cyprus. In the previous chapters, I have shown how identity politics and tourism are intertwined in an ongoing process that enhances self-awareness and self-representation. Thinking of tourism and identity politics in terms of discourse makes it possible to reveal the power relations involved in this process of constant interaction and to illustrate the symbolic domination of western hegemony over less powerful societies, such as Cyprus. The main argument of this thesis is that the power of western hegemony not only defines but also reverses the definition of modernity in such a way that its authority is maintained and legitimized.

The thesis has addressed four subjects under study. First, it examined the cultural conditions under which large-scale tourism discourse emerged in Cyprus after Independence. Second, it investigated the emergence of Cyprus as a cultural tourism destination by focusing not only on the social groups that have re(produced) the discourse of cultural tourism, such as the native elites, but also on people who resisted the new rhetoric, such as residents of rural regions. Third, it examined what resistance and friction between native elites and rural residents signifies about culture and identity in Cyprus, by concentrating on the multiple and conflicting definitions of modernity on the island. Finally, it looked at the extent to which identity politics at the local level are intertwined with

global power relations by exploring the flow of power from Northern European experts to local native elites and from local experts to rural residents.

I will now briefly summarize the preceding chapters in order to illustrate how I attempted to answer the abovementioned questions. In Chapter One, I introduced the reader to the main argument of this thesis and to the research questions that it set out to answer. Furthermore, I discussed the personal need for conducting this research by reflecting on my own identity and *habitus* (Bourdieu 1980). In the first chapter, I also outlined how I would use critical discourse analysis and the global ethnography approach in order to analyse the complex global issue of tourism and its interconnectedness with the local context.

Chapter Two examined the historical, social and economic conditions that have prevailed in Cyprus from the 1920s until the present day. Throughout this chapter, particular reference was made to the Troodos region during the colonial and post-independence eras. In contrast to earlier literature that has concentrated on the historical accounts of the male political elite, I focused predominantly on the locals' understandings and interpretation of their past. My ultimate goal was to illustrate how these narratives are intertwined with the contemporary culture and identity of rural Cyprus.

Chapter Three introduced the reader to the emergence of Cyprus, and in particular Troodos, as a tourist destination during the colonial era by illustrating the global forces and connections that were intertwined in this process. In contrast to scholars who have investigated tourism from the perspective of

economics, management and planning, I approached tourism in the Troodos hill resorts as a discourse and agent of modernity.

The fourth chapter dealt with the development of large-scale tourism in Cyprus after Independence until the late 1970s. With reference to four cultural changes, I illustrated how Cypriots, as relatively powerless actors, attempted to create cultural bonds with the West by adopting and reproducing the symbols and discourses of more powerful societies. First, I examined the development of mass tourism in the European cultural setting and subsequently in Cyprus. Second, I illustrate the emergence of the Mediterraneanist discourse in Northern European societies and how this narrative was negotiated and resisted by native elites, who had a different perception of who they were. Third, I considered the dominant beliefs of Europeans about sea bathing in relation to Cyprus's transformation into a 'sun and sea destination' from the 1960s onwards. Lastly, I looked at the attempts of native elites to 'modernize' and rapidly 'develop' Cyprus according to the modernist paradigm as it emerged in the West in the post-war era.

The ultimate goal of Chapter Five was to illustrate how Western hegemony is maintained even as the meaning of modernity is reversed. In the first section of the chapter, I briefly sketched the change in the discourse of Northern European societies in the late 1960s and 1970s, focusing on the concepts of sustainable development, environment and heritage. In the second section, I introduced the concept of 'reflexive tourism' discourse and demonstrate its link with the dominant narratives in Europe. The third section dealt with the emergence of rural cultural tourism in Cyprus and the adoption of the 'reflexive tourism'

discourse by the native elites. The last section was devoted to the practices of aesthetics monitoring and inspection by local 'experts' and the negotiation and resistance on behalf of Troodos residents.

In this final chapter, I refer to the main subjects of discussion in the thesis and present the main conclusions. The sections that follow are: i) the discussion and outcomes; ii) the theoretical implications and contributions of this ethnographic study; and iii) the limitations and the prospects for further research.

6.2 Discussion and outcomes

6.2.1 'Urban' versus 'Rural'

During the Ottoman era and the early years of the British colonization, the poor living conditions that prevailed in Cyprus' villages and towns did not allow for the division of the population into 'urban' and 'rural' (Persianis 2007, p.16). The political, social and economic reforms promoted by the British around the turn of twentieth century, along with the diffusion of cultural traits from western societies to Cyprus, contributed to the construction of the binary opposition of 'urban' versus 'rural'.

Despite the island's desperate economic situation and the limited funds available, the British promoted reforms that mainly favoured urban development. Among others things, they established a feeling of safety and institutionalized justice for the residents of the towns, which led to a steady increase in the population and created the cultural conditions necessary for economic development to take place. The British Government also contributed to

public sanitation and protecting natives from transmitted diseases. The commercial ambitions of the colonizers led to the development of Famagusta's port and the mechanization of mines. This was the first time in Cyprus' history that thousands of people had worked under the same employer and faced the same working conditions and problems. In addition, the British invested in specific technological advancements such as transport and communication infrastructure, which facilitated the movement of goods, ideas and prosperous individuals both within Cyprus and abroad.

Meanwhile, a group of educated Cypriot professionals (mostly doctors and lawyers) who had studied in western countries returned home bringing new ideas influenced by the Enlightenment, romanticism and nationalism. In the 1920s, they formed the core of the urban intellectual elite who adopted and reproduced the western ideas of 'development' and modernization. After the end of the Second World War, Cyprus experienced a period of increasing prosperity and structural changes. From the late 1940s onwards, urban culture and modernity were adopted and reproduced not only by the intellectual elite but also by the majority of the population living in the towns, including the lower and middle classes. In short, it is evident that the reforms promoted by the British and the adoption and (re)production of western ideas by the domestic elites contributed to the modernization and urbanization of Cypriot society (Attalides 1981, Persianis 2007).

In contrast with the vast majority of literature on the history of the island, which focuses on political elites, I illustrate how the *rural population* of Troodos experienced the aforementioned reforms initiated by the British. The residents

of Troodos felt that these reforms were designed to benefit the colonizers rather than the predominantly rural population of Cyprus. People still depended on agriculture for their survival, and their income was not sufficient for sustaining their families. In the 1930s, the extreme poverty and malnourishment of rural people led the vast majority of landowners to borrow from moneylenders in order to survive (Surridge 1930, cited in Attalides, 1981, p. 50). Children participated in the labour force, and some were 'adopted' by urban families, for whom they worked in exchange for food and shelter. Although the British colonial government and the newborn Republic of Cyprus initiated development and technological advancements, several villages continued to have no electricity or running water in their houses until the early 1960s. For the most, Troodos' elderly residents emphasized the difficult living conditions in the past in contrast to the quality of life in the towns.

I argue that the late 1940s was the first time in the contemporary history of Cyprus that the perceived and constructed cultural gap between towns and villages became enormous, mirroring the division between the First and Third Worlds. The cultural separation between people living in the towns and those living in rural areas was not only the result of their different experiences and living conditions in everyday life. I claim that the existing cultural gap became meaningful through the binary opposition of 'urban' versus 'rural' that became dominant in Cyprus after the end of the Second World War. This dichotomy, which according to some scholars (Macnaghten and Urry 1998, p.179; Bunce 2003, p. 14) was a product of western thought, allowed for the cultural reading and production of a place according to its classification as either urban or rural.

Within this dichotomy, urban spaces were associated with western modernity, progressiveness, prosperity and development, while rural spaces, such as Troodos, were linked with backwardness, poverty and underdevelopment. Based on this system of thought, individuals acquired status based on where they lived. Rural residents were perceived by urbanites as *xorkhatoi* (peasants), uneducated and backward. Following Bhabha (1994, p. 4), I argue that the urbanites developed a 'social articulation of difference' between 'us' and 'them', which formed a 'complex, ongoing process defining who *they* were. In other words, urbanites perceived themselves as educated, progressive and modern. Taking this a step further, I claim that, just as Northern European travellers represented colonial Cyprus as an underdeveloped and backward Other, native elites, who adopted the western system of thought, attributed those values to the internal other – rural residents.

The binary opposition of urban versus rural is still reproduced by native elites, that is, the group that has the authority to bestow meaning upon concepts and definitions, such as modernity and development. These elites, who most of them are professionals employed in various governmental departments or private consultants and experts, hold more powerful positions than rural residents, have the authority to define less powerful groups, such as Troodos' residents, as *xorkhatoi* (peasants), *asxetoi* (clueless), *amorfotoi* (uneducated) and *xydaioi* (vulgar). Although, domestic elites represent rural inhabitants as inferior, as opposed to themselves who are educated and knowledgeable on the basis of the latter's lack of education, there is evidently some ambivalence identified in their division of the world into urban and rural. In specific contexts, the

intellectual elite reproduces the rhetoric of a pure idyllic rurality. Rural regions and their inhabitants are represented *as if* they have a closer (or a more honest) relationship with nature and tradition. In the context of romanticism and nostalgia, the representation of rural areas as being 'stuck in time' is bestowed a positive meaning and connotation. Given that nostalgia is a cultural product of the modernization process (Macnaghten and Urry 1998, p. 160; Bunce 2003, p.15; Storey 2006), it reveals ambivalence in western cultures as to what modernity is. This ambivalence is adopted and reproduced at the local level by the native elites.

6.2.2 Multiple modernities

Based on my ethnographic data, I argue that there is a contest between native elites and rural residents, as to what modernity is, and that as a result, multiple modernities and traditionalities exist across space and time. Modernity is not a fixed concept, and it never has been; rather, it is flexible and dynamic ongoing process. Having said this, I claim that being 'modern' or 'traditional' in Cyprus means different things to different people at different times and places.

As mentioned above, the late 1940s was a period of structural and cultural transformation in Cypriot society. Urban culture and modernity were adopted and reproduced by the vast majority of urbanites. The intellectual urban elite defined themselves as *proodeftikoi* (progressive) and *democrates* (democratic) and shared a particular set of ideas that were strongly influenced by the European Enlightenment and left-wing concepts such as secularism, cosmopolitanism, individualism and gender equality. They considered themselves the 'real' moderns who were culturally superior to other groups in

society that were exclusively focused on a *rihi* (superficial) consumption of modern material goods and did not share the emancipatory elements of modernity.

Meanwhile, the poor living conditions in rural Cyprus did not permit to the vast majority of Troodos' residents to fully engage with the process of modernization, as the town bourgeois did. Rural residents experienced the town largely through rare visits and word of mouth. As a result, their preconceived notion of what it meant to be modern was based on the consumption of the material outcomes of modernity, such as technological advancements (e.g. television, radio, motor vehicles, building projects), fashion and architecture. The paradox is that while the supporters of modernity were eager to consume its material outcomes, they were less willing to accept its emancipatory elements. Consequently, an ambivalence is traced in the modern identity as (re)produced by the rural residents of colonial Cyprus.

In the post-Independence period, the narrative and practices employed by the native elites who were now leading the new-born state centred on the consumption of material goods, technological advancements, infrastructure, economic growth, entrepreneurship, individualism and competitiveness. In other words, domestic elites adopted and reproduced their own understanding of the western paradigm of modernity that emerged in Europe after the Second World War. The native elites saw the development of coastal mass tourism as a means to achieve rapid growth and progress and thereby to 'catch up' with the 'more advanced' western world. In the context of growth fetishism and 'unhindered' mass tourism development, native elites maintained a utilitarian approach

towards the environment and cultural heritage of the island. The elites' ultimate goal was to transform Cyprus from a 'developing' country into a 'developed', First World country, using as a benchmark the 'more advanced' societies of the West.

It is important to emphasize that just like in other postcolonial contexts, there was a paradoxical acceptance and rejection of European superiority in Cyprus (Argyrou 2005, p. 22). I suggest that the Cypriots selectively criticized western modernity for its intellectual and spiritual potential, with a particular focus on religion, family values and gender roles. Nevertheless, the dominant vision of 'modernity' and 'development' was not challenged at its core. Rapid development and modernization based on the western model was perceived as the 'natural', 'expected' way forward.

To this end, the tourism authorities and brokers promoted Cyprus as a 'Mediterranean sea and sun destination'. In the postcolonial setting, the beach was transformed from a downgraded, unproductive space to a symbol of modernity, cosmopolitanism, progressiveness and individual liberation. In this context, natives had strategically reproduced their own indigenous version of Mediterranean identity by partly rejecting the Northern Europeans' essentialized representation of the region as being stuck in time. The image of Cyprus projected by the authorities was of a Mediterranean island with an ancient history but a modern lifestyle. In addition they also capitalize on the perception of a warm, hospitable, laidback culture.

In the framework of the 'rapid' development vision, Troodos was represented as a low-priority region since it was considered 'irrational' to invest in an area with limited 'advantages and resources' for the development of tourism (Republic of Cyprus 1967, p. 24). The prolonged neglect of Troodos by the authorities at a time of growth and prosperity for the coastal resorts created a stronger urge among locals to 'catch up' with the developed and modernized seaside towns by following their 'successful' development model. The so-called economic miracle and prosperity that followed the Turkish invasion of 1974 gave rural residents the opportunity to make visible to everybody their modern identity and lifestyle. Local authorities and the vast majority of Troodos' residents were actively involved in the process of modernizing the cultural landscape. Among other things, old houses were demolished and replaced by modern ones, high-rise buildings and houses were constructed, trees and mountains were leveled for the creation of car parks and stone paved streets were asphalted.

In the meantime, in the 1980s and onwards native elites were actively involved in the process of reversing the definition of modernity. The majority of intellectuals, local experts and active citizens adopted and (re)produced the new discourse of 'modernity' and 'development' that emerged in the 1960s in the so-called more advanced countries (Argyrou 2005). The dominant rhetoric and narrative was now focused on the urgent 'need' to develop sustainably so as to preserve the environment and heritage of Cyprus. I suggest that the narrative that is still employed by the 'experts' produces a 'securitized' discourse, according to which environmental degradation and the loss of tradition

constitutes an existential threat since it is part of the cultural identity of every individual in Cyprus.

By the 1990s, the official rhetoric of national authorities came to terms with the dominant discourse employed by native elites. The rhetoric of the 1960s, which supported the rapid development of mass, packaged and standardized tourism in coastal areas, was transformed in the late 1980s into the discourse of 'reflexive tourism', which advocated small-scale, unregulated, high-quality experiences of rural environment and culture undertaken in a sustainable and responsible manner. In this context, nature is until today reconceptualized as a 'fragile environment' that in its 'pure' form is considered an 'asset' to the tourism industry. Rural landscapes such as Troodos are romantically represented as 'nature's miracle', to be consumed by gazing. Similarly, tradition, which was once associated with backwardness, is transformed into cultural heritage, which according to native elites should be protected, preserved, conserved and above all organized and displayed for tourist consumption. As a result, the definition of what it means to be modern or traditional is reversed in such way that the 'real' moderns are conceived as those who respect tradition while the true traditionals are those who do not respect tradition and still strive to achieve the early version of modernity.

On the one hand, in the Troodos region, a small minority of young people and tourism brokers adopted the discourse of 'reflexive tourism' with a strong belief that this was 'the way forward'. On the other hand, the larger part of Troodos' residents are less willing to reproduce the new discourse of modernity. As a result, they are once again exposed as 'backward', 'ignorant', 'parvenu' peasants

because they rejected the intellectual shift of the modernist paradigm while adhering to material modernity. Paradoxically, the native elites do exactly the opposite by adhering to material tradition (as manifested in architecture, crafts, cuisine) while rejecting the intellectual aspects of tradition, such as deep religiosity and traditional gender roles. Thus, I claim that in the cultural setting of Cyprus there exist not only multiple modernities but also multiple traditionalities.

6.2.3 Western hegemony

One of the research questions raised in this thesis concerned the extent to which identity politics at the local level are intertwined with global power relations. To answer this question, I illustrated how native elites in both the colonial and post-colonial periods adopted and (re)produced the western vision of modernity and development, even when the definition of these concepts was reversed by the European elites. Based on my ethnographic data, I argued that the power of western hegemony not only defined but also reversed the definition of 'modern' identity in Cyprus in such a way that the superiority of western culture is maintained and legitimized.

In this thesis, the concepts of western hegemony and modernization have been used in a Foucauldian context, in which power relations are identified within the West itself (Argyrou 1996, 2000). Specifically, modernity is approached as 'an idiom through which *the dominant groups in western societies* sought to distinguish themselves from the European past and from the dominated groups of the present – the Other within' (Argyrou 2000, p. 22, my emphasis). Hence,

modernization is the effort of dominant groups in the West to 'universalize their culture' both within the West itself and throughout the rest of the world.

Cypriots, like many other colonized people, have embraced the idea that western culture is superior to their own and thus endeavour to achieve 'modernity' using the 'more advanced' countries of the West as a benchmark. The native elites' 'truth' is already defined and constrained by the power of western hegemony, to the degree that the western model is considered the 'natural' and 'rational' way forward, even as it is reversed over time. As Argyrou (2005, p. 160) argues, hegemony is 'consent based on the socio-historical unconscious – the taken-for-granted, the undisputed and undiscussed, what goes without saying because it appears natural and necessary'.

As a rule, more powerful cultures have the authority to define the 'socio-historical unconscious'. It seems that for now, the West holds the power to define the dominant discourse, according to which western civilization is superior to Others. Hegemony constitutes itself as extremely difficult to challenge by what Foucault calls 'process of division' (Rabinow 1984, p. 8). During this process, the groups who have the power to define concepts, objectify and categorize the world around them, based on binary systems of thought, such as West/East, First World/Third World, modern/traditional, developed/underdeveloped, progressive/backward and urban/rural. Based on this classification system, the world acquires meaning and social attitudes are been regulated. Following Foucault, I claim that Cypriots have constituted themselves as subjects of western hegemony, by adopting and reproducing the discourse of modernity and development as evolved in the West.

Following (Argyrou 2005), the emergence of mass tourism discourse in the 1960s and its transformation into reflexive tourism discourse in the late 1980s is a reproduction of the 'same paradigm', namely the western paradigm. Hence, Cyprus and its people are involved in a vicious cycle of self-victimization and self-reproduction of the cultural conditions that constitute them as subjects of the West.

6.3 Limitations and future research

As mentioned previously, one limitation of this study is that it is limited to the southern part of the island. I acknowledge that this is a weakness. The decision to restrict the research to the areas controlled by the Republic of Cyprus was related mainly to ease of access to archives and official information. Undertaking analogous research on the northern side of the island would contribute to a more integrated analysis of tourism and identity politics in Cyprus.

6.4 Theoretical contribution

This thesis makes significant empirical and theoretical contributions to the anthropology of Cyprus. To begin with, it is the first ethnography of rural Cyprus dealing specifically with tourism and identity politics. Thus, this is the first time that the questions raised in this thesis have been examined with reference to the cultural setting of Cyprus. In addition, this thesis links the tourism literature with anthropological knowledge, thereby shedding light on the cultural conditions within which Cyprus emerged and evolved as a tourism destination. Furthermore, this study is the first of its kind to use tourism as a lens through

which to examine the extent to which identity politics at the local level are intertwined with global power relations.

The findings of this research are also of particular importance for a more in depth understanding of the Cypriot society. This thesis consists partially of critical discourse analysis of the most significant policy documents (in relation to development and tourism) of the Republic of Cyprus, which have never before been scrutinized by a social scientist in this way. In addition, the ethnographic data from the Troodos region address the issue of conflict between native elites and rural residents over the questions of who the latter are and how they should develop their region. This thesis thus sheds light on the reasons behind the incompatibility of the views of native elites and Troodos' residents.

To conclude, this thesis has focused on the disputed identity of rural Cyprus and illustrated that native elites in both, the colonial and post-colonial periods, adopted and (re)produced the western vision of modernity and development, even when the definition of these concepts was reversed by the European elites. This thesis attempted to deconstruct the native elites and rural residents' logic and reveal how both of their ideas were the result of 'subjectification' and thus any claims of superiority are equally groundless and arbitrary.

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ENDNOTES

ⁱ Troodos is the highest mountain in Cyprus and rises 1,952m above sea level.

ⁱⁱ On 20 July 1974, Turkey embarked on a military invasion of Cyprus after several years of political turmoil between the island's two ethnic communities, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. On July 15, 1974 a Greek-Cypriot paramilitary group, EOKA B', staged a coup d'état against Archbishop Makarios, the President of the Republic of Cyprus. The coup, whose leaders sought unification with Greece, was backed by the Greek military junta. Turkey's subsequent military invasion resulted in the displacement of thousands of Greek Cypriots to the southern part of the island and of Turkish Cypriots to the northern side. The events of 1974 are known among Greek Cypriots as the 'Turkish invasion' and among the Turkish Cypriots as the 'Cyprus Peace Operation'. In 1983, the Turkish Cypriots declared the creation of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), which is officially recognized as a state only by Turkey. For Greek Cypriots the issue is not settled, and they often refer to the 'Cyprus Problem' to describe the division created after the invasion and its related political problems.

ⁱⁱⁱ For a detailed analysis of Cypriot weddings, see Argyrou 1996.

^{iv} www.cyprusgeology.org. Date accessed: 3/6/13. For more information on the geology of Cyprus, please visit this website.

^v Forestry Department,
http://www.moa.gov.cy/moa/fd/fd.nsf/DMLparks_gr/DMLparks_gr?OpenDocument. Date accessed: 16/11/11.

^{vi} The Cyprus moufflon is a kind of wild sheep that is found only in Cyprus.

^{vii} Examples include the griffon vulture, the raven, the Bonelli's eagle, the tree creeper and the Cyprus pied wheatear.

^{viii} The millet system was the administration system of the Ottoman Empire, which divided people into communities ('millet') and provided different rights according to their religion. The Tanzimat Reformation established the equality of all citizens independent of their religion.

^{ix} The terms 'Christians' and 'Muslims' are used interchangeably with the terms 'Greeks' and 'Turks' by the British authors.

^x Ronald Storrs was Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Cyprus from 1926 to 1932, a period of social revolts but also of social and institutional changes.

^{xi} For a more detailed account on the broker and debtor relationship, please see Attalides M. (1976).

^{xii} Troodos... and the birth of Cyprus, 2009, Documentary.

^{xiii} The first labour movements were initiated in 1932 (Richter 2007, p. 613), and they gradually gained more support and power due to the harsh exploitation of workers. The Communist Party of Cyprus (Kommounistiko Komma Kyprou, KKK), established in 1926, was another organized group that campaigned in favour of workers and that gradually gained public support in the 1930s. KKK was declared illegal by the British but became legal again after the end of World War II.

^{xiv} *Mathitevomenoi* at the mines were considered privileged not only because they did not have to pay a fee to learn the skill but also because they were paid for their work (Antoniou 2004, p. 26). For a detailed account on working conditions for children in the mines in the twentieth century, please see Antoniou, L. (2004).

^{xv} For a more detail account on the relationship between school education, nationalism and modernization please see Rebecca Bryant (2004).

^{xvi} While I use the term 'community' for analytical purposes, I am aware that Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots were/are not a homogeneous group of people.

^{xvii} Separate figures for boys and girls are not available for Muslim schools (Surridge 1930, p.18).

^{xviii} Exceptions include the hill resorts. This issue will be analysed further in the following chapter.

^{xix} The 1960 Census showed that not only were 65% of the rural houses were over 20 years old but also that 52% had earthen roofs, 21% had earthen floors, 31% had no piped water supply, 22% had no toilet and 90% had no bathroom facilities. In 1961, 69 villages had no piped water supply and obtained their water from wells or nearby springs. By 1966, all villages except 4 had pipes water supply. Very few, villages had electricity and telephone facilities in 1960. In fact only 96 villages had electricity supplies and 61 villages had telephone communications (Republic of Cyprus 1967, p. 75). By 1966, 220 additional villages were provided with electricity and 327 additional villages were connected to the country's telephone network (Republic of Cyprus 1967, p. 76). The plan was by 1971, 100% of the town population will be on electricity supply and 96% of the rural population (Republic of Cyprus, 1967, p.162).

^{xx} The translation in Greek is *Ethniki Organosi Kyprion Agoniston*

^{xxi} EOKA B was an extension of the paramilitary organization EOKA. After Independence in 1960, some of the fighters, led by General Grivas, created EOKA B in order to continue to pursue their goal of *enosis* (unification with Greece).

^{xxii} For an ethnographic analysis of how both groups of displaced people (Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot) are linked through their experiences to their places of origin, please see Dikomitis 2012.

xxiii In 1983 the Turkish Cypriots self declared the area under their control as an independent state, namely the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' (TRNC), which was declared as invalid by the United Nations and until today it is not internationally recognized, except by Turkey. In 2004, citizens had the opportunity for the first time to put votes in a referendum in relation to 'Anan Plan', a proposal of the United Nations to resolve the problem. The Plan was supported by 65 per cent of the Turkish Cypriots and rejected by 75 per cent of the Greek Cypriots. In the same year Cyprus accessed the European Union as a full member state and *acquis communautaire* is until today enforced only in the Republic of Cyprus controlled areas.

xxiv For the purposes of this thesis, I use the definition of tourism provided by Smith (1989, p.1), which defines conceives of the tourist as "a temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change". Although, this definition is widely accepted, I do acknowledge its limitations. For example, tourists who decide to reside in their destination are not included in the aforementioned definition. Taking this into consideration, I agree with Abram and Waldren (1997, p. 2) that "tourism is a word only loosely associated with a phenomenon, and that this phenomenon is not one, but many sets of practices, with few clear boundaries but some central ideas".

xxv It is unknown why the author suggests that Jesus was born one thousand years ago and not one thousand nine hundred and six years ago.

xxvi Demetriou and Mas (2004, p.31) refer to a few examples of these travel accounts. For example, works such as the book *Examples include Love Island* (1925) by Helen Cameron Gordon, the *Islands of the Mediterranean* (1926) by Paul Wiltstach and the *Cyprus Wine from my Cellar* (1933) by John Knittel.

xxvii Several local newspapers addressed the main problems in relation to associated with the development of tourism in Cyprus. Some of the articles (with unknown authors) addressing the problems are the following: others: *Krouomen ton Kodona tou Kindounou dia tas Eksoxas mas* 1931, p. 1; *Kypros kai Tourismos* 1946, p. 2; *H Kypros ean anaptyxthei tha sinagonizetai tin Riviera* 1937, p. 3.

xxviii The number of tourist arrivals from between 1931 and -1933 was retrieved ascertained from an article in the Cypriot newspaper "*Proini*", published on 20th of 20 September 1933. It is believed seems probable that these figures are valid, since it is clearly mentioned in the article that all information presented is based on a report published by the Commerce Committee of the British Government.

xxix The 25,700 tourist arrivals mentioned by Ioannides (1992) is in significantly different significant deviation from the figure number published noted by Ayers (2001, p.115). Ayers based his figure of 24,000 arrivals in 1960 on data retrieved obtained from the United Nations and World Tourism Organization that the total number of tourist in 1960 was 24000.

xxx Ta Eksoxika mas Kentra 1936 (Newspaper article with unknown author).

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- xxxⁱ Elioupolis 1930, p. 5 (Newspaper article with unknown author).
- xxxⁱⁱ Ksenodoxeio Pavsilypon 1924, p. 4 (Newspaper article with unknown author).
- xxxⁱⁱⁱ Koinoniki Zoi 1930, p. 2 (Newspaper article with unknown author).
- xxx^{iv} To Troodos: H Katoikia ton Theon 1936, p. 2 (Newspaper article with unknown author).
- xxx^v Kosmiki Kinisis 1929, p. 5 (Newspaper article with unknown author).
- xxx^{vi} Kypros kai Tourismos 1946, p. 2 (Newspaper article with unknown author).
- xxx^{vii} Melkonian was a highly valued Armenian school in Nicosia. The school was functioning in operation until 2005 and it was very popular among Armenians all over the world.
- xxx^{viii} The name *Helvetia* establishes close cultural bindtiess with the Swiss tourism product, as developed in the 19th nineteenth century. The issue of the 'Aplinization' of Troodos' tourism product will be analyszed in Chapter Four.
- xxx^{ix} Mega Ksenodoxeio Elvetia 1924, p. 4 (Newspaper article with unknown author).
- xl Samuel Barkai (1898-1975) was an Israeli architect, trained in Paris with very strong influences and bonds with European architects (http://www.graduate.technion.ac.il/Theses_new/Abstracts.asp?Id=26427, Date accessed: 13 July 2013).
- xli Ai Imerai ton Vasilikon Ksenon 1928, p. 3 (Newspaper article with unknown author).
- xlⁱⁱ 'Foreigner' is a term used to describe all people who do not have origins from the specific villageoriginate from one's own village. The term includes people from Nicosia, Armenians, British Britain and otherselsewhere.
- xlⁱⁱⁱ Karouana, S. (1930) H viomixania ton ksenon eis Kypron (The industry of foreigners in Cyprus). *Neos Kypriakos Fylaks*, 26th February 1930, p. 1 (Newspaper articles with unknown author).
- xl^{iv} In this case, Troodos is used to describe the peak of the mountain where the British established their camps and offices, and not the wider region of Troodos.
- xl^v To Troodos: H Katoikia ton Theon (1936). *Neos Kypriakos Fylaks*, 1 September 1936, p. 2
- xl^{vi} Paphos is one of the major cities and tourist destinations in Cyprus. Today it is highly developed with numerous visitors annuallyand draws approximately the one third of total tourist arrivals in Cyprus every year. <http://famagusta-gazette.com/tourism-arrivals-in-paphos-increase-in-p13557-69.htm>, Date accessed: 7th of June 2013.

^{xlvii} Hami, N. (2011) Keeping a Nation Cool. Cyprus Mail, 3rd July 2011, no page.

^{xlviii} Forest Park Hotel Information Leaflet, www.forestparkhotel.com.cy, Date accessed: 22 June 2013.

^{xlix} Oikogeneiakon Ksenodoxeion Pavsilypon 1930, p. 6; I kinisis eis to 'Grand Hotel' ton Platron 1939, p. 4; Mega Ksenodoxeio Elvetia 1924, p. 4; Platres Hotel 1930, p. 4; Ta eksoxika mas kentra 1936, p. 2 (Newspaper articles and advertisements with unknown author).

^l Oikogeneiakon Ksenodoxeion Pavsilypon 1930, p. 6 (Newspaper advertisement with unknown author).

^{li} Ta eksoxika mas kentra 1936, p. 2 (Newspaper article with unknown author).

^{lii} For an analysis of gambling tourism in Northern Cyprus, please see Scott (2005).

^{liii} I use the term 'powerful societies' to refer to the group of societies that have the power to define concepts and practices as superior of inferior. By reproducing these ideas, they have the power to upgrade them into the unchallenged, unquestioned ideological status quo, which other, less powerful societies are struggling to achieve. My intention is not to suggest that less powerful societies passively reproduce the dominant discourse. Rather, they adopt, renegotiate or resist according to the context. However, their resistance or renegotiation is enacted in reference to the existing dominant discourse.

^{liv} World Tourism Organization, <http://media.unwto.org/en/node/37723>, Date accessed: on 18 June/6/ 2013.

^{lv} United Nations World Tourism Organization, <http://www2.unwto.org/en/content/who-we-are-0>, Date accessed: 23 June /6/2013.

^{lvi} World Trade Organization, http://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/serv_e/tourism_e/tourism_e.htm, Date Accessed: 23 June /6/2013.

^{lvii} Turkish Cypriots who lived in the southern part of the island also abandoned their houses and fled to the northern part of the island.

^{lviii} Statistical Service of the Republic of Cyprus, 24/1/12, Announcements "'Latest Figures: Tourism Arrivals Dec 2011'".

^{lix} Statistical Service of the Republic of Cyprus, 29/5/12, Announcements "'Latest Figures: Population, Households and Demographic Indicators'".

^{lx} The tourism product of the island is facing several problems that 'are a considerable concern for' the Cyprus Tourism Organization. Tourism's sizeable contribution to Cyprus's GDP is not wholly positive. The economy of Cyprus is, in essence, a tourism-dependent economy, which makes it highly vulnerable to external factors, such as the financial crises. Another issue is the twofold

dependence on the British market. The first form of dependence concerns the tourists themselves: until recently, almost half of Cyprus's tourist arrivals originated from United Kingdom, which entails a very high risk for the future growth of the economy (Ayers 2001, p.125). The authorities have enforced policies intended to diversify the source of origin for tourism, and in 2010 they succeeded in reducing the proportion of tourists arriving from United Kingdom to 45.8 per cent (CTO 2010, no page). The second biggest source of origin for tourism is Russia, and in 2010 Russians increased to 10.3 per cent of the market (CTO 2010, no page). It seems, however, that the efforts to promote Cyprus as a tourist destination in Russia have been successful, since in 2010 it was the only country that doubled in one year the number of tourists that selected to visit Cyprus for their vacations (CTO 2010, no page). Smaller numbers of tourists arrive from Germany, Greece, Sweden and Norway. The tourism industry's second form of dependence on Britain stems from its ties with British travel agents such as Thomson, which are among the most powerful players in the international field of tourism. Consequently, their dominance minimizes the authority that the state has over its tourism product (Ioannides 1992, p. 723). Another factor contributing to the vulnerability of the tourism product and subsequently of the island's economy is the unbalanced seasonal fluctuations in tourist arrivals. In brief, approximately 54 per cent of the island's tourists visit in a single three-month period (between June and September) (CTO 2010, no page).

lxi Dr. Samuel Johnson: Boswell's Johnson, year 1776, cited in: <http://www.bartleby.com/349/authors/116.html>, date accessed: 30 June /6/2013.

lxii Mediterranean anthropology was founded on the assumption that Mediterranean countries share common cultural values of honour and shame. Anthropologists supported the theory that the Mediterranean concept of honour, which is linked to female sexual purity, is perceived as sacred, meaning that it is more precious than a person's life (Peristiany and Pitt Rivers 1992, pp. 2-4). This assumption was criticized by later scholars, who noted that the concepts of honour and shame differ from one area to another and often within the same society (Argyrou 1996, p.158).

lxiii The hellinisation of the Cyprus's tourism product is discussed in more detail in the 4.3.2 section.

lxiv Cyprus Tourism Organization, 'Love Cyprus: The year round-island' Brochure, pp.2, 8

lxv Official Website of the Cyprus Tourism Organization, www.visitcyprus.org.cy, Date accessed: on 9 April 2007.

lxvi Forest Park Brochure

lxvii <http://www.rafa-krotiri.co.uk/32sqdn/32sqdn.html>, Date accessed: 7 August 2012.

lxviii As mentioned in Chapter 1, Greek Cypriots ignored the different views that Turkish Cypriots held about of their own identity. In the 1960s, although the vast majority of Greek Cypriots in the 1960s perceived themselves to as belonging to the Greek nation state, variations did exist there were some who held contrasting views, which were related with which reflected the different political ideologies that were dominant on the island at the time.

lxix In other contexts, the British colonization is represented as an agent of modernization.

lxx Psithuroi ton modernon. (Whispers of moderns). (1968) Teleftaia Ora, 30th November, p. 5. (my emphasis)

lxxi The vast majority of Turkish Cypriots, unlike Muslims in other Islamic countries, are in favour of secularism. This is the result of the strong influence of Kemalism in the development of Turkish Cypriot national identity.

lxxii O Sindesmos Ksenodoxon apanta eis ton Pagkuprion Organismo Anaptikseos. (The Hotel Association responds to Pancyprrian Organization Development). (1969). Maxi, 7th February, p.6.

lxxiii Zito o Tourismos. (Hooray Tourism). (1961). Fileleftheros. 5th March, p.1

lxxiv <http://www.limassolmarina.com>. Date, accessed date: 26 March 2016/3/12.

lxxv Aristai ai Prooptikai dia ton Xeimerinon Tourismon (1964). (Excellent Prospects for Winter Tourism). 30th October, p.6.

lxxvi H Yperanaptiksi, kindunos gia ton turismo tis Kyprou. (The overgrowth risk for tourism in Cyprus). (1973). Haravgi. 6th June, p.5

lxxvii <http://www.cybc.com.cy/index.php/rik>, Date accessed: 20/5/14.

lxxviii The United Nations Buffer Zone or the so-called 'Dead Zone' in Cyprus is a demilitarised zone, patrolled by the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP). The Buffer Zone was established in 1974 following the Turkish invasion (with the exception of Nicosia, where the Buffer Zone was established in 1964).

lxxix To Vima ton Anagnoston: To neo aerodromio 1968 (Readers Section: The new airport). Haravgi. 14th April, p.5.

lxxx <http://www.edelweissshotel.com.cy>, Date accessed: 23/10/12.

lxxxi Troodos: N' Anipsothei sto Epipedo Diethnous Kentrou Anapsuxis (Troodos: to be upgraded to an International Recreation Center), 1968.

lxxxii This popular saying implies that Kakopetrites enjoyed certain amenities only because of their wealthy and prosperous visitors rather than through any merit of their own.

lxxxiii Rachel Carson was an influential scholar whose 1962 book *Silent Spring* laid the foundations for the social movement of environmentalism (Macnaghten and Urry 1998, p. 45; Woods 2003, p. 274, Argyrou 2005, p. 47)

lxxxiv Environmentalism was linked with other social movements such as feminism and urban movements (Macnaghten and Urry 1998, p. 73)

lxxxv Bunce (1994, p. 35-6; 2003, p. 19) and Macnaghten and Urry (1998, p. 183) make a distinction between the English and the American countryside ideal. However, it is recognized that in both cultural settings romanticism contributed to elevating 'nature to a sacred status', which has had a significant impact on modern environmentalism (Bunce 2003, p. 19).

lxxxvi For a more detailed analysis of the social construction of rurality, please see Bunce (1994, and 2003), Woods (2006) and Smith (2007).

lxxxvii Sustainable development emerged as a highly influential but also ambivalent concept, appropriated by states, institutions, scientists, investors and indigenous populations. The idea of 'sustainable development' was also seen as the 'way out' of the dead end created by the harsh criticism opposed by the environmental organizations. Abram (1998, p. 10) argues that the anti-development element of environmental discourse was smoothed out by the invention of sustainable development, which was seen as an attempt to 'reign the potential anarchism of environmentalism into the realm of capitalist development'.

lxxxviii The First International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments produced in 1931 the Athens Charter, which aimed to establish awareness about conservation issues and contributed in the development of legal national frameworks and practices (Smith 2006, p. 89).

lxxxix The use of the term 'other cultures' implies that the author/owner is a westerner and takes for granted the western principles and philosophy about heritage preservation and authenticity.

xc The term 'reflexive tourism' could equally apply to other forms of tourism, such as volunteer tourism, wildlife tourism and extreme tourism, but these are considered irrelevant to this thesis.

xci It is important to note that some scholars view the period from the 1960s until the 1980s as the second phase of tourism, taking into account the (Thomas) Cook and post-Cook era (Sezgin and Yolal 2012, p. 74). However, this thesis is concerned with the juxtaposition of mass tourism and reflexive tourism. For this reason, I focus on the second half of the twentieth century, and in particular the 1960s onwards, which is seen as the birth of large-scale tourism (Löfgren 1999, p. 157). Thus, in the context of this thesis, the term 'first phase of tourism' or 'early tourism' will refer to the mass tourism phenomenon as developed between the 1960s and 1980s.

xcii <http://www.goabroad.com>, Date accessed: April 20/4/13.

^{xciii} For more information on ‘responsible’ tourism, please see McLaren (2004).

^{xciv} <http://www.goabroad.com>, Date accessed: April 20/4/13.

^{xcv} This term is adapted from the notion of ‘reflexive modernisation’ jointly developed by Beck and Giddens. Scholars such as Bauman and Lyotard reject the idea that modernity reinvented itself and adhere to the term ‘postmodernity’, which connotes the end of modernity. Although the theory of ‘reflexive modernization’ is used here to analyse the tourism phenomenon, a detailed examination of the theoretical debates about ‘reflexive modernisation’ is considered beyond the scope of this thesis.

^{xcvi} This was a process that began before the 1980s. During the 1970s, there was a growing interest in niche tourism products, but mass tourism was still considered the dominant trend (Richards 2005, p. 13).

^{xcvii} Kneasfey (1994, p. 105) claims that ‘cultural tourism is not a new wave after all but a reversion to eighteenth-century habits after a relatively brief fad of sun-seeking package tours. The difference is that culture now has become a commodity, and vast sums of money are being generated by it.’ I do not agree with the argument that cultural tourism is a continuation of eighteenth-century tourism practices for the reasons that I have outlined in this chapter. It should be noted, moreover, that during the eighteenth century, tourism was a privilege of a significantly small number of educated elite and not of the masses. Also, the elite’s expectations or their experiences did not have a massive impact on identity formation and the landscape, since the technology at the time did not permit this. Today, in contrast, the average middle-class, middle-aged European has very specific ideas about how an ‘authentic’ Greek island should look and how ‘true’ Greeks should behave, even if he or she has never visited the place.

^{xcviii} <http://swhantsgreenparty.blogspot.com/>, Date accessed: 10 June 2013.

^{xcix} <http://www.yeousch.com/community/threads/go-back-we-fucked-up....3795/>, Date accessed: 10 June 2013. The words yolo and swang used in the graphic image is slang language used mainly by young people. Yolo means ‘You only live once’. There is a contest as to what the acronym Swag means but it is widely used by youth in such a way that is encapsulated by the synonyms ‘attitude’ and ‘style’.

^c For a detailed examination review of definitions of rural tourism, definitions please see Farmaki (2012, p. 73).

^{ci} www.agrotourism.com.cy, Date accessed: 10/3/10 April 2013.

^{cii} All routes mentioned above were co-funded by the European Regional Development Fund, except the “Aphrodite Routes”, which followed the Council of Europe Model. (For an anthropological approach investigation of Aphrodite’s promotion as part of the Cyprus tourism product please see Paphitou Nicoletta (?), Unpublished thesis, University of Kent).

^{ciii} www.visitcyprus.com.cy, Date accessed: 15 April 20/4/13.

civ TSINTIDES T. and CHRISTODOULOU M. (2009) Presentation: "The Natura 2000 Network in Cyprus». XVII UEF – Congress June 5-7, 2009, Jedlnia, Poland, http://www.european-foresters.org/PolandCongress09/Speeches/SeminarSpeeches/Natura%202000_Cyprus.pdf, Date accessed: 13 April 2013.

cv For a detailed analysis of the Akamas environmental controversy, please see Welz (2006, and 2012) and Christou (2009).

cvi The programme was divided into two phases: 2004-6 and 2007-13.

cvi <http://ec.europa.eu>, Date accessed: 14/4/ April 2013.

cvi <http://www.rural-tourism.tph.moi.gov.cy>, Date accessed: 14/4/ April 2013.

cix CTO 2012, 'Accommodation Industry Capacity 30.09.2012' and www.visitcyprus.biz, Date accessed: 20/5/14.

cx According to the constitution of 'Troodos Tourism Development and Promotion Company' (Etaireia Touristikis Anaptiksis kai Provolis Troodous), its council is chaired by a CTO representative (for the first years of its operation) and its membership consists of 103 rural communities from the Troodos region, tourism agents and other brokers and tourism development companies. In 2009, the community councils of the Troodos region established the 'Troodos Development Company', which works in close cooperation with 'Troodos Tourism Development and Promotion Company'.

cx http://ec.europa.eu/enterprise/sectors/tourism/eden/what-is-eden/index_en.htm, Date accessed: 15 April 2015/4/13.

cxii 'Acquis communautaire is a French term referring to the cumulative body of European Community laws, comprising the EC's objectives, substantive rules, policies and, in particular, the primary and secondary legislation and case law – all of which form part of the legal order of the European Union (EU)'. <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/areas/industrialrelations/dictionary/definitions/acquiscommunautaire.htm>, Date accessed: 13 June 2013.

cxiii <http://www.visitcyprus.com>, Date accessed: 20 April /4/2013.

cxiv Nicolas, an active volunteer working for the Company, admitted that the logo's shape and content were inspired by the logo for Austrian rural areas.

cxv 'Securitization' is a term coined by the so-called Copenhagen School and primarily by Ole Waever (1995) and Buzan et al. (1998) to refer to the political practice of bringing security threats into being.