

## SETTLEMENT, DEMOGRAPHY, AND POLITICS IN NORTH CYPRUS

### PROGRAM

- 09:30-10:00**    **REGISTRATION**
- 10:00-10:15**    **WELCOMING REMARKS**  
**Hubert Faustmann**    Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung  
**Harry Tzimitras**    PRIO Cyprus Centre
- 10:15-11:30**    **KEYNOTE:**  
**Joyce Dalsheim**    University of North Carolina, Charlotte  
*Who belongs here? On settlers, natives, and narrating the past*
- 11:30-13:00**    **PANEL 1: Political aspects**  
**CHAIR: Hubert Faustmann**  
**Yücel Vural**  
*Politically motivated migration: The case of north Cyprus*  
**Sertac Sonan and Ebru Küçükşener**  
*Political culture in the northern part of Cyprus: A divided society?*  
**Sertac Sonan and Enis Porat**  
*The role of identity and socio-economic factors in political participation patterns in the northern part of Cyprus*
- 13:00-14:00**    **Lunch**
- 14:00-15:30**    **PANEL 2: Going beyond homogeneity**  
**CHAIR: Mete Hatay**  
**Ayşenur Talat**  
*Community-building and incorporation experiences of first-wave migrants from Turkey in the northern part of Cyprus: The case of Kalograia (Bahceli)*  
**Başak Ekenoğlu**  
*Identity formation of the Kurdish immigrants in north Cyprus: The impact of ethnicity and social otherization*  
**Eliz Tefik**  
*Bulgarian Turks in north Cyprus*
- 15:30-16:00**    **Coffee break**
- 16:00-17:30**    **PANEL 3: Settlement, perception and identity**  
**CHAIR: Sertaç Sonan**  
**Mete Hatay**  
*Are settlers spoilers? Instrumentalising settlers as obstacles to peace*  
**Charis Psaltis, Neophytos Loizides, Alicia LaPierre and Djordje Stefanovic**  
*Readiness for co-habitation with Turkish Cypriots and Turkish settlers in the Greek Cypriot community: The role of transitional justice, intergroup contact, war-related trauma and return intentions*

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### BIOGRAPHIES

**Ayşenur Talat Zrilli** is currently Assistant Professor at the Department of Psychology of Eastern Mediterranean University. She obtained her PhD from Middle Eastern Technical University, Turkey in Sociology. She has Vordiplom and Diplom Degrees in Sociology (Major) and Economics (Minor) from Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, Germany; and a B.A. degree in Sociology with Social Policy from University of Warwick, U.K.. She is interested in social stratification, ethnicity and ethnic relations, nationalism, migration and transnationalism.

**Başak Ekenoğlu** is a Ph.D. candidate in International Relations at the Eastern Mediterranean University of northern Cyprus. She received her B.A from Political Science and International Relations Department at Marmara University in 2010. She has completed her MSc on Migration and Ethnic Studies (under Sociology) in the University of Amsterdam in 2012. Currently she is working as a researcher in Cyprus Dialogue Forum. Her main academic interests are dynamics of international migration and immigrant policies, migrant groups in northern part of Cyprus, ethnicity and identity formation, Kurdish identity, and social stigmatization.

**Charis Psaltis** is an Associate Professor of Social and Developmental Psychology at the University of Cyprus. He studied at the Pedagogical Academy of Cyprus (Teacher's Diploma, 1993), at the University of Cyprus (Degree in Primary Education, 1999), and at Panteion University, Athens (Degree in Psychology, 2000). He followed graduate studies at the University of Cambridge (MPhil, 2001 and PhD, 2005, in Social and Developmental Psychology). He also worked as a Post-doctoral researcher at the Oxford Center for the Study of Intergroup Conflict, Department of Experimental Psychology, and University of Oxford. His research interests cover the area of intergroup relations, intergroup contact, history teaching and collective memory, as they relate to the Cyprus issue. In the last years he is developing a Genetic Social Psychological framework for the study of microgenesis, ontogenesis and sociogenesis of cognitive development and prejudice. He has studied extensively the social psychological aspects of intercommunal relations between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus.

**Ebru Küçükşener** is a Ph.D. candidate in the International Relations Program at Cyprus International University (CIU). She has received her undergraduate (2012) and Master's (2014) degrees from the same department. She is a member of the executive board of Political Science Association since May 2017 and works as a research assistant at CIU since 2012.

**Eliz Tefik** is an experienced research professional in Cyprus and an ESOMAR member since 2013. She has lead and managed important local and international research projects during her 8-year experience in the business. She has been cooperating successfully with partners for the projects such as of EBRD, World Economic Forum - Competitiveness Report, Interpeace, Standard Eurobarometer, Employment Barometer and others. She managed research projects also in the fields of education, health, housing, internet, socio-political public opinion surveys, economic environment surveys etc. She was involved in many civil society organization research projects as well in both fieldwork management and their reporting. She holds a Sociology degree from the Middle East Technical University (METU) in Ankara, where she started to work at research projects in Turkey. After completing her four-year bachelor studies, she received an MA degree from Eurasian Studies- an interdisciplinary department in METU. Her thesis was on "*Dynamics of social citizenship and identity perceptions: Immigrant Turks from Bulgaria in north Cyprus*".

**Enis Porat** is a PhD candidate in International Relations at Cyprus International University where he works as a research assistant. He is also the assistant of the Centre for Cyprus and Mediterranean Studies at CIU. He holds a BA(Hons) in Political Science and International Relations from Middle East Technical University (2015) and an M.Phil. in Race, Ethnicity, Conflict (Sociology) from University of Dublin, Trinity College (2017). His research interests include Conflict and Peace Studies, Migration and Identity Studies. Porat is a member of the executive board of Siyasal Bilimler Topluluğu (Political Science Association).

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**Joyce Dalsheim** is a cultural anthropologist in the Department of Global Studies at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. Her work deals with issues of nationalism, religion and the secular, and conflict, primarily in Israel/Palestine. She has written about conflicts over the Jewish settlement project in Israeli Occupied Territories, the moral grounds of conventional peacemaking, and how contemporary critical and postcolonial theory illuminate issues of sovereignty, citizenship, and alterity among national majority populations. She is author of *Unsettling Gaza: Secular Liberalism, Radical Religion and the Israeli Settler Project* (Oxford University Press, 2011), and *Producing Spoilers: Peacemaking and the Production of Enmity in a Secular Age* (Oxford University Press, 2014). Her current research looks at how the Jewish Question is transformed when Jews become sovereign citizens in their own nation-state.

**Mete Hatay** is since 2005 a Senior Research Consultant at the Peace Research Institute Oslo Cyprus Centre. His research focuses primarily on Cyprus, having written widely on minorities and religion, the politics of demography, displacement, and cultural heritage. For the past eight years he has contributed the entry on Cyprus to the *Muslims in Europe Yearbook*. He is co-author, with Rebecca Bryant, of the forthcoming *De Facto Dreams: Building the So-Called State* (University of Pennsylvania), which examines the creation of an unrecognized state in Cyprus's north after the island's division in 1974. His current research concerns post-conflict return and remixing, and the history and international politics of models for negotiated settlements.

**Sertac Sonan** is an Assistant Professor of International Relations at Cyprus International University (CIU). He is also the Director of Centre for Cyprus and Mediterranean Studies at CIU. He has been engaged in research in the fields of political clientelism, corruption, Cyprus conflict, and Turkish Cypriot politics and economy. He is a contributor to the monthly newsletter of Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Cyprus, and an executive board member of Cyprus Academic Dialogue, a bi-communal civil society organization.

**Yücel Vural** is a Professor of Political Science at the Eastern Mediterranean University. He has taught issues of comparative politics and nationalism at the department of political science and international relations since 1997. He is one of the founding members and co-presidents of Cyprus Academic Dialogue. His main academic interest is in identity politics, Cyprus politics, politics of history education, migration and federalism.

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### ABSTRACTS

**Ayşenur Talat Zrilli: *Incorporation experiences of first wave migrants from Turkey in the northern part of Cyprus: The case of Bahçeli***

Notwithstanding the highly controversial character of the population transfer from Turkey to the northern part of Cyprus following the partition of the island, academic literature on incoming groups from Turkey especially in respect to their acculturation experiences is still rather scarce. Addressing this gap this presentation focuses on the incorporation of first wave migrants who were settled in the Kalograia (Bahçeli) village in Kyrenia district in the northern part of Cyprus. It will argue that the groups under scrutiny have neither followed a pathway of assimilation, nor have their incorporation been purely ethnic in the strict sense of the term. They have rather been incorporated into the Turkish Cypriot society by means of transnational communities based on region/area of origin in Turkey.

**Başak Ekeoğlu: *Identity formation of the Kurdish immigrants in north Cyprus: The impact of ethnicity and social otherization***

Although there are different waves of immigration from Turkey to the northern part of Cyprus, Turkish Cypriot authorities failed to employ an official immigration policy for the integration of the population. Moreover, the authorities have adopted a kind of 'inclusive citizenship' understanding which tried to produce a kind of common identity - "being Turk" - among all immigrant groups from Turkey; although they have different ethnic origins such as Kurds and Arabs. The study concentrated on Kurds as one of the immigrant groups and aims to analyze ethnic identity formation of the Kurdish population in the northern part of Cyprus. In analyzing identity formation of the group, ethnic identity has investigated as a social identity, and the impact of social stigmatization on immigrants in Turkish Cypriot society will be examined, which conceptualized as 'otherization'. By focusing on self-identification, groupness and boundaries the research analyzed that Kurdish population in the northern part of Cyprus has a strong ethnic identity orientation. In addition, the research argues that social stigmatization in the Turkish Cypriot society towards immigrant groups is a significant element in the identity formation process of the population.

**Charis Psaltis, Neophytos Loizides, Alicia LaPierre and Djordje Stefanovic:**

***Readiness for Co-habitation with Turkish Cypriots and Turkish Settlers in the Greek Cypriot community: The role of transitional justice, intergroup contact, war-related trauma and return intentions***

In the context of discussions about the solution of the Cyprus issue the question of the status of people who came from Turkey in the post-solution period often occupy public debates. The purpose of the presentation is to initiate a discussion on the often overlooked linkages between migration and settler literatures. While these literatures offered specific categorizations, causal arguments and prescriptions in addressing settler/migrant questions, there have been so far only handful of large-n surveys to test related empirical or normative claims. To address this gap in the literature, the presentation discusses the views of Greek Cypriots about populations transferred from Turkey to the northern part of Cyprus after 1974 described either as settlers or immigrants by rival accounts in the island's historiography. The article utilises a representative survey of 1605 Greek Cypriots aiming to explore attitudes towards Turkish settlers compared to the views towards Turkish Cypriots and to identify variations among different population groups according to age, gender as well as victimization and refugee status or return intentions and the role of intergroup contact between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. We test alternative explanations for Greek Cypriot attitudes towards the settler community and juxtapose those with attitudes towards the indigenous Turkish Cypriots as well as general attitudes towards reconciliation, peaceful co-existence and transitional justice.

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### **Eliz Tefik: *Dynamics of social citizenship and identity perceptions: Immigrant Turks from Bulgaria in northern Cyprus***

The aim of this research is to analyze comparatively migration experiences in reference to changing citizenship rights of Turks from Bulgaria in northern Cyprus where they immigrated during 1990's in great numbers. Based on a fieldwork conducted in 2006 with a research sample of 30-immigrant households (interviewed with a qualitative in-depth and face-to-face interaction technique), the research indicates that respondents perceived themselves as excluded in the areas of employment and educational opportunities, cultural activities and in establishing associations in Bulgaria. On the other hand, in northern Cyprus, they have perceived themselves as excluded in terms of work life and finding an occupation, high-income opportunities, finding decent accommodation and neighborhood relations. Besides, in the former they perceived themselves as discriminated because of their Muslim-Turkish identity and in the latter because they have been accepted as migrants and a marginally subordinate group in the social hierarchy.

### **Joyce Dalsheim: *Who belongs here? On settlers, natives, and narrating the past***

This talk considers the problem of categorization for social theory by focusing on the definition of "settlers." It is based on research among Jews in Israel, some of whom are despised for being settlers, and others who claim those settlers have no right to narrate the past. The talk builds on the theorizing of Hannah Arendt, Hayden White, and Ashis Nandy, to consider who is a settler, who is a native, and the role of multiple versions of the past in conflict and its resolution. Focusing on one of the most contentious spaces in the West Bank, the analysis looks at internal conflicts among groups of Jews who claim the rights to the place and to its past.

### **Mete Hatay: *Are settlers spoilers? Instrumentalising settlers as obstacles to peace***

The presence and political and social role of Turkish immigrants – generally referred to as settlers – in northern Cyprus still constitute among the most debated issues on the island. Moreover, discussions around this group inevitably have international ramifications owing to the relation to Turkey's Cyprus policy. Starting with the Annan Plan, voted down in 2004 by Greek Cypriots, it seems that the two side's leaders have reached agreement on how to solve the issue, despite remaining scepticism amongst the public. However, politicians and media on both sides of the divide continue to use that scepticism for the purpose of populist politics, casting this population group as scapegoats or producing them as spoilers. This populist tendency is made easier by the lack of study of this population group, whose numbers, preferences, voting tendencies, and hopes for the future become a source of speculation and manipulation. With this paper I will look at how settlers are presented in popular discourse; how and why they are invented as spoilers of "peace building" by politicians and through media; and how such a discourse may ultimately become a self-fulfilling prophecy

### **Sertac Sonan and Ebru Küçükşener: *Political culture in the northern part of Cyprus: A divided society?***

The settlement of immigrants from Turkey to the northern part of Cyprus following the division of the island in 1974 has played an important role in shaping the internal dynamics of Turkish Cypriot society. Since then, the clash of cultural values of Turkish immigrants and native Turkish Cypriots, and its political implications have been widely discussed. What has received less attention in the literature is the differences in political attitudes, political values and symbols of these groups. In this paper, we will discuss whether political culture of these two groups are different from each other or not, based on quantitative survey results.

### **Sertac Sonan and Enis Porat: *The role of identity and socio-economic factors in political participation patterns in the northern part of Cyprus***

Based on a quantitative survey of a sample of 1000 participants, our research aims to shed light on the patterns of political participation (both conventional and non-conventional) of the electorate in the northern part of Cyprus and to show whether there is divergence(s) in participation patterns of different sub-groups including citizens with immigrant backgrounds. While exploring these differences among different groups, the paper also seeks to reveal whether socio-economic status or identity has more decisive role in explaining these variations.

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### **Yücel Vural: *Politically motivated migration: the case of Turkish migration to northern Cyprus***

The increasing number of Turkish immigrants in the northern part of Cyprus has become a sensitive and controversial issue both at intra-communal and inter-communal level of politics in Cyprus since 1974. While Turkish migration has led to a fear of assimilation among some Turkish Cypriots, it prompted the Greek Cypriots who see these immigrants as settlers, to accuse Turkey of following a policy of colonization. Nevertheless, there is no official 'migration policy' employed by the authorities in the northern part of Cyprus. Indeed there have been public policies aiming at regulating the unexpected results of migration rather than identifying the preferred conditions of migration. This paper analysis various waves of population transfers and population flows to northern Cyprus from Turkey and argues that unlike other cases northern Cyprus represents a distinct category in the motives and results of migration. The paper identifies a 'politically motivated migration' which has emerged as a result of a combination of domestic policies of the host entity and foreign policy objectives of the home country (Republic of Turkey). Furthermore, this paper analyzes migration through classifying the reactions of a 'developing host country.' By focusing on three different waves of Turkish population transfers/immigration, this paper argues that 'politically motivated' immigration has generated three different types of reactions in the Turkish-Cypriot community. Namely, (1) clientelist reaction, which sees immigration from a nationalistic-opportunistic perspective; (2) protectionist reaction, which sees immigration as a threat to the Turkish-Cypriot identity and political stability; and (3) legalist reaction, which sees immigration as a human rights issue. The paper concludes that there has been a distinct policy of 'clientelism' of the host entity, which overlaps with the home country (Republic of Turkey) foreign policy objectives which mobilized Turkish migration to northern Cyprus.