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**Negotiated Uses, Contested Meanings, Changing  
Identities: Greek Cypriot Media Consumption and Ethnic  
Identity Formations in North London**

(Thesis submitted for the award of PhD in Media and Communication)

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## **Abstract**

A large number of Greek Cypriots live in North London, where the sense of belonging in an ethnic community is daily and actively renewed through multiple mechanisms of participation and multileveled communication.

A variety of ethnic media, which people consume in everyday life, have their role in the processes of (re)invention and (re)construction of British Greek Cypriot ethnic identities that depend, at the same time, on immediate and mediated experiences in and of the country of origin, the locality and the diaspora. These three spaces – the country of origin, the locality and the diaspora – come together in a meeting point of the virtual and the real, through electronic media. The ethnic electronic media, which are both local and global and which use new and old technologies, challenge the boundaries between geographical positionings and singular categorisations. These media are the focus of this research.

In this thesis, I argue that the ethnic electronic media have a vital role for the construction of a new hybrid imagined community, which is neither geographically bounded nor lacks the face-to-face communication, as suggested by Anderson (1983); rather it depends simultaneously on immediate and mediated communication. Traditional institutions and face-to-face relations developed in community centres and alternative ethnic spaces become the immediate context of ethnicity – at the same time, ethnic media become the mediators of ethnicity which is not just local, but also diasporic and global. The survival and the (re)construction of ethnic identities depend as much on traditional community mechanisms and relations, as they depend on the mediated communication of the imagined community.

In their contradictions and shifting, ethnic identities continue to be meaningful to people. They depend on a sense of belonging to a community and on sharing common values and everyday culture – both communicated through physical co-existence and the sharing of the media.



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## Note On the Text

Though I have tried to use notions, concepts and vernacular terms as clearly as possible in the text that follows, it is necessary to make some clarifications. First of all, I would like to clarify my attempts to define the name of the group in question in order to achieve as much as possible the readability of the text. In most of the cases throughout the text, all the three words (British Greek Cypriot) are used in sequence when referring to the particular ethnic group which lives in Britain. In some cases and in order to make reading more manageable, I refer to 'Greek Cypriots' or even to 'Cypriots' or 'Cypriot' as an adjective. I believe that when I do that, it is clear that I refer to the same people.

As far as the group on study is concerned, the reader will also notice that I use the notion *participant(s)* instead of *subject(s)*. I believe that the first term acknowledges and reflects more appropriately the active participation of people on study in the outcome of this ethnographic thesis. For the same reason, and while recognising people's contribution as active individuals, I choose to use names instead of numbers when referring to participants or when quoting them. All names though are pseudonyms, as I wanted to keep my promise for anonymity and confidentiality.

Lastly, vernacular terms are printed in *italics* and those words that have a particular meaning in Greek and are not fully translatable appear in the text in Greek with an English explanation/translation.

## Introduction

Are multiplicity, fluidity and connectivity useful words to describe our times? Are they appropriate for understanding the meaning of boundaries, communication and identities? Is it really possible to shape an analysis of identities and communication without talking over and over again about multiplicity and fragmentation, fluidity and diversity, connectivity and change? As the debates around identities and the media become more and more central in the agenda of cultural and media studies, the fragmentation and hybridity of identities and the active, insisting role of the media in everyday life are highlighted as starting points for analysis. Yet, these are not untroubled and conclusive conditions; rather, they relate to a set of important questions. How do the debates about the fragmentation of ethnic identities relate to the visible insistence of ethnicity as a reference for so many people around the world? How do people still remain loyal to *homelands*, even when they are born thousands of miles away – and what does this loyalty mean? How do the changing communication boundaries alter boundaries of communities, reconfirming or altering exclusion from or inclusion in them? Does the changing communication geography lead to a more colourful and diverse world, or to a world of competing and fragmented micro-communities?

All these are issues reminding us that the increasing possibilities for communication and hybridity do not imply any teleologies for either belonging or for being. They remind us that communication possibilities allow the emergence of new conditions, but also of alternative scenaria within new conditions. As it is impossible to reach easy and homogenising conclusions about identities and the media, research needs to be sensitive and seek understandings in the particular – in the experience that is positioned in history, space and time. Individuals', groups' and communities' positioning in relation to the possibilities and consequences of information and communication technologies vary extensively; so does their experience of ethnicity. This particularity needs to be studied in order to understand difference and its consequences. Empirical work and case studies make analysis possible, realistic and meaningful. However, empirical projects that study ethnic identities and the media

remain limited, unlike the growing theoretical and policy debates in the academia and beyond.

In an attempt to contribute to the understanding of media consumption for the construction of ethnic identities, I turn to a particular case study – an interesting case for studying ethnic identities and ethnic media when neither of them are inescapable or enforced upon people. It is a case where Whiteness and integration become as much a *threat* for assimilation, as a possibility for ethnic empowerment. It is a case where new communication technologies have facilitated the emergence of a new ethnic communication map and challenged old understandings of belonging. It is the case of the British Greek Cypriot community in North London.

Overall this is an understudied ethnic group, though it is a group that has sustained a distinct cultural presence and contributed to Britain's multicultural present. It is a group of an estimated 160,000-220,000<sup>1</sup> people, many of whom migrated from turbulent Cyprus in the late period of the British rule, the early postcolonial time and after the division of the island in 1974. About half of them are people born and raised in Britain – people who are not officially Cypriots<sup>2</sup>, but who, in their majority, identify themselves as being 'Greek' and/or 'Cypriot'<sup>3</sup>. This community, which has established itself in the British society and achieved a relative prosperity, is increasingly and inevitably taken over by the British-born generations, the generations born and raised in a new country – a new *homeland*?

At the present period of that shift in the British Greek Cypriot history and identity, this group does not seem to face a threat of assimilation – at least if one takes as a measure the thriving institutions of the group. Media are some of the most characteristic. Greek Cypriots form one of the ethnic groups with the highest concentration of their own media in Britain – especially in terms of its relatively small size. A local ethnic radio, a local cable channel, three local newspapers, two satellite channels received from Cyprus and Greece and a rich virtual diasporic space on the Internet form the diverse ethnic media map this group has access to. As people consume all these media – next to other activities that relate to ethnicity – assumptions suggesting

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1 Numbers based on estimations of scholars and statisticians discussed more extensively in Chapter IV.

2 The British Census does not register Greek Cypriots, Cypriots or Greeks as a distinct ethnic category.

3 These comes out from the comments of the participants in this project; in their vast majority they



the inevitable assimilation of well-integrated populations into the mainstream are challenged. At the same time, assumptions about the persistence of a non-negotiable and inescapable ethnicity are also challenged when people relate to it differently and when they appropriate and participate in ethnic culture – including media culture– in diverse ways.

### **Key Questions – Key Concepts**

When talking about ethnic identities, identities of people who themselves or their ancestors initially left a distant *homeland*, a starting point is to ask how they are actually constructed, remaining viable through time, not only for the migrant generation, but also for the younger generations that eventually take over. This question, as central as it may be, often escapes the attention of research on ethnic identities. The short but powerful tradition of cultural identity studies has established an anti-essentialist perspective, has explained that ethnic identities do not depend on relations of blood anymore, that identities are neither stable nor singular, inescapable or defined at birth (see especially Fanon, 1986; Hall, 1991, 1992, 1996; Chambers, 1994; Robin Cohen, 1994, 1997; Gilroy, 1991, 1993a, 1995). But even though this lively new tradition has rejected preconceptions surrounding the academic and popular understanding of identities, what it lacks is a satisfactory analysis of what ethnic identities actually depend on. If ethnic identities are not necessarily dependent on relations of blood or on religion and language, if they are not inescapably rooted in land and *homeland*, what do they actually rely on? How can ethnicity remain a connecting thread for people who otherwise have multiple and diverse identities, like generation, age, gender, class and sexuality – just to name a few?

These questions set a challenging starting point. Since the rejection of ethnic identity as an essence is only the beginning, we need to study more extensively the complex processes of identity construction. If ethnicity does not rely on stable, inherited references, then it is the context and the content of everyday life we should look at; it is the ways ethnic identities are performed that need to be investigated. And this is where the media become visible and powerful players.

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identity themselves as being Greek, Cypriot or either of the two in different contexts.

In the case of ethnic identities in particular, the media might offer the means and the content that allow the emergence of multiple belongings in local and global spaces and in ethnic and non-ethnic groups. New media technologies especially have altered the communication map, allowing multiple ethnic information to be shared simultaneously by larger groups that might be dispersed all over the world, or by the smallest ethnic sub-groups that might have the most particularising, localised or obscure understanding of their ethnicity (Riggins, 1992; Husbands, 1994; Anderson, 1999). Ethnic media – especially the electronic ones – have become a component of everyday life; people can turn to or tune into them, see themselves, their cultures and *homelands* presented and represented. Do ethnic media then sustain particularity, segregation and sectarianism, alternative cultures, or a sense of holistic dependence on ethnicity?

Ethnic media in the context of a contemporary culture which is so much saturated by media discourses (Alasuutari, 1999) have in many cases established their role as a viable part of popular everyday culture (Cormack, 2000). In this way, ethnic media have allowed people to renew daily their images of ethnicity and perform their identities as part of audiences and as members of an ethnic hybrid imagined community, as I will argue in the pages that follow. Ethnic belonging in *media cultures*<sup>4</sup>, in a world where the particular co-exists and competes with the national and the global (Morley and Robins, 1995; Demetriou, 2000), is also fragmented and hybrid (Hall, 1992). The debates around the construction of ethnic identities and the involvement of the media and popular culture in this process, as emphasised within the Cultural Studies tradition by Stuart Hall (1989, 1992, 1996), is a starting point for this project. Stuart Hall developed the key concept of *new ethnicities* and argued about the centrality of representation for constructing identities. Paul Gilroy (1993a, 1993b, 1996) extended the discussion and focused on the concept of diaspora, especially with *The Black Atlantic* (1993a) which has initiated many debates, not only for Black identities, but for race, ethnicity and diaspora overall. Black ethnicity and diasporic identities, particularly with the influence of Fanon's (1986) *Black Skin, White Masks*, have been the focus of many works on belonging, on the social and cultural symbolisation and construction of meanings around the colours Black and White (e.g. Morrison, 1992; Glissant, 1992;

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<sup>4</sup> The term is used by Alasuutari (1999).

Gilroy, 1987, 1997). Those primarily theoretical works on Blackness, Whiteness, race and diaspora were followed by ethnographic works, such as those of Gillespie (1995) and Baumann (1996) that empirically and theoretically established the cultural construction of ethnicity in the agenda of sociological and cultural research in the West<sup>5</sup>.

Characteristic of this first generation of empirical projects on ethnicity is their focus on *coloured ethnicity*, with particular reference to Black and Asian minority groups in societies with a white majority<sup>6</sup>. Beyond the unquestionable contribution of these works to the study of identities, the focus on non-white ethnicities implied a focus on visible ethnicities<sup>7</sup>. Ethnic groups that are not immediately recognisable, because of physical, cultural characteristics and smaller numbers – such as Cypriots, Greeks and Turks in the UK, Russians in Germany and Iranians in the US – have only recently attracted the attention of researchers<sup>8</sup>. The inclusion – and not the taking over – of smaller and white ethnic groups in the research agenda brought over a further distancing from the essentialism of *difference as dependent on visibility* and a recognition of the complexity of ethnicity's viability (Fortier, 1999).

The focus on the processes of globalisation, the transnational movements of populations, the revitalisation of diasporas and the spreading of communication beyond limitations of time and space, also challenged studies of ethnicity and set in the agenda issues of ethnic connectivity and communication in the diaspora (Brah, 1996; Gillespie, op. cit.; Cohen, 1997; Aksoy and Robins, 2000). Such studies brought media and communication to the core of the ethnicity debates, as they argued for and against the role of the media as agents for people renewing diasporic belonging, for groups' empowerment and for their demanding the right to cultural difference. As these studies addressed ethnic and diasporic groups as active agents in the processes of globalisation and in defining and redefining their identities, they acknowledged directly – in

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5 Within anthropological research, ethnic identities and even media use have often been the focus, but until recently the focus was primarily on 'distant cultures' and peoples 'outside the West'

6 The term majority does not necessarily reflect an arithmetic domination, rather a domination in terms of power and control of mainstream culture

7 The contribution of these works is vast, not only academically, but also in terms of policy and in relation to the public discourse, as their focus on visibility is also related to anti-racist debates.

8 An exception to that is the study of Jewish identities, which has developed as an autonomous thread and within Jewish studies. Worth mentioning here are the works of Boyarin and Boyarin (1993); Boyarin, 1994; Liebes and Curran (eds.) 1998; Stratton, 2000a, 2000b.

empirical studies – or indirectly – in theoretical arguments – the centrality of everyday life as the setting where identities and culture become real and relevant.

### Focus on Everyday Life

In introducing *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984) De Certeau argues that while studying consumption we need to surpass the assumptions that consumers are ‘passive and guided by established rules’ (ibid.: xi). At the same time, De Certeau sets a framework for studying everyday life, without celebrating ‘social atomism’ as the driving force for analysis, without celebrating active usage while ignoring how it is socially constructed. He refers to ‘operational combinations’, the interaction between production and consumption – another production, as he argues. While not everybody is equal within this process, different uses and interpretations by consumers challenge the power of the original producers. ‘The strength of their difference lay in procedures of “consumption”’, he argues (ibid.: xiii).

Following De Certeau’s analysis, I turn to everyday life for understanding identities. In everyday life, people are consumers – consumers of goods, cultural products and meanings – being at the same time producers (ibid.). People are consumers of representations, but they are simultaneously their producers. As thoughts, ideas and feelings are represented in language and culture shared by people (Hall, 1997) so do meanings and identities rely on representations – both linguistic and cultural. Thus, identities are always mediated (ibid.).

Language is the oldest medium and the one shared more than any other. But the press, television, radio, the Internet have by now established their presence in everyday life so extensively, that media representations are directly linked to consumers’ identities (De Certeau, op. cit.; Morley and Silverstone, 1990; Silverstone, 1994; Gillespie, op. cit.; Ang, 1996). Media are by now so much a part – even the cultural context – of everyday life (Alasuutari, op. cit.) that they frame everyday discourses, exaggerating certain choices and minimising others. Nevertheless, as it will be extensively discussed in Chapter III and with reference to the audience research literature, media consumption requires and implies participation and appropriation of media discourses, even though participation is asymmetric and the power relations

uneven. Thus we cannot say that the media alone define everyday discourse and prescribe identities.

If we do accept that media have a 'cultural place' in the contemporary world (Alasuutari, *ibid.*) – a place that cannot but be contested, debated and involved in power struggles – we need to examine how media get involved in constructing everyday life and identities. We listen to the radio at home and in the car, we use the Internet at work, at home, at school, at college. More than that, even when we do not use the media, we often talk about them. If we do not talk about them as such, our everyday discourse is mediated by the media...we know what is important, what is fashionable, what is commonly shared in leisure and professional life. We consume images of the Self, Us and the Others, as they are represented in the media and our individual and communal identities are partly formed and performed as responses to these representations (Hall, 1997).

Ethnic media, which are the focus here, can project a dominant model of ethnicity as a holistic, essential quality of life. They can communicate certain perceptions and values that establish commonality and community. They can draw an image of Us and the Others, fix it and broadcast it to members and non-members of the ethnic group. Ethnic media, especially the electronic ones because of their structure, technological form and their taken-for-granted place in everyday life (Silverstone and Hirsch, 1994; Cormack, 2000), can get involved in the processes of identity construction in multiple ways. Ethnic media can be here or there, they can be global, local, or both; they can be consumed by diverse and spread audiences which have different codes of negotiation and diverse understandings of the local, the diaspora and the country of origin.

In their availability and presence in everyday life, ethnic media can get involved in the emergence of imagined communities (Anderson, 1983), though their existence alone cannot lead to assumptions about their relevance to audiences. Such arguments need to be investigated as ethnic media compete with mainstream media and other cultural choices, while people have multiple identities, different lifestyles and their ethnicity does not singularly define their being. How do ethnic media remain relevant, if they do? How do they relate to community and commonality? How does the increasing interactivity and diversity of electronic (ethnic) media (Dutton, 1996) alter their outcome and their consumption? How do *media culture(s)* change limitations and

possibilities for identities and belonging? All these are key questions that this thesis addresses and examines in the case of the British Greek Cypriot group.

### **The Hybrid Imagined Community**

In approaching this particular case study, I tried to avoid assumptions about the significance of either ethnicity or the media. Neither of the two is to be taken as stable and unquestionable for people who might have the same origin or share Greek-looking names and surnames. I met people who think that Greek Cypriot ethnicity is completely irrelevant to their experience though their parents migrated from Cyprus. I met others who defended their ethnicity as a point of reference that they could not imagine themselves without, though they rejected the idea of tuning into any of the Cypriot media. Yet, most of the Greek Cypriots I met in North London would identify with neither of the two extremes. Most identify themselves as members of an ethnic community and admit they consume ethnic media – neither of the two though are conceptualised and experienced by people as being untroubled, unproblematic and uncontested conditions.

As participants' crude honesty reveals in words and in actual everyday practice, ethnicity remains significant, as long as it is relevant and meaningful to them. One of them, a 38-year old British-born male solicitor who works for an ethnic firm illustrates this dependence: 'Greek Cypriots are always in contact, they socialize and do business together...we keep on with our culture. Younger people use the ideas and practices of the first generation when they do business... not as much as the older people do, but there's still a strong connection'. Many people highlighted in their talk and reconfirmed in their everyday life that they depend on the psychological, social and economic ethnic networks. When young British-born people turn to their parents for childcare support, they renew their own belonging in ethnic networks and initiate their children's *induction*. When people coming from the same village in Cyprus organise outings and balls, they reconfirm their *ethnic sociality*. 'We have our ball twice a year. It's great. It's a great chance to get in touch with people we haven't seen in years... We catch up...we gossip...we find out how our fellow villagers are doing', says a middle-aged female

possibilities for identities and belonging? All these are key questions that this thesis addresses and examines in the case of the British Greek Cypriot group.

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member of a Cypriot village association in words that reconfirm the meaningfulness of ethnicity as everyday experience, practice and bonding mechanism.

Ethnic connectivity, commonality and community get their meanings as the divisions, exclusions and oppositions still shape the broader society and people turn to subgroups and communities for all different kinds of support (Guibernau and Rex, 1997; Modood and Berthoud, 1997; Tufte and Riis, 2001). The search for emotional, financial support, for stability and for particularity highlights the importance and centrality of community for ethnicity.

In this thesis – and with reference to the British Greek Cypriots – I will argue that ethnicity remains a relevant category to people's experience and that it achieves its meanings within a community context. Community as a symbol, community as an experience, community in its diverse meanings and its boundedness is of key relevance for ethnicity.

But the meanings and the experience of community, like those of ethnicity, have changed radically in capitalism. And media have gained a central role for communication within the new imagined community (of the nation) (Anderson, 1983). Community has also changed in the era of globalisation in ways that challenge the dichotomy of Anderson (ibid.). He argues that mediated communication is central to the construction of imagined communities in capitalism, as opposed to the domination of face-to-face interaction in pre-capitalist communities. This dichotomy is challenged as the local remains – or has become – important for people's sense of community. But as the local is not self-contained and completely autonomous in a globalised world, community is not strictly dependent on face-to-face communication either. 'Ethnicity, once a genie contained in the bottle of some sort of locality – however large – has now become a global force, forever slipping in and through the cracks between states and borders' Appadurai writes (1990: 306).

As I will be arguing in this thesis, a new form of community, a *hybrid imagined community* is emerging. In this community, belonging is achieved, strengthened and renewed through mediated communication, but parallel with immediate and face-to-face communication. When the British Greek Cypriots go together to local schools and ethnic community centres, when in their everyday ethnic media consumption they constantly communicate with people in North London, in Cyprus and in the rest of the



diaspora, their sense of belonging is shaped at the meeting of the local, the diaspora and the country of origin. These three spaces form the triangular, three-dimensional spatial relation of the hybrid imagined community. This imagined community is a hybrid one as all three spaces are informed by and depend on their co-existence, while people's ethnic belonging simultaneously relies on all. It is hybrid because it is decentralized and its decentralization challenges the taken-for-grantedness of the nation and of nationalism. It is hybrid because in its globality it recognizes the inescapable multiple belonging of its members that are no longer members of a single community. In its hybridity, this emerging community constructs new mechanisms to keep and renew people's belonging: these involve old community mechanisms and imagined community mechanisms. This is where the church meets satellite technology, where the Greek language meets Java (language).

The media have become major players for the emergence of a Greek Cypriot hybrid imagined community – and it is this community context where British Greek Cypriot ethnic identities are shaped and reshaped. Electronic media, such as the local radio and television, the satellite ethnic channels and the Internet, have become assertive players in the emergence of the hybrid imagined community, as they bring together the three spaces of belonging. As electronic media are both local and global and use old and new technologies, they blur the boundaries between geographical positionings and allow people to experience ethnicity beyond singular categorizations: new ethnicities are now shaped through experiencing being here, there and in-between (Gillespie, *op. cit.*; Baumann, *op. cit.*; Naficy, 1993, 1999). At the same time, the multiplicity of ethnicity's images presented in the media, the interactivity of the new media and the simultaneity in broadcasting beyond spatial limitations allow the daily renewal of the triangular relation of the local, the diaspora and the country of origin. As people consume the media and participate in the construction of media discourses that are simultaneously local and global, their ethnic identities are daily renewed and their place and participation in the community is reclaimed in new terms.

The specific case study presented here, focusing on British Greek Cypriot ethnicities, illustrates how these processes take place in everyday life. How diverse subgroups renew their sense of belonging and perform their ethnic identities while using

ethnic media; how people communally use ethnic media which become a bonding community activity by itself; how people negotiate both the boundaries of ethnicity and the media to make them compatible with their everyday lives and their positioning in the local, the diasporic and the global space.

This research seeks an ethnographic understanding of ethnicity and the media and is informed by the contextualization of media consumption in everyday life<sup>9</sup>. In order to understand the processes of ethnic identity construction and ethnic media consumption they both need to be positioned next to and against other identities and other activities of everyday life. Studying ethnic identities and ethnic media has a parallel starting point. People do not have to use ethnic media and they do not have to *have* an ethnic identity<sup>10</sup>. To understand continuities, discontinuities, changes in identities and media consumption I turn to concepts such as hybridity, community and connectivity for shaping my understanding. The diversity of the Greek Cypriot ethnic experience as lived in public and private, in ethnic and non-ethnic spaces, was studied ethnographically, taking into consideration generation, gender and age diversity especially, while being sensitive to understanding people's other identities and lifestyles. This thesis examines how this diversity comes together in a community and a shared ethnicity. It examines how ethnic media gain their everyday role in British Greek Cypriots' life. It investigates how ethnic media consumption allows people to (re)discover and (re)shape their ethnic identities.

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9 The present research project learns from the ethnographic media studies tradition, including such studies as Livingstone, 1996; Buckingham, 1993; Morley and Silverstone, 1990; Radway, 1984 and many others.

10 While both the diversity and the dual social and psychological ethnic journey always characterise ethnicity, the experience of ethnicity as a choice and the multiplicity and fluidity of ethnic belonging implied here define ethnic experience in a specific historical time and geographical space. Ethnic belonging can be a choice in the western multicultural societies, but probably not in other parts of the world (Modhood *et al.*, 1997), where it is an inescapable and dominant identification. While the diversity of ethnic experience is emphasised here, the present discussion focuses on a specific space and time where this research took place. The context of this research is London, one of the most multicultural and global cities of the western world; the time is the turn of the millennium. It is a time and space though, where multiculturalism is not universally celebrated and racism is not extinct. And this is important to remember when arguing that ethnicity is a choice, as its history has been very complex. Social exclusion and racism characterising especially the first period of migration in Britain and the rest of the western Europe have been crucial for the formation of ethnicity today (Rex, 1986). The gradual shift to a multicultural, tolerant society is also crucial for understanding how ethnic identities' meanings are different for older and newer migrants, for older and younger generations and for the *majorities* and *minorities* at different historical times.

## British Greek Cypriots in London

A large number of Greek Cypriots is concentrated and established in North London. Their established presence is, on one hand the outcome of a numerical visibility – 70 % of the estimated 160,000-220,000<sup>11</sup> Greek Cypriots in Britain is concentrated in London, mostly the northern boroughs – and on the other, it is the reflection of an established and thriving ethnic community. Geographical concentration, endogamy, establishment of ethnic institutions including churches, schools and the media and the extensive development of a local economy with shops, restaurants and businesses reflect the local dimensions of this community. At the same time, political lobbying for the Cyprus problem, participation of community leaders in British and international (diasporic) ethnic fora, strong links with Cyprus and the survival and reproduction of ethnic values in life within and outside the ethnic group are some of the characteristics of a community which is not singularly local.

Community and ethnicity depend as much on the communal and the public experience as they do on the personal, domestic and private life. Thus, as the family is the dominant unit within the group – projected as a sacred entity – it becomes a strong ethnic identifier and an everyday mechanism communicating traditional ethnic values to the younger generations. As the support and the suppression of intense and intimate relations are reproduced within the ethnic family, they become ethnic experiences that younger generations seek to reproduce themselves through an ethnic marriage. ‘There’s no way I’d marry a foreigner (sic.). He wouldn’t understand our traditions, our lifestyle’, an 18-year-old British-born Greek Cypriot told me during a discussion. Even when people end up in an interethnic marriage, they continue to cherish ethnic values and lifestyle. A 37-year-old male sociologist, son of a Greek Cypriot and an Italian and now married to a Yugoslav is an active member of many Cypriot organisations and networks. When asked if he was equally involved in the Italian ethnic culture, he got annoyed: ‘Do I look like an Italian?...’

The extensive local concentration in North London and the daily *availability* of ethnic references in all different forms, keep people in a vital and living relationship

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<sup>11</sup> The national Census does not register Cypriots in a separate category; thus demographic information about British Cypriots is very limited. The only group that is visible in the Census are the people born in

with Greek Cypriot ethnicity. Ethnicity is a lived experience every time people buy Cypriot bread from a local shop, every time they pass by the Greek Orthodox church, every time they talk to their Cypriot neighbour and every time they listen to the local London Greek Radio (LGR). At the same time, their experience of ethnicity is not only local; it is not the same as the experience of people who live in Cyprus either. The shop that sells Cypriot bread also sells cheese from Turkey and fruit from the Caribbean. The local ethnic community centre welcomes not only Greek Cypriots but also Turkish Cypriots. British Greek Cypriots construct their ethnic identities in new terms, through new diasporic relations with the Others, the Others that once lived thousands of miles away, or the Others that were once close but were called enemies. New hybrid ethnicities<sup>12</sup> are shaped at the meeting of the old and the new, the local and the global and they are not the same as the identities shaped once in a distant *homeland*.

Traditional institutions such as churches, schools, family and kinship networks give the vague idea of community flesh and blood. They allow for ethnic bonding of the community, even if people interpret this bonding in different ways and their being part of it or not depends on their location in space, time and the stage of their life cycle. 'We know each other. People care for each other...and even if they don't, at least they know of each other's existence', is the interpretation of community for a 57-year-old Greek Cypriot. A 26-year-old woman gives a more negative interpretation, which, however, still acknowledges the existence of a community of people who care for each other's existence – even if this concern is negative: 'Everybody talks behind your back...Everybody competes with each other...Every wedding is a contest to make it look better and more fancy than any other...'

Community becomes meaningful for London Greek Cypriots in many ways. The ethnic community is the symbolic context of everyday life where commonly shared values and ethics are introduced and imposed. As ethnicity depends on preserving a sense of difference, community is the virtual and real entity that sets the boundaries between the insiders and the Others. Furthermore, as the content of new ethnicities

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Cyprus.

12 New ethnicities is a useful term introduced by Stuart Hall, who relates the concept to the hybridity of ethnicities in the western multicultural world (see especially Hall, 1992a).

becomes increasingly diverse, community becomes more and more the symbolic and bonding context of belonging – where the sense of commonality is preserved.

As much as traditional institutions and structures – such as the churches and the family – remain important for constructing a sense of common belonging and shared ethnic identities, new hybrid spaces and the media become equally important. Traditional institutions still have a value for people because, at the same time other alternative ethnic spaces address diverse and hybrid expressions of ethnicity – for example the English pubs and clubs that have become Greek Cypriot hangouts. Then the media become the meeting point of the traditional and the hybrid, as they play the communication role that word of mouth once used to have for communities (Riggins, 1992) as they mediate, translate and represent the multiplicity of ethnic discourses.

### **Ethnic Media: A Changing Reality**

Ethnic Greek Cypriot media go back to the mid-1950's, when migration from Cyprus was at its peak. There is a remarkable variety of Greek Cypriot media considering the size of the group, including three newspapers, three television channels, a local radio and a few magazines. The variety of Greek Cypriot media is not as much the outcome of a strong Cypriot media tradition, as it is the result, firstly, of the need of the Cypriot diaspora to communicate among itself and with the country of origin, and secondly, the outcome of Greek and Greek Cypriot policies which have emphasised maintaining links with ethnic groups around the world.

The long British Greek Cypriot media tradition begins with the left-wing newspaper *To Veema* (The Podium) – the first newspaper to be established in the 1950's (Leeuwenburg, 1979). Since then, three newspapers have been established: *Parikiaki* ('Of the Diasporic Community'), successor of *To Veema*, that was shut down in the 1980's, the right-wing *Ta Nea* (The News) and lately the moderate right-wing *Eleftheria* (Freedom). The fortnightly *Ta Nea* is distributed for free and its circulation is estimated as about 2,000, while weekly *Parikiaki* and *Eleftheria* both have an estimated circulation of about 3,000 each. *Parikiaki*'s circulation is much lower than its predecessor *To Veema* which had circulation of about 9,500 (Leeuwenburg, *ibid.*).

The readership of the long-established ethnic press in London has been shrinking during the last couple of decades and its role as an ethnic reference in everyday life has been increasingly taken over by the electronic media, which for that reason are the focus of my empirical research. These include London Greek Radio (LGR), one of the very few ethnic radio stations in London, a Greek cable channel, Hellenic TV, which is again one of the few cable ethnic channels<sup>13</sup> in the capital, and the two satellite channels: Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation (CBC-SAT) broadcasting from Cyprus and Greek Television- Elliniki Tileorasi (ERT-SAT) broadcasting from Greece. Next to all the other clearly defined electronic media, the Internet is becoming increasingly *ethnic*. More and more Greek Cypriots use email for their communication – communication that might take place within North London or with friends and family in Cyprus and other spots on the planet. Chat-rooms that provide a diasporic space where people from all over the world get together to talk about Cyprus while web sites of Cypriot businesses – based in Cyprus or in London – become increasingly available as well. And next to all these, almost all the ethnic media based in North London, Cyprus and elsewhere offer Internet users text, sound and image renewed on a daily basis. The Internet becomes more and more able to offer Greek Cypriots an interactive space for simultaneous, decentralised and multiple communication within the local, the diasporic, the country of origin and the places in-between.

With all this diversity, multiplicity and continuous tension shaping media production and output, media consumption changes as well. As processes of communication change, so do identities. The changes take place at different levels. One of the most important changes is access to information and other cultural products. A 45-year-old female interviewee illustrates this change:

Now that we watch Hellenic TV we realise that during the 70's and the 80's we had lost a part of our Greek identity. During the 80's, LGR started filling this gap and now television does as well. With television we know what's happening, even before it happens. It provides full information and keeps us in touch with our *homeland*.

As already emphasised, the role of the media in processes of identity construction cannot be examined in relation to content alone, but it has to be studied through the lens

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13 Hellenic TV is one of the 12 ethnic television channels available in London, according to the official statistics of the Commission for Racial Equality. Seven out of these 12 channels address the Asian community. LGR is one of the 9 ethnic (and multiethnic) radio stations in the capital.

of consumption as a cultural process. As ethnic media become more diverse and flexible, they establish their place in everyday life; they establish their dailiness (Scannell, 1996; Cormack, 2000) – not necessarily because everybody consumes more of ethnic media, as media consumption varies among people. But because ethnic media can claim a more continuous role as they become part of everyday life – next to the mainstream media; like ethnic identities next to people's other identities.

New communication technologies have also changed the sharing of the media. Who shares the media with whom is changing and this has implications for identities. A young female interviewee illustrates the changes brought by new technologies in sharing ethnic media: 'CBC-SAT is broadcast directly from Cyprus. Cypriots here watch the same things, at the same time as people in Cyprus. Then they call their family and friends in Cyprus and discuss the news they all watched.' As Gillespie (op. cit.) has argued in relation to British Asian youth and their media consumption, the collective reception of media from the country of origin might lead to reinventing ethnicity.

Changes in audiences and connectivity have implications for community as well. The ethnic community cannot be tracked or framed within specific boundaries any more and community identification is neither predictable nor fixed. The emerging hybrid imagined community implies various levels of identification. Teenage Greek Cypriots share a community space when they meet in the schoolyard and talk about the songs they all heard the previous night on LGR. They also share a community space when they talk with other Greek Cypriots in a Chat-Room, even if some of them live in Australia and others in Cyprus.

The arguments introduced here relating to the development of a hybrid imagined community and the interdependence of the local, the diaspora and the country of origin as references of ethnic identities, lie in the theorisation of my empirical findings. The study of ethnic British Greek Cypriot media and identities has reconfirmed the diversity that characterises ethnic media, their consumption and role in everyday life. Ethnic media fit in people's lives but their presence is never uncontested.

## **An Overview**

The story told in the chapters that follow describes and analyses the diversity that characterises British Greek Cypriot experience, diversity that is not necessarily

incompatible with ethnic commonality and insisting ethnicity. From an ethnographic perspective, I discuss how diversity – commonality – community – identity become co-existing components of the Greek Cypriot experience. This research emphasises the symbols that are commonly shared, even if the meanings are interpreted differently. It highlights the role of communication in shaping common discourses and of media technologies for bringing together the local, the diaspora and the country of origin into an imagined community. As this triangular relation of interconnectivity allows multiplicity, fluidity and change in ethnic identities, the hybrid imagined community is the context where ethnicity can remain viable and reflexively correspond to people's diverse experience.

In Chapter I the theoretical debates around identity construction are critically discussed, with particular reference to ethnic identities. As the anti-essentialist project frames this thesis, the continuous construction of identities is emphasised against the primordial understandings that perceive ethnicity as being inescapable and dependent on blood relations. Within this context, the centrality of representations and consumption in the process of identity construction is stressed and analysed, especially with reference to the media. Questions of media consumption, audiences' participation in the construction of meanings, as well as issues about the relation of media representations and the formation of media discourses are addressed here and examined in relation to ethnicity.

As the construction of ethnic identities and media use is discussed in relation to the current theoretical debates in the first chapter, in Chapter II I aim at contextualizing both in relation to the spaces of belonging and the spaces where everyday life evolves. The symbolic and the social meanings of spaces are central for this thesis and they are addressed both theoretically and empirically. Thus, the home is seen as the primary space of belonging where ethnic identities are initially constructed and where media are primarily consumed. Then, it is in the public space where people extensively experience everyday life and where identities get their social meanings and value, being the outcome of relations of sharing, inclusions, exclusions and continuous renegotiations of boundaries and belongings. Thus, the public attracts as much attention as the domestic in this thesis. A third point of reference is community: the real and symbolic space framing ethnic experience, defining who shares what with whom and setting boundaries



between Us and the Others. The fourth spatial point of reference is the local and the global, through their co-dependence and their increasing centrality as spaces of belonging. Finally, in Chapter II, it is argued that ethnic identities remain viable as a new space of belonging emerges at the meeting of the local, the diaspora and the country of origin – it is the hybrid imagined community, which brings together the imagination, the unbounded sense of global belonging and the immediacy of people's local co-existence.

In Chapter III, the theoretical discussions unveiled in the previous chapters are linked to the empirical research pursued for this thesis. In this chapter and with particular reference to theoretical questions and empirical research already conducted with audiences, the methodological design of the thesis is discussed, explained and supported. The conduct, the depth and width of this research, as well as its limitations are critically discussed in detail and in relation to the relevant bibliography, while the ethnographic character of this project is introduced.

After contextualizing my thesis in relation to relevant theoretical and empirical works in Sociology, Media Studies and Cultural Studies, in the following Chapter IV I contextualize my research in relation to relevant works on British Greek Cypriots and in relation to other studies of ethnic communities. Furthermore, at this stage, I position the project within the historical and social context of the British Greek Cypriot experience. Thus, this chapter introduces the group being studied, critically drawing from the relevant literature, while initiating the presentation of the British Greek Cypriot culture and everyday life. As this chapter continues, the empirical findings from the ethnographic work that took place in spaces such as Greek schools, the local library and the local pubs are presented. These spaces are part of the setting where British Greek Cypriot everyday life is experienced and where the ethnic and the non-ethnic interestingly interweave.

In the following two chapters, I turn to the domestic space, where long-term ethnographic research and interviewing allowed me to examine how people actually consume ethnic – and non-ethnic – media and how they experience everyday life, especially in family structured relations. The domestic space is the initial space where ethnic identities are shaped and where media are primarily consumed. In Chapter V, the findings of research conducted in 40 households are presented. Here, qualitative and

quantitative characteristics of media consumption are discussed and similarities and differences in experiencing and evaluating ethnicity are analysed.

Chapter VI gives a more in-depth discussion on domestic media consumption and the construction of ethnic identities within the domestic space. In this chapter, I present, analyse and interpret data collected through a long-term ethnographic research in four family households. I discuss the rituals and routines of the domestic, relations of power and control, the diversity of experience that shape identities, but also the commonalities with particular emphasis on family relations.

In Chapters VII and VIII, I turn to the public space and in particular to the local ethnic public space, which becomes highly important reference for many people's everyday life. I present the findings of my long-term ethnographic research conducted in two ethnic community centres, where people publicly and communally construct their ethnic identities. Chapter VII focuses on the Cypriot Community Centre, a male-dominated ethnic space, a space though where the boundaries of ethnicity are redefined through the co-existence of Greek Cypriots with Turkish Cypriots and where ethnic media consumption becomes a public, communal experience. Chapter VIII turns to the Haringey Greek Cypriot Women's Organisation, an exclusively female space, which becomes a revealing case study for the construction of ethnic female identities beyond the domestic.

The following chapter is the concluding chapter of the thesis, where the empirical findings discussed in the previous five chapters are interpreted and analysed. In this concluding chapter I sum up the previously discussed arguments around the unifying concept of the hybrid imagined community and the way diverse ethnic identities come together in a shared, common sense of belonging – a community. I explain how ethnic media, through their transformations, become active participants in the process of ethnic identity construction and how they are crucially important for the renegotiation of the boundaries and symbols that signify the shared ethnic belonging, making ethnic identities viable at present and, probably, in the future.

## **Chapter I**

### **Shaping Ethnic Identities in Media Culture(s)**

While neither ethnic identities, nor media consumption are predictable and unchangeable, theoretical and empirical works have argued for their insistent role in everyday life (Brah, 1996; Naficy, 1999; Morley, 1999). Media consumption extensively frames everyday life, as people learn about the world from the media, shape tastes through their consumption, develop common understandings while sharing media representations (Hall, 1997). Media consumption is not just an individual activity; as a social act it extensively frames the discursive construction of identities, our sociality, our ability and tendency to form groups and communities (Morley and Robins, 1995; Dayan, 1998; Morley, *op. cit.*). Media establish their presence at home, as family viewing in particular becomes an everyday bonding experience (Silverstone, 1993). They establish their presence in public, as people shape their everyday communication around themes and representations they all share through media consumption (Hobson, 1989; Gillespie, 1995). The public and the private come together in a relation of continuity and co-dependence as the media continuously cross the set boundaries of the two (Silverstone, 1999). And this co-dependence of spaces becomes a co-dependence of spaces of belonging, as media come to inform, communicate and represent the people and the world we belong to.

Representations are crucially important in the process of identity construction (Lacan, 1977; Saussure, 1983). Representations begin in the use of common language, in signs and symbols that allow us to build up shared understandings and common codes for interpreting the world (Hall, 1997). 'In part, we give things meaning by how we represent them...Meaning is what gives us a sense of our own identity, of who we are and with whom we "belong"' (ibid.: 3). Representations begin with language – the primary medium – but they extend into all other sorts of media including what is commonly called the (mass) media: the press, television, radio, the Internet. Media become important as systems of representation, but also as cultural references – including the ways media are represented and the way their consumption in everyday life is represented. On one hand, everyday life is saturated by the images and sounds on the screen, on paper, from the speakers. On the other, media discourses have become

some of the common denominators of everyday communication, in a way that sharing understandings about Us and the Others is often (expected to be) mediated by media discourses. But as Hall emphasises: ‘meaning is a dialogue – always only partially understood, always an unequal exchange’ (ibid.:4).

This last argument has certain crucial implications. First of all, it means that a system of representation does not completely and straightforwardly define our understanding of the self and the world – our identities. There is always space for alternative systems of representation, for individual understandings and misunderstandings, for the contextualization of meanings. In this way, the role of the media is negotiated and contested. However, the process of making sense of things in everyday life is not a horizontal, egalitarian project. Certain actors have more power than others, they seize hegemonic power of meanings (Butler, 1990). That is why specific archetypes of identities seem more natural and correct than others (ibid.) and people are expected to conform to certain models. These concerns have a particular value for the study of ethnic identities, both for examining conformity and diversity. How are these issues addressed? There is no single way. But, with reference to Weber and noting one of the parameters of ethnic identification he emphasises, ‘the perceptible differences in the *conduct of everyday life*<sup>1</sup>’ (1978: 390), I, as well as many after Weber, turn to everyday life to seek understanding of ethnic identities.

The political and socio-economic power and subordination experienced by ethnic groups and individuals, the common symbolic references, the ways social relations and networks are shaped within ethnic communities and, of course, media consumption, are all encountered in everyday life. Everyday life evolves in specific cultures and historical times, where groups and individuals shape identities within particular spatial and temporal contexts.

Everyday life as a concept and as a context is ambiguous and it has been conceptualised in different ways within various attempts to theorise it (see Silverstone, 1994: 159-77). The way it is operationalized here learns primarily from the analysis of Silverstone (ibid.) and De Certeau (1984), as they understand everyday life

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<sup>1</sup> While the meaning of everyday life has been extensively articulated during the last couple of decades, as I discuss in the following paragraphs, Weber’s use of the concept has been to the same direction as the conceptualization of everyday life implies in contemporary media studies literature. Specifically, Weber

dynamically, to be a terrain of contradictions, oppositions, resistance and alienation. Silverstone talks about the dynamism of everyday life by emphasising its paradox and arguing for the importance of empirical studies:

And the terms of that paradox – the found object and the created object – the imposed meanings and the selected meanings – the controlled behaviour and the free – the meaningless and the meaningful – the passive and the active – are in constant tension. These tensions can be observed in everyday behaviour and traced through the study of the individual and the group. They can be deciphered through ethnographic or psychoanalytic case studies – studies which must be firmly grounded in the mutuality of empirical and theoretical understanding. For it is in the dynamics of the particular that we will be able to identify, if not fully comprehend, the forces of structure: the forces both of domination and resistance (1994: 164).

The present research aims at studying everyday life in its particularity and its ambiguity, as it is shaped at the meeting of the working and the leisure time and space, at the meeting of the private and the public, at the meeting of the individual and the communal. Everyday life is critically approached in its material invisibility, its vitality and its capacity for transcendence (Silverstone, *ibid.*), which is neither singularly a context of resistance and autonomy – a refuge from the power struggles for social control and domination – nor a context where people simply learn to accept the dominant norms and discourses without resistance.

One of the main points that De Certeau and Silverstone usefully highlight is the connection of everyday life with the popular and the media in particular. While De Certeau sees in the popular tactics of resistance to the dominant power by the *weak*, this resistance is not perceived as holistic and powerful enough to shake the dominant status quo. Against this background, Silverstone understands the popular – and the broadcasting media in particular – within the *ordinariness* of everyday life, which implies as much resistance as it does conformity. The *ordinary* and our understanding of the world are not only products of immediate experience, but they are also ‘conditioned by our consumption of information, ideas and values that television and other media provide’ (*ibid.*: 167). Within this argument, Silverstone goes on to clarify: ‘Yet the ordinariness of everyday life, its taken-for-grantedness, is not homogenous. Not only it is profoundly differentiated by virtue of culture – ethnic, religious, class, national or gendered culture – but it is also uneven in its formal quality’.

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(1978) talks about the little things that make up everyday life and shape ethnic difference.

In this diversity and complexity, everyday life is operationalized here as the framework for the never-ending construction of ethnic identities. Neither everyday life nor ethnic identities are understood as a permanent essence in time and space – they are positioned in historical times and cultures that have their own discourses. In this context, identities achieve their meanings discursively (Foucault, 1974) and their positioning(s) are not closed systems of undebated assimilation to a single model of identity.

While each historical and cultural period projects hegemonic models of identities shaped through struggles for power, identities are always incomplete; “‘...identity”, though ostensibly a noun, behaves like a verb, albeit a strange one to be sure’, (Bauman, 1996:19). Identities are never complete because the binary opposition upon which they primarily rest – the difference between Us and the Others, implying that We are We because we are not like the Others – is challenged by people’s mobility beyond already set boundaries and the changes of the meaning of difference in different contexts. The binary opposition between Us and the Others is also challenged by the multiplicity of belongings and the interweaving of diverse identities that meet in new formations. Thus, identities are always contested and always open.

If identities are contested, how do they remain viable? Politics of identity, mechanisms of belonging and of establishing commonality are implicated here. Because identity is not only a word describing a real process, but a political concept that achieves its meaning discursively; it is an abstraction implicated in the Foucauldian struggle of power and knowledge. The debates around the meaning and value of identity, identity policies, the representation of identity are all involved in the process of identity construction. Thus, when dismissing perceptions about what identities are supposed to be and signify, we should not underestimate how these perceptions – especially if they involve policy making by or for a group – have an active part in the discursive construction of identities. As Boyarin and Boyarin (op. cit.: 704) put it:

Identity is not only reinvented... it is at least partially given for different people in different ways and intensities. Bodies are marked as different and often as negatively different to the dominant cultural system, thus producing a dissonance or gap between one’s practices and affects.

In the case of identity, probably more than with other concepts, the popular discourses around it extensively define its discursive meanings, making the task of

analysis and deconstruction more difficult. Identity has become a problematic term – a term always contested as it has been used to mean everything and nothing, implying fixed qualities and inescapable belongings. Ethnic identity in particular, has been celebrated in both its *purity* and its *impurity*, within national discourses of resistance to globalisation or discourses of resistance to racism respectively. It became popular because as a concept it can be adjusted to fit the various meanings granted to it. For the same reasons it became an unwelcome notion for many scholars. Gilroy (1997) questions identity and its connotations, but then he turns back to it from a critical perspective to note that: ‘identity provides a way of understanding the interplay between our subjective experience of the world and the cultural and historical settings in which this fragile subjectivity is formed’ (ibid.: 301). From that position, and in agreement with Stuart Hall (op. cit.), I would subscribe to his argument: ‘The concept of identity deployed here is therefore not an essentialist, but a strategic and positional one’ (Gilroy, op. cit.:3).

To the problems caused by the weaknesses of identity as a concept and the history inscribed in it, we need to reply by operationalizing and deconstructing it (Gillespie, op. cit.). Looking for *pure*, unspoiled concepts to replace identity becomes as meaningless as looking for essence in identity itself. Identity as a concept does not need to be fixed or holistic, especially since the phenomenon it aims at describing lacks these qualities. Identity cannot be thrown away, as it addresses certain significant issues. As a concept, it implies belonging – a sense that can be as real as imagined, but which, in either case, is central to understanding of how people identify with other individuals and groups. Furthermore, identity suggests continuity, which is not equal to stability; rather it refers to a process of *becoming* as well as of *being* (Hall, 1990: 223). Identity has to do, as much with positioning oneself within a specific culture, following particular cultural codes and practices, as it has to do with shaping a sense of belonging through continuous change and transformation. As identities are not fixed and stable, they allow people to rediscover and redefine their content, not through an exclusive gaze to the past, but with a parallel focus on present experience and the future of transformation and change.

In this debate around identity, the meeting of two axes in the crossroad of identity construction needs to be acknowledged. These have to do with the past on one hand and

the continuity and rootedness of identity on the other. Within the anti-essentialist, deconstructive debates on identity, where fluidity and rootlessness of identities have been emphasised against stability and inescapability, the past and the rootedness of identities have often been thrown out the window as meaningless preconceptions. Nevertheless, both reflect important, yet sensitive, dimensions of identity. Addressing them – as Gilroy (1995) does in his concept of *the changing same* – means being equally insightful and reflexive.

Fortier (1999: 41), influenced by Gilroy and Calhoun, raises the issue when talking about the Italian migrants in London: ‘Immigrant populations often project themselves in relation to specific origins that do not necessarily undermine multi-locality or transnational connections’. Similar to roots, people attribute important meanings to the past – a past that is shaped through memory and commemoration, myth and imagination, but which, as a symbol signifies *where we are coming from, what heritage we all share*. The meanings that different memories and historical symbols take for different individuals and subgroups of an ethnic community usually vary, even though the collective memory and the power of the discourse around these events does, in one way or another, define individual and communal ethnic identities.

Judith Butler (1990, 1993) talks about a binding power of such discourses, of such *statements* that frame people’s everyday lives. Such *statements* and *norms* though, Butler explains, are powerful expressions constructing and framing identities; they are not the essence and the outcome of identities.

### Identity As Performative

In her influential *Gender Trouble* (1990) and the following *Bodies That Matter* (1993), and while focusing on gender identities, Butler proposes the concept of performativity, arguing that identities are not inescapably defined at birth, but they are discursively formed. Butler draws from the Foucauldian argument that power is achieved partly through discourse and discourse shapes subjects. Thus identities relate to specific historical and social contexts; the meanings of identities are achieved through naming, through citations that become socially shared. In Butler’s own words: ‘Performativity is the discursive mode by which ontological effects are installed’ (in Osborne and Segal, 1997: 236)



In *Gender Trouble* (op. cit.), Butler emphasises that a binary opposition – masculine and feminine – structures gender identities within systems of hegemonic naturalisation of this binary relationship. In this context, gender is a performative repetition of roles and rituals that are already socially and symbolically assigned. In relation to this, Butler has been extensively criticised for undermining agency, as she considers gender to be the outcome of repetitive acts. Identities however are never completely bound and fixed, for binary oppositions are challenged by alternative discourses. An example that Butler uses is that of drag, in the case of gender identities. Drag challenges the fixity and the binary character of gender and suggests fluidity, openness and resignification against the naturalisation and essentialism of identities.

Her analysis highlights the significance of power and discourse in the processes of constructing identities – in setting boundaries between Us and the Others within particular historical and social contexts. Nevertheless, in her analysis, Butler underestimates the possibility of alternatives beyond the binary oppositions, unless as occasional and peripheral challenges, such as the drag. The possibility of performing identities alternatively and beyond the set hegemonic discourses is very much underestimated.

Butler's model could be more productively operationalized if enriched with the multiplicity implied in Goffman's (1959) early proposals for identity as a performance. Goffman describes social life as a kind of multi-staged drama in which we each perform different roles in different social arenas, depending on the nature of the situation, our particular role in it, and the makeup of the audience. Goffman talks about front stage and backstage performances, which allow individuals to negotiate how they present themselves, even though there are limitations in these performances. Goffman, like Foucault and Butler, emphasises the importance of the body, which mediates the connection between self identities and social identities and frames the presentation of self.

The debate around the performative character of identities implies fluidity and change inherent in identity and emphasises the role of discourse. But Bell (1999:2), who is extensively influenced by Butler, argues that performativity does not imply inescapable fluidity of ever-changing identities. '...Taking the temporal performative nature of identities as a theoretical premise means that more than ever, one needs to

question how identities continue to be produced, embodied and performed, effectively, passionately and with social and political consequence’.

These questions are addressed here, though it is argued that identity is not only a matter of performance. However, this study learns from the relevant debates, especially as they have been appropriated in the debates of ethnicity. Drawing from them, Stratton (2000a, 2000b) notes that ethnicity is becoming fundamentally performative, as it overcomes the constraints of descent and it increasingly depends ‘on the subjective naturalisation of culturally agreed upon signifiers’ (2000b: 21). Stratton, who refers to multicultural American society, makes an argument similar to that of Butler about gender being naturalised through performance (1990), when he talks about Jewishness being performed and not being necessarily the same as being a Jew, something that relates primarily to descent. ‘Jewishness, like other ethnicities, can in this way be thought as a set of attributes which are repeated and become naturalised as identifiably Jewish’ (2000b: 21). Performative practices become central when drawing boundaries and the difference of communities, Dwziewiecka and Wong (Lau) (1999) argue. These practices give meaning to the community by symbolically and experientially marking its uniqueness, and as argued here, community becomes the framework for ethnic identity construction.

Informed by the performative, as it has been challenged by structuralism and constructivism, this research draws from the relevant interdisciplinary debates within sociology, anthropology and cultural studies. On one hand, the present study examines identities as the outcome of discursive relations of power, negotiations and redefinition of boundaries within specific historical and cultural contexts, as it learns from the emphasis that the performance debates put in the discursiveness and context-dependence of identities. On the other, it examines identities as the product of self-description and representation of/for/outside the group – as people perform identities *inscribed* to them within specific temporal and spatial contexts. It does question this *inscription* though and it examines the ambiguities and ambivalence challenging performed identities.

From the individual to the collective and back

In addressing the question of identity Fanon (1986) emphasises the interconnection of psyche and society. Fanon introduces psychoanalysis to ethnic studies, especially when arguing that ethnicity and race do not depend on pre-given identities, but are the products of images of identities that the Others expect subjects to adapt. Anthony Cohen (1994), after Fanon, emphasises the importance of psychological processes and of self-consciousness that relate to the construction of individual identities – parameters that have been underestimated in most research, positioning the self within a social deterministic model. ‘We should focus on self consciousness not in order to fetishize the self but, rather, to illuminate society’, he argues (ibid.:22).

Cohen’s analysis is useful in two ways. On one hand, it reminds us that there are *inexplicable* dimensions of identities that exceed the analysis of social relations, relating to processes of constructing individual distinctiveness. On the other, his analysis leads to the development of a dynamic model for self-identities, relating both to individuals and groups:

The compelling requirement for a strong sense of self extends beyond individuals to groups, large and small. A sense of collective self may be qualitatively different from that of individual self, but the imperative need for identity is not less. A self-conscious perspective explains this imperative: groups have to struggle against their own contradictions, which lie precisely in the fact that they are composed by individuals, self conscious individuals, whose differences from each other have to be resolved and reconciled to a degree which allows the group to be viable and cohere (ibid.:11).

As already emphasised though, identities ‘are subject to the continuous “play” of history, culture and power’ (Hall, 1990:223). While dominant popular discourses want identities to be an individual and personal journey – a journey of free choices, especially in many postmodern popular debates – it needs to be stressed that identity construction is a highly political, contested process, which carries its own history of roots and routes (Clifford, 1994). It is both a private and a public matter, as it implies both an inner psychological process and the shaping of shared and communal sense of belonging with others and against Others. The inner psychological processes are not adequate to sustain identities. Individual identities remain viable as public discourses give them meanings, as more people than one share common symbols and codes. ‘The inner self finds its home in the world by participating in the identity of a collectivity... The real me... is joined to the spiritual life of a community’, argues Kuper (1999: 235), who emphasises

the centrality of community, which though contested, is necessary for understanding identity.

Community, which can be as much a real and an imagined reference, becomes the space where the similarities and the differences that constitute *what we really are* and *what we have become* (Hall, 1990) turn into a shared discourse. This discourse includes representations of identities produced and consumed communally in a way that the sense of belonging and the symbolic boundaries of Us as insiders and the Others as outsiders are actively and continuously produced. Within the community context, shared characteristics (these being language, religion, family values, food tastes, etc.) get their meanings, constructing images of Us and the Others. Furthermore, within the community context, the difference between people sharing the same ethnicity is justified; the inescapable discontinuity and diversity characterising ethnic identities can be shared and celebrated within the community context. The commonality can be the outcome of the shared difference, which creates a communal/shared space for imagining. This imagining strengthens the boundaries between Us and the Others, as Anderson notes (1983) and dramatises the sense of what is close and what is distant (Said, 1985).

Identities, in both their individual and collective expressions, depend on imagining, which allows the construction of a common, imagined shared past, as well as an imagined common present and future – a common destiny. Imagining is renewed and reframed through representations of ethnic identity available to individuals and groups. What is considered to be the constitutive qualities of identity, or the inescapable characteristics of it, are the outcome of representations. These representations are becoming increasingly mediated by television, radio and the Internet, reshaping discourses of identity around tense and often conflicting dynamics. Identities are mediated, constructed and become consumable images available for recombination, recycling and revision (Sobchack quoted in Stratton, 2000b). But the extent of media representations' diversity reflects the contextual limits and possibilities for revision and renegotiation of identities.

Media representations of ethnicity might celebrate essentialism, totality and a process of *smoothing the rough edges* of identities, or they might construct radical discourses of disengagement from the essentialist and hegemonic understandings of

singular and holistic identification, and instead celebrate diversity and hybridity. As the media become more and more involved in the process of identity construction, the analysis required is twofold. On one hand, media representations of identities should be approached from a critical perspective – neither from a holistic reductionist point of view that ignores their diversity, nor from a celebratory perspective that only sees positive potentials in the media and ICTs. On the other hand, media representations should be examined as part of the media discourses constructed as much through processes of production as of consumption.

### **Ethnic Identities in Focus**

In his attempt to unfold the diversity and the complexity of ethnic identity construction, Hall (1988) proposes the concept of new ethnicities. The concept, which primarily corresponds to ethnic experience in multicultural western societies, emphasises that ethnic identities are not defined at birth, that they are less dependent on blood relations and more on cultural belonging, that they are hybrid and the outcome of the meeting of diverse cultures. As a result, they are distinct compared to the identities of the people in the country of origin. The theorisation of new ethnicities has been a starting point for the radical contextualization of ethnic identities.

The term ethnicity acknowledges a place of history, language and culture in the construction of subjectivity and identity, as well as the fact that all discourse is placed, positioned, situated, and all knowledge is situational (Hall, 1992: 56).

Chambers (1994) who himself emphasises Stuart Hall's influence on his work, continues the discussion about new ethnicities, but he argues that all identities – not only the ethnic – are continuously formed, throughout the journey of life and through processes that are never complete. Everybody is a stranger in unknown lands and that is part of human condition, not necessarily the outcome of displacement in the era of postcolonialism (ibid.). This argument sets ethnic identity in the broader theoretical context of the debates around identity and it reminds us that ethnic identity is not to be taken for granted as it co-exists, co-depends and competes with other identities. However, talking about fluidity, change and difference of identity incorporates the danger of talking about identity as a concept that cannot be analysed and

operationalized. Thus, we need to contextualize diversity and change in identities. I have already argued for the community context where difference is framed and where commonality is shaped. Brah (op. cit.), emphasising community, talks about *difference as identity* and discusses identity in relation to a *core*:

...Identity is neither fixed nor singular; rather it is a constantly changing relational multiplicity. But during the course of this flux identities do assume particular patterns, as in a kaleidoscope, against particular sets of personal, social and historical circumstances. Indeed, identity may be understood *as that very process by which the multiplicity, contradiction, and instability of subjectivity is signified as having coherence, continuity, stability; as having a core – a continually changing core but the sense of a core nevertheless – that at any given moment is enunciated as the 'I'.* (ibid. 123-4, emphasis original).

### Ethnic Identity and the Other (Identities)

Ethnic identities co-exist and they are in a relation of interdependence with other identities. We all achieve our identities through membership in a large number of groups, argues Tajfel (cited in Husbands, 1994). This multiplicity of identities frames the present research in two ways. On one hand, it means that people identify and experience themselves, not only in relation to ethnicity – which cannot imply a holistic sense of belonging – but also in relation to other identities, such as gender, age, class, sexuality, etc. On the other hand, the multiplicity of people's identities means that none of them are autonomous and has a pure form, but they all get their meanings through their co-existence. The diversity of expressions of ethnic identities makes ethnicity possible as a culture and viable as a reference in multicultural societies.

'Homogeneity can signify unity but unity need not require homogeneity', notes Gilroy (1993b: 2) when rejecting the model of a homogenous Black culture. But the diversity of ethnic identities does not only relate to the viability of ethnicity in relation to the Others; it relates to diverse experience and the struggle for power within the group as well.

Experience is inescapably diverse: the migrant generation that left a distant *homeland* and settled in an unknown land relates differently to ethnicity than the generations born and raised in a country which was already a *home*. Women, who are usually given the role of *the carriers* of ethnic culture and traditions within the family and the domestic space (Gillespie, op. cit.), relate differently to ethnicity compared to the men who are expected to be the carriers of ethnic culture in the public space. Similarly, teenagers who want to be accepted and to belong in multiethnic peer age

groups relate differently to ethnicity than they will later on in their lives when – and if – they have their own children and become *the carriers* of ethnicity for the coming generations. In the case of ethnic identities, generation becomes one of the most important (other) identities defining ethnicity. Fortier (op. cit.: 55) emphasises the role of generation identities and of intergeneration connection for the ethnicity project:

...Generations, in immigration discourses, are the living embodiment of continuity and change, mediating memories of the past with present living conditions, bringing the past into the present and charged with the responsibility of keeping some form of ethnic identity alive in the future.

Ethnic experience varies, shaping a map of diverse and contested ethnic identities. This is when ethnicity becomes a struggle for power and control. ‘Who has the power to promote dominant characterisations’ (of ethnicity) is the question asked by Anthias (1998: 519). Those who control the public, the domestic, or both discourses of ethnicity? Struggles for control of the ethnic discourse are continuous and the media are directly involved in that process. As media become more diverse, their presence in people’s lives more fragmented, and their audiences more dispersed, so dominant models of power and control of ethnicity are challenged. The more fluid, the more *pick and choose* ethnicity becomes, the fewer people have to conform with dominant discourses.

## Class

The identity that has been represented as directly related to the sense of ethnic belonging, especially within sociology, is that of class. If ethnicity – at least partly – depends on a sense of solidarity (Smith, 1986), doesn’t ethnic belonging refer primarily to people who depend on the support of an ethnic community? That is the primary question that brought ethnicity and class close, historically and theoretically.

One cannot ignore the fact that ethnicity has served historically as a tool for obtaining power and status (Weber, op. cit.; Brass, 1991) and that in many societies it has been a defining parameter of social stratification. Ethnic identification, in most cases, implies that there is a community, a symbolic habitat for the people, offering them comfort and support; this cannot be underestimated when trying to explain why people actually turn to ethnicity. However, the search for this symbolic habitat is not only the outcome of exclusion and subordination. In contemporary societies, people turn

to communities – such as the ethnic ones – in search of solidarity, not only when they are holistically and socially excluded from the mainstream. Communities can also be a pole of particularity in a globalised world of large-scale belonging and communication, a space where individuals count and where communication is not faceless and anonymous (Riggins, 1992). With globalisation, communities are transformed as well and their spatiality and boundedness challenged. As communication on the local, national and global scale changes, spaces of belonging extend, expand and the boundaries of exclusiveness are altered.

In this context, the position of people in relation to status and class, in claiming privileges or resisting exclusions and subordination, becomes more complex than the assumption of the inescapable connection of ethnicity to working class implies. Those who argue that material deprivation and social exclusion are central parameters that enforce ethnicity (Cashmore, 1988), fail to capture the multiplicity and the flexibility of ethnicity. Ethnicity and class have to be distinguished analytically (Eriksen, 1993) even if they meet and become interconnected in various cases.

Bhabha (1994) argues that, as much as we have to abandon the nation-state as an exclusive category for analysis, similarly we have to abandon class and gender as primary conceptual and organizational categories. Instead, Bhabha proposed that we should take into consideration multiple subject positions, which include gender and class, but also race, generation, sexuality, geopolitical locality. Robin Cohen goes even further (1994: 205) proposing: ‘Gender, age, disability, race, religion, ethnicity, nationality, civic status, even musical styles and dress codes, are also potent axes of organization and identification. These different forms of identity appear to be upheld simultaneously, successively and separately and with different degrees of force, conviction and enthusiasm’.

### Boundaries and Otherness

Frederik Barth (1969), who extensively influenced research on ethnicity for decades, emphasises the role of the social boundary as the actual defining parameter of ethnicity. Barth’s argument is useful for emphasising the relativity of ethnicity. People’s sense of ethnic belonging is partly realised because they know there are Others who do not have it – that there are people outside a virtual (or real) boundary that make the



identification with those within possible. Similarities and differences between Us and the Others take their meaning around the boundary, even though the boundary is difficult to define (Brass, *op. cit.*), as purity and unity within the group are as much an illusion as they are a desire. Van Poecke (1996) adds to that by arguing that communication and identity are always a matter of drawing boundaries and preserving proper distance. The boundary might remain in place even if changes occur within an ethnic group (Barth, *op. cit.*). Some changes might take place just in order to reinforce the boundary. The liberation of women, for example, might be somehow accepted within more traditional ethnic groups, because this is the only way to keep female members inside the group.

Though the emphasis on the boundary highlights the relative, social and contextual character of ethnicity, many of the debates – especially in the arguments of Barth (*op. cit.*) – undermine the cultural content of ethnicity, the value of the relations and the community mechanisms for constructing ethnicity. In overemphasising the boundary, Barth (*ibid.*) and others (e.g. Brass, *op. cit.*) fail to understand the significance of what happens within – or outside – the boundaries. Relations, networks of support, shared cultures and communally constructed discourses of communication usually become as significant in constructing identity and community as the boundaries. This scepticism towards fully embracing Barth's argument is not an attempt to romanticise community and identity. Mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion and power struggles are more than relevant. Yet, for identity and community to be viable, they have to be relevant to people's lives. Barth's argument might have applied to other historical and spatial contexts. However, in the case of multicultural western societies ethnicity is not obligatory and crossing the boundaries does not necessarily have severe effects on people's lives. Thus, the conceptualisation of the boundary should be part of research that is reflexive to complexity, research that does not look for singular cause-effects understandings of ethnicity.

Viability of boundaries means certain flexibility, both within and on the boundaries. Boundaries as flexible separators from the Others are more and more the case in societies where ethnic membership is more voluntary. Flexible boundaries allow those people who do not identify fully with the group to be as much insiders as outsiders – to live on the boundary and to enjoy the mobility of being in-between.

Even if there are people now living in-between, ethnicity keeps being largely defined in relation to the Others – those We are not. Robins (1996) emphasises that cultural identities should be thought in the context of cultural relationships. ‘What would an identity mean in isolation? Isn’t it only through the others that we become aware of who we are and what we stand for?’ (ibid.: 79). Robins goes on to quote Goldstein and Rayner who interestingly argue that through Otherness people strengthen their collective identities as a choice, not as a given, ‘....through a process of continuous interaction with other collectivities – a process that requires each community to see itself from the perspective of others, and incorporate those perspectives through the prism of their own consciousness in a continuous reflexive process’ (ibid.). And Hall (1991: 21) argues: ‘Identity is a structured representation which only achieves its positive through the narrow eye of the negative. It has to go through the eye of the needle of the other before it can construct itself’.

All identities depend on Otherness, but for ethnic identification Otherness has historically relied primarily on visible difference. If We are Christian and the Others are fundamental Muslims, it is easy to call them Others. If We are White and they are Black, it is easy to see them as Others. Physical appearance and visible difference – especially the colour of skin – have often been spotted as the basic denominator of ethnic identification. Not as the essence of ethnicity, but as the cultural marker that *stands out* for recognising the Other. ‘What is relevant for social differentiation is not given in the body form of persons but in the cultural attention and stipulation of aspects of that body form’, Nash argues (1989: 13).

Though inter-ethnic conflicts remain the extreme<sup>2</sup>, even in times of peace many cultural parameters are constructed for both Us and the Others around physical features. But similarity and difference become more complex when they are not immediately visible. When ethnicity is not immediately identifiable, people can make the choice of

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2 At different historical moments and geographical contexts, difference has been given the value of an inescapable essence that demands ethnic separation and the beginning of inter-ethnic conflicts. In these cases, the boundary turns into the separator that cannot be crossed unless great sacrifices are made. Interethnic conflicts become a setback for the political project of multiculturalism and turn physical features into militant definers of identity. The case of British Greek Cypriots is interesting, as they now live in a multicultural society where interethnic conflict is not only condemned, but even considered to be irrelevant. However, their collective memory is saturated by a history of extensive and bloody interethnic conflicts, which have very much defined Cyprus recent past and present.

when and how to be visible, so *non-visible* ethnicities balance between assimilation – integration – particularity. The need for ethnicity to be socially relevant (Eriksen, op. cit.) is even more significant in these cases. But as the characteristics of ethnicity that are relevant and influential for different ethnic subgroups vary, *non-visible* ethnicity needs even more flexibility and diversity to survive than any other.

As much as *non-visible* ethnicities depend on flexibility and diversity, they also depend on unifying mechanisms for keeping people within ethnic communities. Here, representations and the media in particular take a central role. Ethnic media can make *non-visible* ethnicity visible by representing its images and the narratives that tell its stories.

### Whiteness

White ethnicity raises issues that studies on non-white – or conventionally called *coloured* – ethnicity have not addressed. As much as *coloured ethnicity* depends on visibility – the social and symbolic visibility of the colour Black in opposition to the taken-for-granted White – white ethnicity depends on invisibility. Toni Morrison (1992) challenges the invisibility of the colour White and contests the domination of White in classic literature which constructed the non-white as wrong and deviant. She argues that classic works such as those of Shakespeare established white superiority in literature in sublime ways.

In such works, as well as in other cultural discourses and everyday language, White is considered to be the norm, the normal, the colour of the majority that, as such, becomes colourless. The hegemony of the social colour White is reflected in perceptions about ethnicity being an identifier of the – usually *coloured* – minority groups. What white ethnic identity consists of and how it is formed are questions only recently raised. Even in the case of Jewish identities, which are primarily discussed in the literature around Whiteness, Jews' identification as white is discussed more as a process of becoming rather than of being. Jews became white after their integration in American society, Stratton argues (2000a, 2000b). Populations, like the English, who were always identified as white have rarely been considered as being ethnic.

As the ethnic/racial colour white has long been understudied, scholars turn to everyday experience, its representation and enactment (Shome, 1999) in order to

examine the real socio-psychological colour of the White. Shome (ibid.) emphasises the discursiveness of Whiteness and its dependence on cultural space and time, as well as the importance of Eurocentrism in public discourses. Johnson (1999) subscribes to that approach, emphasising in particular the role of communication for the construction of meanings of Whiteness and the White. These meanings, he adds, exceed the biological characteristics that constitute white skin.

More like the Jews, Cypriots became white in Britain. As they came from a former colony and their migration was initiated within the era of mass migration from the Third World, former colonised countries to the West, the colour of their ethnic identity was initially ambiguous. Greek Cypriots in particular were partly identified as Europeans, as people of Greek cultural heritage, while at the same time, they were Third World economic migrants. In that way, Greek Cypriots initially shared with other Third World migrants, what Gilroy (1993a) calls *double consciousness* – the sense of dual identity which comes from being ‘in but not of the west’. However – and increasingly in the multicultural British space, where visibility characterised other ethnic groups – Greek Cypriots have themselves projected and accepted characterisations deriving from Europeanism.

This ambivalence in identification and self-identification still remains with the British Greek Cypriots, whose situational identities shift accordingly. As European, white identification implies certain privileges and decreases discrimination and racism, it has become the dominant ideology within the ethnic group. At the same time, the dominant English ideology has welcomed the whitening of Greek Cypriots in Britain, as these people were willing to adopt cultural, economic and social attitudes leading to their quick integration. Furthermore, both the Greek Cypriots and the English saw this process of whitening in opposition to the situation that other non-white, non-European, non-Christian groups faced. For other Asian and Black groups, resistance to the assimilation project was much more a struggle for defending cultural particularity and difference, a struggle that (re)enforced their sense of being the Other. Greek Cypriots, finding themselves between the Other migrants and the white English, were much more exposed to assimilation, enjoying at the same time a privileged social space that they did not have to struggle to defend against the dominant mainstream culture.

Within this context, the Whiteness of British Greek Cypriots has become a major aspect of their identities and has played a central role in the way their identities were socially and psychologically constructed. Stratton (2000b) argues, when referring to American Jewish identities and Whiteness that Jews have actually learnt to be white through the adoption of the dominant ideology, the dominant system of norms and values. Whiteness is an ideology and not a stable essence. This adoption though is not holistic and it is challenged within multiculturalism – especially because of the achievement of the civil rights and the anti-racist movement. Search and recognition of difference in cultural practices and the particular experiences of ethnic groups challenge the perception that the colour of Whiteness is singular. Diversity and negotiation are relevant to white identities as much as in *coloured* identities.

Cypriots, like other *invisible immigrants* (MacDonald, 1972) could project Europeanism as a shared heritage with the host population and within this context claim a more equal status than other ethnic groups. But the ideology of *invisibility* that Cypriots, as other white groups, projected as a strategy against discrimination and racism, had multiple consequences. Cultural visibility of minorities is required for claiming distinctiveness among the Others, for keeping people within the community boundaries and also for enjoying multicultural policies. But, in this game of invisibility, many white groups started losing their members, as the projection of similarity eased assimilation. This loss is part of ethnic groups' – such as the Greek Cypriots – dystopia.

### **Ethnicity: Linguistic, dominant and demotic discourse in question...**

Cohen (1994) emphasises self-identification as central in the process of identity construction. But individuals and groups are often given identifications by Others who consider them to be distinct. As a matter of fact, ethnicity derives from this kind of identification. The concept of ethnicity goes back to ancient Greece and the concept of *ethnos* – , which was used by different writers in different ways to signify tribes, races, castes. Even though *ethnos* was conceptualised in various ways, there was always a common denominator: 'The idea of a number of people or animals who share some cultural or biological characteristics and who live and act in concert. But these usages

refer to other peoples, who, like animals, belong to some group unlike one's own' (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996: 4).

This commonality in the use of *ethnos/ethnic*, which goes back to the beginning of history, has followed the concept in its contemporary uses. The representation of ethnicity relies extensively on difference. It is much easier for members of ethnic groups to define what they are not, rather than what they actually are. Otherness has been an inseparable ingredient of ethnicity and it has always been constructed in contradiction to Us. As Hutchinson and Smith (*ibid.*) explain, 'ethnic' used to be the Other, not Us, a perception which is still dominant in terms of power. The majorities are not considered to be 'ethnic'; minorities, politically subordinate and excluded peoples are. But as Tonkin *et al.* argue (1989), it is misleading to define ethnic groups as minorities, as the processes of ethnic identification involves at least two groups in 'opposition', which often include majorities and minorities.

Meanings and definitions of ethnicity depend on *who says* and *when* one says so. Media are partly involved in that. People reinvent their ethnicity in everyday micro-processes of collective reception of the media, Gilroy argues, adding that in practice that means identities are infinitely negotiated and constructed in everyday discourse (1993a).

Borrowing Gerd Baumann's (1996) definitions of dominant and demotic discourses, which he uses in his discussion of community, I appropriate them to address ethnic identities. In that case, the dominant discourse of ethnicity celebrates a primordial, holistic belonging, while the demotic recognises diversity, hybridity and change within ethnic groups. People in everyday life juggle with both discourses that become as situational as identities themselves (Husbands, *op. cit.*). Who says makes a difference. And as media represent images of ethnicity, they actively participate in defining it. As already discussed, ethnic identities are historically defined. Once ethnicity implied claims on geographical territories, while now it mostly implies claims in virtual and diasporic spaces that allow the reinvention of ethnic identities, the construction of images of ethnicity that are viable beyond time and space limitations.

### **...And the Media**

The media are now more diverse and more present in everyday life than ever. New communication technologies allow them to be here and there, to be flexible, to address particular interests and tastes. Ethnic media, which are the focus here, can use the new ICTs to address and reflect multiple ethnic identities and diverse subgroup needs and interests, more than ever before. While ethnic media have the potential to address and correspond to people's multiple expressions of ethnic identity and to their diverse use of the media, that does not always happen. Many ethnic media – including some new media – still project models of ethnic identities as holistic, homogenous and inescapable. The most characteristic of those usually being state-run satellite channels broadcasting for diasporas. On the other extreme, some media invest so much in addressing particular interests of some ethnic subgroups that they underestimate the fact that particularity gets its meanings in specific context. Such cases can mostly be found on-line, in discussion groups that sometimes decontextualize issues, as they bring them from the national to a global space. Another emerging problem with the new media is that they might become so focused on virtual cultures and virtual images of ethnicity, that they underestimate its real face and its expressions outside the media. In relation to that, Silverstone (1999) raises concerns about the structural amorality of the media that create a distance by masking it as closeness, that keep people apart through connection, that make the Others' difference less visible by bringing them too close. Robins and Webster (1999) set a similar set of issues:

It is not that we doubt the efficacy of the new technologies – indeed, we accept that it is entirely possible, even probable, that virtual technologies will sustain such new patterns of communication and community. Our problem is, rather, with the kind of social space or spaces that the new technologies are bringing into existence – this comfortable space of collaboration, dialogue, understanding, intimacy, reciprocity, and so on. Informed as it is by a sensible imagination of mutuality and consensus, we regard it as a banal space. The new virtual space is a pacified space...it is a tendency for the world to lose its substantiality and otherness, and thereby its human resonance and significance. Thus, we suggest, virtual culture is driven by the desire to suppress the complexities, difficulties and divisions that characterise real geographies (ibid.:239).

These points raise important issues about the era of mediated proximity, the era of time and space distancing (Giddens, 1990; Harvey, 1990; Massey 1993). Technology is not a panacea for the liberation from dominant models of identification – it is a potential. As a potential it can ease the emergence of new communication flows and

bring changes in the ways people consume media and position themselves in media – and ethnic cultures.

### Production – Consumption

In her study of British Asian youth and their consumption of television, Gillespie (op. cit.) highlights the importance of media consumption – another production, as she emphasises following De Certeau (1984) – for the construction of identities. Gillespie emphasises that these young British Asians' identities are both formed and transformed by their location in history and politics, language and culture. But in their material and cultural consumption and production, they also construct new forms of identities, shaped by but at the same time reshaping the images and meanings circulated in the media and the market (ibid.). She illustrates these issues with reference to Asian media:

The consumption of an increasingly transnational range of TV and films is catalysing and accelerating processes of cultural change among London Punjabi families. But... Punjabi cultural 'traditions' are just as likely to be reaffirmed and reinvented as to be challenged and subverted by TV and video viewing experiences (Gillespie, op. cit.: 76).

The emphasis on media consumption, central for Gillespie's argument, as well as for this thesis, draw from De Certeau (op. cit.), who argues that consumption is another kind of production, as consumers translate representations actively, achieving some power and control over everyday life. De Certeau emphasises that consumption is not a one-way process, even though power and control are always unequally distributed. While the powerful parties – those who have the control of the market and the unequal share of the economic and cultural capital – have *strategies* for establishing dominant and hegemonic discourses through production, the *powerless* have their own *tactic* – methods of resistance through consumption.

What people consume can make all the difference in the construction of their identities. Ethnic media consumption might facilitate the emergence of discourses that lead to the reinvention and redefinition of ethnic identities. As ethnic media consumption is never holistic and homogenous within a group, the reinvention of ethnic identities is the outcome of different ways of appropriating the media.

Where and with whom people consume ethnic media is another important – and maybe even more central – question, as already argued. Are individuals and subgroups



in the periphery of the group, with family and friends, alone in their bedroom overhearing ethnic programmes? Meyrowitz (1985), who otherwise insists on a homogenising and technologically deterministic argument about the effects of new media, importantly argues:

...While we tend to think of our group affiliations simply in terms of who we are, our sense of identity is also shaped by where we are and who is with us. A change in the structure of situations – as a result of changes in media or other factors – will change people's sense of us and them. An important issue to consider in predicting the effects of new media on group identities is how the new medium alters who shares social information with whom. As social information-systems merge or divide, so will group identities (ibid.: 54).

The questions of *where* and *with whom* emphasise the significance of spatial and space-defined relations. Media consumption takes place in space, in the private and the public, in the real and the virtual – spaces that are not autonomously defined and clearly bounded anymore. Ethnic identities are positioned; they are shaped at home, in the community, in public, in the local and the global spaces of belonging, in the continuities and interruptions implied in these spatial relations.

## **Chapter II**

### **Spaces of Belonging: Positioning Ethnic Identities**

*The locus of our new reality and the cultural politics by which it must be confronted is that of space (Fredric Jameson quoted in Morley and Robins, 1995: 37)*

*A space exists when one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables. Thus space is composed of intersections of mobile elements. It is in a sense actuated by the ensemble of movements deployed within it. Space occurs as the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it, temporalize it., and make it function in a polyvalent unity of confictual programs or contractual proximities... In short, space is a practiced place (De Certeau, 1984: 117).*

Though fluid and mobile, identities are positioned (Hall, 1990, 1996; Grossberg, 1996), positioned in cultural and historical spaces that frame and limit their fluidity, diversity, as well as their meanings. People experience the world from specific spaces, which become the context for shaping belongings, imaginings, for drawing lines between similarities and differences, spaces that signify placement and displacement. 'Knowing where we are is as important as knowing who we are, and of course the two are intimately connected' argues Silverstone (1999: 86). Spatial positioning is as much real as it is virtual and imagined. In most cases, spheres of belonging begin with the intimate and immediately experienced domestic space and extend to a global virtual whole where particularity, similarity and difference get their meanings in relation to the others sharing that space. Between the immediate domestic and the virtual global, there are other spaces, such as the local, the community, the national. The centrality of the national though has been undermined by spatial changes (Smith, 1990), that allow the regeneration of the local, which, in its particularity, learns from the diversity and the fluidity of the global – as this is primarily experienced in everyday life through mediations and media(-ted) discourses (Appadurai, 1990; Friedman, 1995). The world gets more and more tied together (Harvey, 1990) and 'increasingly we are the decentered subjects of, and find ourselves subject to not simply the cultural unity of a particular ethnic community, but simultaneously, other infranational cultures as well as national, regional, transnational, perhaps even inter-continental cultures' (Smart, 1993).

Identities are shaped in these different spaces, which are interconnected and sometimes distinct and competing. The diversity and different levels of intensity of spatial belongings reflect the multi-dimensionality of identities, that co-exist, co-depend and none of them are holistic any longer. Even a single identity, like the ethnic, is not

singular in this context and it remains viable only through the multiple interweaving of different spaces of belonging. Immediate, imagined and virtual ethnic belongings are shaped in some key spaces: the home, the public(s), the community, the local, the global and the diasporic.

The home is the initial space where ethnic identities are shaped through the intimate family relations. The public, in its diversity, is the space where ethnic identities become socialised and formed through extensive interaction. The community is the real, but also the imagined space, where the ideological and the emotional sense of belonging are established. The local, in its triangular interrelation and co-dependence with the global and the diasporic, forms a spatial relation which reflects the simultaneous positionality of ethnic identities in the immediate and virtual distant space, necessary for sustaining a particularity that is viable beyond the microcosm of a small ethnic group.

For ethnic identities, spatiality has a particular importance, as processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization shape them through experience and as context. Ethnic experience, either directly or historically, is the outcome of deterritorialization, of an interrupted relation of people with specific lands. As people are deterritorialized, they are reterritorialized in new lands, in new localities. As transnational movement and networks develop though, this reterritorialization does not only involve the new country and the new locality, but also the country of origin; the process of reterritorializing takes place simultaneously in more than one place (Appadurai in Bell, 1999). Each place is constructed and deconstructed in relation to the other, through the pressures and the new possibilities created by new spatial politics.

### **The Media**

Media saturate all these spaces in various ways. Media might be more or less visible, but they are more and more present in the processes of representing and communicating ethnicity. Especially as communication technologies increasingly allow fragmentation and diversity in mediascapes (Appadurai, op. cit.), they bring images of distant cultures close, they allow the recombination and the re-appropriation of the distant in relation to the immediate, they represent and mediate meanings of localities, diasporas, *homelands* and communities. Media might lead to the rediscovery of ethnic

identities, as they become the new carriers and carers of communal communication. Local media become a new kind of *gossip*, a more effective mediator of the word of mouth (Riggins, 1992). Ethnic media reinforce and rediscover the meaning of the locality, the ethnic community, the diasporic belonging of populations and surpass the limitations of the body (Turkle, 1995). Media representations of ethnicity are shared by audiences and appropriated in their homes, where roles and identities are reconfirmed or rediscovered through the communal consumption of ethnic media (Gillespie, op. cit.).

Electronic media in particular, while using new technologies, bring together the different spaces of belonging in an unprecedented way, renewing and reproducing diverse and multiple images of ethnicity, never before available to members of ethnic groups. They negotiate spatial and temporal limitations, simultaneously dealing with the roots and the routes of ethnicity (Gilroy, 1995) and suggest new ways of shaping belonging, beyond conventional restrictions between the real and the virtual (Turkle, op. cit.). The symbolic meaning of space and time changes as these dimensions are no longer interconnected in a singular combination (Giddens, 1990; Harvey, 1990). Social interaction and relations are no longer dependent on simultaneous space co-presence (Gillespie, op. cit.; Friedman, op. cit.). The media renegotiate and represent ethnic co-presence and ethnic past through new images, shaping the selective new collective memory and participating in the construction of new individual and communal identities.

With reference to the debates in media and ethnic studies and those more recently developed within the globalisation debate, I draw a mapping of the spaces where everyday life takes place. In these debates, but to different extent and with no necessary sequence, four spaces have been highlighted as the main points on the map of ethnic belonging. These are (i.) the home, (ii.) the public(s), (iii.) the community and (iv.) the global–local–diasporic in their interrelation.

## **I. The Home**

Home: the initial habitat of ethnicity – both in its real shape as a place, as well as in its symbolic imaginary form (Morse, 1999). Home in the case of diasporic populations is always ambiguous and incomplete. It is never as fixed and permanent as

the ideal perception of the Home, as being private, safe, fixed, a shelter to return to, assumes. Of course, this ideal might not correspond to any kind of home for anybody, anywhere in the era of late modernity, where boundaries of spaces and meanings of privacy are blurred (Morley, 1999). But in no other case is the change of Home more obvious than in the case of the ethnic home. Ethnic home is not necessarily synonymous with a house. Which house would that be anyway?

In the case of British Greek Cypriots, would it be the house in North London, the flat recently bought by the sea in Cyprus, or the parents' house in a village never visited before? Despo, a British-born young woman poses for Nassari's (1999) photographic exhibition with a book of photos of her grandparents' occupied village – Akanthou – saying: 'It's where I'm from, even though I've never visited it. That's all we've got left, just pictures, we do not even have the memories'.

Home is the container of memory and cognition, Silverstone argues (1999). But for the ethnic home in everyday life there is no sequence, as different generations, different individuals sharing common ethnicity name different places as home. This is the inescapable ambiguity of ethnic home as imagined symbol. It can never be complete, as it can be here, there, in both places, or nowhere. Androniki, another woman photographed by John Nassari (op. cit.) says: 'When I go back to Cyprus I feel like a foreigner, but here in England I feel like a foreigner too. It's the same wherever I go, I'll be a stranger...' The feeling of being a stranger characterises many people's ethnic experience; it is a feeling that is more than the outcome of practical integration problems. The condition of *strangeness*, more than anything, symbolises the nostalgia for the old permanent and fixed home, of the sequence in the placement in space and the assumed continuation of the significance of one place through time. Massey (1991) questions this stable and inward-looking nature of the home and argues that a sense of place does not depend on its stability and purity; rather it depends on its unique position as a point of intersection in a wider context of relations.

Nostalgia, strangeness and the sense of loss (Seed, 1999) intensify the efforts of making the ethnic house an ethnic home (Morse, op. cit.) – that is one of the main reasons for reinventing close family relations, relations that often become even more intense in the diaspora than they would ever be in the country of origin.

The extensive focus on constructing an ethnic home, along with the relations that any home implies – relations among its members, relations to the inside and the outside world that a construct with walls and windows shapes – form the real and rather significant role of the home<sup>1</sup>. In that respect, the home is the starting point, where ethnic bonds and relations initially develop, where people learn their first words in the ethnic language, both the spoken and the unspoken. Experience of ethnicity in early childhood, within the ethnic home, critically marks the sense of belonging. Boyarin and Boyarin (1993), when discussing the process of constructing ethnic identities in childhood, argue: ‘Contact with other people who share the name of a given identity and seem to feel organically connected to a community can produce a sense of nostalgia even in one who has never been near the things that that community does’ (ibid.: 704).

Within the home, ethnic identities are constructed as the hierarchy of family relations and the dominant culture of the family shape roles and moral values. Silverstone and Hirsch (1994) note the significance of the domestic in the modern world as a place enhanced, mediated, contained, even constrained by our ever-increasing range of information and communication technologies and the systems and services that they offer the household. Media shape cultural scapes and mediate interpersonal relations and thus domestic hierarchies and moral values (ibid.). On one hand, media invade the privacy of the home (Morley, 1999), making it impossible for the insiders to shape their values and lifestyle without the outsiders’ intervention. On the other hand, the media mediate for the members of the household the experience of the outside world, before going ‘out there’. Media produce representations of the world outside the domestic space but also of the home itself (Morley and Silverstone, 1990). People can imaginatively go to places without leaving their home and they can choose with whom and where they go (Moore, 1993). Media show what a home should look like, how the ideal mother-daughter relations should be, what food should be bought; all those cultural and material products people consume on a daily basis. Silverstone discussed the complex interweaving of the home and the media:

Television and other media are part of home – part of its idealisation, part of its reality... Yet the ‘box in the corner’ is, in our dependence on it, a crucial link to the shared or shareable world of

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<sup>1</sup> The reference to home signifies here the conventional meaning of it, as a place that relates to a house. It has already been argued though that the concept of the home in the case of people has multiple meanings, either as a never-met desire, or as a space that goes beyond the domestic.

community and nation (Anderson, 1983) and, as such, acts to extend the boundaries of home beyond the front door. Television may be received 'at home' but 'home' itself is both constructed through, and constructs, other realities, and television is implicated in all of them (1994: 29).

When ethnic media become a party in the conduct of domestic everyday life, alternative scenaria invade the home: what an ethnic home should look like, how a (Greek Cypriot) mother-daughter relationship should be and what ethnic food should be consumed in the house... In this setting, as Raymond Williams (1980) argues, new technologies might co-exist with very old social forms and they might reproduce these old forms and values. But ethnic media are not homogenous; neither do the members of the household passively digest all media representations. Conflicting images and narratives, as well as alternative readings of them co-exist.

People consume non-ethnic as well as ethnic media. But ethnic media is something nobody else beyond the ethnic group has. And this makes a difference. When young Greek Cypriots can joke about the Greek sitcom they saw the previous night on the Greek channel with their Greek Cypriot schoolmates, it makes a difference; they cannot joke about it with their non-Greek friends<sup>2</sup>. In that sense, in everyday life, ethnic media enhance people's symbolic sense of belonging in an ethnic community (Morley, 1999).

Furthermore, electronic ethnic media in particular bring the images of different places with ethnic significance together, at home: images of North London, the diaspora and Cyprus in this case. Those images can reflect the diverse sense of Home and the desire for a sense of Home. More than anything, they can bring together the ethnic homes – in plural – into a new relation, into a new experience that can be shared by all those people whose sense of belonging could never be shared by anybody beyond the boundaries of the ethnic community.

## **II. The Public(s)**

The domestic might be the space where identities are initially constructed, but everyday life conduct depends on the continuation of the living space scapes, including both the domestic and the public. The restrictions of the domestic space and the privacy

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<sup>2</sup> Example used by Greek Cypriot youth for illustrating her argument of ethnic difference.

and exclusion of outsiders once guaranteed by the physical boundaries around the home, is challenged by the media, especially the electronic media. The home cannot be conceived as completely private any more. 'Electronic media have exposed many of the backstage behaviour of many groups', argues Meyrowitz (1985: 144). The public flows within the domestic, through the media, through representation, through the mediation of everyday life by media discourses. 'Mediated meanings...move across space, and across spaces. They move from the public to the private, from the institutional to the individual, from the globalising to the local and personal and back again' (Silverstone, 1999:15). The media – especially electronic media – have offered people immediate access to public events (Scannell, 1996), reshaped the relation of the public to the private and that of the community of the audience.

The spatial interrelation and interdependence of the private and the public has often escaped the attention of media consumption/audience research studying exclusively media use at home. In that way, media research fails to capture the continuation and the complexity of the public and domestic experience of individuals and families which are centrally important in the study of identities, especially when referring to group identities. As much as the otherwise valuable majority of studies of ethnicity has underestimated the role of the familial and the domestic in the construction processes of ethnic identities, similarly, most works studying media and identities failed to capture the continuity of the private and public space.

The reason for emphasising the need to study the public space and public life within media studies in particular, generates from the conceptualisation of media consumption as a cultural process. This exceeds the narrowly conceived activity of receiving the media and acknowledges the participation of audiences in the production of meanings and the insistence of media discourses in everyday life (Silverstone, 1984; Ang, 1996). While the arguments about audience participation in the construction of media discourses are by now theoretically and empirically well established in media studies (Morley, 1986; Morley 1995; Radway, 1984; Lull, 1990), media studies' fascination with the domestic remains.

Emphasising the importance of studying identity construction and media consumption in the public space is not an attempt to replace the fascination around the domestic with an obsession with the public. What is emphasised is that media



consumption extends beyond the domestic. The public becomes the space where media are often consumed in contexts different to the domestic, and more than that, it is the space where media discourses are appropriated, where they become part of everyday communication (Gillespie, op. cit.). Thus, I argue for the need to study the public as much as the domestic for understanding how identities and the media relate.

The public is a complex space, it is a space of socialisation, it is a space where identities initially shaped at home and within a family context, are exposed to Others; they are challenged by the multiplicity and diversity characterising shared ethnic identities and options for diverse senses of belonging, beyond the ethnic. Ethnic identities are reaffirmed in public, in processes of constructing group identities and community belongings. The sense of distinguishing the Self and Us from the Others – those who do not share the same identity, those who do not belong to the same group and community, are primarily public processes (A. Cohen, 1985).

The public is not singular but plural (Dayan, 1998). It is a diverse space and different publics have different meanings for people and implications for their socialisation. Public spaces, which are primarily defined by their ethnic character, such as churches and community centers, serve as unifying contexts for bringing together ethnic diversity and turning it into shared experience. Other spaces, such as public schools, shopping centers and libraries challenge, enrich and inform the bounded ethnicity of ethnic institutions, as people's public positionings relate and depend on their ability to communicate multiple identities, suitable and necessary for communicating with other people. Publics also involve inequalities in access and struggles for establishing more powerful positionings by individuals and groups. Not everybody is equal as publics have their rules and people take and are given a place in them. Gender inequality in public is probably the most characteristic. For example, men often mediate Greek Cypriot women's participation in public activities. Greek Cypriot men are expected to participate more actively in the public, while women's public socialisation is comparatively more restricted from an early age.

Those ethnic identities that are initially constructed at home are *baptised* and reconfirmed in the public and, I would argue, without this *baptism*, ethnic identities are doomed to fade away as people socialise beyond the familial, domestic ethnic environment. Ethnic identities are social and performed identities; they are tested,

contested and debated in the cultural and social context (Gilroy, 1997). As people become *exposed* to the public, their identities become public performances – performances that relate to the context and the expectations of the others around them, those within the group and those outside. As people adapt behaviours, attitudes and roles, they take up a place into a public. Thus, ethnicity becomes participatory, it becomes a public reconfirmation of people's devotion to a common project that implies acceptance of rules, boundaries and values. Public performance and public reconfirmation of ethnicity leads to approval – and achievement of a sense of belonging. Some performances, which might not conform to certain expectations though, might also lead to disapproval and even exiling. Though the public is the space where rules and consequences of belonging become clearer, the extent of tolerance, acceptance and rejection of difference is not predictable. Public discourses, ideologies and perceptions about tolerance, duties, rights and belonging confine and expand the limits of performed identities.

Media are involved in giving meanings to the public(s), in framing public discourses and in naming the consequences of adopting and adapting behaviours and identifications. Media bring together the private and the public by mediating the images of each one in the other. The home will never be completely private again, as the television has become the continuous mediator and translator of what is beyond the walls of the house (Silverstone, 1999). As the same time, the representation of domestic life in the media has brought the private in the public, challenging the old values and boundaries of both. As boundaries and definitions of the public and the private are challenged, so is the role of people in them. Roles, behaviours, performances are learned and negotiated when communicated. The media communicate common themes and representations and propose cultural expressions of ethnicity. This sharing can establish commonality and educate people in the necessary common language that communal identities require. When entering the public, people already have consumed its mediated images and norms, the expected expressions of identities, the boundaries between Us and the Others. The consequences of conforming or not to these expectations and boundaries are expressed in the community.

### III. Community

Community is neither real nor fictional. Its boundaries are rarely structured; in most cases they are imagined. But people refer to community as a commonly shared concept – as a taken for granted actuality. As difficult as it is to define, as problematic as it is to theorise, it is equally difficult to avoid community. Anthony Cohen (1985) defends the concept of community by arguing that it has a meaning for most people. Thus, we cannot just ignore and even less reject it. This is the most useful starting point for operationalizing and deconstructing community within the present project. I am not going to use community continuously in *italics* in order to emphasise my scepticism towards that notion. I am going to use community while acknowledging my scepticism towards a concept that can be conceptualised to mean nothing and everything. I acknowledge this scepticism towards conceptualisations of community as a taken for granted notion, as a clearly defined structural or cultural reference that has a meaning we all understand and share. But while I do that, I learn from the theorisation and deconstruction of community, such as Cohen's (ibid.) and Anderson's (1983) that turn community into a useful tool of analysis and a theoretical concept partly explaining the process of identity construction. At the same time and as I go on in this project, I link community to its demotic (Baumann, 1996), *emic* definitions, that make it viable.

In approaching community, I draw from Cohen (op. cit.) who, inspired by Wittgenstein, proposes to seek *use* of *community* rather than lexical meaning. In that way, the tension is relieved and the focus turns from structure to culture. Cohen's argument recognises that *community* has various meanings for different people, as a set of values, as an ideal, as an existing social formation. In an attempt to define community, Barbesino (1996) argues that the prerequisite for community is the existence of boundaries that make it distinctive, even if these boundaries are drawn in different ways for different cases. However, Gilroy (1987) rightly adds that community does not only have to do with boundaries, with Others. It has to do with similarity and identity as well.

The diversity of community conceptualisations often reflects the particular dimensions of different case studies, but it also reflects the vagueness of the concept

itself. The vagueness of community as such becomes less important as the focus turns to the symbolic value of community – crucial for people's construction of a sense of belonging. As Cohen (op. cit.) argues, community:

is a largely mental construct, whose 'objective' manifestations in locality or ethnicity give it credibility. It is highly symbolized, with the consequence that its members can invest it with their selves. Its character is sufficiently malleable that it can accommodate all its members' selves without them feeling their individuality to be overly compromised. Indeed, the gloss of commonality which it paints over its diverse components gives to each of them an additional referent for their identities (ibid.: 109).

Locality and ethnicity might not be the necessary basis upon which community relies on anymore, as Cohen suggests, especially as virtual spaces allow the emergence of new belongings. But even if community depends on fan clubs and groups of special interests, its strength is its highly symbolic value. People share common symbols that frame the processes of constructing spaces of belonging, their common sense of belonging. At the same time, the ways people interpret and operationalize symbols varies extensively, leaving individuals and community subgroups enough space to give to community meanings that suit them, that are significant to them, that do not require holistic homogeneity. 'Community has many meanings, it involves different sets of experience for different groups of people, and indeed for the same people at different times', argue Crow and Allen (1994: 183), implying flexibility and change, which by definition relate as much to community as they do to identity.

If we can draw the main dimensions of community, those making it meaningful to people, beyond its vagueness and its diversity, they would be: (a) co-presence, which might be real, virtual or tele-presence (Barbesino, op. cit.), (b) memory, which is communal and selective and relates to the imagined We, the imagined Others and the common myth of roots and routes (Clifford, 1994), and (c) future outlook, which is necessary for existence and which has to do both with the reproduction and the renewal of community. All the three dimensions rely more and more on the media. In discussing imagined communities, Anderson (op. cit.) emphasised the role of the press for the construction of the nation. Looking beyond the restrictions and the limitations of the press and the nation and towards more diverse communities that emerge and are renewed in a world more and more dependent on information and communication technologies, the media continue to mediate images and narratives for communities,

shaping images of Us and Them, of *homelands* and localities, mapping spaces of co-presence and designing outlooks for the future. As such, community – local, global and diasporic – cannot be but of great relevance for this project.

For the British Greek Cypriots, experience of ethnicity is inescapably interrelated to community, as a symbolic – and not only that – social and spatial context. Community becomes the symbolic home of ethnicity that depends on local and global discourses, discourses of the diaspora and the country of origin. Community becomes the context where people publicly and communally form their ethnic identities, where the multiple characteristics that define Us against Others are shaped. But as much as people rely on community, they playfully negotiate and continuously redefine it. As the sense of community very much relies on everyday life conduct, inevitably it depends on contradictions that come with it.

People turn to community to idealise and demonise it, to rely on and to escape from. As already mentioned, the meanings of community are neither stable nor shared by all. Community is not the same as it used to be, in terms of scale, space, flexibility. Once it was considered to be the answer to the anonymity of the city, a holistic space defining people's existence (Park *et al.*, 1925(1984), then it became almost synonymous with locality (Bell and Newby, 1971). Within the context of globalisation, community has been reconceptualized as the reply to global anonymity:

The face-to-face communities that are knowable, that are locatable, one can give them place. One knows what the faces are. The re-creation, the reconstruction of imaginary, knowable places in the face of the global postmodern which has, as it were, destroyed the identities of specific places, absorbed them into this postmodern flux of diversity. So one understands the moment when people reach for those groundings (Hall, 1991: 35-6).

Here Hall conceptualises community as the expression of local particularity against the processes of globalisation. No matter how much people turn to local communities to find a refuge from the chaotic global anonymity, the survival and the viability of local particularity is now inescapably dependant on the global trends (Morley and Robins, *op. cit.*). Local communities' politics of culture and communication learns from the global and the emergence of new global and virtual communities, which depend on fragmentation, diversity and co-existence of people beyond the conventional face-to-face communication. The local communities have changed in the era of globalisation, as the limits of identities and sense of belonging are

challenged as well. People do not inescapably belong to and depend on local micro-communities, ethnic or otherwise. They simultaneously belong to other communities, they move between spaces and this everyday mobility and fluidity defines their identities in a way that challenges any past taken-for-granted sense of locality and community, including old definitions of the boundaries, restrictions and rules that inclusion involves.

Mobility, simultaneous communication of virtual and other new communities have challenged the interdependence of time and space required in the communication within local communities of the past. Local communication can be as much immediate as it can be mediated, since the media appear as a link of the diverse community subgroups and they allow people to *catch up* with the community even when they are not continuously part of it. Calhoun (1998) emphasises the role of new media technologies for time and space distancing that led to redefinitions of communities on a more democratic and less oppressive basis. As people are more mobile and communication more diverse, local communities are no more close and bounded value – social systems.

Media culture might as well renew local communication and the local public sphere ‘through the stimulation of cultural innovation, identity and difference’ (Bassand *et al.* quoted in Morley and Robins, op. cit.: 41). But as local identities become more critical, they cannot but be interconnected and in dialogue with the global culture. ‘Contemporary cultural identities must also be about internationalism in a direct sense, about our positions in transnational spaces’ (ibid.: 41). Local communities are often revitalised because other distant communities exist – communities they can be associated with. In the case of ethnic communities in particular, the sense of belonging to larger, emergent global communities, such as the diasporic ones, give their local *version* new energy. Diasporic communities, which include the local, but go much further than that, become resources for inspiration and of perspective for the future of local communities.

With this multidimensionality of community in mind, it is here operationalized in its dual sense. On one hand, it is positioned in the local context, especially as it applies to the demotic meanings of the concept in British Greek Cypriots’ everyday life. On the other, it is conceptualised in its imagining, as this exceeds the strictly local and achieves

its meaning at the meeting of the local, the diaspora and the country of origin. For Greek Cypriots, the ethnic community is defined from this dual perspective. In the locality, the meaning of the ethnic community is shaped primarily in opposition to the Others – the local Others and it refers to the British London Greek Cypriots. In the broader global space, necessary for ethnic identities' viability, the community includes its local expressions, its diasporic<sup>3</sup> expressions and those of the country of origin – as they imply the experience of Cyprus, the image of it and the interaction with its people. This triangular relation creates a sense of community – a hybrid imagined community – that allows the emergence of new ethnic identities, identities that depend on all these three spaces, even if not equally.

Identities are communicated and shared in the community. Every community relies on communication, Raymond Williams argues: 'the process of communication is in fact the process of community: the sharing of common meanings, and thence common activities and purposes, the offering, reception and comparison of new meanings, leading to the tensions, achievements of growth and change' (1961: 10). Even if the meanings are not shared, the symbols are. Mediated communication becomes as central as the immediate and direct in a community that surpasses the dependence on face-to-face communication, as Anderson (op. cit.) suggests and many others after him (Silverstone, 1994; Morley and Robins, 1995). In Anderson's imagined community, it is the press that brings the nation together. In the hybrid imagined community, which is not bounded anymore within specific, manageable and predictable boundaries, it is the electronic media that take over in bringing together people who might be in geographical distance or proximity.

Electronic ethnic media undermine the domination of the imagined community of the nation (Aksoy and Robins, 2000), as they offer people alternative spaces of belonging in everyday life. At the same time, electronic media daily renew the sense of belonging in a global community, which is saturated by difference and diversity. Mediation of communication, as it is argued elsewhere (see especially Morley and Robins, *ibid.*; Robins and Webster, 1999), implies an 'estrangement from the real' (Morley and Robins, op. cit.: 39), a further distancing of the mediated Other. As the

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<sup>3</sup> Diasporic includes the local ethnic experience in its co-dependence with a larger ethnic group that lives in other parts of Britain and the rest of the world.

media come between the experience of different people, they might *smoothen* its *rough edge*, but at the same time, they might create a sense of sharing which, no matter how imagined, still shapes identities. As the hybrid imagined community relies on both mediated and unmediated communication<sup>4</sup>, the imagination is continuously informed and enriched by the immediate experience and vice versa. Unmediated communication takes place in the locality, in face-to-face communication and participation and between localities, as people's mobility becomes easier than ever.

#### IV. The Global and the Local

Kevin Robins (1991), among others, talks about the changing geographies that shape our times. He talks about changes that the new geographies bring to the economy, but not only there – changes that also enter our imaginary spaces. 'As territories are transformed, so too are the spaces of identity', he argues (ibid.: 24).

Community emerges at the meeting of the public and the domestic. It is the space that is more familiar than 'the rest of the outside world' and more open than the domestic. Like community, which becomes an intermediate space, another spatial relationship has been emerging, a relationship that brings together the macro and the micro – the global and the local. The global and the local contain more and more in their interrelation the real and the symbolic dimensions of the Home, the Public and the Community.

The global and the local are the components of a spatial relationship that increasingly defines the boundaries of everyday life (Smart, op. cit.). This relation challenges the role of the nation-state as the defining framework for people's life, as bounded within certain spatial limits where a set of values, rights and duties, loyalties and opportunities holistically shape everyday experience and identity construction (Smith, 1990). Much more diverse sets of values, rights and loyalties co-exist within the particular and the infinite of the global and the local. The global depends on the local and vice versa. People live locally but their everyday life depends on discourses,

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<sup>4</sup> The term 'mediated' refers to communication achieved in and by the media, such as the television, the radio and the Internet and the term 'unmediated' refers to communication that takes place outside the media. The two concepts are used to emphasize this antithesis. However, this conceptualization does not assume that the mass media are the only mediators of communication. As it is argued in the previous



cultures, relations that surpass the locality. 'The local is created in the consumption of global discourse', argues Strathern (1994:x). At the same time, global networks and communications become meaningful when different localities get interconnected. As Robins (op. cit.: 34) puts it:

Whilst globalisation may be the prevailing force of our times, this does not mean that localism is without significance... The particularity of place and culture can never be done with... Globalisations is, in fact, also associated with new dynamics of re-localisation. It is about achievement of a new global-local nexus, about new intricate relations between global space and local space.

In this context, the geography of social relations is changing as well and they often stretch out over defined spaces. Massey (1993) argues that social relations, movements and communication change, but they meet in places that become unique points of their intersection – geographical places become meeting places. And she adds:

Instead then, of thinking of areas with boundaries around, they can be imagined as articulate movements in networks of social relations and understandings... but where a large proportion of those relations and understandings... are constructed on a far larger scale... And this, in turn, allows a sense of place which is extroverted, which includes a consciousness of its links with the wider world, which integrates in a positive way the global and the local (ibid.: 239).

Massey stretches out a basic element of the meeting of the global and the local. Where they meet, and that seems to be the case in our times, neither the global communications nor the local remains the same. Like relations and identities, communication becomes hybrid (Friedman, 1994).

For ethnic groups in particular, the interrelation of the local and the global is not only inescapable, but also a relationship that brings the past, the present and the future of ethnicity together. Naficy (1993), who studies Iranian television in Los Angeles, argues that media assist people to construct hybrid identities, not by producing absences, but by producing 'multiplying presences of the home and the past and of the here and the now' (ibid.: 121). Furthermore, communication technologies and the emergence of hybrid identities allow people to break out of the clearly defined boundaries of two nation-states: the one they came from and the one they settled into<sup>5</sup>.

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chapter, it is recognized that communication is always mediated (by language, etc.)

<sup>5</sup> The boundaries of the nation-state have been initially challenged (Touraine cited in Smart, op. cit.) by the mobility and movement of populations through migration. Populations are no more bounded within specific spatial boundaries because of their national and ethnic identification (Morley, 1999). This mobility has led to demographic changes and also changes in nation-states' laws and structures (Rex,

That does not mean that the nation-state is no more a player in the process of identity construction, as it still is a political, administrative and structural power (Hall, 1992; Rex, 1997). But its role is not as permanent and taken for granted as it used to be. The competition for power and the diversity of the emergent discourses – even if the processes are still unequal – allow people to invent new spaces of in-betweenness, where the sense of belonging is negotiated as people can be here and there but they do not have to be bounded within here or there (Bhabha, 1996). Their in-betweenness primarily relates to the diaspora.

### Diaspora

Diaspora has recently made a dynamic comeback in the debates around ethnicity, nationality and nationhood, boundaries and identity. A concept that has transformed in time, diaspora has returned to address and assist the understanding of migration, people's multiple sense of belonging and loyalties (Demetriou, 2000) beyond national boundaries. Diaspora has become 'an intermediate concept between the local and the global that nevertheless transcends the national perspectives which often limit cultural studies', Gillespie argues (op. cit.: 6). Diaspora implies a decentralised relation to ethnicity, real or imagined relations between scattered people who sustain a sense of community through various forms of communication and contact and who do not depend on returning to a distant *homeland* (Peters: 1999).

Diaspora, as it applies to late modernity conditions, illustrates the hybrid and ever-changing nature of identities that are not inescapably dependent on homogeneity, purity and stable localisation. Cultures' viability does not depend on purity, rather they survive through mixing (Boyarin and Boyarin: op. cit.). Identities in the diaspora become 'diasporized', Boyarin and Boyarin suggest (ibid.), explaining that these identities can go beyond dualisms. Clifford (1994) argues that diaspora does not signify only movement and transnationality but also 'political struggles to define the local...as a distinctive community, in historical contexts of displacement' (ibid.: 308).

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1997). The process that followed migration and which continues and becomes more and more extensive, is the symbolic challenge of nation-state's boundaries in the era of globalisation as people can actively be more and more 'here and there' Bhabha, 1996).

In the present historical context, migrant and ethnic populations have established their presence in host societies in a way that surpasses the linear relation of subordination of the migrant populations. Many diasporic communities have flourished in the counties of their settlement and their experience overcomes “the victim tradition” (R. Cohen, 1996). This ethnic diasporic experience has challenged old understanding of ethnicity and race in two ways: on one hand, these populations’ thriving has not been the outcome of assimilation and on the other, it has taken place while these people have continued – and even increased – their communication and affiliation with their country of origin and other members of the ethnic group (Demetriou, op. cit.). This new condition has led to the reconceptualization of the diaspora, a concept that addresses the global, transnational experience of ethnic groups and individuals who construct new and hybrid belongings, in relation to both the country of origin and the country of settlement (Schiller *et al.*, 1995). Diasporas refuse to recognise the boundaries and limitations of the nation; they refuse to belong to just one, stable and exclusive place. Their experience includes at least one *journey*, mobility and, more and more, an everyday life which is informed by more than one culture.

Media offer to diasporas multiple linkages (ibid.) and diasporic interconnectivity. The geographical distancing and alienation of migrant populations, who once left the same *homeland* and spread all over the world, is now surpassed by the simultaneous and continuous input of images and information in the electronic media (Dayan, 1998). The media have created a new public space, or public spaces in plural (Dayan, 1999), that surpasses the national boundaries and allows the development of dialectic communication between the country of origin and the diaspora and among the ethnic groups of the diaspora. Within this space, diasporas get connected and interconnected, they shape imaginary belongings and become participants in the project of a community beyond boundaries: the hybrid imagined community.

### The Hybrid Imagined Community

Anderson (1994) himself comes back to discuss the ‘communication revolution’ (ibid.: 327) after the imagined community. While he does recognise the challenge to the national borders, both by populations’ mobility and the media, he still defends the centrality of the nation. For Anderson, the nation still remains the defining power for

the imagined community, though its members might now live beyond its boundaries. As he argues, the continuous interconnection between dispersed populations with the country of origin leads to 'e-mail nationalism' and 'absentee patriotism' (ibid.:327).

Morley and Robins' (ibid.) critique and rethinking of the imagined community is more useful. They talk about the spatial changes that have challenged the meaning of the imagined community of the nation; they suggest that new geographies require a redefinition of imagined communities to include diverse and plural identities, challenging perceptions of false cohesion and unity. Defining imagined communities – or reimagined, as they put it – 'must be about positions and positioning in local and global space: about contexts of bodily existence and about existence in mediated space' (ibid.: 40). In this process, decentralised communities develop, but they are communities that are inseparable from the global – they are communities that rely on media and communication in their shaping of public discourses. People who are connected electronically challenge the 'vertical' organisation of populations within national communities by becoming 'horizontal' communities; thus, 'people are connected electronically rather than by geographical proximity' (ibid.: 61).

When Anderson (op. cit.) emphasises the role of the press – he talks of print capitalism – he argues that simultaneity is crucial for the construction of national consciousness. The simultaneity of new communication now diminishes geographical distance and allows the construction of ethnic and diasporic identities. On the other hand, the viability of the new imagined communities at the meeting point of the local, the diaspora and the country of origin, depends on the fragmentation of the communication experience. Unlike Anderson's holistic imagined community of the nation, ethnic imagined communities cannot be but fragmented. As such, the simultaneity of experiencing new ethnic communication is a choice people can make – they can switch on and off ethnic media, like they can switch on and off – or at least 'pause' – their ethnic identities, when other identities predominate.

In this redefinition of imagined communities, connection and connectivity are not only electronic but also immediate. If the new technologies and globalisation have allowed people to surpass spatial and temporal restrictions, they have also allowed them to surpass physical limitations. People are more mobile than ever, they see each other and different places more often than ever and they belong to micro-communities that

allow immediate interaction, the same time they belong to macro-communities. These new conditions allow the emergence of the triangular relationship connecting the locality, the country of origin and the diaspora. This new space and identities are characterised by diversity. As Drzewiecka and Wong (Lau) (1999: 199) argue, it is in this diverse and dynamic changing context that we have to usefully reassess and redefine 'imagined community' as a concept:

The concept of "imagined communities" also destabilizes traditional notions of access to and agency around shared meanings, common cultural practices, and commonalities as prerequisites for community formation. The picture we are constructing of community and identity formation is a dynamic one in which individuals in the same social space and time imagine themselves into and out of contradictory, sometimes overlapping, ambivalent communities subject to their social locations (ibid. 213).

The multiplicity of the hybrid imagined community begins in the locality: the real space where people experience everyday life. The country of origin is the place where people initially came from, or where their parents and grandparents came from. And the diaspora is the global space of dispersed populations around the globe who share a sense of ethnic belonging. The way people relate to each one of those spaces varies. With reference to the specific case of the British Greek Cypriots, I argue that this relationship is more biased towards the country of origin for the migrant generation, as it is the place that they left behind. Locality is the primary space of reference for the second generation, as it is the space where their parents tried to reproduce lifestyles and experiences of the *homeland* and where they grew up with a sense of dual belonging – between their parents' *homeland* and the country where they were born and brought up. For the third generation and for those after it, it is the diaspora – not only in its local, but also in its broader and global dimensions – that is their space of primary reference. For them, the direct experience of the country of origin has faded away; their ethnicity primarily depends on sharing commonalities with other people who might live in the same locality or anywhere around the globe. What brings them together is their common global experience of ethnicity, away from the original *homeland*.

These three spaces co-exist and co-depend in their real and virtual dimensions. They all rely on communication flows<sup>6</sup> that form and 'circulate' new narratives and

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<sup>6</sup> Here, different kinds of media are included, such as the television, radio, newspapers. At the same time, the reference includes communication that takes place via telephone use, email exchange, videos and books 'travelling' from one place to another, as well as the mobility of populations between the three

images of the Self, Us and the Other. These arguments I examine in the case of the British Greek Cypriots – a group of people who actively renew their ethnic identities, while using, interpreting and appropriating their ethnic media. Before this case study is unfolded, I discuss the ways I approached the issues in question and the group studied.

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different spaces, for holidays, celebrations, studies, migration.

### **Chapter III**

## **Methodology: Theory, Instrument, A Problem and A Solution**

In their taken-for-grantedness (Silverstone, 1994), media remain contested, as they compete among themselves for audiences' attention and time, as they compete with other activities of everyday life and as audiences themselves appropriate the media in diverse ways – this diversity relating to their identities and the cultural context (Ang, 1996, Nightingale, 1996). Both the centrality and the complexity of media consumption have been the focus of audience studies – studies that set a challenging starting point for this research.

The present study is informed by audience research and aims at reflexively examining the theoretical and empirical agenda set within the field, as this relates to the question of ethnicity. Ethnicity relates to social differentiation, particularity, identity. Ethnic media are often considered to be crucial for minorities' empowerment and for the sustaining of cultural particularity, while it has been argued that they challenge the domination of mainstream culture (Wilson and Gutierrez, 1985; Riggins, 1992; Husband, 1994). Nevertheless, ethnic media consumption hardly ever becomes exclusive for ethnic groups, as these consume non-ethnic media as well. As ethnic media co-exist with non-ethnic media, the appropriation of both is filtered by this duality of ethnic audiences' experience. The diversity characterising ethnic media consumption can challenge the study of audiences and take further our comprehension of media consumption's complexity. On one hand, we can investigate how audiences participate in *media culture(s)* (Alasuutari, 1999) – ethnic, inter-ethnic and non-ethnic – and on the other, we can seek understandings of how the shared but exclusive – within the boundaries of a group – ethnic media consumption relates to identity and community.

The study of ethnic media consumption, as a quite new field<sup>1</sup>, can expand the understanding of audiences, not only in width and in relation to the complexity of media consumption, but also in depth and in relation to media's role for sustaining commonality. The study of ethnic commonality however, should learn from other

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<sup>1</sup> See next chapter for a review of ethnic media research studies.

audience studies and avoid homogenising arguments about ethnic media appropriation. Rather, ethnic media studies need to be sensitive to understanding diversity within audiences of ethnic media and their consumption practices. In examining how ethnic commonality co-exists with diversity, we can expand our understanding of *audiencehood*.

With these intellectual challenges in mind, I designed the particular research project, aiming at testing, and hopefully taking further, theoretical arguments about audiences. As I hope to contribute to the rather new field of ethnic media studies, I turn to the particular, the alternative, the contested experience of consuming ethnic media, rather than mainstream media. Yet, I hope to resist any anti-dialectical empirical division between ethnic and non-ethnic media consumption. In my empirical work, I aimed at understanding how ethnic and non-ethnic media consumption is interrelated and how consumption practices are the outcome of this complexity and interweaving. In the chapters that follow, I do not hesitate to discuss and analyse non-ethnic media consumption, when this becomes relevant to ethnic identities' construction.

In this new field of ethnic media studies, the question of media's role in initiating, sustaining and enriching communication between people sharing the same ethnicity has been set, though not often investigated. I examine this question by turning to everyday life, to the context of ethnic media consumption and to the appropriation that takes place in everyday life. I focus on the activity of using ethnic media, the relations around ethnic media consumption, the appropriation of media in private, in public and in community spaces. This is a choice to turn to the context and the relations around media consumption rather than media texts themselves. It is a choice that emphasises the social character of media consumption (Hirsch, 1992) the social and socio-psychological dynamics of media appropriation (Silverstone and Hirsch, 1992) and the ways consumption is ingrained in the structures of the domestic (ibid.) and the public. It is a choice that acknowledges that media consumption gets its meanings as it becomes part of everyday life (Silverstone, 1994) and of a 'moral economy' (Silverstone, Hirsch and Morley, 1992). Though media texts and people's engagement with them is not irrelevant to the scope of this research<sup>2</sup>, it is the choice of using (or not using) ethnic

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<sup>2</sup> In the chapters where my empirical work unfolds, I present data where people's involvement with media texts and specific genres becomes relevant to the question of constructing individual and group



media, their appropriation as a communal act and their becoming part of everyday life that relate the most to the question of identity construction.

As media consumption is conceptualised to this direction, the methodological orientation of the present study cannot but be towards qualitative analysis: an analysis that can generate contextual, 'natural occurring data', as well as theory grounded in social processes (Silverstone, 1994). This research studies members of an ethnic group who are media consumers: an audience, among other things. And while recognising that the concept of the audience has been challenged (Silverstone, *ibid.*; Ang, 1991; Seiter, 1999), it is also recognised that, while being redefined and contested, audience remains a relevant concept for addressing the experience of media consumption in the context of everyday life, embedded in the public and the private realm.

This project aims at strategically embracing a qualitative research approach and, more precisely, at incorporating ethnography, as the more appropriate qualitative methodology for its realisation. Ethnography, generating from anthropology, has been used extensively in sociology and cultural studies, while it has shaped a distinct face within media studies (see, among others, Morley and Silverstone, 1990; Buckingham, 1993; Gillespie, 1995; Seiter, *op. cit.*). Ethnography has been adapted in communication research, mostly in studies aiming at contextualizing and grasping the multiple dimensions of media consumption. The methodological design and realisation of this project is developed within this tradition.

### **Methodology: Problematised Theory**

#### **Discovering and Re-discovering the Audience**

The critical incorporation of ethnography in this project relates to understanding the audience as a participating party in a never-ending process of cultural appropriation. Since the mid-80's, empirical research within cultural and media studies has experimented with ethnography in an attempt to operationalize the new theoretical approaches to the audience. In research projects such as that of Ang (1991), Morley and Silverstone (*op. cit.*) and Seiter (*op. cit.*), the emphasis has shifted, from understanding

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identities (e.g. male middle-aged daily viewing of news from Cyprus, youth's Greek pop listening, etc.). However, as the present theorization of media consumption rejects arguments about media effects, the engagement of people with specific texts is analyzed as being part of their everyday life and their

audiences as passive recipients of media messages and dominant discourses to conceptualising audiences as participants in the processes of construction of meanings<sup>3</sup>. The audience is no longer considered to be on the receiving side of a linear relationship between the producer, the message and the receiver.

In media studies, it has been argued that media consumption is a cultural process inescapably framed within the context of everyday life. Cultural discourses and meanings are the products of interactivity and negotiation, coming out of all different stages of media production and consumption. Media consumption is an interpretative process on the part of the audiences. Thus, the study of media consumption is the study of culture as a never-ending, natural experience.

The importance of the cultural context where media consumption takes place has been emphasised in studies such as that of Radway (op. cit.), Ang (op. cit.), Silverstone (1994) and Morley and Silverstone (op. cit.). Media consumption is 'embedded within a technical and consumer culture that is both domestic and national (and international), a culture that is at once private and public' (Morley and Silverstone, op. cit.: 32). Ang (1996) adds that media research is meaningful when it offers some critical understanding of the peculiarities of contemporary culture and she suggests that the media should be radically contextualized:

We should stop conceptualising television, radio, the press, and so on, in isolation, as a series of separable independent variables having more or less clearcut correlations with another set of dependent, audience variables (ibid.: 68).

Ang's suggestion for a *radical contextualism* points out an important element to be taken into account in contemporary media research: the fact that we live in a 'media-saturated world' (ibid.: 72). In this world, it is extremely difficult, and even undesirable, to separate the media from the context of the everyday lived experience. In that way, Ang adds (ibid.), the researcher's task becomes more complicated, since the contextual horizon is endless. As a result, radical contextualism ends up in a contradictory form: on

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involvement in/with different cultures.

3 Media studies and audience research, in their present theoretical and empirical orientations, have learned from previous key works that questioned the conceptualizations of the passive audience. These start with Lasswell's early typology of the social functions of the media (1948), Wright's (1960) development of the argument around the social and the entertainment functions of the media, Katz's influential *Uses and Gratifications*, especially as developed in Katz, Blumler and Gurevitch's (1974) analysis of the active audience, as well as Hall's distinction between *encoding* and *decoding* in the communication process.

one hand, highlighting the need to take into account the context of media consumption, and on the other, admitting that no project can ‘encompass such all-embracing knowing’ of the ‘eternally expanding contextuality’ (ibid.: 73). In that case, what is suggested is to be honest about the limitations of the ethnographic discourse; to acknowledge, not only the context of media consumption, but also the context of the ethnographic discourse and empirical work<sup>4</sup>.

No matter how difficult it is to manage an ‘eternally expanding contextuality’ (ibid.), it is important to locate, at least to some extent, everyday experience within the macro-scale context. In most ethnographic audience studies, the importance of the interrelation between the micro and the macro has been underestimated. Macro-sociological questions about causes of events and the constitutions of systems and processes have been avoided (Clifford and Marcus, 1986). The task of raising macro-sociological concerns and incorporating them in audience research, is not an easy one. Williams (quoted in Clifford and Marcus, ibid.) suggests that through text construction macro can be integrated into the micro: accounts of impersonal systems can be combined with representations of local life as cultural forms, both autonomous and constituted by the larger order. And as the Marxist tradition has suggested, culture is the way people live their everyday lives in a structured system. ‘Culture is not *sui generis*, but is class culture or subculture, entailing its formation in historic process’ (ibid.: 178). The historical, temporal and spatial context is particularly relevant in the case of ethnic, diasporic identities: the deterritorialising/reterritorialising experience of an ethnic group, such as the Greek Cypriots, relates to their experience of colonialism and to the post-colonial mobility of economic migrants, to their pre-migration life in the extensively divided Cypriot society – both in terms of political polarisation and inter-ethnic conflict – and to their settlement in the multicultural postcolonial British society. All these cannot but to be decisive parameters defining the contemporary ethnic experience and a necessary contextualising framework for understanding how British Greek Cypriot identities and relations to the country of settlement, the country of origin and the locality are shaped.

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<sup>4</sup> More extensive discussion of reflexivity follows later in this chapter.

While the interconnection of the macro and the micro should be a continuous contextualising background in the ethnographic text, ethnography's focus remains the particular and the cultural experience within specific locales. Gray (1987) emphasises the usefulness of ethnographic open-ended approaches for studying specificities and particularities. If this ethnographic research is to have an intellectual contribution, that is because it studies how particular consistencies, inconsistencies and struggles of power taking place in a specific local relate to issues of identity and the media: how the particular case of the British Greek Cypriots is unique and how it can contribute to understanding other cases.

#### Nightingale: Re-defining the Audience

Nightingale's (1996) discussion of the notion of the audience and of audience research provides an insight to the relevant debates, negotiations of the notion and the empirical works that deal with audiences, either as receivers of messages, or as active participants in the process of construction of meanings and cultural discourses. Nightingale focuses on audience research pursued within cultural studies, with Morley's *The 'Nationwide' Audience* (1980), Ang's *Watching Dallas* (1985) and Buckingham's *Public Secrets: Eastenders and Its Audience* (1987) being some of the more characteristic. On one hand, these studies have radically overcome the perceptions of the passive audience and suggested that audiences are participants in the construction of meanings, though this process is contextualized within the particular cultural framework of their everyday life. Early audience research doubted the straightforward, single-dimensional understandings of cultural activities through economic determinism and started considering dimensions such as that of time and space as important in media consumption.

On the other hand, these early studies continued to restrict the audience as being a phenomenon and not a relation and a continuous cultural process (Nightingale, op. cit.). The insufficiency of cultural studies audience research, Nightingale argues (ibid.), is based on the phenomenological approach of audience, as a natural phenomenon rather than as a relation. 'The problem is that people are not audiences by nature but by culture... We learn to act and to think of ourselves as audiences in certain contexts and situations' (ibid: 147). Nightingale adds that the activities encompassed by audiences go

well beyond the bounds of the specific activities of using the media, and that media texts are continuously articulated and multiplied in new forms through activities such as schoolyard talk and everyday gossip. 'The performed text outstrips the broadcast text in both significance and vitality, even though the two remain linked' (ibid.: 148).

In arguing that audience should be understood as a relation, Nightingale raises four issues to be taken into consideration: (i) audience relations are relations of interaction linking the text, the media institutions, the medium and the system of publicity; (ii) the consumption and the use of the media are necessary, but not sufficient explanations of audience relations; other activities are also crucial; (iii) 'audience relations always involve the exercise of power – someone always has the power to offer "audience" and someone else must respond by accepting or rejecting the offer' (ibid.: 149); (iv) audience relations are operational, which means that they are linked to the power structures they function within. Nightingale in that way relates her understanding of audience as a relation to issues of power: power structures 'govern', as she argues, audience relations and meanings are constructed within this framework. Heterogenous, haphazard particularities of everyday life are transformed into personal narratives which conform to generic cultural ideals (ibid.). Nightingale's approach goes beyond both the simplistic approaches of the passive audience, as well as that of the active audience that freely and beyond constraints and power structures, chooses and constructs the meanings of its consumption.

However, to some extent, Nightingale constructs a functionalistic analysis. People's subjectivity and the social relations that are shaped as part of being *in* an audiences are underestimated. Audience is not only defined by relations of power, but also by interactive and intimate relations. Being a member of an audience is related to community, family, friendship; it is much more than a formulation of convenience; it is also a matter of belonging.

## **Ethnography**

Ethnographic methodologies, originating in anthropology, have traditionally been used for studying cultures as a whole, while in media studies, ethnography has been primarily used for the study of one aspect of culture, that of media consumption (Seiter,

op. cit.). Even though ethnographic media studies radically overcame the earlier media research orientation towards the study of media use in different kinds of laboratories, many of them still did not manage to create a framework for studying media consumption as a cultural activity, inseparable from all the cultural practices and discourses shaping and being shaped in the natural everyday setting. Media ethnography has sometimes become as narrow as to ignore the cultural and political context where media are consumed (Radway, op. cit.; Ang, 1996) and underestimated the sociological importance of talk and action. Nevertheless, media ethnography has also experimented with relatively new spaces and cultural discourses, like the discourses shaped through the daily interaction, conflict and negotiation of people within the domestic space (Silverstone, 1994, 1996; Ang, 1996; Livingstone, 1995). Furthermore, ethnography has engaged in long debates about the constructivist dimension of research and the interpretative nature of ethnography, especially when it takes place in the 'familiar' context of the researcher's own culture (Morley and Silverstone, op. cit.; Seiter, op. cit.; Butler, 1990).

While the framework of this study was designed as a critical, dialectic adoption of both media and anthropological ethnographic practice<sup>5</sup>, ethnographic methodology's ability to investigate particular research questions in the natural context of people's everyday life is acknowledged. Ethnographic empirical projects have successfully demonstrated how media research enables the study of media consumption's multiple meanings (Nightingale, op. cit.; Silverstone and Hirsch, 1992). But the majority of these projects still remains more or less framed within the domestic space, at least as a natural space where the actual empirical studies are conducted. The interweaving of the public and the private is studied in its domestic expressions. But actual research in the public as a natural space, has been rare (Hobson, 1989; Gillespie, op. cit.).

The dialectic relation between the domestic and the public is discursive, mediated and direct. The media have challenged the boundaries between the private and the public, so has media consumption. As media consumption is conceptualised to exceed

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<sup>5</sup> Part of this critical adoption of ethnography is the use of methods that do not traditionally fit into an ethnographic methodological conduct. These include, as will be described later in this chapter, the conduct of short interviews based on a questionnaire and the analysis of certain quantitative data. All these different methods though were adjusted to the ethnographic perspective of this study; i.e. they were used as part of a methodological triangulation for collecting multi-dimensional data for the everyday life

the actual media use, empirical research should be structured to the same direction. A parallel empirical study within and outside the home allows the collection of data from multiple locations – real, virtual and symbolic – and frames an understanding of media consumption as an inseparable component of everyday life.

Ethnography, in its methodological openness – especially in not having clear-cut hypotheses, in being interpretative in evaluating data and in using long descriptions and extensive quotations of the participants (Seiter, op. cit.) – is the most appropriate for studying the multiplicity and the interconnectedness of public and private spaces and of public and private discourses. However, ethnography, like all methodologies, carries its own ideologies (Nightingale, op. cit.). Nightingale (ibid.) proposes open and intuitive exploratory methods that would understand the audience as an experience; she suggests the collection of both visual and verbal materials. In the present study, visual materials have in many cases assisted the interpretation of talk. Doing ethnography is as much about studying the setting as it is about studying the ‘acting parts’.

## **Identities<sup>6</sup>**

Within media studies, identity has been increasingly recognised as a central element for meaningfully understanding people’s media consumption and interpretative strategies. Contested or more essentialist definitions of identity have been incorporated in media studies since the late 1970’s. Gender and class identities in particular – and only recently ethnicity – attracted media researchers’ attention. One of the first such studies – even though not actually an ethnography – was the, now classic, *The ‘Nationwide’ Audience* of David Morley (1980). Surely, the critique to *The ‘Nationwide’ Audience* for overemphasising the role of class in people’s interpretation of television messages has been expressed from many different perspectives, revealing the theoretical and empirical diversity of media ethnographic works since.

Similar criticism has been expressed on other works, such as Radway’s *Reading the Romance* (op. cit.), even by herself<sup>7</sup>, for being almost exclusively preoccupied with gender in her interpretation of Smithton women’s readings of romance books. Ang

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context where ethnicity and media consumption is experienced.

<sup>6</sup> Identity and identity construction are extensively discussed in Chapter I.

<sup>7</sup> See the introduction of *Reading the Romance*, British edition (1987).

emphasised the role of multiplicity and fluidity of identities in interpreting media messages in *Watching Dallas* (1985), where she investigates the success of the specific American soap opera all over the world. She rightly argues that there are no unique patterns for understanding the success of *Dallas*, since various identities lead to diverse interpretations among different audiences, in different contexts. One of the most interesting studies of identity and media consumption is Gillespie's *Television, Ethnicity and Cultural Change* (op. cit.). Gillespie studies the construction of teenage Asian ethnic identities in Southall, one of the most multicultural areas of London, in relation to television consumption practices.

#### Gillespie: Ethnicity and the Media

Gillespie's research is a productive insight into media's role in the formation of ethnic identities and it has been an inspiring theoretical and methodological starting point for the present project. Her study is an attempt to bring together the discussion of ethnic/diasporic cultures and cultures of media consumption. Gillespie studies the construction of media discourses by the young Punjabi within the home and outside, in the multiplicity of their media consumption, as the outcome of co-existing and competing cultures of ethnicity, locality and age. As she argues, the multi-layered articulation of global and local meanings in the construction of diasporic Punjabi identities forms the context for understanding ethnic media consumption.

A long-term ethnographic research allowed Gillespie to study identities and the media in their natural domain of multicultural Southall, where the domination of Asian groups alters the context and the content of ethnic experience in comparison to other spaces, where ethnicity is studied more as a minority culture. Even though this is a primarily ethnographic study, Gillespie turned to survey in order to collect information about young Punjabis' self-identity perceptions and about the 'patterns of media consumption within the broader context of their local life, leisure activities, schooling and education' (ibid.:51). Gillespie brings together data collected with the use of qualitative and quantitative methods through a process of triangulation – a methodological choice that is followed at the present project, as it will be discussed later.



In terms of reflexivity<sup>8</sup>, Gillespie raises some crucial issues, again relevant to the present research. She explains that her previous familiarity with the domain of her research and her own ethnic experience have been as much a helping hand as they have been an obstruction. ‘The problem for the present research was rather to make the familiar “strange” again’, she argues (ibid.: 67). Furthermore, her research – and every empirical study – takes place in the specific context of cultural discourses, where roles and relations of power are already constructed. The researcher is positioned within this context and participants understand her role through particular interpretative strategies. From a reflexive perspective, Gillespie talks about her gender identity and the way it influenced her relations with the participants, especially with the male participants. Similarly, her teacher status in Southall put her in a position of power against her teenage informants. Identities, relations of power and research discourse all have their part in interpretation and analysis.

Gillespie’s study has undoubtedly been an original contribution to the field. However, in comparison to the present study, Gillespie’s has as many similarities as differences. Gillespie’s primary focus is television and primarily television as it is consumed within the home, even though she pays special attention to public talk. Because of this focus, the complexity and the implications involved in the availability and consumption of different media in everyday life – these being local and global, ‘new’ and ‘old’ – was not the focus of that study. At the same time, the ethnic public space, as studied by Gillespie, refers mostly to relations of kinship and neighbourhood, relations that actually seem to take place in a space between the domestic and the local – public domain. These structures might reflect Southall’s realities but not Greek Cypriots’ position in relation to the public and the private.

Another significant difference between the present project and Gillespie’s is the focus on a white – European<sup>9</sup> ethnic group in this case, and on a non-white group in the other. Even though this issue is extensively discussed elsewhere, it is worth noting here how relevant cultural identifications and self-identifications of the participants have an effect on the discourse and the limitations of fieldwork. What is perceived as cultural

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<sup>8</sup> See following section.

<sup>9</sup> These concepts are more extensively discussed in Chapters I and IV.

similarities and differences between the researcher and the participants has a crucial role for the construction of the research discourse.

## **Reflexivity**

When doing empirical work in the natural setting, where subjects' everyday life evolves, researchers interpret, through their own eyes and subjectivity, action and talk. Research does not reflect as a mirror what takes place in the natural setting; it rather is a subjective process of interpreting and understanding it. As Ang (1989) argues, research produces historically and culturally specific knowledge through specific discursive encounters between researcher and participants.

Acknowledging the researcher's own presence in the field does not overcome the implications relating to researchers' subjectivity. To some extent, that process identifies and evaluates limitations, while recognising that these limitations are inescapable components of ethnography – these including practical limitations. Acknowledging the limitations in research does not erase a researcher's ability to interpret productively and usefully discourse and cultural practice. As Geertz argues: 'it is not necessary to know everything in order to understand something' (1973: 20).

By critically discussing the researcher's intellectual history and aims, the relations and non-relations with the subjects, a framework of reflexivity is constructed. This framework – a construct like the ethnographic discourse – can become useful for the readers' own interpretation and for the researchers' own evaluation of the study's analysis and conclusions. Reflexivity is a back and forth continuous process allowing researchers to evaluate how their own discourse and preconceptions interact with the subjects' discourses and the other way around; it is a process that highlights the implications of the relations of power that are involved in the communication between the researcher and the participants. Harding argues that reflexivity is even more important than the methods employed in a research project: 'the researcher appears to us not as an invisible, anonymous voice of authority, but as a real, historical individual with concrete, specific desires and interests' (quoted in Seiter, op. cit.:38).

In her study of children's television consumption and parental concerns, Seiter (*ibid.*) makes her presence continuously visible in her ethnographic text, though her

complete involvement in the study as a member of parents' associations sets questions about the boundaries between her role as a researcher and as a participant. The issue of the boundaries between the two roles has been primarily raised within postmodern ethnography (e.g. Butler, 1990). Butler (ibid.) argues that the difficulty in making this distinction is unavoidable. It is crucially important to recognise that neither the researcher nor the respondents have clear-cut roles and positions and that they construct a discourse through their continuous and two-way interaction. As Hastrup (1992: 117) adds:

[The field] is not the unmediated world of the 'others', but the world between ourselves and the others. Our results are deeply marked by this betweenness and there is no way, epistemologically, to overcome these implications. The ethnographer in the field is the locus of a drama which is the source of her anthropological reflection.

But from this postmodernist point of view, which suggests that audiences are schematic categories constructed in the process of analysis, any value of ethnography is erased. To such arguments, Geertz (1988: 86) replies by calling them 'moral hypochondria'. Within this postmodern and poststructuralist discussion of cultural analysis are those arguments that in recognising diversity in identities, fluidity of cultural patterns and the researcher's own active presence in the field, question researchers' ability to reach any valuable conclusion about people's identities and cultures (Hastrup, op. cit.; Butler, op. cit.). To some extent this approach has gone as far as to question the value of any finding. Hastrup (op. cit.: 122-3) argues that questions will 'of necessity shape the answers'. This approach, which implies that respondents' statements and actions are constructions of the research framework, undermines the importance of the cultural framework, where people have been living before and during the research. Furthermore, it undermines the fact that, in every kind of communication – not only in a research context – questions and answers are shaped through interaction. This argument brings positivism back in the most obscure way. It assumes that, for the participants, there are single, universally shared and uncontested understandings and meanings of the real world, which cultural, ethnographic research can't actually grasp. By approaching research as pure construction of meanings, the value of any findings is erased. This extreme approach actually nullifies the value of a legitimate concern of reflexivity regarding the researcher's participation in the construction of meanings. But

meanings are neither exclusively constructed by the researcher, nor are they exclusively constructed during the realisation of research.

In defence of the value of empirical media research, Morley (1995) notes that recognising the constructivist nature of any research process is not a synonym to claiming that audiences only exist discursively. 'While we can only know audiences through discourses, audiences do in fact exist outside the terms of these discourses' (ibid.: 178). In any case, any form of communication is an active process of interpretation: 'in the first instance we have to learn to see the particular combination of dots on a screen as representing objects in the world – people, houses, fields, trees', (ibid.: 76).

And Hammersley and Atkinson make a more productive suggestion against the ones that practically annihilate the value of research, when discussing reflexivity (1995: 18):

We can minimize reactivity and/or monitor it. But we can also exploit it: how people respond to the presence of the researcher may be as informative as how they react to other situations. Indeed, rather than engaging in futile attempts to eliminate the effects of the researcher completely, we should set about understanding them.

#### A Researcher's Hybridity: Issues of Reflexivity in Practice

*The burden of authorship is all the heavier... as soon as we do not conceptualize it as an individual predicament, but as a deeply social one (Ang, 1991:76-77).*

Entering the field as a researcher, a Greek Cypriot of the diaspora, a young woman of middle class background, meant carrying the heavyweight of my own identity that would be there to be communicated – or maybe sometimes *miscommunicated* – during fieldwork. As a Greek Cypriot myself, I had an initial knowledge and many preconceptions about the cultures and the media on study. At the same time, as a Greek Cypriot of the diaspora – but not of the British Greek Cypriot diaspora – I had many preconceptions about present Cyprus, preconceptions relating to an imagined *homeland*, selected memories and limited experience from Cyprus' contemporary culture. In many ways, I shared as many similarities as well as differences with the group on study. When I started this research, I assumed that my identity would help me understand more of the milieu. But, the immediate, direct and long-term communication established with the group through fieldwork revealed how neither sharing nor not sharing common cultural codes with a group guarantees easy

access and untroubled interpretation of its cultures. On one hand, neither I nor the participants have singular identities that would make communication predictable and without conflicts or contradictions. On the other, partly sharing a common cultural background did not mean that common understandings and interpretations were shared by the researcher and the participants, or by the British Greek Cypriot participants as a whole.

The complexity of my own identity, including my Greek Cypriotness, my academic role in the field, my age and my gender, meant that I was given multiple roles by the participants: as the Other, as a member of the group or as both in contradictory ways. Often, my hybridity was seen as different to anything the participants were used to. My own Greek Cypriotness often became an issue as it is not British like theirs: for most – and especially for the generations born and raised in Britain – Greek Cypriotness is filtered, experienced and actively appropriated within the British culture.

As I was from Cyprus, living permanently in Greece and studying something that sounded strange to many people's ears, I was sometimes approached as an Other, an Other from within though. My own ethnicity raised issues of in-betweenness for another reason too – my Greek Cypriotness was not British, but it was not considered to be from Cyprus either. As our communication assumed a relation between members of different segments of the Greek Cypriot diaspora, I directly experienced this relation of tense closeness within the diasporic context. My previous life in Greece led to different assumptions. For example, people would assume that I probably knew friends and family they had in Greece. At the same time, my previous life in Greece – the often-considered national motherland – led many of the community schools' officials to assumptions about my abilities to teach the Greek language. Furthermore, my in-betweenness – being within the ethnic imagined boundaries though not *from within* the specific British ethnic community – meant that people assumed I could understand their codes of communication and their cultural habits, even if not always completely. For most participants, I was either on the margin or outside the local community; at the same time, I was a member of the Greek Cypriot community in its imagining as much as they were.

Methodologically all these implications created a framework of considerations:

- Roles were not stable or non-negotiable for neither myself nor the participants: fluidity of identities and variations of communication discourses had to be taken into account in the way the fieldwork discourse was formed
- My active presence as a researcher could not but influence the set and the discourse of interaction
- A set and a discourse though, that have never been stable, even before I, as a researcher, entered the field. At the same time, my participation in the field did not change radically people's strategies of communication, ethnic discourses and media use patterns
- The length and depth of participant observation, interviews, interaction with participants and my role as a researcher in different settings varied considerably (Seiter, op. cit.) and it related to the inevitable variety in the extent and depth of communication with different individuals and subgroups
- My own gender, age and social status made it easier to approach or understand discourses of specific subgroups against others. These limitations, as well as the persistence required to understand more alien cultural expressions, have to be recognised
- Not only identities such as ethnic, gender, age and class, define fieldwork communication and interpretation. In a research studying everyday cultural expressions, individual characteristics, time and space limitations and habits might create biases in sampling and interpretations
- My own cultural identity and academic background were decisive in the way the locale, the group and the individuals were approached and their everyday culture was interpreted. The theoretical and subjective biases, while being in the field and in interpreting data, are unavoidable. 'Every answer is always a partial answer, just part of the truth', as Alasuutari argues (1996: 175), adding that there is no pure and real picture of a phenomenon a researcher claims to achieve to reconstruct.

### **Methodology: Ethnography in Practice**

This project could never claim to reflect in full the complexity and the diversity of British Greek Cypriots identities, without recognising the scale, temporal and spatial

limitations. What this project aims at is to interpret the role of ethnic media in everyday life and their value for different subgroups' experience and identities. As this is the specific focus of the study, certain parameters that relate to British Greek Cypriot socio-economic experience and history are not examined in depth. However, as the historical and social past and present of British Greek Cypriots is the necessary background, its role for understanding cultures and identities is acknowledged. The socio-economic structure and the multicultural character of the locale are equally important, while the cultural and economical position of the Greek Cypriots in their North London locality, within Britain and in a global context, have their part in their identity construction<sup>10</sup>. Theoretically, all these cannot but be treated as a framework; empirically, the study of everyday life cannot but reveal the complexity of the interweaving of macro and micro processes. Continuities, rituals, routines characterising domestic and family life, technologies and consumer culture that largely define the domestic and the public use of leisure time and of media in particular, were considered in approaching empirically this project.

### Getting to Know the Field

In designing this research I aimed at being reflexive and informed by the debates and empirical research in media studies, while at the same time addressing and being sensitive to the particularities of the specific group. Such particularities, as it will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, primarily relate to the thriving public life of the British Greek Cypriots who actively establish their presence in the local space and beyond, their strong ethnic family, kinship and professional networks, their ethnic experience as a white group, which positions itself between the dominant Western-European-English and the other migrants, and the remarkably extensive variety of ethnic media this group produces and consumes. These particularities were crucial for my decision to conduct this research. For designing the methodology of the project though, I had to expand my knowledge about that group, their everyday life and their media. That extensive familiarity would assist me to draw the methodological framework of the project and set its operational focuses and limitations.

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10 For a more extensive discussion of the historical and socio-economic context of British Greek Cypriot experience, see Chapter IV.

My initial knowledge of the group and Greek Cypriot cultures did not escape preconceptions and misunderstandings. Nevertheless, as I entered the locale sixteen months before actually starting my fieldwork, I was exposed and challenged within the particular setting from an early stage. This pre-empirical research experience – especially from my position as a community schoolteacher – allowed me to design my methodology while being sensitive to the particularities of the specific domain and culture. My chance to develop personal relations with members of the group beyond a strictly defined research context offered me access to their everyday life and allowed me an early familiarisation with the domain. From my position as a Greek school teacher, for example, I had a first-hand experience of the different ways parents and children relate to the ethnic language and ethnic institutions such as schools.

Before starting my ethnographic study I also established an active presence within different ethnic networks, while I conducted a series of interviews and participated in discussions with key informants and community leaders. These interviews, discussions and participation in events might not have been part of the strict structure of my fieldwork, but they were invaluable for achieving familiarisation with the field and with ethnic media production.

In late 1997 and early 1998, I conducted a series of interviews with the heads of the *key* community media: Myroulla Fella, director of Hellenic TV, Takis Harmandas, managing director of LGR and Kyriakos Tsioupras, then managing editor of the newspaper *Parikiaki*. At the same time, and because of my own status as a journalist, I had the chance to gain *inside information* from most of the ethnic media. Because of relations of acquaintance with journalists and producers in the community media, I gained access and managed to observe from within the studios and the newsrooms and the ways ethnic media function. Next to that, informal and off the record discussions with key figures of the satellite programmes of ERT and CBC, broadcasting from Greece and Cyprus respectively, offered me information about the political, organisational and operational backstage of the ethnic satellite television.

Apart from gaining access and familiarising myself with the inside world of the ethnic media and the schools, I also participated in many political and social gatherings. In these gatherings I had the chance to meet community leaders and key figures of the community. During and after fieldwork, I occasionally discussed my research and



events in the community with representatives of the old and the new generation of Greek Cypriot politicians, community leaders and other public figures. Such contacts included Chrystodoulos Stylianou, head of the British branch of the Cypriot Communist party AKEL, Peter Droussiotis, Haringey Councillor and member of the British Labour Party, Nicos Trimikliniotis, head of the Forum for Friendship and Co-operation Between Greek and Turkish Cypriots<sup>11</sup>, Susie Costantinides, high rank official of Haringey's Social Services and active member in many ethnic organisations, Kyriakos Tsioupras, journalist, former editor of Parikiaki and key figure in the community politics, Constantine Buhayer, columnist and head of the new generation British Hellenic Forum. My contacts with these people and many others surpassed the context and the limitations of an interview and have operated as a continuous test of validity of my findings and interpretations. As I often got involved in discussions with these key figures of the community, I was constantly reminded of the emic understandings and interpretations of events, talks and action. As I was also directly involved in ethnic activities – such as a women's group that organised a conference for the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot women of the diaspora – I occasionally switched between being an observer to becoming a participant. Though my direct involvement in community events deliberately remained limited – as I wanted to avoid *going native* – my extensive involvement and interaction with many people from the group gave me a chance to gain access to the *insiders' world* in ways that I would not be able to access otherwise.

I achieved a further familiarity and knowledge of the field as I became a resident of North London. My decision to live in the particular locale became another way of learning in an unforceful way more about the North London Greek Cypriots. As I was experiencing everyday life in the same locale as the group on study, I gained access to their everyday life and to the *small things* that actually shape it.

My involvement with the participants and my life in the locale, which lasted for four years altogether, allowed me to learn about and recognise the particularities of the British Greek Cypriot case study. Nevertheless, in all situations, I was aware and reminded of the differences between myself and the participants – I did not belong to

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11 This is a new generation organization of Greek and Turkish Cypriot youth, organising common events and political activities. It aims at bringing together young people from both sides in Cyprus and of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot diaspora.

the particular local group and this was obvious in many ways. At the same time, my research interests and critical approach to the participants' everyday life raised the boundaries between the two sides – boundaries that proved to be necessary for the realisation of the research project.

### Operational Framework

My contacts with many British Greek Cypriots, my growing familiarisation with their culture through direct experience and extensive reading of demographic and other data<sup>12</sup> about the group, informed my decision to conduct this research in the London Borough of Haringey – the borough many Greek Cypriots call 'the heart of the community'. Haringey is one of London's boroughs with the highest concentration of Cypriots. Haringey is geographically situated in North London, between Islington – borough of first settlement – and Enfield – borough of third settlement – and its Cypriot population is characterised by social and generational diversity. Furthermore, there is a vivid community life in Haringey, which includes all kinds of institutions – Greek schools, churches, community centers, shops, coffee-houses, etc. In addition to that, Haringey is the host borough of most Greek Cypriot media headquarters. Another interesting characteristic of this area is that it is one of the most multicultural boroughs of London, including a large Turkish Cypriot and a Greek (mainland) community<sup>13</sup>.

Informed by the media studies' debates and all these particular characteristics of the British Greek Cypriot experience, I decided to focus on both the domestic and the public, as well as on the interrelation of the two (Gillespie, op. cit.; Seiter, op. cit.). Ethnic (and non-ethnic) media are used, talked about and appropriated at home, in the car, at work, in community centers. So, both in practice and symbolically, ethnic media get their meanings in the domestic and the public. The present approach is an approach recognising (a) media's role as a cultural reference – that includes media use in various places, but also media involvement in the construction of everyday communication and

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12 Data relating to the demography of the group, its geographical positioning, education and economic status comes from publications such as Storkey (1994a, 1994b), Leeuwenburg (1979), King and Bridal (1982). As this data and literature are further discussed in the next chapter, it is emphasized that the statistical data and the bibliography about the British Greek Cypriots remains quite limited.

13 The research setting and the ethnic and interethnic everyday life in Haringey are more extensively discussed in the next chapter.

cultural discourses and (b) the continuous interweaving of the experience in the ethnic private and public spaces in the case of the British Greek Cypriot everyday life.

The particularities of the British Greek Cypriot experience are more extensively discussed in the next chapter, but it is worth mentioning here how some of them had an impact to this research's design:

- (i.) extensive local concentration meant that the empirical work had to be sensitive to people's mobility within the locale
- (ii.) because of the apparent domination of ethnic endogamy, the majority of the families studied were chosen to belong to this category
- (iii.) the domination of ethnic networks in social relations was crucial for choosing the places and the leisure activities I studied
- (iv.) limited participation or absence of particular groups from the clearly defined ethnic public spaces directed me to a methodological flexibility which would allow me to study places where everyday life evolves, but which are not clearly defined as *ethnic* (e.g. local shopping centre, library, pubs).

In designing my methodology, I also considered at least some of the strengths and weaknesses of the different methods that would allow me to investigate the complexities set by the research questions. Participant observation allows access to the everyday, natural experience, but it lacks any framed evaluation of activities by the people who are observed. Interviewing allows this evaluation and discussion within a time and thematic frame, but it resembles even less a natural or long-term communicative process. An extensive interview is a more in-depth discussion, but because of the required time it cannot be used extensively. A shorter interview based on a questionnaire makes possible the formation of a larger sample, however it has a lot of thematic and time limitations. What I chose to do was to employ all of these different methods, hoping to gain from the positive aspects of each one of them, while, by combining and cross-examining them, to overcome each one's weaknesses.

### Choosing the Sample: Diversity and Limitations

The realisation of the research aimed at covering the domestic and the public space, the gendered, cross-generational and single generational spaces and activities, the family and non-family context of media consumption.

In the domestic, the domination of the nuclear family<sup>14</sup> among Greek Cypriots was decisive for choosing the sample: the nuclear family, with parents and children living under the same roof, was the primary unit. My choice to study alternative forms of households directed me to including some single person households and households of adults living in relationships other than that of a family. This choice helped me achieve a comparative understanding about the negotiation of ethnicity within and outside the family context.

Fieldwork focusing in the domestic space included ethnographic study in four Greek Cypriot households. Each case study lasted for about six months. Next to that, and during the same period, I conducted 36 semi-structured interviews in equal number of households (total of 40 households). There, I studied media use and talk of about 200 Greek Cypriot women, men and children of different ages and social status.

The specific dynamics of the group in question – geographical concentration, sense of community, participation in community institutions and in common spaces for leisure – informed my choice of public spaces. I conducted long-term ethnographic work in two ethnic public centres: the Cypriot Community Centre and the Haringey Greek Cypriot Women's Centre. The study of the public also included shorter periods of participant observation in other spaces where Greek Cypriot everyday life evolves: the neighbourhood, the shopping centre, the Greek school, the local pub. More than 150 people participated in this part of the research to a greater or lesser extent. Some of them were interviewed or got involved in less structured discussions, others have shared their life-stories with me, but all of them were observed in their participation in the public, in their public performance of ethnicity. Some of the people studied in the domestic also participated in public activities revealing, and allowing me to study, the interconnectedness between the two.

The British Greek Cypriot diversity, in terms of generation, age, gender and class, was taken into account when forming the sample. Women and men participated in the study, even if their participation was often unequal. Inequality and difference in our

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<sup>14</sup> The nuclear family is the dominant unit among the Greek Cypriots, though elements of the intermediate and extended family influence its structures. In many cases, adult children live under the same roof as their parents, while the intense relations within the extended family (even when people do not live under the same roof) often challenge the boundedness and privacy of the nuclear family. In the chapters that follow, this complexity is further discussed.

communication related to ethnic discourses and values that shape female and male participation in the private and the public, in talk and non-talk and in patterns of media consumption, as well as to my own gender. Women were almost always more accessible and comfortable in my presence than men, a feeling that I often shared with them. Only long-term and consistent efforts to collect more information about male-dominated public and private spaces brought a relevant balance. Nevertheless, communication with men and women was never at the same level, especially in terms of discussing more personal dimensions of their lives and organising of family life<sup>15</sup>.

This inequality in terms of presence in the public and private, as well as in this research does not only relate to men and women, but also to young and old people, people of the migrant generation and people born in Britain. Age and generation are interconnected, since the migrant generation consists mostly of people who are above the age of 50, people who have dominated the public ethnic space for a long period. At the same time, the majority of third and fourth generations of Greek Cypriots are very young: most of them are children.

This inequality in terms of power within the ethnic community led to an inescapable imbalance in this project, with first and second generation Greek Cypriots over-represented in the sample, compared to the younger generations. At the same time, this imbalance which was apparent during fieldwork – children and teenagers are less able to make their presence visible – was targeted when I tried to include more of those *weaker* groups' experiences and voices in descriptive sections and anecdotal events that unravel in the chapters that follow. Apart from these limitations and as debated elsewhere, this project highlights the directions that the experience of ethnicity and ethnic media consumption are heading for those generations that do not have any direct experience of living in Cyprus or being emotionally attached to the place their parents came from.

The parameter of class seems to be one of the most intriguing<sup>16</sup> in this research, both when dealing with it theoretically, as well as empirically. The majority of the migrant generation belongs to the working class since they came to Britain as economic

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15 In almost every case, women were the ones responsible for organising family life, especially within the house.

16 See Chapter I for a theoretical discussion of the relation between class and ethnicity and Chapter IV

migrants. The following generations very often achieve educational and social success. However, their growing up in a working class household, neighbourhood and ethnic network, often makes it difficult to reach clear-cut, yet sensitive to particularity, conclusions about the relation between class and British Greek Cypriot ethnicity. While there is an obvious upwards social mobility for the younger generations, their cultural capital remains extensively tied to the ethnic working class culture of their parents. The ambiguity and ambivalence of Greek Cypriot class identity is directly related to the strong community connections and persistence of the ethnic culture.

Empirically, this blurring of the borders between working class culture and ethnicity might give a misleading idea of the sample<sup>17</sup>. The sample seems to consist predominantly of working class people; however the 'working class households' often include middle-class, financially independent young Greek Cypriots. In the case of the public, the dominant ethnic cultures often seem to be synonymous to working class culture. But both groups of working and middle class Greek Cypriots are constructing and enjoying these spaces – not equally or in homogenous ways, as is explained elsewhere<sup>18</sup> - but through interactive co-existence. The framework of the fieldwork was designed – and sometimes readjusted – while keeping these complexities and limitations of the research domain in mind.

### Conducting the Research

I officially started my fieldwork in March 1998 and completed it in February 2000. Before that, I conducted a two-month pilot study (December 1997 – January 1998) with a series of interviews at home and visits at the Cypriot Community Centre. The pilot study led to the formation of the final version of the questionnaire and challenged me to think of more consistent ways for studying the public space.

By March 1998, I was already quite familiar with the research domain and prepared for the empirical study. Research in the public started with visits to the Cypriot

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for more detailed discussion of the issue in relation to the British Greek Cypriot group.

17 As one can see in the statistical demographic information presented in Appendix III, abstractions and conclusions about the class status of the families participating in the study are not included. This happens because any abstractions based on the available information of family income would be misleading, especially as, in many households, it is impossible to make a generalization as professions and income vary extensively, e.g. father: factory worker, daughter: bank employee.

18 See Chapters IV, VII and VIII

Community, while at the same time, I was conducting interviews in homes and, none the less, I was systematising my unstructured participant observation in the locale. Throughout the two years of my fieldwork, I was studying the public and the domestic space in parallel. This led to a more global understanding of the British Greek Cypriot everyday life, as this unfolds in different spaces where people move naturally and in various times over a long period, when people experience the domestic and the public differently. My parallel study in different spaces was also a strategy for keeping an ongoing interest in a very demanding and time consuming study which required a lot of energy and persistence.

While I was conducting research in different spaces, I had to be very consistent in my recording of the data, so that the particularity of each space and each case study and the autonomy of different stages of research would be reflected in the broader research context. While interviewing people, I was keeping notes of their comments, avoiding the use of a tape recorder, which proved from the early days to be intimidating for many. In participant observation and unstructured discussions I would avoid recording data on paper or tape altogether while the participants were present. This method contains the danger of losing valuable data, which might be forgotten after the encounter with the participants. Yet, the major advantage of it is the more natural and uninterrupted interaction between the researcher and the participant; in this context the researcher can also pay attention to non-verbal communication and to visual events which often prove to be crucially important and interesting. In these cases, I developed a quite efficient system of recording discussions, information about the research setting and comments about the atmosphere in a place and about people's feelings, immediately after my visits. I would sit in my car, at home, or in any other quiet place – whichever was immediately available – and record my findings, thoughts and early interpretations in as much detail as possible. I also used this kind of recording of details after conducting interviews, as I wanted to make sure that I positioned each one of them within the context where they took place. Also, this was a chance to include in my recording comments and discussions that surpassed the more structured procedure of the interview. Next to that systematic recording, for the two years of fieldwork, I kept a personal fieldwork diary where I recorded thoughts, ideas and early conclusions,

emerging during the conduct of the research. The consistency of my recordings proved to be invaluable when I returned to them at the stage of analysis.

### Triangulation

In order to achieve validity and reliability in ethnographic research, various techniques of triangulation were employed. Triangulation applies at different levels and stages of the study, including 'the comparison of data relating to the same phenomenon but deriving from different phases of the fieldwork, different points in the temporal cycles occurring in the setting, or as in respondent validation, the accounts of different participants in the setting' (Hammersley and Atkinson quoted in Morley and Silverstone, 1995: 156).

Triangulation aims at creating a net of diverse methods, techniques, practices and spaces in order for each one to enrich the other, through comparison and cross-examination. The problem with triangulation is that no matter how much it is praised as a test of validity in qualitative research, most empirical studies do not explain how they practically apply it. This specific research aimed at achieving multi-layered triangulation throughout its course:

- *Triangulation of the 'living' Greek Cypriot space:* domestic and public ethnic and non-ethnic spaces were studied in order to cross-examine identity construction, as well as the way public and domestic and ethnic and non-ethnic spaces co-exist, interact and compete in Greek Cypriot everyday life and media consumption in particular. My decision to live within the locale allowed me to study everyday expressions of ethnic and local culture and their interweaving within the domestic, the ethnic locale and the non-ethnic locale.
- *Methodological triangulation:* a combined methodology was used, including participant observation, individual and focus group interviewing, as well as the use of questionnaires. Each part of the methodology assisted and complemented the other.
- *Triangulation of methods and techniques within each space:* methods were not only combined and compared in order to achieve validity of findings in the public vis-a-vis the domestic. Methodological triangulation was achieved within each space where the research took place. A combination of methods was used in the domestic (i.e. participant observation, interviews, media use diaries and media maps) and the public



(i.e. participant observation, focus group interviews, life-histories narration) in order to achieve autonomous validity of each part of the study.

➤ *Triangulation at the stage of analysis*: data collected with the use of different methods and techniques, from various spaces and through long studying periods was combined and contrasted while trying to reach conclusions and achieve validity. Both qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis were employed for collecting different kinds of data and in order to achieve broader and deeper understanding of the available data.

Silverman (1993) argues that the major problem with triangulation as a test of validity is that, by counterposing different contexts, it ignores the context-bound and skilful character of social interaction. Nevertheless, triangulation is not equal to *de-contextualising* findings. In this case, in all different stages of research, the context remains the same: the space of Greek Cypriot everyday life and people's participation in it.

## **Realisation and Techniques**

### **I. The Domestic**

Four families, which shared some similarities and many differences participated in the ethnographic research at home. The choice of the four families was not random, but reflected my attempt to include families with parents and children living under the same roof, families which consumed at least two media in the focus of this study<sup>19</sup>, but also families whose diverse experience would expand and deepen my understanding of Greek Cypriot ethnicity. One of the families is extremely media-wise, having access to an excessive range of ethnic and non-ethnic, new and old media, within and outside the house. The other family has access and uses extensively ethnic media; at the same time, all its members are involved in many ways in the public ethnic life. The third family is an interethnic family of a British-born Greek Cypriot woman and a Turkish Cypriot man who have access to two competing and co-existing ethnic and media cultures and whose experience of ethnic boundaries is of particular interest. The fourth family is a

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19 These include LGR, CBC-SAT, ERT-SAT, Hellenic TV and the Internet.

family which depends on an extensive family network, where both ethnicity and ethnic media consumption take their meanings.

The ways I gained access to the private space of these families varied in each case, as it will be described in Chapter VI. Those differences, as well as the diversity characterising my communication with individual members of each family would inevitably expand and restrain the dimensions of my study in different cases. In an attempt to surpass limitations as much as possible, I used different methods for conducting my research.

Participant observation, with my spending time with the family as a whole and with individual members of the family in different activities, including television viewing and radio listening, was the fundamental method of research. Participant observation is the method most compatible with the natural rhythms of everyday life. My participation and involvement in various activities took place primarily at home. My initial attempt to accompany family members in their activities beyond the domestic often attracted people's resistance. The idea of being 'followed' by 'their own researcher' made many people very uncomfortable. The dynamics of people's presence in the public explain this hesitance: as most people consider what other people say about them, they usually try to avoid the negative comments that, for example, bringing an uninvited guest to a wedding could cause. These obstacles set certain limitations to my study, but not as many as first thought. In many cases, I would meet participants in other participants' home, where they would go for a friendly visit. Or, I would meet them at school or in the pub, or even in the Cypriot Community Centre, where they would go for a dancing class or a game of cards. My choice to conduct research in both the public and the domestic space and in the locale did indeed lead to the desirable triangulation. As I was mobile between these spaces I could follow people's participation in them and study their own mobility.

Ethnographic research in each family household lasted for a period of about six months and it primarily depended on a series of informal visits. These visits would last between one to four hours and they would be an attempt to participate in people's activities as they were set in the *ordinariness* of everyday life. Without underestimating the fact that my presence in these households was not ordinary, I attempted to fit it as much as possible into the context of the particular British Cypriot *ordinariness*. In this

particular context, a close friend of the family often becomes part of the domestic everyday life, paying regular visits and sharing everyday activities with family members. I tried to make my presence fit into that context, so that it would be less intrusive. As a researcher though, I would be the flexible party to adjust my own discourse and interests to the participants' and not the other way around. For example, I would try to reflexively participate in political discussions with the male adults while talking about music and clubbing with the younger ones and trying to give a hand to their mother when setting the table.

My own age in most cases positioning me between two different generations of parents and children, privileged me in terms of familiarity with both generations' interests, talk and habits. Furthermore, my flexibility in being willing to communicate with all parties usually initiated a sense of trust. This sense of trust developed further, especially as I was ready to offer help and information about issues I knew something about – e.g. children's education – while expressing interest in learning about things I knew less about – e.g. the history of the London Cypriot community. As the conduct of research is a dialectic process it comes with a commitment to a 'give-and-take' relationship. I would express my appreciation to participants' commitment with respect to their values and their sense of privacy, while offering my help when I could and my presents when events such as birthdays and births were taking place in the family. Ethnographic research requires more than any other methodology the involvement of the researcher. This involvement however rewards the researcher with access to dimensions of everyday life which otherwise would be inaccessible.

Apart from the participant observation, and in order to extend my knowledge of the domestic everyday culture, other methods were also used. The study in each household would commence with an initial group interview, based on a questionnaire (Appendix II). That had three aims: first, to give each family an idea of what I was doing; second, to examine how opinions expressed during a short interview reflected real habits and preferences<sup>20</sup>, which would be further observed in the coming six months; and third, to give the opportunity to both sides – myself and the family – to establish an initial communication within the research framework.

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20 In a process of triangulation this would assist the evaluation of the data collected during the short interviews with 36 more families.

While regularly visiting these families for a period of about six months, I periodically asked each member to fill in time-use diaries <sup>21</sup> (Morley and Silverstone, 1996). Time use diaries were filled in for a short time – three days of a week – in different periods of the fieldwork. There are two reasons for choosing this technique: firstly, diaries that are very demanding in time are usually not filled in; secondly, short period time use diaries which are filled in once every two months might reveal consistencies and changes in time use. Time-use diaries were indeed filled in by the participants, probably because the activity did not demand excessive effort. Interestingly, in almost all cases, men's personal time-use diaries were filled in by their wives or daughters.

Furthermore, after asking each family for the permission to do so, I drew a house map indicating the position of media in each room (Tufte, 2000). This was useful for understanding (i) how technology-wise the household was, (ii) how much media use was private and how much public, (iii) how much media consumption was an individual and how much was a group activity, and (iv) how media saturate different times and co-exist with different activities in various domestic spaces.

The ethnographic study of each household would be completed with an extensive group interview of the whole family, focussing on cultural habits and media evaluations. Methodologically, the final interview was a form of cross-examining the data and analysis of the initial interview, of the participant observation, and, in a way, of itself when compared with the data already collected. As some researchers argue (Lyman and Scott, 1970), in interviews people might give justifications or excuses for their actions. Even if interviews are seen as such, people's arguments are never a 'destruction of the real picture'; they rather reveal processes of self-identification and negotiations of their social identities (May, 1997). Furthermore, this concluding interview gave me the chance to assess and discuss my own role in the construction of meanings and in changing the usual patterns of media use at home. In almost all cases, people denied that my presence changed their regular media use and talk, however, by this stage it was obvious that our communication has been at a different stage compared to the beginning of the study. If we agree with Nightingale's definition of audience as

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21 Appendix IV.

being a relation (op. cit.), then it is obvious that the relation between the researcher and the participants party shaped media discourses.

As the number of households where long-term ethnographic research could take place was restricted by time and resources limitations, I decided to conduct 36 more interviews. In order to form the sample of the households, I chose the non-probability method of *snowballing*, the method of asking the initial group of informants to put the researcher in touch with their friends or family, then asking them about their friends and interviewing them until a sample is formed (Burgess, 1990). It is argued that this method includes the danger of the researcher inheriting the decisions of each individual as to whom is the next available interviewee (May, op. cit.). In practice though, the extensive use of *snowballing* leads to the construction of a rich and diverse sample.

The basic initial source of people to be interviewed were the student lists of Greek community schools. In trying to establish contact, I would call students' houses, chosen at random from the registration catalogues and ask them if they would like to be interviewed for this project. The choice of this sample guaranteed that I would contact families with young children. Nevertheless, the sample was biased towards the families that chose to send their children to the Greek school. This bias was to be overcome during the next stage. After contacting this group of people, I would ask them to introduce me to friends, family and neighbours, people who were not necessarily members of their immediate social network. This process allowed me to form a sample of Greek Cypriots from different backgrounds, whose ethnic experience is diverse and their media – ethnic and non-ethnic – consumption is not homogenous.

Though the 36 interviews could not compare to the four family case studies in terms of in-depth research, they were valuable for reaching a broader understanding of the issues I was examining. The interviews were based on the questionnaire presented in Appendix II. However, my ethnographic orientation allowed me to expand the agenda and the issues set during the conduct of each interview, while reflexively responding and taking advantage of the possibilities set in each case in order to collect more extensive data. The questionnaire and the structured questions in it assisted my systematic recording of data relating to the households' demography, to people's evaluation of the media and the community, as well as to their media consumption attitudes. This systematic collection of data allowed me to form comparisons within the

sample. But, as it will be acknowledged in Chapter V as well – where the data collected during these interviews is presented – the questionnaire was an initiating and guiding tool for the conduct of the interviews. Nevertheless, my research in these households surpassed its limitations.

As I visited these 36 households in order to conduct the interviews, I gained access to people's domestic and private space, to the space where most media use takes place and where intimate ethnic relations evolve. That by itself extended my understanding of the particular culture. First of all, my visits allowed me to collect valuable visual data. For example, the fact that in almost every house the television was continuously switched on was an essential finding for arguing about the centrality of the media in everyday life. Also, noticing that ornaments from Cyprus or/and religious symbols were almost always part of the home's decoration and aesthetics helped me understand the ordinariness and persistence of ethnicity.

The interview itself often expanded into a long discussion about Greek Cypriot ethnicity, the media and other issues which were not directly relevant to my research questions, but which would expand my understanding about differences, similarities and the way they co-exist as a part of the British Greek Cypriot ethnic experience. The data collected from the interviews exceeded my expectations, as people were very willing to participate in extensive discussions and share different information with me. During these interviews, for example, I found out about the relative persistence of arranged marriages even among British-born young people, I heard people positioning themselves in a (white) category against the (coloured) 'foreigners', as they call other migrants, I saw parents and children arguing about the symbolic importance of speaking in Greek. As most interviews had the character of a group discussion, with the participation of all the members of the household<sup>22</sup>, I had the chance to study the *natural* interaction between people who already exist as a group. This relatively natural setting allowed me to study ethnicity and media talk in its dynamic and dialectic everyday expressions. In Chapter V the findings of this part of my study are presented and the different voices of participants are included as extensively as possible. These

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22 As already highlighted, some of the households included in this part of the study were not families. This aimed at examining diverse experiences of ethnicity.

are revealed as the qualitative data collected during the interviews is discussed in this chapter.

The expansion of the sample with the short interviews allowed me to study a range of diverse Greek Cypriot cultural settings and different patterns in media consumption. As May (op. cit.) points out, interviews help us interpret the significance of what is observed and observation helps in interpreting the interviewees' responses. At the same time, these interviews facilitated effective triangulation, where each method added to the other, while challenging the polarity between the qualitative and quantitative methods (Gillespie, op. cit.).

The extent of information collected during these interviews allowed me to cross-examine data collected while using different methods and to broaden my understanding of the group. In this task, I turned to the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) in order to analyse the descriptive data and systematically examine the evaluation of the media in relation to people's identities. In doing so I coded some of the answers of the participants. This coding, which took place after the research was conducted, aimed at recording trends among people's replies and comments, especially in cases where similar opinions were often repeated. The quantification of this data does not erase the primarily qualitative character of this research. Nevertheless, quantitative analysis can broaden the limits of the research and if combined with the qualitative data it serves as an invaluable part of methodological triangulation.

During the interviews Greek or English, or both languages were used. In general, bilingualism, which dominates in British Greek Cypriot communication, was adopted during fieldwork. The way each language or a combination of Greek and English was used for approaching people during fieldwork was often crucially important<sup>23</sup>.

My ability and choice to switch from one language to the other, as well as my competence in the Cypriot dialect, proved to be crucial for easing and facilitating more comfortable and expressive communication from both sides. As many members of the first generation did not feel comfortable speaking in English and many members of the British-born generations felt equally uncomfortable with Greek, I would often switch from one language to the other when talking to them – even within the context of the

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23 The use of Greek and English language by British Greek Cypriots as it relates to identity is discussed in Chapter IV.

same group interview. At the same time, my ability to understand both languages and their intermixing helped me understand aspects of British Greek Cypriot identities that I would probably not be able to grasp otherwise. A very characteristic example of that is the way Greek words are used in the primarily English language talk of young people. The Greek words that young Greek Cypriots use the most are words that have to do with family and domestic culture, such as words to describe food and family relations and words that express feelings, such as love or dislike. Being able to understand this quality of their bilingualism helped me understand how ethnicity partly remains relevant to them as it relates to very intimate and emotionally important relationships they grow up with.

In conducting my research in the domestic space, my own ethnicity, age and gender could not but influence the ways I approached participants and the way they approached me. Often, assumptions about my sharing – or not sharing – common cultures and understandings with them influenced the discourse of our communication. As discussed already, the discourse within which people shape and perform their ethnic identities is related to the Others that participate in this interactive relationship. And in this case, I was the Other, though the Other from within. In fieldwork, reflexivity and identity become interrelated, both theoretically and empirically. As the researcher carries her own visibility and identity, acknowledging limitations and biases is a step towards achieving further validity. But against these limitations and biases, extensive, in-depth and triangulated research can make a project meaningful, interesting and relevant. For the present project, surpassing the limitations of the domestic, usually set in media research, aimed at reaching a more multidimensional understanding of media consumption while taking into account the particularity of the group on study.

## II. Beyond the domestic

The research realisation discussed so far focused on the domestic. But everyday life extends beyond that. For the British Greek Cypriots, institutions and organisations, such as community centres, schools, churches and clubs form a vivid public space, where everyday life evolves, where ethnic identities are shaped and where the media are consumed and appropriated. These public spaces, which are of real and symbolic value for the group on study, are on the core of the research beyond the domestic.



Studying everyday life in the public has its own particularities, limitations and sets new challenges. The structures of the public space are different to the domestic and its boundaries are not clearly defined. This blurring is also relevant when defining the ethnic and the non-ethnic/inter-ethnic public spaces and their boundaries. At the same time, doing research in the public space allows a researcher more mobility compared to the domestic and private, where she has to be discreet and unavoidably dependent on other people's intentions. When studying ethnic identities, the public is particularly relevant for examining whether and how ethnicity remains relevant beyond the immediate and familial context. As in this particular case the public becomes a community space, it is of great relevance to the present research.

The particularities of the specific group's public space were taken into account for choosing the spaces of study. The public ethnic institutions and their visible presence and symbolic role for the group directed my empirical study to certain spaces of key importance. For most London Cypriots, the Cypriot Community Centre in Haringey signifies an important ethnic space. However, on daily basis it is predominantly male-dominated. It is a space where many Cypriot men of North London spend some of their leisure time. It is an ideal space for the naturalised study of male Greek Cypriot identity expressions. Even more interestingly, the Community Centre is one of the public community spaces where Cypriot satellite television is heavily used and even more, where it is extensively discussed. The publicness of the place allowed me to observe the communal use of the media, with the least possible interference to the actual activity.

Unlike ethnography at home, studying public places eases the *naturalisation* of the researcher's presence, though new problems might emerge. On one hand, neither the participants, nor the researcher escape the fact that data is recorded and interpreted through a particular research lens<sup>24</sup>. On the other, relations between the researcher and the participants often imply the need for the emergence of new codes of communication. In the case of this male-dominated centre, I had to establish my presence in a space where I did not *naturally* belong as a woman. That required extra effort to persuade the participants to trust me and to interact with me in a context beyond their stereotyped gendered communication. My research in this centre was a

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24 See also Seiter's interesting ethnographic work about her participation in parents' associations (op. cit.).

continuous struggle to achieve balance, trust and interaction with the habitués, while juggling with my own identities as a Greek Cypriot, a professional, a young person and a woman. Sometimes more and some times less successfully I established communication with some habitués, who would share their experiences of ethnicity and of the media with me. More than that, the series of my visits in the centre and my persistence in spending hours there, gave me the chance to become the participant observer who collected data while sitting quietly in the corner or while watching and commenting with others on a programme shown on CBC-SAT.

The Cypriot Community Centre is a male-dominated ethnic space; a similarly gender defined space was the Haringey Greek Cypriot Women's Organisation centre, which I chose for the study of the public construction of female ethnic identities and women's public media appropriation and consumption. In this space, other activities overshadow the role of the media, which do exist in the centre but which are hardly ever consumed. Nevertheless, here, media talk is an important part of everyday discourse. In this case, my presence in the centre was easier *to naturalise* because of my own gender: that meant that the research discourse was different here, compared to the male dominated Community Centre. The boundaries between my role as an observer and as a participant were sometimes challenged, especially when habitués assumed that I was just another member of the women's organisation. At the same time, my identity's multiplicity as a young Greek Cypriot woman, a researcher and an Other, were continuously negotiated since many women chose to forget my role as an Other and preferred to project my identity as being one of them.

Empirically, my study in the women's centre was much easier to conduct compared to the male-dominated community centre. As everyday communication depends extensively on assumptions about the role and the identity of other people, my research was privileged by the women's openness towards me as being another woman. That was very different to my experience in the Cypriot Community Centre. Since my study in the two centres was parallel in time, I had the chance to continuously reflect on these differences and interpret my findings while taking into account preconceptions, limitations and imbalances in my communication with the participants. On the other hand, the parallel comparative study of the male and the female public space allowed

me to compare in real time and in their daily ethnic female and male identities and gendered media consumption.

Participant observation in these public spaces, like in the domestic, was invaluable, yet not adequate. The evaluation of the media by people themselves, of their own use of the media and culture(s) was crucial. Interviewing might often be a personalised, selective presentation of information (Lyman and Scott, *op. cit.*), yet it is largely precious for that same reason: to collect pieces of both the real and the imagined culture, the imagined identities of individuals and groups. Furthermore, life histories and everyday experience narration are invaluable in constructing a triangulated framework for interpreting data.

I conducted a series of group interviews with the habitués of each of the two centres. The focus was primarily on the media, since months of non-framed discussions and visual observation offered me information about ethnic discourses and the ways people form their participation and belongings in broader cultural contexts. Choosing the form of group interview had to do with the context of the specific study; activities in both these public spaces are primarily group activities. Furthermore, group interviewing is a format similar to the nature of everyday public debate in the two centres, where habitués usually hold discussions in groups, rather than on a one-to-one basis. In the process of triangulation, those debates in the public were later compared with people's narratives and talk in the domestic space.

The majority of men and women participating in the two centres' activities share common characteristics – they tend to belong to the migrant generation, being middle aged and working class. Also, both these specific spaces are almost exclusively single-gendered. Thus, I expanded my research beyond the limits of the 'core' group in these spaces. Ethnographic study in the Youth Club within the Cypriot Community Centre, was an attempt to overcome the limitations set by the demography of the group of middle aged, migrant men primarily attending the centre. The Youth Club's activities are attended by second and third generation young Greek Cypriots, people who associate with ethnicity and ethnic media in completely different ways compared to the middle age core group. As young people's participation in the centre though is very limited and selective compared to the other groups' use of the 'mainstream' ethnic public, the data collected was also less extensive. Establishing communication with this

group was equally difficult, as most of those teenagers join the centre for particular activities and give the impression that they have very little time 'to waste'. Teenage group dynamics also meant that they were resistant to my attempts to talk to them about ethnicity and ethnic media. For them, these are issues concerning their parents, not themselves, as they insist, contradicting the actual experience of their cultural consumption and everyday narratives, apparently informed by the ethnic media.

The limitations in representation, participation and public expressions of ethnicity in the particular centres directed me to more research in other public spaces, where I could study the groups that are underrepresented in the two community centres. Greek language schools and churches were such places. They are not only public community spaces, but also community institutions that interact and compete with the media.

Ethnographic methodologies, especially unstructured participation and unstructured discussions, were the most appropriate for these spaces. People visit churches and schools for particular uses – for attending classes or religious ceremonies. Their character makes it difficult to pursue a strictly structured research, though participating, observing and talking to people who attend those services can lead to the collection of valuable data, data that enriches and expands the understanding of Greek Cypriot ethnicity. As a teacher I *belonged* to the Greek school setting and my role as such was not questioned. Following the school's natural rhythms and participating in discussions with parents and children, even within the classroom, were often invaluable sources of data. The church setting was not so familiar to me and my presence there was not equally naturalised. Also the holy character of the place for those attending it does not allow extensive participation for those not sharing the faith and the religious habits. In that case, the limitations were more extensive and I had to restrict myself to studying the sociality taking place around religious ceremonies. This sociality however is the most interesting to study, as it reveals the way ethnic networks are formed and function around participation in ceremonies and religious events. In that case, the church turns into a meeting point. As a meeting point I studied it myself, attending such events and observing participants' interaction.

The public space where London Greek Cypriots' everyday life evolves is not only ethnic. Local space is also non-ethnic and interethnic. In understanding Greek Cypriot ethnicity, I also had to study the ways people position themselves in relation to the

Others and the ways they situate themselves in the community, but also in the non-(ethnic)-community locale. Greek Cypriot everyday life evolves in local spaces, such as English schools, Greek and non-Cypriot workspaces, coffee-shops, pubs, clubs and libraries. Within the local public(s), spaces of ethnic and non-ethnic reference interweave and compete. Some *English* pubs are the usual hangouts for Greek Cypriot youth, friends from school are primarily Greek Cypriots, the local library is visited in order to read the Greek press. At the same time, not all spaces carry ethnic references. But, ethnic identities are constructed and performed continuously, getting their meanings through interaction with those sharing and those who do not share the same ethnicity<sup>25</sup>.

The conduct of the research in this broad public space was difficult to frame, but my ethnographic orientation allowed me methodological flexibility and mobility, beyond the strict limits of the sample. Socialising with Greek Cypriots and living my own everyday life within the locale enriched my ethnographic understanding. My own mobility and everyday experience in the same locale as the participants provided valuable data and allowed me to contextualize the information collected in the domestic and the exclusively ethnic public space. I also had the opportunity to observe the natural rhythms of everyday life in multi-ethnic North London, without all the time carrying the social role of the researcher. While the ability of an ethnographer to experience the natural rhythms of daily life is invaluable, I was never invisible during fieldwork, neither as a physical presence, nor, and even less, in interpreting the collected data (Seiter, op. cit.).

### **Analysis and Interpretation**

*Ethnography decodes and recodes, telling the grounds of collective order and diversity, inclusion and exclusion. It describes processes of innovation and structuration, and is itself part of these processes (Clifford, 1986:3).*

*Cultural analysis is intrinsically incomplete. And, worse than that, the more deeply it goes the less complete it is. It is a strange science whose most telling assertions are its most tremulously based, in which to get somewhere with the matter at hand is to intensify the suspicion, both your own and that of others, that you are not quite getting it right (Geertz: op. cit.: 24).*

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25 Data collected beyond the domestic and the two community centres is presented in Chapter IV.

Two years of persistent study in different spaces, with the use of diverse methods, led to the collection of rich data, both in quality and quantity. Hundreds of pages with detailed descriptions of people's activities, talk and perceptions, descriptions of the spaces where they experience everyday life, an equally large amount of interview material and coded data collected with the assistance of the interview questionnaire, formed the data I needed to analyse for my thesis. Next to that, I had to reflect upon and cross-examine all this data with my early interpretations, the explanatory notes recorded during the conduct of the fieldwork and the thoughts recorded in my fieldwork diary. These early interpretations, reflections and additional notes proved to be invaluable in the process of triangulation and final analysis for many reasons. Most importantly, they reflected my understandings and thoughts about events, talk and relations within the natural context where they were taking place. As I was going back to them, I could recollect and be reminded of the importance of context, of the relational character of ethnicity and of interaction for media consumption and appropriation.

This stage of final and consistent analysis and interpretation took place during the final stage of my research – between March and September 2000. Though this was the period of the final and more systematic analysis, analysis actually started about a year before that and while still in fieldwork. Though this technique might raise objections relating to the need for detachment from the field, I argue that it is more useful and meaningful, as (a) the researcher is in that way reminded of the relevance of her interpretations to people's real experience and (b) in that way it is empirically recognised that the researcher is never completely detached and objective as an observer; she rather is an interpreter and a participant in the research.

The early beginning of my analysis also allowed me to put in practice the triangulation process of cross-examining data collected in various spaces and with different methods; that was extremely crucial as research was indeed taking place in many different places at the same time. Early analysis allowed me to understand the continuities and discontinuities and the relevance of research conducted in different spaces, while having in mind my main research questions.

The importance of triangulation for both the collection and the interpretation of data has already been discussed. But triangulation is only one technique that can

guarantee meaningful interpretation, fruitful analysis of the findings<sup>26</sup> and validity. Others include: (i) *participants' account*: understanding the field discourse and participants' own accounts and definitions; then conceptualise people's own definitions in relation to theory; (ii) *context*: contextualise the analysis of the data referring to the specific research questions; (iii) *fieldwork as a space*: take into account new discourses that might arise through fieldwork and the relations developed between researcher and participants; (iv) *Analysis within or after fieldwork?* Set the 'rules' of how fieldwork and analysis might interact, co-exist, or follow each other; and (v) *techniques*: use the appropriate manual and electronic techniques in order to register and evaluate all dimensions of the collected data.

(i.) *Participants' account*: Since ethnography seeks to examine and reveal the meanings people use to make sense of their everyday life (Jorgensen, 1989), participants' own account and definition of key concepts is crucial for the value of analysis. But definitions given by participants are not beyond the process of critical interpretation:

The accounts produced by the people under study must neither be treated as 'valid in their own terms' and thus as beyond assessment and explanation, nor dismissed as epiphenomena or ideological distortions. They can be used both as a source of information about events, and as revealing the perspectives and discursive practices of those who produce them... all accounts must be examined as social phenomena occurring in, and shaped by, particular contexts (Hammersley and Atkinson, op. cit.: 156).

Participants' accounts make sense in the cultural, spatial and time context, where they are expressed and where they get their meanings. While recognising this, in the process of analysis, this contextualized data was productively used for constructing abstractions and theory.

During analysis, the particular experience of an individual or a family was examined within the broader context of Greek Cypriot culture, it was compared with other attitudes and experiences and it was analysed in relation to issues of identity and media consumption. Qualitative data analysis meant that I repeatedly went through the fieldwork data, aiming at identifying distinct or repeated attitudes, behaviours and talk that revealed the qualities of British Greek Cypriot identities and their media consumption. In going through the notes of fieldwork, I would highlight the important

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26 Clifford (op. cit.) suggests that ethnographic writing is determined in at least six ways: contextually,

findings for the specific research project. Extensive data had to be excluded, as, no matter how interesting, it did not relate to the particular research focus.

(ii) *Context*: Contextualizing data while analysing it is crucial – in which cases, at what time and space perceptions and actions get their specific meanings. As Morley and Silverstone argue with reference to television use in the domestic space: ‘The rules or logic-in-use of situated everyday behaviour must be studied to understand how the various media are incorporated into, and mobilised within, private worlds’, (1995:153). Context though does not refer only to the macro and micro social framework where participants experience everyday life; it also refers to the research context, where particular discourses have developed with the active presence of the researcher in the field. In trying to reach validity, my fieldwork notes and the final written outcome of my research aim at reflexively recording and describing as clearly as possible the process of collecting data. In this process, I hoped to test the developed concepts in relation to everyday life (Jorgensen, op. cit.). Keeping an open relation with the participants and an unforceful attachment with the locale – by continuing to live there after fieldwork – was a continuous and everyday cross-examination of my analysis with the actual research context.

(iii) *Fieldwork as a space*: Doing research, and even more, writing it up, is interpretative, Geertz argues (op. cit.): ‘...as in the study of culture, analysis penetrates into the very body of the object – that is, we begin with our own interpretations of what our informants are up to, or think they are up to, and systematise those... the line between cultures as natural fact and culture as a theoretical entity tends to be blurred’ (Geertz, op. cit.: 15). Geertz’s argument reminds us that there is no neutral space, nor neutral recording of data. Recording people’s account and activity is a construction of their construction of what they are up to (Radway, op. cit.). Their account, as well as the researcher’s interpretation, are related to context, discourse pre-existing in the specific domain and discourses shaped during fieldwork.

My involvement as a researcher and as an individual in the field and in developing different kinds of relationships with the participants unavoidably surpassed the *objective* role of the observer. Recognising this involvement is a necessary step in the process of

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rhetorically, institutionally, generically, politically and historically.



evaluating data. It has already been highlighted that issues of power and of inequality in the way I approached different participants and the ways they approached me are more than relevant to the outcome of the thesis. From my position as a researcher I tried to balance access and understandings with long-term research, with research that took place at different spaces and with different people. The extent and depth of my research is the defence of the validity of my analysis – in no way, I can say however, that this analysis reflects objectively the British Greek Cypriot identities and social condition.

(iv) *Analysis within or after fieldwork?* In most ethnographic work, final analysis and writing up have been perceived as the last stage, when a researcher withdraws from the field (Becker, 1979; Jorgensen, op. cit.). In that case, data relating to events, episodes and relationships, is analysed ‘from a distance’, in order to interpret it and construct abstract meanings. Distance provides a space beyond the specificities of fieldwork and gives the researcher time to evaluate data in retrospect. Nevertheless, analysis and writing up without the complete withdrawal from the field has certain important advantages. Gillespie (op. cit.) argues that one of them is that informants become part of the ‘interpretative community’. Furthermore, the continuation of interaction with the participants during the final stage allows the continuation and, partly, the ‘completion’ of a living, ethnographic empirical project. In this research, communication with participants and mobility within the research domain remained open during the writing up process. Early analysis and the first stage of writing up took place while fieldwork was still in progress; at the same time, my later withdrawal from the field was not fully restrictive for my interaction with participants, especially since I continued living in their locale.

(v) *Techniques*: the recording of fieldwork data in detailed field notes was the initial and essential technique for achieving validity and reliability of the findings (Kirk and Miller, 1986). In this project, data was recorded, either during an interview, or just after participant observation occurred. During analysis, these descriptions, participants’ evaluation and justification of their action, hypotheses and interpretations were coded in different categories (use of brackets, bold, italic characters, etc.). Detailed and coded description of fieldwork data was the most important manual technique for systematising data for my analysis and the writing up process. Next to that, computer

analysis techniques were used – primarily SPSS<sup>27</sup> for the analysis of the most extensive questionnaire data. Nevertheless, no matter how computer programmes might have assisted me in the organisation of data, constructing categories and analysing data was, in the end, my task as a researcher (Hansen, 1998).

At the stage of analysis, actions and ideas were coded in broader categories. In this process, Ackroyd and Hughes (1992) suggest that asking people to express attitudes is a relatively straightforward way of producing a large number of indicators on almost any subject. In this research, I invited my key informants and those people who are directly involved in the community to express attitudes and interpretations. Though useful, that process was not adequate; it did remind me of emic meanings at the stage of analysis, but it also highlighted the differences between the emic and the etic in terms of bias and different perspectives. Such cases, for example, were key informants' interpretations about the insistence of ethnicity as a meaningful category for British Greek Cypriots. Often they would interpret that insistence as the outcome of an inescapable primordiality.

May (op.cit.) talks about the construction of social system models during analysis, which means incorporating individual findings into a generalised model of the social system under study. 'In each setting, one may derive a concept of substantive theory grounded within observations. In analysing different contexts, the researcher can then move to more formal theory composed of abstract categories' (ibid:148). Theory produced through ethnographic analysis' abstract categories is interpretative theory. Concepts and definitions are the outcome of the theoretical interpretation of collected data. And interpretative theory can never be a reflection of any neutral setting. For that reason, as I write about the particular case study of the British Greek Cypriots, I need to start by contextualizing it, in its historical, spatial and temporal terms.

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27 Statistical Package for Social Sciences

## **Chapter IV**

### **The Greek Cypriots of North London: Journey through History, Living in Present, Looking at the Future**

British Greek Cypriots form one of those small and white groups that have been understudied so far. This is the outcome of a relative predominance of *coloured ethnicity* studies. Such studies examine issues of exclusion, inclusion, racism and integration in cases of large ethnic groups – the groups that are most socially visible, such as the Blacks and the Asians. The contribution of such studies, both to the academia and to antiracist politics, cannot be underestimated. But as their focus has been on ethnicities of *social colour* visibility, the experience of groups that are not immediately identifiable and socially visible has not been studied nearly as much. White groups might share common cultural background with the dominant population or they might have been granted this commonality through time. They might face less racism and less resistance to their becoming part of the society of the host country, but their assimilation might as well be more easily achieved, with all the desirable or undesirable outcomes for these people. Ethnic groups, such as the Cypriots, the Jews, the Italians or the Maltese, through their history of migration, have been granted the social colour white and the status of *invisibility* (MacDonald, 1972). Their ethnic experience has thus evolved around their in-betweenness: as being minorities but not *coloured*; as being invisible but not part of the dominant population.

In the European context, host and ethnic – migrant peoples have acclaimed and had to adjust to the ideology of, what is called, *common European identity*, *common European heritage* (Gatling, 1989; Amin, 1991; McDonald, 1993; Pieterse, 1991). Within this context, the notions of difference and Otherness have taken new meanings with direct consequences for the expressions of ethnic – Greek Cypriot in that case – identities. Europe as a symbolic common home is very much at the heart of the question of white Greek Cypriot ethnic identities. This is nowhere more clearly visible than in an article by Peter Droussiotis, a Greek Cypriot Haringey Councillor and a community leader, for the EU edition *Europe in the New Century* (2001):

I am emotionally attached to London -ever changing and yet always the same; I am proud of my Greek origins and equally proud of my sense of Britishness. I also know that Europe itself inspires me: its history, its music, its architecture, its politics, its art; its literature; its people; its sports; its myths, its diversity and its constancy. When I think of these things, I have no doubt that, in the

journey of my life so far, no matter where I may have been physically, I have always been at the heart of Europe! That feeling gives me a certain reassurance about who I am as well as confidence in the future.

Europe has been the symbolic bridge of the past, present and future location of Greek Cypriots in space, a bridge between familiarity and strangeness that the migrant experience implies. Europe is as much a symbolic place, as it is a symbolic colour; it is based on a selective history and culture that includes as much as it excludes (Amin, op. cit.; Robins, 1996). For Cypriots, the exclusion implied by the idea of Europeanism, implies their own inclusion. The perception of *we are from within* shapes ethnic identities differently compared to those people whose relation to Europe is related to hostile relations of the past and visible difference.

Greek Cypriots achieve their minority ethnic status and construct their identities while being in a relation of Same Otherness with the majority population<sup>1</sup>. They are from Europe, they are white, but they are migrants, they come from a former British colony. For the same reasons, Greek Cypriots are in a similar position of Same Otherness as the other ethnic minorities. The in-betweenness of white ethnicities leads to an anti-essentialist approach to ethnicity. The members of the white ethnic groups cannot rely on characteristics of ethnicity that are unchangeable and unique. Thus, white people face a particular existentialist problem: they can either juggle with their ethnicity and adjust its expressions in a convenient model for their everyday life well-being, or they can eventually abandon it and live their lives without ethnicity as their reference (Anthias, 1991; Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992).

Both scenaria are real options. The second one leads to the *loss* of many members of the white groups who blend in the wider society, neutralise their ethnic identities and assimilate. While this is a phenomenon not to be ignored – reminding us more than anything that ethnicity is not inescapable – in the case of the British Greek Cypriots at least, it seems to be rarer than the negotiation model of ethnicity. Why? For many and complex reasons. The ethnic context is a familiar context where people grow up and where they want to have the option to turn to throughout their lives – the sense of belonging is too strong, as it is illustrated in various examples following in this and the

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<sup>1</sup> As explained already in Chapter I, 'majority' does not necessarily have an arithmetical value, but in terms of ethnic groups, it primarily relates to the dominant group in terms of power.

succeeding chapters. Furthermore, ethnicity is inherited historically – not as an essence, but as an experience that continues and is shared by older and younger generations. Society, no matter how multicultural and fluid, is still divided in subgroups and communities that offer all different kinds of support to its members. These are only a few of the reasons explaining why ethnicity, while being a choice, it is a choice people make more often than they abandon.

To understand why and how British Greek Cypriot ethnicity remains viable, I examine it in its historical, spatial and temporal context: from the migration journey to the ethnic community, from the local concentration to the global diasporic communication networks, from the ethnic institutions to the multicultural locality – all the dimensions of an ethnic journey that is never complete but gets its meaning through this exact incompleteness and continuity.

In this journey, ethnic media have become increasingly involved. Ethnic media symbolise the voice of difference, of particularity, a message that their mere existence sends both to the ethnic population and the Others. The real and the symbolic value of ethnic media's existence and consumption have only recently become a subject of research interest. As the first generation of ethnic media research is now being produced, the still limited number of empirical projects struggle to understand the complexities of the field: the relation between production and consumption of ethnic media, the local and global meanings of their existence, the consequences of the technological changes that allow them to thrive and, of course, the changes their consumption brings to people's identities.

### **Ethnicity and the Media – What Has Been Done**

Within the limited number of ethnic media studies, very few have focused on questions of ethnic media and identity construction. A landmark for most of the research that followed has been Gillespie's (1995) study of Asian youth<sup>2</sup>. Her discussion of ethnic media consumption in relation to everyday life in the family and beyond, within exclusively ethnic and other spaces has been inspiring for the present project. However, as Gillespie's study focuses on a non-white ethnic group, it does not

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<sup>2</sup> This study is extensively discussed in Chapter III.

deal with questions of invisibility and Whiteness, questions that are relevant for the present research.

To the same direction of media ethnography, Lee and Cho (1990) discuss Korean women's consumption and interpretation of ethnic soaps at the US. Their approach is informed by studies of female audiences, such as Gray's (1987). Lee and Cho discuss how Korean women construct alternative discourses to the mainstream, male-dominated ethnic ones through their communal consumption and interpretation of Korean soaps. Lee and Cho argue that ethnic television is differently appropriated by Korean women in the diaspora, as the context of their everyday life differs from the populations that consumes them in the country of their production. Nevertheless, the researchers' conclusions are influenced by early audience studies that overemphasise audiences' resistance to the dominant discourses and undervalue the dominant meanings inherent in the text.

An interesting study, which deals with a more *invisible* group is Naficy's (1993), which examines the role of ethnic television in the case of the Iranian community of Los Angeles. In this case, questions of *invisibility* and multiculturalism have very different meanings compared to the British, European context. In the American context, Naficy chooses not to deal with these issues. Instead, he deals with the questions of exile, home and *homeland* and with how they are negotiated in and by the media. As the focus of this study is primarily historical and political, it does not deal extensively with the complexities of media consumption and appropriation.

Another study that does not take into consideration the debates of media studies around media consumption and everyday life while studying the media is that of Gumpert and Drucker (1998, 1999). Gumpert and Drucker who have been studying Greek/Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot ethnicities in the diaspora, in Greece and in Cyprus, recently turned to the study of the media for ethnic and interethnic communication. They argue that the relations established within the locality and with the country of origin through ethnic media are principally responsible for maintaining 'community in the modern diaspora' (1998: 97).

Tufte and Riis's (2001) study in progress focuses on media consumption and ethnicity in a multicultural neighbourhood of Copenhagen, Indre Norrebro. Tufte and Riis's focus on the importance of the locale for the construction of new ethnicities by

different groups that co-exist in the same neighbourhood is very challenging. The researchers examine, along with the media, different public spaces where Indre Norrebro's interethnic cultures are shaped, like in the schools and the libraries, following the radical paradigm of Gerd Bauman's (1996) initial attempt to study interethnic local cultures. The focus on the interethnic though somehow undermines the processes of ethnic identity construction within each ethnic group and each community.

Ogan and Milikowski's (1998) study focusing on Turkish media consumption in Amsterdam highlights the central role of satellite television for the reinforcement of ethnicity. The researchers spent time in Amsterdam, interviewing Turkish migrant families and observing the consumption of Turkish media, especially by the first generation. As they argue that the extensive Turkish satellite television consumption obstructs Turkish people's integration into the Dutch society, they seem to underestimate the complexity and the negotiation hidden in ethnic media consumption, as well as the multiplicity of the diasporic experience: people can feel affiliated to a distant home country, but this does not mean their sense of belonging is singular or that it excludes the country of settlement.

In a more recent research that seems to emphasise this exact complexity of media consumption and the diversity in media use and interpretations among different diasporic groups and subgroups, Aksoy and Robins (2000) studied Turkish satellite television consumption in Britain, France and Germany. Aksoy and Robins reject those ideologies that see the construction of a homogenous Turkish community across Europe – a community constructed around people's extensive use of Turkish satellite television. They note that diversity characterises as much the different Turkish populations across Europe as it characterises the kind of Turkish television and the cultural politics they produce. Thus, they argue, the idea of a Turkish unitary and coherent cultural community needs to be rejected.

Aksoy and Robins (ibid.) reject the possibility of satellite television consumption extending an imagined community; instead they propose that diasporic people's experience has more to do with cultural ambivalence. Aksoy and Robins (ibid.) reject an unproblematic homogenising understanding of diasporic communities and simplistic perceptions of ethnic media consumption in the diaspora, perceptions implying that people in the diaspora use and interpret media of the *homeland* in the same way people

in Turkey do. Their rejection of the imagined community as a beyond-boundaries, nationalistic project is legitimate. Nevertheless, by completely deleting the usefulness of the concept of imagined community, they underestimate the transformation of communities that exceed boundaries and that do not necessarily depend on the *homeland*, but which are actually decentralised, shifting between the local, the diaspora and the country of origin. This community is about ambivalence – it is a community of people who come together while sharing their similarities and differences. This community is not strictly bounded and even more it is not homogenous<sup>3</sup>.

Within this context, ethnic media, in their diversity in content and consumption, do shape a discourse of imagined belonging, which is viable because it refers at the same time to the local everyday experience, the distant *homeland* and the diaspora. While people consume ethnic media critically, these do not lose their role in the process of identity construction. Media representations and images of the *homeland*, the diaspora and ethnicity are consumed and shared in everyday life and though appropriated, they still shape agendas and frame understandings of what it means to be a member of a local, diasporic, imagined ethnic community. But this sense of belonging in an ethnic imagined community does not erase the possibility of multiple belongings and loyalties. People's ethnic belonging does not delete the possibility of their belonging in other communities, such as that of the host country or other communities that surpass ethnic and national boundaries.

While the relevant literature on ethnic media and identities remains limited, projects such as Aksoy's and Robins' (op. cit.) or Gillespie's before that, inform my understanding of the role of media consumption in the construction of British Greek Cypriot identities. Similarly, the limited, but sometimes inspiring literature on the British Greek Cypriots, informs my understanding of the group and contextualizes it, historically and theoretically.

As already mentioned, the number of studies examining British Greek Cypriot experience and identities are very limited. Those studies that surpass the essentialist, holistic understanding of Greek Cypriot ethnicity are even fewer. The very few exceptions include Anthias (1991) and Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992), which examine

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<sup>3</sup> For more extensive discussion of imagined community and my arguments for its transformation into a hybrid imagined community see Chapter I and Conclusions.



the complexity of British Greek Cypriot ethnicity, emphasising that ethnic identities are situational and diverse and relate to such important parameters as gender and class. Anthias was one of the first scholars to study the British Greek Cypriot group from a sociological perspective and her work has been radically different to other studies before hers and others that continue to be published (e.g. Mettis, 1998; Koupparis, 1999) at present. Anthias surpassed the patriotic and particularising perspective adapted by most (British) Greek Cypriot researchers and studied the group within the British multicultural context and their ethnicity within British realities and politics of identity. Within this context, Anthias took into consideration issues of Whiteness that define boundaries of ethnicity by and for the group. However, Anthias (with Yuval-Davis, 1992) overemphasised class as a defining parameter in the construction of ethnic identities. Following classical sociological traditions, Anthias underestimated other dimensions of identity and community – especially the cultural dimension of community attracting its members, the shaping of sense of belonging, etc. – in overstressing the centrality of class.

Beyond Anthias' initial sociological analysis of British Greek Cypriots, at present, few studies on British Greek Cypriots are being pursued, especially on a doctoral level. Apart from the present one, another doctoral thesis, that of Madeleine Demetriou (2000), examines the politics of the diaspora in the particular case of British Greek Cypriots. She examines how diasporic politics have changed in the era of globalisation and how the multiple belongings of the ethnic populations away from the original *homeland* lead to the formation of tense relations of 'love and hate' between the Cypriot population in Britain and Cyprus. She rejects the myth that assumes that diasporic belonging threatens the host state. 'It may be possible to have simultaneously a single, dual or multiple loyalty in a non-hierarchical fashion', she argues (*ibid.*: 17).

Beyond the few academic studies on British Greek Cypriots, the present study learns from some ethnographic works pursued in Greece and Cyprus, such as those by Peristiany (1965), Loizos (1982) and most of the different projects included in the edited collection by Loizos and Papataxiarchis (1991). These studies have been inspiring for setting the contemporary British Greek Cypriot experience in a historical and cultural context. Other works such as those by Russell and Bridal (1982), Costantinides (1984), Oakley (1979, 1989), Hassiotis (1989) and Storkey (1994a,

1994b) present valuable information about the demography of the group, their education and other cultural characteristics, but they are all mostly descriptive. The even fewer publications about ethnic Greek/Greek Cypriot media, such as that of Leeuwenburg (1979), Karapostolis *et al.* (1999) and the material presented during the 9<sup>th</sup> International Conference for the Cypriots in Diaspora (1995), offer no more than a descriptive, report-like presentation of information, while adopting to a certain extent a direct media effects perspective and a particularistic, ‘patriotic’ discourse.

Nevertheless, descriptive, demographic information is not to be underestimated, as it provides the data that is taken for granted when pursuing a research project dealing with any group of population and their culture. Most of the pre-existing bibliography, though primarily descriptive, has been the starting point for drawing the profile of London Greek Cypriots and of their media.

### **British Greek Cypriots in London**

As already mentioned, Greek Cypriots in Britain are estimated between 160,000-220,000 (Oakley, 1979; King and Bridal, 1982; Anthias, 1991). It is estimated that about 70% of the British Cypriots live in Greater London. Cypriots – including the Turkish Cypriots, Armenian Cypriots and Maronite Cypriots – form the fifth largest ethnic migrant minority and the first largest white migrant minority in London (Storkey, 1994b), excluding migration from the British Isles<sup>4</sup>. As the national Census does not register Cypriots in a separate category, demographic information about British Cypriots is very limited. The unequal concentration of Cypriots in London compared to the rest of the country is probably the reason for Cypriots not being formally recognised as a distinct minority. This non-visibility in the Census is interpreted by many Greek Cypriots as non-recognition by the British state and a threat for their future as a distinct community. Policies and politics of ethnicity have their part for the construction of social visibility<sup>5</sup> and Otherness and for people’s shaping and defending ethnic identities. Nevertheless, official statistics’ vagueness also has some positive effects for the community and its diasporic politics. As a distinctive Greek Cypriot personality

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<sup>4</sup> This refers primarily to migration from Ireland.

<sup>5</sup> Visibility is not only a matter of the colour of skin as such but it is primarily related to the perceptions

explained to me, British politicians overestimate the numbers of British Greek Cypriots, apparently being misled by their social success and their active political lobbying. This misunderstanding often leads to favourable attitudes in the House of Commons towards Cyprus government and the British Greek Cypriot community.

Cypriot migration to Britain was initially the outcome of urban unemployment and economic deprivation of rural Cyprus, enforced by political polarisation on the island. The persecution of members of the Communist Party – both Greek and Turkish – by the British Authority in Cyprus before 1960 and the Cypriot government and by right-wing paramilitary groups after that, led many people to self-exile and migration. As they could not find employment and were not allowed to settle in many areas of the island, they ended up seeking these in Britain. This is the history of many Greek Cypriot migrants and the component of their collective memory. The peak of Cypriot migration was in the 1950's and it continued until the mid-1960's when British immigration laws and the development of the Cypriot economy led to its eventual decrease. By 1966, Cypriot migrants reached 100,000 (Oakley, 1979), while after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974 a further 12,000 came to Britain (Anthias, 1991). By 1974 it was estimated that one in six Cypriots lives in the UK (Costantinides, op. cit.). It is important to note that all these statistics do not make a distinction between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, Armenian or Maronite Cypriots, but have to do exclusively with the country of origin. It is also worth noting here that because of the multiethnic character of Cyprus – at least until 1974 – Cypriots have always been exposed to multiculturalism<sup>6</sup>, something that partly explains their smooth adjustment in Britain of the postcolonial era.

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about skin colour, culture and what actually is perceived to be the same or different.

6 Greek Cypriots have always been exposed to multiculturalism, though the recent history of interethnic conflict in the island has been very bitter. It is worth noting though that interethnic conflicts between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots started in the 1960's. Until then, for the majority of Cypriots, interethnic co-existence was peaceful. As the vast majority of Greek Cypriots (and of Turkish Cypriots) who migrated to Britain did so before the relations between the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots became hostile, their attitudes towards Turkish Cypriots are characterized by the inconsistent ambivalence of their experience, as this is direct, mediated and redefined through their collective memory. The relations between the two communities are in general characterized by peaceful co-existence, though this has occasionally changed. After the war of 1974 in Cyprus, the division in the *homeland* was translated into hostile relations between the two communities in Britain. 'I remember...I was a child then...but there was too much tension...the windows of Turkish shops were smashed...there were nasty graffiti on the walls...', says a young Turkish Cypriot, referring to the tension of the period. As discussed later on, the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots remain each others' *Significant Other*.

Furthermore, since Cyprus was a former British colony – until 1960 – administrative, cultural and communication links have long been developed between the two countries, allowing the formation of transnational cultural systems and markets (Massey, 1993)<sup>7</sup>. Because of this long established relationship, Cypriots were familiar with the British culture, the political and economic system before they migrated to Britain. Besides, the colonial past of Cyprus explains both the extensive Cypriot migration to Britain and the way migration from Greece and Cyprus have been formed in very different ways, resulting in the formation of two rather distinct ethnic groups of Greek and Greek Cypriot people in Britain<sup>8</sup>.

Migration might have initially been the outcome of economic deprivation in the country of origin, yet eventually the cause of migration partly changed. As the ‘network theory’ suggests, people might continue to migrate because there are already established networks of kinship, friendship and communities in the country of settlement, making the movement less risky (Massey, *ibid.*). Network relationships often guarantee employment in the new country and become the reason for the continuation of migration, which progressively becomes independent of the factors that originally caused it. For the British Cypriots, network relationships led to the migration of extended families and even of whole villages. ‘When I started making some money I sent for my wife and children...then for my brother...for my other brother...we’ve been working together since’, says a 63-year-old man, now owner of a small clothing factory.

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7 The British influence is very extensive in Cyprus. The public sector and the legislature system are based on the British model, while the BBC model has extensively influenced Cypriot public television. A system of imports and exports between Cyprus and Britain is very active and extensive, so are the communication and transportation systems (British airports are the most frequent destinations of flights from Cyprus, next to the ones to Greece).

8 Greeks in Britain are much fewer than the Greek Cypriots, as Greek economic migration was primarily directed to USA, Australia and, at a later stage, to Germany. Greek migrants in the UK are primarily professionals and entrepreneurs and thus were initially distinguished from the working class Cypriot migrant group. As much as class and different migration experience are responsible for a relation of Otherness between Greek Cypriots and Greeks from the mainland, the peculiarity of the diasporic experience is responsible for establishing a relation of proximity with the other significant Others, the Turkish Cypriots. Away from the hostility of the *homeland*, the two groups live in the same localities, often work in the same businesses and overall have good relations. Even though they still remain each other’s Other, their co-existence alters the meaning of Otherness. As it is often said in Cyprus, the example of the Greek Cypriot – Turkish Cypriot co-existence in Haringey should be the model for the co-existence of the two groups in a reunited Cyprus. This is an interesting example of how the diaspora actually allows the negotiation of relations of the *homeland*, which within globalisation come back as a new model to be introduced to the country of origin. The relation between the country of origin and the diaspora is not one-way anymore.

While Cypriot migration to Britain was primarily initiated during the late colonial and early post-colonial period and was part of the movement of the economic migrants from colonised countries to the (former) colonial powers, the extensive migration of the 1950's and 1960's was based on the foundations of the early migrants of the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Oakley, 1989). Early migrants – estimated at 7,000-8,000 by 1940 (ibid.) – established themselves in the hotel and catering industry and traditional skills industries such as tailoring. As kinship and close-family relations were carried over to Britain and enforced in close-knit ethnic communities, the newcomers would find employment and residence within the boundaries of the ethnic community and would settle down with the assistance of earlier migrants.

Ethnic links and professional networks created an increasingly self-contained economy by the 1950's with Cypriots soon establishing themselves in specific industries (ibid.). Cypriots extensively replaced the Italians in the catering industry when they became enemy aliens after the beginning of the World War II. The clothing industry has been the other industry where Cypriots have become very successful; in this case, migrants put in practice traditional tailoring skills they brought from Cyprus.

The clothing industry flourished as it could offer employment to both men and women. Women could also work as machinists at home, while still being responsible for their traditional gender responsibilities as mothers and housewives. This form of gendered ethnic employment is still extensive, especially for the majority of first generation women. Many of them work for the ethnic clothing industry from home, often without any insurance or benefits. The majority of the first generation women I met are – or were – employed within the clothing industry, unlike the younger generations of women who associate the garment industry to the migrant generation (Panayiotopoulos, 1996) and seek employment elsewhere. Many younger women spoke ironically of the machinists in a discourse that apparently associates the profession to inability or failure to integrate in the British society. 'Well...if you can't speak English, there's not much else you can do... you stay at home and become a machinist...and have the mastro (                      ( boss) treat you like crap', says a 34-year-old hairdresser.

Greek Cypriots' persistence for achieving financial and social success in Britain meant that they worked hard to establish themselves in the clothing and catering industries and other services. By the early 1990's, 20 % of Cypriot males were self-

employed, twice the national average (King and Bridal, op. cit.). Because of Greek Cypriots' eagerness to integrate and because of their middle-class aspirations (Anthias, 1991), education soon became a highly considered value and a high priority when bringing up younger generations.

The migrant generation, that in its majority came to Britain with very limited education, made extra efforts to offer younger Greek Cypriots the education they lacked. Many migrants participating in this project explained how they saved money and how they chose to fund their children's education over spending money on other material goods. But education is usually valued as a step towards economic success. Thus, it comes as no surprise that an unequally large number of British Greek Cypriots is directed to professions such as law and accountancy which guarantee professional and economic success. At the same time, the majority of these professionals benefit from the employment offered within ethnic businesses that flourish in North London, as the dozens of signs with Greek names on the windows of many high road firms reveal. The number of people who break off the ethnic and local economy still remains very small, a fact that partly explains how the ethnic community continues to prosper and keeps within its boundaries its younger members. Ethnic businesses serve both the members of the ethnic group and non-Greek Cypriots in specific localities – e.g. the large number of Greek Cypriot-owned law firms and estate agents in Haringey serve many people living locally.

#### The British Greek Cypriot Living Space and Everyday Life

Greek Cypriots in Britain have had a tendency to form their own local communities from the early days of migration to the present. This tendency implies geographical concentration, endogamy, establishment of Greek Cypriot institutions, such as churches, schools, media, and, as already mentioned, the development of an autonomous economy with Greek shops, restaurants, and business (Hassiotis, op. cit.; King and Bridal, op. cit.).

The nuclear family remains the most widespread unit and family is considered to be a value to cherish. Parents expect from their children to get married – preferably to another Greek Cypriot – and to have children and grandchildren. These pressures are expressed in the words of a young female accountant: 'I was living with my boyfriend

for a couple of months...it was a nightmare...my mom wouldn't leave me alone... we ended up getting engaged...that'll keep them quite for a while!' Because of the value system that favours marriage and family, it comes as no surprise that divorce rates remain relatively low. The centrality of family is a strong ethnic identifier with traditional family relations being reproduced among the younger generations and family links being sustained with strong emotional and economic ties. It is still common for young adults to take over their parents' small businesses (e.g. a shop or a garage) and children continue to receive financial support from their parents as adults, when their income is limited. At the same time, dowry, though formally on the decline, still exists in the form of economic support of parents to newly married children. Most young couples I met said that they depended financially on their parents in the early days of their marriage: for covering early mortgage payments, for buying furniture or a car.

As the support and the expectations of intense and intimate relations are reproduced within the ethnic family, they become experiences that younger people seek to reproduce themselves through an ethnic marriage. 'There's no way I'd marry a foreigner! (sic). He wouldn't understand our traditions, our lifestyle,' an 18-year-old girl told me during a discussion. Another 22-year-old woman told me she wanted to get married and she was looking for a husband. This statement followed a long discussion in which she bitterly argued that she does not want to have anything to do with the community and that she has nothing in common with most young people. But then she said: 'I'm going to get married to a Greek (Cypriot)'. Why? 'Because we have the same culture, we both come from the same place...' In another case, a 27-year-old young man accepted an arranged marriage, even though, until then, he had many girlfriends, some of them non-Greek Cypriots. His mother describes his decision: 'He surprised us all! Whenever we'd mention marriage he would say: "I'm too young for that". Then, one day he came home and said: "Get me a wife!"' He soon got engaged with a 21-year-old British Greek Cypriot. Interestingly, there was no family pressure, neither for the man, nor for the woman to get into an arranged marriage. Also, the lifestyle of neither of the two implied an attachment to traditional values. What seems to be the case is that these young people reconfirmed their ethnic belonging with a life-long commitment they consider to be *ethnic*. Even though arranged marriage is not the most common way for ethnic families to be reproduced, the strength of the ethnic networks

and the extensive concentration in a locality where the ethnic community is thriving brings many young members of the community in new ethnic networks, weddings and relations of kinship.

Peristiany (op. cit.) noted 35 years ago that Cypriots see themselves first as members of their family, second as members of their natal village and third as natives of Cyprus. This self-identification has not changed much since, even though now one could add a fourth level of identification with the Greek (Cypriot) diaspora. Dozens of village associations still flourish in London, while even the younger British Greek Cypriots often give the name of their grandparents' village when asked where they come from. The strong sense of locality is brought from Cyprus and it is reproduced and adapted to the British environment. Neighbourhood networks of friends, especially between women, are very strong, as the often-seen images of female neighbours standing on their doorstep and chatting in a sunny day, or going out shopping in female groups, reveal. Local networks sometimes include friendly relationships with non-Greek Cypriots even though these relations are not usually as strong as the purely ethnic ones. Interestingly, interethnic relations seem to become weaker as people get older, while simultaneously ethnic relations take over. This conclusion comes out of people's own words and experience, as studied and recorded during my fieldwork and visually experienced in the locale. Walking in the local Wood Green Shopping Centre, I often see groups of teenage friends, which include Greek Cypriots and members of other ethnic groups. However, there is no equally characteristic image of multiethnic groups of older people; groups of Greek Cypriot women or Greek Cypriot men in their 20s and 30s seem to take the place of the multicultural schoolmate networks. Meanings and experience of ethnicity do seem to shift at different stages of their life cycle<sup>9</sup> and issues of ethnic distinctiveness and of Whiteness define people's choices more extensively as they grow older.

Everyday life evolves in the locality of North London, where most people work and spend their leisure time. Yet, this should not be interpreted as an exclusively Greek Cypriot phenomenon; the growth of services and businesses keeps many people within

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<sup>9</sup> See also chapters V and VI where people evaluate community and the media in different ways; in many cases, younger people admit that their sense of community and their media use preferences (regarding ethnic media) will change when they will have their own families.



the locale's boundaries. Furthermore, local concentration seems to characterise many ethnic minorities in London (Modood, Berthoud, *et al.*, 1997) that seem to reproduce the ethnic communities through spatial co-existence.

The importance of the locality is also the outcome of historical continuity. On one hand, as already mentioned (Peristiany, *op. cit.*), locality has been the primary space of belonging before migration. On the other, spatial concentration in Britain began during the early days of migration. Cypriot settlement was directed to North London since the 1950's. Initially, people settled in the North London boroughs closer to central London. The search for better housing directed them to further boroughs (King and Bridal, *op. cit.*). This movement still continues towards outer London, this being only one of the expressions of British Greek Cypriot middle class aspirations.

But the locality remains a significant symbol for people, a symbol where individual and community identities rest upon. Fortier (1999), when talking about 'the Hill', an Italian enclave in London, draws these dimensions very graphically: 'The Hill is both an end point and a starting point; a point of arrival and a point of departure. It is an interval; a spatial and temporal "moment" that marks off the passage from migrancy to settlement' (*ibid.*: 41).

### **Haringey – 'The Heart of the Community'**

This research was primarily conducted within the London Borough of Haringey. Haringey has the highest percentage of Cypriots born in Cyprus, with a total of 7,798, as registered in the 1991 Census (Storkey, 1994b). Estimations that take into account the British-born Cypriots bring Haringey to second place among the boroughs with Cypriot population. Enfield, a borough of 3<sup>rd</sup> settlement, has taken over from Haringey, which now has a declining Cypriot population (King and Bridal, *op. cit.*). This is a tendency in many built-up urban areas and, according to Simmons (cited in King and Bridal, *ibid.*), ethnic minorities respond to the same forces of residential mobility as the rest of the population. According to King and Bridal (*ibid.*), for the first ten years of settlement, living near kin comes up as one of the main reasons migrants give for choosing particular areas.

At present, and while Greek Cypriots' mobility surpasses the once considered *ethnic centre* – Haringey – and is directed to areas where housing is of better quality in more affordable prices, this mobility recreates the ethnic character of locality in new terms. The locality is now much broader in scale and much richer in terms of generational and class diversity. The ethnic local ray now exceeds old boundaries to include, not only Haringey, but also the neighbouring Enfield and beyond. New ethnic shops, businesses, churches and schools get established in the new areas of settlement and ethnic media achieve an even more central role in keeping this spread community together.

Haringey still remains symbolically *the heart of the community*. Ethnic institutions, including the media, are in their majority based in Haringey. At the same time, the concentration of first generation households in the borough signifies the symbolic ethnic centre for the coming generations, as illustrated in the fourth case study presented in Chapter VI. The Haringey home of the Cyprus-born parents and grandparents is a symbolically important ethnic space, which remains an everyday reference from an early age and throughout people's lives. It is in this home that most of ethnic media consumption takes place.

Furthermore, the concentration of British Cypriot institutions of all kinds and the links they sustain between Britain, Cyprus and the rest of the diaspora – starting from food sold in the area to satellite connections on the local radio – mark out Haringey as the bridge between the local and the global; as the symbol of the ethnic experience that is lived locally but it is triangularly dependent on the local, the global and the diasporic. Haringey is a locale where this triangular spatial interdependence does not only apply to Greek Cypriots, but it applies to most ethnic groups separately and in their interdependence.

Haringey is extremely multicultural – it is *the home* of people originating from all different parts of the world. That includes, apart from the Greek Cypriots, a large Turkish Cypriot and a Greek community from mainland Greece. Local co-existence with significant Others of the *homeland* in new terms, as well as the co-existence with new Others shape hybrid identities that are different to that of people in Cyprus. When the local shops sell potatoes from Cyprus, olive oil from Greece, yoghurt from Turkey and halal meat, all groups renegotiate their ethnic identities locally through new

diasporic realities made possible with the globalisation of markets, transportation and communication. At the same time, the co-existence with the significant Others of the *homeland* – even if it is in new terms – is a reminder of ethnic difference, thus a mechanism for strengthening ethnic identities. Greek Cypriots share their locality with Turkish Cypriots; their co-existence becomes a daily reminder of commonality and difference, of their common country of origin.

### Public Space is not only Ethnic Space

Everyday life does not only evolve in strictly defined ethnic spaces. As a matter of fact, apart from home, the majority of the other spaces are multiethnic or non-ethnic in one way or another. British Greek Cypriots spend their everyday life in spaces such as schools and workplaces, in coffee-shops, pubs and libraries which form a public space beyond the boundaries of the ethnic community. This local public space includes and, at the same time, competes with an exclusive Greek Cypriot one, while it leads to negotiations of ethnic identities.

Young Greek Cypriots hanging out at particular local English pubs is a characteristic example. The pub culture is not Cypriot culture, but it is part of the culture of young Greek Cypriots in North London. As a leisure activity, it is an expression of young Greek Cypriot hybridity. As people choose to spend their free time in a pub and not in an ethnic centre, they make a choice of a space beyond the strictly defined ethnic boundaries. At the same time, their choice does not really mean an abandonment of the ethnic context of everyday life. On the contrary, as they all go together to the specific local English pub, that place becomes a new hybrid ethnic space, an ethnic meeting point. This argument is sustained by the nature of these people's experience in such places. It is not a coincidence that in these pubs, the groups of habitués are almost exclusively Greek Cypriot. It is not a coincidence that Greek music is often played next to English music. And it is not a coincidence that the choice of a specific pub as a hangout is sustained by the word of mouth, the informal community mechanisms that spread the rumours that 'everybody's going there!', as a young woman explained to me. In this case, 'everybody' refers to the young Greek Cypriots who belong to the networks of people choosing, naming and giving a specific place its *ethnic* value.

But the experience of everyday life in the public space does not always relate to ethnicity. When people go shopping in the local shopping centre, or when they go to watch an American film in the local cinema, their choice and their experience as consumers and members of the public do not necessarily have to do with their ethnic identities. People's multiple identities are constructed in everyday life and while each one informs the other, none of them holistically defines their existence. For example, young Greek Cypriots are as familiar with American cinema and commercial television as young English and young Afro-Caribbean who live in Haringey. Familiarity with a culture consumed in the mainstream and in the interethnic locality shapes young Greek Cypriots' expectations from the ethnic media, as their often expressed dissatisfaction with the quality and the organising of ethnic television programmes reveals. 'Greek television is crap...how can somebody chose it over any other channel?!' says a 17-year-old male student.

At the same time, people's *ethnic values* influence their social attitudes in the ethnic and inter-ethnic public. For example, their talk is often saturated by the disapproval of homosexuality and the racism saturating their self-identification as white. A 16-year-old high school student got expelled when he called his teacher a 'faggot' and a 'Paki'. He was then talking comfortably about the event to his Greek Cypriot friends, apparently assuming they would understand and agree with his attitude. At the same time and in most cases, people are aware of the differences between contexts and cultures. This example remains an extreme case and most of the Greek Cypriot students face no problems of adjustment in the multicultural school environments – at least as they and their parents told me. The performed identities shift to adjust to the expectations and activities in different contexts as the consequences of these performances vary. The often expressed populist racism against Asians and Blacks by young Greek Cypriots is not tolerated within a multicultural school environment – and teenagers show they know that in their daily performance of identity.

Performed identities are not always ethnic identities – e.g. a woman who attends Greek Orthodox service in one occasion is no different to any other consumer when she looks for a new pair of shoes. In their position as consumers or as employees, Greek Cypriots, as much as non-Greek Cypriots become members of long-lived and short-lived communities. In these communities they form relations with colleagues, friends,

schoolmates. But in its majority, people's experience – as expressed in their most frequent choices of friends and partners – indicates that it is the ethnic community that dominates among the most long-lived communities and the most stable references<sup>10</sup>. This does not mean ethnicity always remains the main reference. This is more than visible in the case of people who work beyond the boundaries of the ethnic community. One of them, who works in the City, talks about his performed professional identity: 'I'm not ethnic at work. My superiors don't want me to be'.

### **The Ethnic Community**

The ethnic community is considered to be an important point of reference in Greek Cypriots lives. People take community for granted in everyday discourse, but its meaning varies extensively. While community implies some kind of bonding between people, people interpret this bonding or lack of bonding in different ways and them being part of it or not depends on their location in space, time and phase of their life cycle. As people's own words reveal in the following chapters, even in its vagueness community is meaningful to most, thought in different ways.

The ethnic community is the symbolic context of everyday life where commonly shared values and ethics are introduced and imposed. As ethnicity depends on preserving a sense of difference, community is the virtual and real entity that sets the boundaries between the insiders and the Others. Furthermore, as the content of new ethnicities becomes increasingly diverse, community becomes more and more the symbolic context of belonging – the context for performing ethnicity and preserving a sense of commonality. The construction of the British Greek Cypriot community in particular benefits from the spatial concentration, the development of an ethnic economy and the intense family and kinship relations.

While this community does not fit into the model of the pre-capitalist community where social relations depend primarily on face-to-face interaction – thus it is more of an imagined community – values and norms as well as a sense of belonging are shared by most of its members. The various ethnic institutions play a major role in this process. Experiencing everyday life in community centres, such as those discussed extensively

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10 See the following chapter for interviewees' choice of best friends, which reconfirms the domination of

in chapters VI and VII, is important for constructing a sense of community both for those who participate in them and for those who merely know of their existence. But apart from that, institutions such as the Greek Orthodox churches and the Greek language schools have an enormous ethnic role. This is achieved as people attend schools and churches from an early age; as their parents teach them to cherish language, religion and ethnic traditions as invaluable qualities of their being; as these institutions are daily reminders of a bounded community of people that are different from the Others. It is not only for those who attend them that such institutions are important ethnic symbols. It is also for those who pass in front of them everyday, or, even more, for those who experience the values of these institutions on a daily basis, as these saturate the values of families, ethnic networks and the media. Within this process, religion has become a primary ethnic identifier of Greek Cypriotness – and of Greekness, as experienced in a broader diasporic context.

#### Religion and British Greek Cypriotness

For the Greek/Greek Cypriot diaspora, Greek Orthodoxy is crucial for reinforcing and reproducing ethnic identities in multiple levels. It is one of the characteristics that people within the ethnic group share and which is used as a strong defining parameter of ethnic borders. Religion is one key area where ethnic groups, such as the Greek Cypriots, manifest a cultural dynamic which is very different compared to the host culture (Modood, Berthoud *et al.*, op. cit.). Religion reproduces and reinforces belonging in a community of Greek Orthodox Christians, a community of people sharing the mysticism of the dogma, unlike the non-Greeks, the non-Orthodox. The church is one of the most conservative institutions within the ethnic group, an institution that reproduces definitions of ethnicity based on blood bonds, dogmatic concepts of Greek Orthodox superiority among all religions, nationalistic concepts of Greekness and definitions of Us in opposition to the Others – those who cannot belong since they do not share the dogma.

Within this dogmatic context though, Greek Orthodoxy has managed to become, probably the strongest bond between people sharing common Greek/Greek Cypriot

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choices of intimate relations within the ethnic community.

ethnic belongings. Being baptised, married and buried in the church are symbolically three of the most important events in community members' lives. Their ritualization, the great importance they get as performances and as communal events reveal their enormous symbolic value. With baptism, children formally become members of the Orthodox and ethnic community and members of the group, beyond the immediate family, get together to celebrate the event. In the religious wedding, couples reconfirm their belonging to a community of Orthodox people and promise to participate actively in the reproduction of the community. In the religious funerals, the community says farewell to its deceased member and as a group grieves for the loss.

Ethics and values that are also taught, performed and communicated in church and religious faith have become synonymous to ethnic belonging, especially for the young ones. Young people's strongest relation to religion and Christian values reflects the search for common bonding. First generation migrants have the direct experience of the *homeland*, so for them there is no need to look for the bonding. But for younger people, born in the diaspora and not in the original country, religion becomes one of the global bonds that explain and symbolise ethnicity. Religion has been one of the oldest symbolic expressions of ethnicity, especially within the diaspora – religion has been a global reference even before the globalisation era.

Within this context, it comes as no surprise that one can see many more British Greek Cypriots attending religious services than in Cyprus. It is not a coincidence that young people adapt more to the Christian traditions and values than people in Cyprus. They even express their disappointment with the 'religious estrangement' of people in Cyprus, as a British-born teacher told me. British Greek Cypriots have religious engagements as often as weddings at a young age. Values and ethics promoted by the Church saturate much more British Greek Cypriots' everyday lives, since, within the group, Greek Orthodox dogma and ethics are projected by the opinion leaders, the media and the schools as synonyms to being Greek. Greek schools start the day of lessons with common prayers, opinion leaders simultaneously value and dread the involvement of the church in the community events, and the media are saturated by religious programmes and direct transmissions of the liturgy on Sunday mornings and other days of religious importance. LGR, along with CBC-SAT, adapts the *mourning mood* that tradition requires during the days of Passover.

Religious values are also synonymous with traditional and conservative values that characterise British Greek Cypriot ethnicity, such as the rejection of sexual relations that are not – or will not lead to – a blessed marriage, or the high appreciation for the (Christian) family as a point of reference throughout people's lives. More than anything, religious values are highly gendered, preserving traditional male and female roles for the reproduction of ethnicity. Women are the ones who are expected to mediate younger Greek Cypriots' initiation to Greek Orthodoxy and the ones who are expected to be more actively involved in religious celebrations and rituals. Furthermore, Greek Orthodoxy mediates gender identities, as women especially but not exclusively, are expected by the family and the community to conform to religious values that define their everyday life as women – or as men. For a couple to live together – and this is assumed always to be heterosexual – their choice has to be blessed by the Church. Otherwise, the family and the community devalue women living with men without the church's blessing and consider those men involved as irresponsible. The pressure that young people who do get into such a relationship face is enormous. And since the young, as much as the old, are aware of the sense of shame for the family that such choices bring, most choose to conform in order to avoid the stigma. Among all the people who participated in this study, there were no couples living together outside marriage or religious engagement.

The processes of constructing gendered identities through ethnic and religious traditions are complex yet powerful. Religion is disguised in everyday life as commonly accepted values and, in the case of ethnic groups, as dimensions of ethnic identity that have to be protected against assimilation. As a result, ethnic groups often project a socially and ethically conservative communal face, being cautious against any radical changes in the broader society, such as policies against discrimination based on sexual preferences.

Traditionalism and conservatism lead to ostracising members of the group that do not conform, but it needs to be pointed out that the processes of ostracising difference is not as simple and straightforward as it once used to be. Hybridity, diversity and the option to choose whether to belong to the ethnic community challenge the homogeneity of ethnic values. More than challenging dominant values through changing what is acceptable – something that causes extensive resistance – hybridity and diversity



challenge them through substantiating contradiction as a defining parameter of ethnicity.

### Greek Language and Greek Cypriot Hybridity

In the previous section I argued that church and religion have a central role in the processes of ethnic identity construction. The other institutions that have traditionally been considered as very important for the Greek Cypriot community are the Greek language schools. A couple of dozens of them all over London<sup>11</sup>, usually working in Saturdays or weekday evenings, attract what is estimated as the 25-35 % of the young British Greek Cypriots<sup>12</sup>. The so-called community schools are sponsored by parents' associations and, in some cases, the church. Their primary scope is to offer language classes, yet they also teach children (selective parts of) Greek and Cypriot history, culture and religion. The first Greek language classes started before the World War II and the first school was established in Camden in 1952 (Anthias, 1991). At present, and as an outcome of the Greek and Cypriot governments' diasporic policies, a substantial number of qualified teachers from Greece and Cyprus are attached to the ethnic schools, though some teachings positions are filled with members of the local community and other part-time teachers.

For the children attending the schools, both the context and the content of their learning experience signify an early initiation in ethnic culture. Even though the educational system largely resists adapting to the British Greek Cypriot culture and insists on imposing the culture of Cyprus onto the young students – e.g. celebration of national days, etc. – in practice, everyday experience in schools reflects the hybrid British Greek Cypriot culture. Thus, teaching is bilingual, some teachers are British-born and the school calendar is formed around the British school calendar.

While neither the ethnic nor the educational role of the schools can be dismissed, the limited number of students that the schools attract reflects the retreat of the Greek language as a defining characteristic of ethnicity. The increasing replacement of Greek by English in everyday ethnic communication reflects the flexibility and mutability that

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<sup>11</sup>The fact that Greek schools are run by different organizations makes difficult to know their exact number. They are estimated at about 25 in the Greater London area.

<sup>12</sup>Estimations based on informal discussions with teachers, opinion leaders and members of parents'

ethnic survival requires. The increasing abandonment of Greek language by younger generations, rather than signifying a 'loss of ethnicity', it signifies its viability. English becomes more and more a bonding language among British Greek Cypriots – it is the language mostly spoken in everyday life. As younger generations' skills in speaking Greek become more limited, the communal use of English facilitates the continuation of ethnic communication, thus of ethnicity. If the use of English within the group was condemned, as some members of the first generation try to do, the effects could be devastating with more and more people distancing themselves from their ethnicity. Similar seems to be the experience of many other ethnic groups, like the American Blacks, the Celts in the UK and non-Hebrew, non-Yiddish speaking Jews who have not lost their ethnic identities even though they lack a distinct language (Brass, 1986).

As the symbols and the concept of ethnicity are renegotiated in everyday life, signifiers that were once considered as the unquestionable defining characteristics of ethnicity are challenged. No other example is more graphic than that of the use of the ethnic language. As the younger generations succeed the older ones, the so-called 'mother tongue' fades away. But I would argue that what is the case here is that a common language – as a code of communication – replaces the spoken ethnic tongue.

The commonality in codes of communication – and thus in performing identities – is what people seek for sustaining their ethnic identities and their sense of community. The complexities inherent in language are beyond the scope of this study. Even though I do not underestimate the changes in communication by the retreat of the ethnic language and its partial replacement by another language and other mechanisms of communication, I argue that this change does not imply loss and threat to ethnicity. As new mechanisms of communication are invented and become available, the ethnic media, through their diversity and contradictions, become some of the main means for communicating and sustaining commonality. It is not a coincidence that some of the second generation opinion leaders propose the establishment of two LGR<sup>13</sup>s: a Greek-speaking LGR1 and an English-speaking LGR2.

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associations.

13 London Greek Radio

## Young British Greek Cypriots' Identities

For these primarily English-speaking British-born generations, the significance of language, like many other references of their parents and grandparents, are being negotiated. Their ethnicity is filtered by the British experience much more than it is for the first generation. Thus, individualism, professional success and status ranking are much more part of their discourse, as their cynical comments often reveal: 'At first I was working in one of the Cypriot banks. But I wouldn't spend all my life working there. I had too many ambitions for that', in the words of a City accountant. At the same time, young Cypriots' discourse is much more challenged by ideas of multiculturalism and, if not respect, at least tolerance to difference, including difference within and outside the ethnic group. Though they do not necessarily reject ideologies of Whiteness and of ethnic primordiality, in practice their identities become more hybrid and situational. In the case of a local council female employee, the fact that her superior is Black leads to an experience of contradictions: on one hand, she argues that she *belongs* in Europe, unlike her superior, and on the other, she admits that he is as integrated in the British society as she is.

For the younger members of the group, ethnicity remains a living reference, but its performance becomes *compatible* with their lifestyle and adaptable to everyday life experiences. For example, in a school environment, teenage identities become predominant over the ethnic, and in a professional environment, working class identities become dominant over Greek Cypriot identities. At the same time, all identities get their meaning through their co-existence. There is no doubt that schoolchildren share common teenage identities, which develop within the shared cultural environment they live their everyday life in; shared teenage identities allow schoolchildren's co-existence and communication. As ethnic identities are shaped and performed in private and public, within exclusively and non-exclusively ethnic spaces, they also get their shape through people's teenage experience – or people's working class experience, etc.

Within this context, cultural and media preferences are shaped and defined by the same diversity implied in everyday experience overall. As Greek Cypriot teenagers listen to pop music and go to clubs, they choose to listen to Greek pop music and to go to Greek clubs, along with the mainstream, non-ethnic ones. Young Greek Cypriots' media consumption is enriched by ethnic hybridity, as it is shaped in the environments

where they experience everyday life, these being not only ethnic but also multi-ethnic. From an early age, and beyond the ethnic community, Greek Cypriots tend to form groups of friends within their ethnic group. This is not necessarily a result of having more things in common among themselves compared to other non-Greek Cypriot students. Sticking together might work the other way around: not as a result of ethnic commonality but as an act of seeking community and reconfirming stereotypes of commonality. 'I have nothing against the non-Greek students, but our culture is different. They stick with their own kind and we stick with ours', said a teenage interviewee, who, however, could not name those 'cultural differences' between Us and Them, though she implied Whiteness as a defining aspect of division between Cypriots and the other *coloured* ethnic groups who are present in the locality.

While ethnic distinctiveness is projected by the young as much as the old, the hybridity of ethnic co-existence is more than obvious. The multicultural character of Haringey does not allow the ethnic purity that the group ideology promotes. The local co-existence with Blacks – who the dominant group ideology considers as the distant Others – led to changes in the Greek Cypriot youth culture. Music tastes and dress codes, apparently influenced by the urban Black youth culture have given young Greek Cypriot girls the nickname 'Μάvrroudes, meaning young Black girls), a degrading nickname used by older Greek Cypriots. Relations with Black culture, and even more with Black people are not well accepted in the group. In one of the families I know, the father has not spoken to his daughter for years, because she married a Black man. In another case, and according to the account of a Greek school's students, a teacher asked a female student 'to stay away from this *Nigger*', referring to her boyfriend at the time.

Apart from older people's resistance to multiculturalism, which occasionally turns into populist racism, young girls often go out with Black boys, who they consider as good lovers – a stereotype not less racist than those of their parents for ethnic separation. In stereotypes and contradictions, ethnic hybridity reveals itself as a reality that has changed British ethnic experience forever. Media often have a central mediating role in this process. Listening to *Black* music – e.g. Rap – and watching *Black* television – e.g. 'Sister-Sister', 'Prince of Bel Air' – have become for the young

Greek Cypriots the cultural choices within the ethnic home and the ethnic friend network that mediates their passage to the local multiethnic reality.

#### Young British Greek Cypriots and the Media – An interesting Group Discussion

The ethnic media are part of British Greek Cypriots' everyday life. The way people of a more mature age consume, appropriate and interpret ethnic media's content and media's role in everyday life are issues extensively discussed in the chapters that follow. But since the voice and the experience of the younger members of the group – especially beyond the domestic – is relatively limited in the chapters that follow, it is worth including here an interesting case of a group discussion, revealing patterns and attitudes of young people relating to the media. A group of students of a Greek school, aged 12 to 16, who I used to teach, passionately talk about the media as soon as the issue comes up. In their talk they reveal the contradictions and denial characterising their use of ethnic media.

A reading comprehension article on good television viewing practice provoked a rather vivid discussion. It was in Greek and they had to read, understand and discuss it. When they read that television viewing should not exceed one to two hours per day, almost everybody started laughing: 'I watch telly 10 hours a day!', Nicolas said. 'I watch it at least 6', Tassoula added. 'I sit a couple of inches away from the TV set', said Nicole, Tassoula's sister, as a reply to the advice for sitting at least 2.5 meters away from the television set. 'And I always have the remote-control in my hand!', Nicolas, the youngest student of the group, said emphatically. He was usually very quiet in the class, but television is his favourite subject and interest, a subject that always attracts his attention.

From there on the discussion became more and more vivid. Katie said that some days – 'just sometimes', she emphasised – she did not watch television at all. The others looked at her really surprised and some laughed. '...It's because I don't have SKY like you do', she said as a reply to the others' ironic laugh.

'What do you watch for so many hours?' I asked. *Sister-Sister, Sabrina, Eastenders, Neighbours*, Nicole explained. And Katie responded with some pride in her voice 'I don't watch *Eastenders*, not any more'. She critically explained her decision

with reference to plot and characters. They were all familiar issues for the whole group. They all could defend their opinion about watching or not watching *Eastenders*.

Then, I tried to turn the discussion to ethnic media. 'No, we don't watch them!', was the almost universal answer. But as the discussion evolved, their experience proved to be much more diverse than their immediate refusal implied.

Petros was the first one to admit that he watches some programmes on CBC-SAT. The others' reaction was to laugh. Petros felt a bit embarrassed but insisted: 'Yes, I do watch it. And I do listen to LGR and read the *Parikiaki*... the English section though Miss', he said to me with a sense of guilt in his voice.

'Old women listen to LGR all the time', Tassoula said mockingly. But Nicole, her sister, revealed her sister's own habits: 'Yeah, right! She watches sketches all the time on RIK [CBC in Greek]', she said to the others. Tassoula felt really embarrassed: 'I just watch them when they are on and when they [referring to her parents] don't let me switch over to another channel'.

The discussion among the group was getting vivid again. Suddenly they all started talking about what they watch on CBC, they were repeating quotes and events that took place in different sketches and laughed. Petros mentioned the names of some of the most popular Cypriot sitcoms-sketches he usually watched. Nicolas, though indifferent until that point to the ethnic media subject, said: 'Every evening my granddad wants to watch the news [on CBC-SAT]. I don't have a choice... I have to watch it too – there's nothing else on'.

Katie then started commenting on LGR's music programme *New Generation*. Nicole started laughing about it and making joking comments. 'It's lousy', she added. But Petros insisted in defending it: 'No, it's O.K. It's good for catching up with Greek pop. It's cool'.

This unplanned discussion by a group of Greek Cypriot teenagers was revealing in many different ways. It was a discussion that the group of students started without any effort on my behalf – and this happened because the issue in question was the media. Media seem to be one of the most usual and casual subjects of discussion for this age group and it is a subject that shapes and reconfirms commonality in public discourse. In this case, it was interesting to note how one of the girls' (Katie) slightly different attitude towards the media became a threat for her participation in the group. Similarly,

the honest revelation by Petros regarding his ethnic media use threatened to have the same effect. But, as Nicole revealed her sister's publicly refused ethnic media consumption, one after the other, all the students *came out* to admit they are much more usual consumers of ethnic media than they would admit. Critically and with many excuses, these teenagers talked about their ethnic media use, which seems to be an appropriate and usual part of their everyday experience in the family domestic context, but an inappropriate attitude to reveal in public and within their age group. In public, it seems to be much more appropriate to construct their discourse around their mainstream media consumption – they also used to bring girls and boys English language magazines in school – and undermine their ethnic media use. As the dynamics of the group and the different spaces change attitudes, so do ethnic identities and media discourses prove to be situational.

### **The Insisting but Contested Role of Ethnic Media**

Ethnic media are contested and their presence in everyday life is challenged continuously, especially as mainstream media products become more acceptable cultural references in many spaces and as part of social encounters. But the previous anecdotal discussion reconfirms that ethnic media achieve and sustain a role in people's lives, signifying the ability of a community to adapt to the historical changes and to take advantage of the new possibilities for establishing and renewing communication within the community. The establishment of a variety of ethnic media by a relatively small community is seen within the group as a reconfirmation of ethnic viability.

As described in the Introduction, the Greek Cypriot media in Britain were established in the 1950's – when the ethnic community achieved a permanent presence in the British society. As the media map has changed since, so did the Greek Cypriot media. In the old days, local cinemas would be hired for the projection of Greek films, or for the performances of visiting theatre groups from Cyprus (Costantinides, op. cit.). At present, the ethnic cinema shows have disappeared – at first, they were replaced by the videotapes that people brought with them from Cyprus and cherished as a piece of their contemporary ethnic cultural heritage. But videotapes were soon to be replaced by the simultaneous television viewing experience that the satellite and cable ethnic

channels introduced. Similarly, the place of the press was taken over by the local radio and soon after, the ethnic cable and satellite channels were added to the available ethnic media choices. The television channels broadcasting from Greece and Cyprus – with CBC-SAT broadcasting from Cyprus in particular – led to direct and continuous connection and interconnectivity between the local community and the country of origin. In that way, people's sense of belonging has changed forever. As Kyriakos Tsioupras, a leading figure of the community and former managing editor of *Parikiaki* said at the 9<sup>th</sup> International Conference for the Cypriots of the Diaspora:

The magic of the satellite service lies, first of all in a symbolic identification of himself (sic) [the Greek Cypriot of the Diaspora] with the Cypriot of the *homeland*. He listens to the same news, he watches the same images, at the same time. He identifies with him completely... The feeling of being proud for what the *homeland* offers him is interconnected to his responsibility to the *homeland*. The result is to feel more connected to it...

Satellite and cable ethnic television is broadly consumed in North London, and in some areas like Haringey at least one in four Greek Cypriot homes is connected to either the one or the other. At the same time, CBC-SAT and ERT-SAT are also available in public spaces such as community centers and coffee-shops. As expected, these television channels are more popular among the first generation, but a few British-born people continue to get connected as they grow older and have their own families. In these cases, usually ethnic television comes with a package of British cable or satellite channels – and multi-channel television becomes more of a choice<sup>14</sup>. For British-born Greek Cypriots, ethnic television, radio, the Internet mediate their ethnicity, as much as mainstream media mediate Britishness for the first generation. Similarly to Gillespie's (op. cit.) findings about Asian youth, young Greek Cypriots often become the language and culture translators of British television for the older people. In the same way, older people become the translators of ethnic television for the younger ones, who, as they grow older, become more and more familiar with the (mediated) ethnic culture.

In certain cases, ethnic media become dominant sources of information and communication. For example, people turn to them when they seek to receive news from

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14 People who get connected to cable have to pay for the basic cable package. Many members of the migrant generation, though, hardly ever use them, even if they have them at home. For the younger ones, the ethnic channel being provided with the other non-ethnic ones is a choice of diverse viewing options that suits their ethnic identities.



Cyprus or when they communally consume Cypriot sitcoms; these sitcoms shape a particular kind of humour that only Greek Cypriots share. In other cases, ethnic media consumption is the outcome of already formed ethnic identities that are renewed and re-enforced through this particular consumption.

The Cypriot sitcoms – otherwise called ‘sketches’ – that are very successful among the young and the old, are acted in the Cypriot dialect that most British Greek Cypriots can understand better than the commonly spoken Modern Greek. At the same time, the characters and the sense of humour are familiar to most; they grew up with them. It is worth noting that in quite a few cases, younger Greek Cypriots told me that they love the ‘sketches’ because they remind them of their grandparents. Young generations get familiar with first generation ethnicity, when it is performed on the screen by sitcom characters and off the screen by their grandparents. As this *familiar ethnicity* is represented in the media, it is reproduced and renewed. It makes both their grandparents’ ethnicity and the Cypriot sitcoms relevant to their own experience within media culture. The representation of this kind of Cypriotness in the media also makes it diachronic, as it will not fade when the older generations de cease; it will still be part of the mediated images of ethnicity.

This commodification of ethnicity is not a nostalgic reminder of the past. On the contrary, in that way it is reintroduced in everyday life. When, for example, children reproduce the sitcom jokes in their classroom, when they imitate certain characters, when they call their friends the name of an unpopular sitcom character as a joke, they appropriate this media produced and consumed ethnicity to their own experience.

In the consumption of these media products ethnic identities are constructed and reconstructed in multiple ways. Apart from the reproduction of ethnicity through representation, the consumption of certain media genres becomes a bonding experience across generations and different subgroups within the community. People watch these programmes together, they talk about them at home, at school, at work. Furthermore, in everyday life ethnic media become as important as – and sometimes more than – the community schools, achieving a role of a Greek language teacher. Parents of young children, who themselves talk to their children in English, often told me that they were surprised to see their children talking more and more in Greek. The explanation: ‘All

they do when they visit their grandparents is watch Greek television', as a 33-year-old British-born woman said to me once.

For adolescents and adults, ethnic media consumption can have similar effects. As Greek pop music becomes more and more popular, more people tune into LGR to listen to it, or to one of the Greek channels to watch the video clips. Greek pop music consumption becomes a bonding experience between the local people, but also between them and other people in Cyprus and the rest of the diaspora – it teaches the Greek language and it mediates contemporary Greek values and lifestyle in everyday life.

Though television has become quite successful, it is LGR, the local ethnic radio that is the most widely used medium and the one that affects everyday life the most. LGR's weekly listening rates among Greek Cypriots reach 83%<sup>15</sup> according to research pursued by the University of North London (1993). LGR was first established as a pirate station in 1983 and it received its license to broadcast as a Haringey neighbourhood station in 1989. However, it is now received almost all over London, while recently it has become available on the Internet. LGR produces some of its news and entertainment programmes but it also buys or rebroadcasts without any license, programmes from Cyprus, Greece and Britain. There is a relationship of mutual co-operation between LGR and most of the Greek/Cypriot stations it rebroadcasts. In the case of the public CBC-SAT and ERT-SAT, free rebroadcasting has to do with the Cypriot and Greek governments' policies which allow the free distribution of their programmes in the diaspora.

LGR is easy to get: people do not have to pay or make any effort to receive it. Like all radio stations, LGR can become the background of everyday life. People can listen to it at work – and they do, especially in the Greek Cypriot factories – they can listen to it in the car or while socialising. People also consider LGR to be the product of their own local and ethnic culture. It is their own station, as they keep repeating. As LGR has managed to become the voice of the local community, it also managed to combine that with the other two reference points for people: the country of origin and

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15 To the question: 'Which of these radio stations have you listened to in the last 7 days?' 83 % of the respondents mentioned LGR. Spectrum Radio follows with 33 %, Capital FM with 32% and 15 other stations follow with lower percentages. Within the 83 % of the respondents mentioning LGR, the break down according to age is as follows: Age 15-24: 62 %, 25-36: 71 %, 35-44: 94 %, 45-54: 88 % and 55 +: 97 %.

the diaspora. LGR has become as much a new medium as any other. It rebroadcasts programmes from Cyprus, it organises talk shows where people in Cyprus, Britain, Australia and elsewhere can participate and it is the source of information for the local life. LGR is actively involved in campaigns and politics in the community while its output addresses alternative expressions of British Greek Cypriotness, like for example, the Greek pop music programmes presented by English speaking DJs, which are very successful among the younger members of the group.

As the continuous success of LGR over satellite and cable television reveals, ICTs and new media do not necessarily change radically the communication field. The most characteristic example in that case is that of the Internet. Even though the Internet has the potential to both address and reflect new ethnicities, British Greek Cypriots rarely use it to receive information that relates to their ethnicity; if they do so, it is primarily for email communication with other Cypriots. I would argue that there are two reasons for that. On one hand, Internet use is mostly associated with youth culture and less with ethnic culture – young people use it as an age cultural identifier, which does not necessarily relate to ethnicity. On the other, information and communication that relate to ethnicity and community are available through other forms of mediation, including the word of mouth and more conventional media, such as the radio. Furthermore, those Greek Cypriots in Britain who are eager to receive Cypriot information are those of the working class, first generation, who hardly ever have access to the Internet, but are usually well-connected to other ethnic media.

These arguments might soon be challenged as rapid changes occur around the Internet and its use. Nevertheless, if the Internet becomes more involved in ethnic communication, that is because it is becoming more extensively available, cheaper and easy to use. As the everyday practices of the participants in this research reveal, people turn to the Internet, like to other media, when they have something to offer them: something new, easy to manage, enjoyable, or to cover existing communication gaps. The everyday cynicism inherent in the *use and value* relation of Greek Cypriots with the ethnic media reconfirms that (i.) processes of choice, appropriation and interpretation are always relevant to people's media consumption practices and (ii.) that ethnicity is not a holistic and ever present reference to people, defining all their choices and tastes. It is always contested and relative to context.

## **Chapter V**

### **Living Everyday Life at Home: Consuming the Media, Shaping Ethnic Discourses, Constructing Identities**

London Greek Cypriot consumption and appropriation of the media take place as much in the domestic as in the public space. But the domestic is the starting point in this research as it is the primary space in which ethnic media are used, making the public familiar; it is the space where ethnic identities are initially shaped and to which people continuously return. The design of this research is aimed at avoiding the reproduction of a dichotomy between the domestic and the public, and recognising instead their interdependence. In practice, and in order to study the home and the public in their particularity, I discuss the empirical research done in the two spaces separately. In Chapters V and VI I present the data collected at home and in the two following chapters the data collected in public. In discussing and analysing data, both the particularities of each space, as well as the continuities and the situational boundaries of both the domestic and the public are taken into consideration.

#### **The British Greek Cypriot Home**

In conducting this research I had to knock on many doors, see many new faces, persuade people to open their homes to me. In most cases, the doors opened and the faces were welcoming. As a researcher I visited 40 houses, where I met people of varying ages, classes, lifestyles and personalities. Each one of the houses visited was as distinct in character as its residents. This diversity required a reflexive adaptability on my behalf in order to manage to interview people, to observe their everyday life and to get them engaged in discussions about ethnicity and the media. The level of communication and participants' engagement varied, though the methodological flexibility of ethnography allowed me to construct an understanding of the Cypriot domestic space through consistent, flexible and long-term research. If people could only spend an hour with me, answering my questions, that was enough. If they were willing to spend four hours with me, it would be even better. That was much more often the case, as most participants were very hospitable, willing to help and genuinely interested

in a research that was interested in them<sup>1</sup>. I never said ‘no’ to invitations to spend a whole evening with a family, to have dinner, to watch *Coronation Street* or the news from Cyprus with them<sup>2</sup>. This is the unavoidable *intrusive* nature of ethnography. Since people become increasingly interesting, they get more relaxed and follow their usual routines and rituals, I would take advantage of their availability and openness.

Participants’ availability and my own ease in extending visits and social interaction with them revealed parameters of ethnic particularity, ethnic stereotyping and community. Many of these people who invited me in, without knowing anything about me, admitted that they never open their door to somebody they do not know. Most of them are women, all of them are residents of London and they follow these Londoners’ tactics of self-protection. Initially, for many of these people, I was just a stranger on the phone, using the name of the Greek school of their children, asking them if I could pay them a visit and usually receiving a positive reply. For all, I was a Greek Cypriot. I was a member of a community they belonged to too. I could be trusted for that – a trust that became one of the first strong indicators about the everyday functions of ethnic community. The stereotype of trust to other Greek Cypriots – fellow members of the same imagined community – has influenced my attitudes as well. I never felt hesitant visiting any of these Greek Cypriot homes, though I knew nothing about most of these people. Interestingly, this insight came much later, once I was reflexively analysing my data.

That became my *initiation* in a cultural space that was quite new to me: in some ways it resembled a close-knit village community of rural Cyprus and in others, it was a hybrid space I have never experienced before – a space with new dynamics deriving from the diasporic, ethnic experience of its members who have lived for years (or for generations) in North London. Haringey in many ways does indeed resemble a small village – a postmodern village including different enclaves that co-exist and where ethnic networks are strong and extensively dominant. In some areas, like the Green Lanes, the commercial interethnic heart of Haringey, the spatial concentration of Greek

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1 As discussed in other parts of this thesis, participants found it interesting to get engaged in discussions with me, as I was interested to hear what they had to say. And this is in a way what a researcher can give back to the participants.

2 For practical reasons, most interviews were conducted on weekday evenings when people are usually at home.

Cypriot homes is quite dense – even though much less so than in the past, as the older people say. Each road has at least three or four Greek Cypriot homes, while churches, schools and ethnic shops are strategically positioned around them.

### The Predominance of Television

The homes I visited and the people I met might have been different in many ways, but there were a few important similarities. The first and more striking similarity was the place of television in the house. A television set – often one of many in the house – was strategically positioned at a central place in the room where members of the house spend most of their leisure time – the living room or the kitchen. This was the case in all houses I visited. More interesting than that, the television was always switched on and in most cases it was not switched off even when I was conducting an interview. Television is the necessary background in the domestic setting when not watched, and comes to the foreground when something that the members of the household want to watch is on. The continuous presence of the switched on television sometimes made me feel uncomfortable and unwelcome. I soon realised that for most participants socialising amongst themselves and with guests is often mediated by the television – as it is watched, discussed and naturalised as a part of the domestic setting.

During some of my long visits in London Cypriot homes, I realised how being *media-educated*, in its very simple form of knowing what is on the media and who is on the media, is often important for managing to communicate with people. Fans of the successful soap *Den Xehno* ( *I Don't Forget*) on CBC-SAT would invite me to watch it and talk about it. Listeners of Greek pop music would test my knowledge. Viewers of *Eastenders* would assume that I would quietly watch it with them when it came on. All these expectations made me more self-conscious about my media consumption practices and required my familiarisation with certain genres and programmes. Thus, I became a cable television subscriber, a regular LGR listener, a more informed television viewer. But more importantly than changing my own media consumption, participants' engagement with the media revealed how everyday life and media culture become inseparable.

Everyday experience is saturated by media – media in the background, in the foreground, media as initiating and setting agendas in face-to-face communication. This

happens in unforced and casual way, as people sit on their couch and as they have a drink. At such times, people claim and gain their place in communities, shape and perform identities as consumers and as members of groups. Everyday communication requires knowing of and about the media and collectively consuming them. So, more than the media content, it is the media culture that people share. And in the case of the ethnic media, it is this alternative to the mainstream media culture that members of a community share – or are expected to share.

### ... But Not Only Television

The central role of television in the participating households might be the most impressive commonality, but it is not the only one. There are more dominant common trends in the Greek Cypriot households, even if they are not universally shared within the sample. In the next sections of this chapter I shall discuss trends and commonalities with more consistency and in relation to the qualitative and qualitative analysis of my findings – especially as expressed in participants' own words. But people's own words do not necessarily reflect the complexity of their identities and often undermine those simple dimensions of everyday experience exposing the mechanisms of constructing identity and sustaining particularity.

One of the things that the participants take for granted in their talk is the strength of the ethnic networks – their relations with other Greek Cypriots. While most homes I visited house families – with parents and their offspring living under the same roof – the extended family, kinship and friendly relations position the domestic in a fluid relationship with the public – or with other domestics. People visit and spend hours in each other's home, often without any previous arrangement. Visits, especially from relatives, rarely come as a surprise and visitors are usually welcome to share dinner and television evening viewing with the family, as my own experience shows and as my observation of participants' socialising reveals.

This mobility between different houses *brings the community home* and creates different dynamics compared to other homes – i.e. family units organised around their domestic privacy (Morley and Silverstone, 1990). It also reveals the ambivalence of the ethnic home, which, as discussed in Chapter II, has different meanings and cannot be defined only in terms of privacy but extends into many spheres of belonging.

Media consumption practices are also influenced by this extended sociality: media are communally consumed and television talk becomes an everyday bonding experience, not only between family members, but also with other members of the immediate – usually Greek Cypriot – social network. As communal media consumption takes place, especially the evening television viewing, younger and older members of the same family – and perhaps some from other families – share their time, talk about their viewing and communally construct the discourse of their everyday communication. In this shared space, at this shared time, the common *language* of communication is shaped around common experiences – or through the conflict of different experiences – and in the struggle of different generations to speak the same tongue: a meeting of Greek and English.

The language spoken, or listened to, in the Greek Cypriot home is complex. It has two different dimensions that relate, but which are not necessarily interdependent. On one hand, it is the spoken tongue. In the case of first generation households, Greek is often dominant when migrants talk among themselves and when the younger members listen to them. The younger generations most often speak in English, or in a mixture of English and Greek, even though they understand Greek. The two extremes, where only English or only Greek is spoken are rare among the households where heads of the migrant generation and younger generations live under the same roof. English is dominant in the households with British-born heads, even though household members might have a good level of Greek language comprehension. This point leads to the second dimension of the spoken ethnic language that does not necessarily relate to the spoken tongue. For many British-born people, their limited knowledge of Greek is not an issue in everyday life and it does not threaten their ethnic identity – they still seem to have many other cultural references they identify with. Ideologically, knowledge of the Greek language is often a concern, either as regret for not knowing it well, or as a desire to teach it to their children.

The media are seen here as a source of knowledge of the ethnic language in both its dimensions. Interestingly, media are more valued for this educational role by the British-born people as they grow older and have their own families. Then, they try to catch up with the Greek language in this informal way, when the formal ethnic education of the Greek school is well into the past. ‘I want to subscribe to Hellenic



TV... I keep saying and I don't do it...But, I want to...I like listening to Greek... I want my children to listen to it...to learn it...to get to know their culture', says a mother of two young children, who is in an interethnic marriage.

The domestic communal consumption of the media also creates shared agendas, perceptions and values. People get passionate about what they watch, and while this varies for different generations – e.g. in one case, it was the Kosovo War on ERT-SAT news for the older, and the latest episode of *Eastenders* for the younger – in its variety, communal viewing mediates commonality. The involvement of people with ethnic and non-ethnic media does not necessarily fit into a model that assumes a greater attachment of the older to ethnic media and a similar attachment of the younger to non-ethnic media. People's attention and interest shift between different media – both within the various ethnic media, and between ethnic and non-ethnic. I have met anyone who uses only ethnic or only non-ethnic media, even if they claim to do so, as *declarations* like this often contradict actual practice.

The participants' media consumption is *compatible* with their identities, but as their identities are multiple, so are their media choices. The same teenagers that express their contempt for LGR in the early evening, will lock themselves in their bedrooms to listen to the *New Generation* programme at night<sup>3</sup>. Their fathers, who declare they only use ethnic media will switch over to Channel 5 to watch an action film late in the same evening. Everyday experiences, including media consumption, are much more diverse than ethnic discourse implies. But the meanings people attach to experience partly define their importance and value for their identities. As much as the centrality that some first generation people attach to ethnic media consumption can relate to their ethnic identities, similarly, the indifference attached to younger people's use of ethnic media often diminishes their importance for their identities.

Important as they may be, the individual appropriation of the media and the individual processes of meaning construction, are not independent from the social relations and the cultural context of everyday life. In this case, the centrality of the family, reproduced in generation after generation, creates a context for the continuation of a sense of common belonging that primarily relies on familial relations. Parents and

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3 Greek pop music programme late at night which is presented by English-speaking DJs.

children live under the same roof, something that usually changes only when the children have their own families. And even beyond the domestic, the family becomes the smallest unit within the ethnic community that mediates people's initiation in its public activities. People often participate in the community as members of a family – ethnicity is primarily performed from a place within a familial context: when going to church, to the Greek school, to celebrations, and when consuming as a family, the ethnic media at home and beyond.

Young people usually face pressure not to leave their parents' home until they get married, a pressure which is much stronger for women. Because of this, most of the single women living alone that I met, are those who rejected the dominant family values and the prospect of getting married, at least in the terms of their parents (that is to get married at a young age and preferably to another Greek Cypriot). As the people who decide to live alone, or outside marriage, are those who challenge the dominant family/ethnic values, it is no coincidence that both sides see this decision as threatening for the community and for individuals' sense of ethnic belonging. The difference between those making the decision and those who criticise them is that the former see it as a challenge to dominant perceptions around ethnic identities and community and not as a rejection of ethnicity, while the latter see it as a direct and holistic threat.

These younger people are those who challenge the set boundaries and perceptions of ethnicity in the domestic as much as the public. Among them are some of the initiators of the so-called 'second-generation' institutions, which are much more focused on British experience rather than oriented towards Cyprus. These include professional associations, cultural clubs, etc. Some of them, who have been ostracised from the mainstream community, especially gays, stubbornly refuse their exiling from the ethnic space. It is worth mentioning here the Gay and Lesbian Cypriot Group, which insists on the ethnic character of its activities, though it renegotiates the dominant perceptions of ethnicity in more ways than one. Not only does it unconventionally celebrate ethnicity and homosexuality, it also negotiates other ethnic boundaries, especially since both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots participate in the same group.

A member of the group and one of the participants in this research struggles in her everyday life to assure her family and social network that she chooses to live alone and

that she does not want to get married. She is the same woman who challenges the dominant ethnic values as they are reproduced in public discourse, including the media. When the arrest of the well-known British Greek Cypriot artist George Michael brought his homosexuality in the centre of everyday ethnic talk, she demanded that the media should take a clear stand on the issue. When I brought the issue to the attention of one of LGR's senior producers, he reconfirmed that the station would in no way stand by George Michael on the issue of his sexuality, as this could cause outrage amongst the Church and the older members of the community. 'It's people's narrow-mindedness that pushed him [George Michael] away from the community', was a relevant comment made by another male interviewee. Whether or not this is true for George Michael, it is true for some of the members of the group who give up the efforts to keep their space in the group through their difference and completely detach themselves from the community, *disappearing* into the broader society.

### **Ethnicity at Home**

The first part of my research at home aimed at familiarising myself with the Greek Cypriot private space, at learning about the ways people talk and think about ethnicity and the media. For achieving that broad and extensive knowledge, I visited 40 households and met about 200 people. As discussed in Chapter III, these visits allowed me to conduct an equal number of semi-structured interviews, though discussions often extended to a few hours of informal socialising. In these 40 interviews, I collected a large amount of data about people's perceptions of ethnicity. The participants' replies to the structured questions, their comments and expressed attitudes led to the data that is presented in the following sections. In this chapter I try to draw a picture of the Greek Cypriot home and people's expressions of identity in it and bring together qualitative and quantitative analysis. In the following chapter I focus on the cases of four of these homes which I studied more extensively and more ethnographically.

The majority of the 40 households are nuclear families with parents and children living under the same roof (31 households or 77.5 % of cases), but there is a minority of cases, which includes couples with no children or adults living together as house/flatmates (10%) and a few single-person households (12.5%) (see Table 1 in

Appendix III). While there is no claim that this sample of households is statistically representative in any way, it tries to cover an extensive and diverse amount of cases, as these seem to relate to that particular ethnic group<sup>4</sup>.

The questionnaire<sup>5</sup> that assisted me conduct these interviews also allowed me to collect and analyse some descriptive statistics with the assistance of SPSS<sup>6</sup>. The quantitative data, as argued in Chapter III, extended my understanding of the group and indicated trends within the sample. These trends, as I investigated them further in my ethnographic research, are unravelled in this and the following chapters. Quantitative data also served as a cross-examination of validity in my overall findings. And in the process of triangulation both qualitative and quantitative data<sup>7</sup> serve as each other's test of validity. Furthermore, as the semi-structured interviews allowed me to collect both quantitative and qualitative data – with the majority of the questions being open – they themselves surpassed the dichotomy between qualitative and quantitative methods.

#### Talking about Ethnicity – The Interview<sup>8</sup>

If ethnicity has any meaning to people, it is when it is relevant to their own experience; it is when ethnicity relates to real faces, real issues and actions of everyday life. In an attempt to avoid receiving abstract comments that reflect ideologies about

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4 What I mean here is that, even though the sample would not stand as statistically representative, it does represent trends and characteristics of the group as I have seen these from my ethnographic position. For example, the fact that I chose the majority of the households to be nuclear family households derives from what my ethnographic research and my relevant reading allowed me to understand as being the dominant form of household. As an ethnographer though, I also chose to include other forms of households, which reflect different forms of the organizing of everyday life, different relations to ethnicity and media consumption. Also, I tried to include households from all different areas of the London Borough of Haringey, some of which have more dense Cypriot population and others that do not; some of which are working class and others that are middle class neighbourhoods. Furthermore, most of the households on study are working class households, as these again seem to be dominant, even though special effort was put on attempting to include middle class households. Similar was the case with the first/second generation households and the second/third generation households. The majority of households are households where the head(s) belong(s) to the first generation, but 27.5% of the cases are of British-born people (see Table 2 in Appendix III). Finally, I included some interethnic households as these might alter the context of ethnicity and media consumption. There are 7 (17.5%) interethnic households included in the sample (see Table 3 in Appendix III). Of course, all these attempts have been framed and restricted by the access I was allowed in different homes, which was initially dependent on Greek school student catalogues and friends' acquaintances and which then developed through snowball sampling.

5 See Appendix II.

6 Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

7 For some of the basic demographic/descriptive statistics of the 40 households look at Appendix III.

8 As already mentioned, most of the questions of the interview were open-ended. I have been responsible for the coding of the open questions. This coding was initiated so that the trends in some of the

ethnicity – comments that say what ethnicity should be, more than what it means to respondents – I addressed questions that actually relate to participants' real experience. Answers to questions about social networks, participation in activities, institutions and rituals can give at least some indication about the relevance of ethnicity to people. In some cases, replies can even bring to light very strong and dominant trends. When the vast majority of 29 (72.5%) of the respondents<sup>9</sup> said that their best friend was Greek Cypriot, hypotheses about the strength of ethnic boundaries were reconfirmed. Interestingly, when most of the other respondents said that their best friends are English, Greeks (from the mainland) and members of other white groups (e.g. Irish, Scottish, Turkish Cypriot), the replies become a strong indication about the boundedness of Greek Cypriotness within a context of Eurocentrism and Whiteness. Only one person would name a non-European as her best friend. If one compares these replies with other comments made by participants regarding interethnic marriages<sup>10</sup>, it becomes obvious that the primary boundaries are set around the Greek Cypriot community, the broader boundaries include White and European groups, such as the Greeks and the British<sup>11</sup>, while coloured groups are unconditionally excluded.

**Table 1 : Respondents' best friend**

	<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENT</b>
Greek Cypriot	29	72.5
Other	4	10.0
English	3	7.5
Greek (Mainland)	2	5.0
Turkish Cypriot	1	2.5
Total	39	97.5
Did not answer	1	2.5
Total	40	100.0

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respondents' comments could be systematically analysed.

9 While most interviews were group interviews, all the descriptive statistics here – unless stated otherwise – represent the answers of the main respondent in each of the 40 households.

10 See comments in the previous chapter and in Chapter VII, which refer to the possible choice of Greek Cypriots getting married to Black people. For the first generation especially, there is no question of such a choice being accepted. In the previous chapter the case of a father that exiled his daughter from the family is very characteristic. The ideology of ethnic and racial colour difference is very dominant within the group.

11 It should be noted that the case of the Turkish Cypriots as Others is a case of ambivalence. Greek Cypriots consider Turkish Cypriots to be White, though the boundaries between the two are still quite strong. Religion and historical conflict become in that case the defining separators.

Apart from the dominance of another Greek Cypriot as the choice for best friend, there is a generational difference: the majority of the respondents choosing a Greek Cypriot belongs to the first migrant generation (22 respondents, or 84.6% among all Cyprus-born people asked). More diversity characterises the choice of the British-born participants. Still, 7 British-born people (or 53.8% of British-born people asked) name a Greek Cypriot as their best friend<sup>12</sup>. The majority of those who do not, still admit that there are many Greek Cypriots in their immediate network of friends.

Choosing a Greek Cypriot friend reflects complex processes and it is relevant to context. The concentration of many members of the community in the locale does make this choice easier, or even inescapable. The local ethnic context becomes a value that mediates everyday experience. Christina, 35, explains why she thinks that living among Greek Cypriots is important to her: 'Something might happen to you. It's good to have somebody around that you can trust'. Kiki, 47, adds: 'At the beginning, when we first got here, it was very important [to live in an area with many Cypriots]...the thought of having friends and relatives around made us feel more secure...' And 36-old Androulla, who is married to a Welsh man, explains how she insisted they should get a house in Haringey: 'I grew up in the Greek Cypriot culture. I feel comfortable with them [Greek Cypriots]. I also like the sense of community'.

Residential preferences do not necessarily reflect a choice of being a part of a local ethnic community for all. It is interesting to note how a choice of home can reflect the diversity of other identities of people, such as class, gender and sexuality. In everyday life and in choices of lifestyle, these identities often conflict with dominant ethnic trends. For Sophie, 43, it is her middle-class identity and her choice to be single and live alone that defines her residential choice. It is a choice that also reveals her ethnic in-betweenness: 'I prefer to live a bit away from the community. I couldn't live anywhere where there is no Cypriot context at all. But I would not like to live somewhere where it is full of Cypriots'. Stella, 43, another single and successful professional working outside the ethnic enclave says she chose to live away from the areas with a high Cypriot population to avoid ethnic concentration. 'I did not want to be part of a ghetto!' she says emphatically. Though the people moving away are primarily

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<sup>12</sup> See Table 5 in Appendix III

British-born people who prefer to *decontextualise* their experience from the daily ethnic community, their everyday life does not lack ethnic references. Rather, their experience reflects the shift to new and hybrid ethnicities. Both of the women quoted before are active members of second generation ethnic organisations.

For these women, as with most of the other participants, a sense of belonging, or of partly belonging, in an ethnic community still defines their self-identification and many of their choices in everyday life. Positioning one's self in and evaluating this community varies – but the reference is still dominant. British-born participants are more critical of the community. While the majority of them believe there is such a thing as a Greek Cypriot community, only 4 of them see this community as being necessarily positive and supportive for its members<sup>13</sup>. Yianna, 32, says: 'People usually help their own family, not the others. Those Cypriots who have a lot of money look down on the poorer, they do not help them'. For the migrants replying, the positive character of community is more broadly recognised, with 11 of them making a relevant statement. Spyros, 49, says: 'Yes, in celebrations the community participates in a united way. There is co-operation between the people and between different community institutions. Before, Cypriots did not used to be so united. Now we prefer a Cypriot lawyer, a Cypriot doctor...a Cypriot professional rather than any other...' And 34-year-old Nicos' comments agree with that, though putting more emphasis on the information and communication aspect: 'Yes, people stand by each other sometimes. There are a lot of social services offered within the community for the people who need them but there is still need for more information'.

Interestingly, for both generations the evaluation of community is divided between different opinions. Opinions that highlight a *use and value* relation to community are more dominant. Androulla, 36, who at an earlier moment of the interview emphasised how she likes living among other Greek Cypriots, rejects the idea that there is a sense of community when asked directly, revealing the contradictions in evaluation of community which depends on context: 'When I was younger I would say yes. But now, I think community is a myth. People only help their own. People have

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13 See Table 6 in Appendix III

changed a lot. It is a massive generalisation to say that Greeks help each other more than others'.

For British-born Panny, on the other hand, community is what brings the people together: 'There is strong concentration. People need to be living in an area together. To have a church close by. They get married in the Greek Church, use the Greek media and the Greek schools. Third and fourth generation still go to Greek schools and community centres. Greek Cypriots are not fully integrated and need their different identities. And there is a very strong sense of identity'. Personal experiences and people's own sense of ethnic identity though, define their positioning in the community. Panny's sexual identity partly defines how she constructs her ethnic identity and how other people see her in the ethnic context: '...But for the people who are not part of the mainstream idea of tradition it is difficult. I feel more like an outsider. There are expectations from everybody....' Making unconventional choices of lifestyle increases the ambivalence of people who choose not to conform to the ethnic norm. But it is an ambivalence that reveals in-betweenness, it reveals the strength of ethnicity as a reference that even when people construct a lifestyle away from it, they still partly depend on ethnicity. In Sophie's words:

There is a sense of community, but it's not homogenous. It's a community but with different parts. Something unites them: their language, culture, but not all the people are the same. I do not know if I am really part of it. Those who are part of it must feel they belong. I do not know if I belong.... I do not belong with the English either.

The diversity of British-born people's experiences, which usually extend beyond the boundaries of the locality, the ethnic community and networks, unlike for many first generation people, shapes a more critical understanding and identification with the ethnic group and the community. A critical approach to Greek Cypriotness often reveals the shift towards new ethnicities. A City-based 35-year-old accountant, Chris, gives community meanings that reflect his in-betweenness and reveal a demotic deconstruction (Baumann, 1996) of the ideology of community. His critical perspective though leaves space for his own particular sense of belonging:

What does community mean to me? A collection of people of Greek Cypriot origin. We have to ask what community actually means before we try to answer the question. A collection of people being together out of a need to survive...It provides shelter for those who would have a hard time outside a Greek Cypriot community. Some other people have invested in different things, like for example common interests. Others are in it because they desperately need it for politics and other interests. You have the peripheries as well. People who are Anglicised. Those who do not even



know or do not want to know about LGR...Am I part of it? Yes and no...Historically I am a part of it...

Chris's disillusionment and realism – like for Panny's and Sophie's – does not stop him from being involved in second generation ethnic organisations, having many Greek Cypriot friends and participating in the efforts to establish a Hellenic Society at Lloyds. In the everyday context of his professional life, which is predominantly white – English – middle-class – male, his ethnicity can be a negative element, like he says. Or, it might become positive. In words that reveal the performative character of identity, he says: 'In the market you have to have a selling point. If you are Greek Cypriot, you better say you are one and be proud of it'.

As the diversity of everyday experience becomes more and more extensive, some key ethnic issues remain common references for all generations and, as they become stereotyped and established, they pass from generation to generation. Some of these issues remain high on the agenda for the younger generations and they actually become more important in time as the ultimate symbols of their ethnicity. For the Greek Cypriots, the issue that more clearly reflects that persistence of shared ethnic concerns is the Cyprus problem. The relevant comments of participants, the wide-spread interest they show when they are is tension around the issue, the series of various community events that deal with it and its domination in the agenda of both the local and the global ethnic media reveal that the Cyprus problem is shared as a concern among most subgroups and across generations<sup>14</sup>. The way people express this concern in everyday life might vary – and it is expected to vary as their identities are different – but, in all its different expressions, it remains a common concern. Chris criticises the first generation for its political perceptions and ways of dealing with the problem. However, in words that show the inescapable and co-existing multiplicity within the context of the ethnic community, he emphasises that he respects first generation choices: 'I've never been in a march [against Turkish occupation of Northern Cyprus]. It's fine that people do it, but I consider it a waste of time. I think it would be more useful to apply tricks we learn from working and living in Britain in facing the Cyprus problem'.

At the same time British Greek Cypriots express their concern about the Cyprus problem, they emphasise their belonging in Britain. 'London is my Home' is the

straightforward reply of 24-year-old British-born Katie to the question whether she would ever like to migrate to Cyprus. Surprisingly perhaps, her Cyprus-born parents' reply is as negative as hers. Only one person out of the 40 asked said that he would definitely like to migrate to Cyprus – or return to Cyprus in his case. For those who would like to return to Cyprus, their replies, as coded in the following table, imply a dream never to come true, a clear sense of belonging to Britain, or a refusal to directly and straightforwardly reject the idea.

**Table 2: 'Would you ever like to emigrate to Cyprus?'**

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
No	17	42.5
Yes, if family arrangements allow	15	37.5
Yes, if Cyprus problem is solved	5	12.5
Don't know/No Opinion	2	5.0
Yes, definitely	1	2.5
Total	40	100.0

Directly negative answers to the questions are three times higher among the British-born people compared to the Cyprus-born respondents (see Table 9 in Appendix III). 'It would be difficult to get used to Cyprus. It would be like going to a different planet' says 27-year-old Costas. And British-born Androulla is similarly distant to the idea: 'It's another world. I do not think I'd click with people'. But, the answers that are more popular among the first generation, such as 'I would return to Cyprus if the Cyprus problem was solved', or, and even more extensively, 'I would like to return to Cyprus but family obligations don't allow me to do so' reveal a denial of the idea that there will never be a return. Antonia, 35 says: 'I would like to go to Cyprus, because my whole family is there. But I can't...my children do not want to go' and Kiki, 47, in a similar comment, argues: 'I want to go when my children are settled down. But my husband does not want to'. The context of these replies, which are systematically presented in the following chart, reveal that most of these people would not like to move back to Cyprus, either because they do not feel they belong there, or because they enjoy more the life that they ended up living in Britain. Nasia, a 10-year-old girl, was

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14 See also Table 7 in Appendix III

probably one of the few respondents that directly expressed her opinion. Even though her family is one of the latest migrants as they came to Britain only 8 years ago, the possibility of return finds her unenthusiastic: 'No way!' she says emphatically.

Very few adults would be as direct in admitting to themselves or to anybody else that they will never move to Cyprus; the myth of return is a very strong component of the migrant ethnic identities and it is very difficult to openly and consciously reject it. Even those who would ideally like to move to Cyprus are so much part of a family and friend network that their possible return there could become a violent interruption of all the relations they depend upon. Especially for first generation, this has already happened once when they left Cyprus. This deterritorialization is an experience most people do not want to experience again.

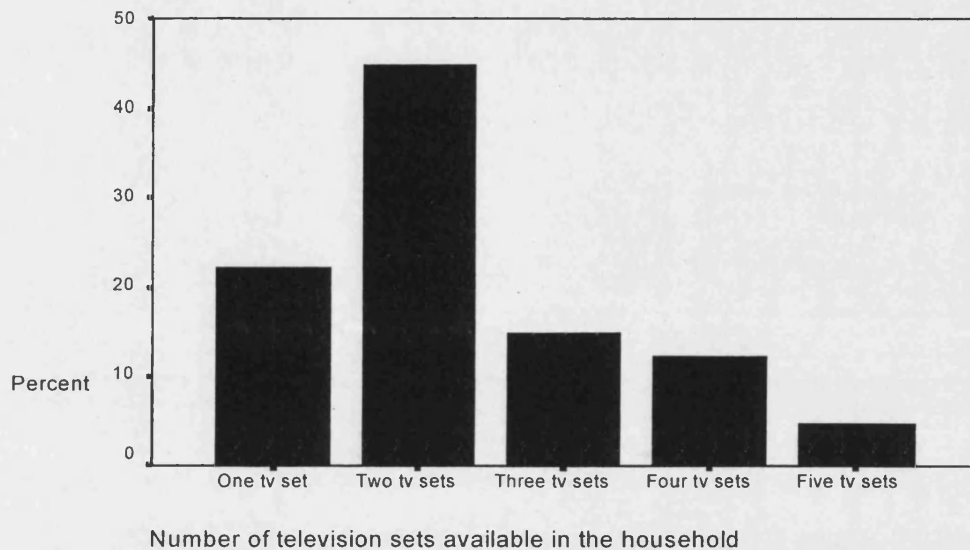
### **The North London Greek Cypriot Home and The Media**

As I indicated in the first part of this chapter, almost all the houses that I visited during my research were extensively media-saturated. Television especially was always present in the communal spaces and sometimes in every single bedroom of the house, as the following graph shows. Specifically, 31 (77.5%) of the 40 households have two or more TV sets, while only 9 (22.5%) have only one<sup>15</sup>. Not a single household was without television.

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<sup>15</sup> See Table 10 in Appendix III for analytic percentages.

Number of television sets available in the 40 households



The majority of the households with only one television set are households with between one and three people. In most of the family households, there are at least two television sets. This relates, on one hand, to the trends in television ownership in Britain<sup>16</sup> (Barwise and Ehrenberg, 1988) in general and on the other, to the recognition that people living under the same roof have different tastes, lifestyles and cultural preferences. In everyday life there is consent between family members to accept each other's differences. Parents recognise that their children are born in and belong to Britain, they say and show that they respect this belonging, as discussed in more detail in the following chapters. Similarly, their children show equal respect to their parents' dependence on Cyprus. Most British-born Greek Cypriots say that, beyond any criticism they have for the ethnic media, they appreciate them for their role as companions for the first generation. The availability of more than one television set allows people to satisfy their diverse watching interests and leaves space for individuals to get together in communal viewings or get separated in their individual uses of television.

Television ownership is in most cases combined with diversity in access. Only 12 households have just terrestrial television, 11 have cable or satellite<sup>17</sup> and 17 have cable

<sup>16</sup> Barwise and Ehrenberg (1988) were writing 12 years ago that about half of the British households have more than one television sets.

<sup>17</sup> Fieldwork was completed before digital television started becoming popular.

or satellite including at least one of the ethnic television channels<sup>18</sup>. The more extensive television ownership is, the more extensive access to ethnic television is as well, though this is not necessarily the rule. Among those households having access to ethnic television channels, 14 (82.4%) have more than one television set. In those households where the heads are British-born, ethnic television is much rarer than in those households where the heads are migrants. It needs to be emphasised though, that within the context of the communal ethnic media use and the interconnection of extended family households, many young people watch Cypriot channels at their parents' and grandparents' house. The daily or weekly get together of family members of the first, second and third generation is often accompanied by ethnic media consumption. Thus, many young and old Greek Cypriots who do not own ethnic television, still become regular viewers of some programmes – especially soaps and sitcoms, which are quiet successful across generations. In that way, viewing becomes intergenerational, regular and renews a sense of ethnic commonality.

Even if the communal domestic viewing of the ethnic channels remains common, their future is threatened. The majority of the purely British-born participants' households do not choose to gain access to any of the ethnic television channels, even if they often claim they want to. In the case of the present sample, these households are the ones including the majority of interethnic families. They are also those households, which, in majority, have only terrestrial television. In some of these cases, as my ethnographic work has revealed, it is not a matter of choosing or not choosing ethnic media against non-ethnic. In some of these homes, television consumption is more limited in general, revealing a cultural difference – a difference that does not necessarily relate to ethnicity, but more to middle-class identities. Overall though, it seems that the more media-wise a household is, with a larger range of media available, the more diverse media use is, including ethnic media consumption.

The central role of television and the power of it as a mediator of communication between family members and with guests does not mean that the other media are peripheral. The majority of the homes I have visited are media-saturated in general, not only television saturated. That means that usually the radio is on and its listening is

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18 See table 11 in Appendix III

communal during the hours the television is switched off, like in the morning or early afternoon. Its use becomes individual, gendered or age-defined when tastes and interests predominate over family dynamics. With reference to all media consumption, use becomes communal when shared interests and family socialising predominate at certain times of the day and it becomes segregated as diverse interests and tastes take over at other times. More than one television set, more than one radio and stereo serve the diverse media preferences. In most of the homes with ethnic television, late in the evening, the television set in the living room will be switched onto CBC-SAT, while another will be showing a mainstream English channel. Similarly, the radio in the kitchen will usually be tuned in LGR and another one, usually in the children's bedroom(s), will be switched on Virgin or Capital FM, or Kiss FM.

People move between channels as they move between rooms. This mobility is mostly experienced by the younger members of the household. It is like their moving in and out of their ethnicity in other context. Ethnicity predominates in the main family setting, but its importance decreases as they move to more private, especially teenage, spaces such as their bedroom.

### **Ethnic Television Viewing Trends**

Among the ethnic television channels, it is CBC-SAT that is most appreciated. It is the channel most often watched, it is the channel that changed people's viewing practices, as they say and as it becomes obvious in the observation of their actual use. During my research, I saw male viewers of the evening news on CBC-SAT organising their evening routines around their devoted daily viewing, I overheard women talking about a Cypriot soap over coffee, I repeatedly heard sitcom jokes being shared by first and second generation. And during the interviews, I heard people calling CBC-SAT television of the *homeland*, the channel that *speaks* the ethnic language<sup>19</sup>, the channel that informs people daily about what is happening in Cyprus and entertains them with some of the most popular programmes across the community – primarily sitcoms and soaps. Dimitris, 49, likes CBC-SAT: 'The news is good. Now we know what is going on in Cyprus. Before we didn't have a clue'. He also explains that himself and his wife

watch CBC-SAT almost everyday, unlike ERT-SAT which they would only watch it if they flicked through and saw something interesting on. The appreciation of CBC-SAT is so dominant, that only 4 of the respondents believe it has no ethnic role. Much more people (13 or 32.5% of the sample) think it is invaluable for all, while 11 (27.5 %) primarily appreciate it for informing British Greek Cypriots about Cyprus.

**Table 3: Perceived Ethnic Role of Cypriot satellite channel CBC-SAT**

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
Is invaluable for all Greek Cypriots	13	32.5
Is useful for informing community about Cyprus life/culture	11	27.5
No Opinion/Do Not Watch It	10	25.0
Has No Ethnic Role	4	10.0
Is Useful for Old People	1	2.5
Is Useful for New Generations	1	2.5
Total	40	100.0

When asked if they would like to see some changes in CBC-SAT programmes, people's replies reveal some dominant trends: 'We want them to show more comedies and sketches', says 16-year-old Marina. 'We would like them to show us more of the programmes they show in Cyprus and more new programmes' says Kiki. And one of the British-born, more educated interviewees replies: 'They need to develop higher standards' and 'I think that if they had good historical programmes about Cyprus, good drama, music and cookery programmes, I would like to watch it'. This critical perspective is characteristic among the more educated members of the group. As some of them say, in order to watch it, it will have to fulfil their general standards for choosing any channel.

Unlike the dominant appreciation of CBC-SAT, the local cable Hellenic TV<sup>20</sup> attracts primarily negative comments. Not so many people watch Hellenic TV; among those that do, dissatisfaction is obvious. This is an interesting case of a channel that is supposed to be local, but which has failed to represent the local community, its tastes and communication needs. The majority of its subscribers watch it for the satellite

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19 See later the comments regarding ERT-SAT.

20 Hellenic TV rebroadcasts CBC-SAT and ERT-SAT programmes, but it also broadcasts some hours of

rebroadcasts. Michael, 42, says: ‘The programmes that they rebroadcast from CBC-SAT are good. But their own programmes are not...and they always show these old films’. The opinion of Yiannis, 39, is even worse: ‘The directors there [at Hellenic TV] just think of how to make more money. They put on rubbish all the time.’ In their critical and disillusioned approach to Hellenic TV, North London Cypriots reflect their cynicism towards the media. Some of them pay to receive Hellenic TV. This choice does not make them passive. They pay for it because there is something in it they want to watch. But they still have a critical opinion about it. The criticism to Hellenic TV is so widespread that it is often the subject of public talk among friends and kin.

**Table 4: Perceived Ethnic Role of Local Cable Channel Hellenic TV**

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
No Opinion/Do Not Watch It	16	40.0
Very Bad Quality/Good Only for Rebroadcasted CBC-SAT Programmes	14	35.0
Has Positive Role for the Community	4	10.0
Is good because of local programmes	2	5.0
Has No Ethnic Role	2	5.0
Is Not Satisfying/Has No Local Focus	2	5.0
Total	40	100.0

Fourteen respondents (35%) criticise Hellenic TV for its bad quality and argue that it is only worth having it for the CBC-SAT programmes it rebroadcasts. Elli, 46, argues: ‘I don’t watch that much of Hellenic TV because they always show those old films and things I do not find that interesting. Basically I watch it for the news and current affairs programmes, like *(Proektaseis)*, to learn about what is happening in Cyprus’<sup>21</sup>. Unlike LGR, very few see Hellenic TV as having a role for the community (10%). There is such a desire though. Eighteen-year-old Irini expresses that concern: ‘I wish they had more community programmes. All they do is put videotapes on’. Some recent attempts of Hellenic TV to produce locally-focused programmes have attracted positive comments. The most famous of them ( *– Faces*) presents

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its own independent programme.

21 She refers to programmes broadcast on CBC-SAT and rebroadcast on Hellenic TV.



prominent figures of the community. 'It's nice. We get to know more about these people we've heard of for years', Spyros says.

ERT-SAT is an even less familiar and less appreciated channel than Hellenic TV, especially for the younger generations. This lack of appreciation and interest in the Greek ERT-SAT shows that the often claimed diasporic sense of belonging in a great Greek diaspora is not to be taken for granted. While some older people recognise that ERT-SAT programmes are of better quality compared to CBC-SAT and they are more educational, most participants are indifferent about ERT-SAT. Interestingly, many of those who are relatively familiar with ERT-SAT's programmes say that they have a problem understanding the language, unlike CBC-SAT which they find easier to comprehend. While the language of ERT-SAT is the commonly spoken Modern Greek, it is alienating for many British Cypriots who are much more familiar with the Cypriot dialect/version of Modern Greek. Marina, 16, expresses this distancing from ERT-SAT. 'It's boring. And they speak too fast'. But as most, Marina admits she would be interested, if ERT-SAT showed programmes she likes: 'Like the Greek Top 10 for example'. At the same time, her mother, appreciates ERT-SAT for its educational role: 'I like it because I learn things I did not know before'. She is the one who often tries to persuade her children to watch more of this channel. Her insistence reveals a sense of trust on the media as (ethnic) communicators and educators.

### The predomination of LGR

All households in North London can receive LGR. But LGR reception is not only a potential; people actually do listen to it in an amazingly broad extent. Everybody I met often listens to it. Among the 40 households, 32 (80%) do listen it regularly – at least once a week. In 22 of these 32 households, all members listen to LGR at least once a week, while in 10 households only the first-generation members do so<sup>22</sup>. However, it is important to note here that many young people's listening to LGR takes the form of *accidental overhearing*, which occurs during their parents' and grandparents' planned listening. I often witnessed this kind of overhearing that, though not admitted, it informs young people's discourse and tastes – especially in music.

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22 See table 14 in Appendix III

The majority of people appreciate LGR, especially for its local, community role, more than in any ethnic medium. The words of 48-year-old Dinos reveal that appreciation: ‘LGR is good. It’s our local radio. You know what is going on when you listen to it. It also has campaigns for people in need. We’ve been listening to it since it was a pirate station. Besides, it’s good for listening to Greek music which otherwise is so expensive to buy...’ Soula, 43, expresses her satisfaction: ‘It’s nice. It’s good to listen to our own language, to the news from Cyprus and what’s going on in the community’. In a home where LGR is the everyday background, all its members have an opinion about it. Her British-born 16-year-old son says: ‘It’s good for the music. With LGR you can catch up with the latest Greek music’. Some people have complaints to make for LGR, especially as it sometimes seems incompatible with their own sense of ethnicity. British-born Androulla, who is in an interethnic marriage, does criticise LGR for its often backward looking opinions and its focus on Cyprus. But she admits she occasionally listens to it. She especially appreciates its community role: ‘It’s very good for the community. For people who need it and do not speak English. It has good information and advice’.

**Table 5: Perceived Ethnic Role of Local Radio LGR**

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
Brings Community Together	15	37.5
Is Good Companion for Old People	6	15.0
Is invaluable for information, culture and as a companion	5	12.5
Is good for those working at home or ethnic businesses	4	10.0
Has No Ethnic Role	4	10.0
Informs Us about Local Community	2	5.0
Is good for introducing new generation to ethnic culture	2	5.0
Informs Us about Cyprus	2	5.0
Total	40	100.0

Fifteen (37.5%) of the respondents see as the primary characteristic of LGR the fact that it brings the community together. Five (12.5%) of them believe that LGR is invaluable as a companion and for its role for disseminating ethnic culture and

information, while two (12.5%) believe that LGR informs the people about the local community. These three categories that clearly recognise a community ethnic role in LGR – the ethnic medium that is more extensively used across different ages, genders and generations – dominate among the responses. It is interesting to note how people show their trust to LGR. Nicos', 60, words, express this trust: 'On LGR we listen to our own language...we learn what's going on. Without it, we would be lost. Before LGR and the cable [Hellenic TV] we were like shipwrecked. Now, we have to concentrate to realise we are in foreign parts'. People turn to LGR for receiving and for sending information, for entertaining themselves and for communicating with members of the community – in the locality and in its diasporic scale. Interestingly, some of the most successful and most discussed programmes are those of live connections between London, Nicosia and other spots on the planet where Greek Cypriots live. In this decentred and decentralised live exchange of information, wishes and emotions<sup>23</sup> among dispersed Greek Cypriot populations, the multiplicity of connections within the hybrid imagined community are shaped and renewed.

#### ...And the Internet

For the younger Greek Cypriots, ethnic media use mostly occurs, either as part of group activities within the family and networks of kin, or in the form of overhearing and watching programmes of their parents' and grandparents' choice. In this context, the primarily individual and youth-associated activity of using the Internet does not often coincide with interest in ethnic sites and ethnic communication. When this research was conducted, at least one member in 22 of the whole of 40 households had access to the Internet, a number that surely has become much higher since then. But from those 22, only for 7 Internet use was partly ethnic<sup>24</sup>. People do not choose to use the Internet for ethnic information or communication, as it offers them no more than the other media that they can access much easier. For younger people to turn to ethnic media for individual use, as an individual choice, something they are really interested in must be

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23 Most of these radio connections take place during big religious celebrations and during holidays and they primarily aim at getting dispersed families and friends on the air to exchange wishes and greetings.

24 Ethnic Internet use means using the Internet to access (Greek/Greek) Cypriot Home Pages, emailing other people and/or participating in ethnic discussion groups and mailing lists. See table 16 in Appendix III

offered. A characteristic example is the *New Generation* music programme on LGR. As their tuning into ethnic media is very selective, for them to *tune into ethnic Internet*, it has to offer them something equally attractive. And this does not seem to occur – at least at the moment.

Those who occasionally use the Internet to access ethnic sites are people in their 30s who are familiar with new technologies and who can use it to access sites such as the Cypriot banks in the UK or other sites related to their professional interests. Nevertheless, it needs to be emphasised that most participants who have access to the Internet, primarily use it for email communication. Thus, while most people do not think of mentioning it, their Internet use is actually ethnic as they contact friends, including Greek Cypriots, via the email systems. One of them explains how he tracked on the Internet an old schoolmate from Cyprus, who he has not seen for 20 years and who now lives in the USA. They have since established regular on-line communication.

### **A Concluding Note**

Overall, this research indicates that among the British-born people, ethnic media use is more limited, following an opposite trend to that of the first generation. As participants admit<sup>25</sup> and as their everyday practices confirm, ethnic media use does not disappear. In my long-term ethnographic study and in my shorter encounters with the participants, I saw how the communal television evening watching is customary in many British Greek Cypriot homes. It is through this communal watching that the younger generations get more accustomed to ethnic television and to the meanings constructed around the communal consumption of non-ethnic programmes. As media presence is so extensive in the domestic space and everyday life, the meanings constructed around them exceed media use as such and *invade* many aspects of everyday life. When young people's parents criticise 'English values' during the communal watching of a BBC series, children are introduced to another set of values, a set of Greek Cypriot values. As the Cyprus problem is introduced and reintroduced on the CBC-SAT news day after day, it often becomes the dominant political concern all the members of the family.

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<sup>25</sup> See table 17 in Appendix III

But as words and practices reveal, people's use of the media is critical and relates to their ethnic identities, their other identities, as well as to the context of their everyday life and the particular context where media consumption takes place. 'I don't listen to the radio in general. Also I don't relate to LGR. I would listen to it if there were debates and controversial discussions for our community. If there was something juicy and challenging', says British-born Sophie. Mary, another British-born social worker explains that she listens to LGR for the Greek music since she enjoys it, though she avoids news and discussion programmes: 'I guess I am not too confident with the language. I prefer music rather than talk'. Panny is more straightforward regarding her rejection of LGR: 'Its crap! Also I am not able to follow politics and language. I like some of the music but I hate Greek pop, Euro-pop, and phone-ins. I would be interested in listening to challenging discussions. But I like listening to LGR late in the night for the music. Also for community affairs and for Greek and Cypriot recipes'.

All three women's comments indicate a revealing similarity in their critical perspective, making obvious the distancing of British-born educated, middle-class people from LGR's discussion and opinion programmes. They distance themselves from ethnic media's first-generation and extensively Cyprus-oriented discourse, demanding programmes that address bilingual people and consumers who are accustomed to the British media style and quality. At the same time though, music and Greek cuisine programmes are more compatible with their own diasporic identities, which are more selective in their *commitment* with the ethnic culture.

The critical perspective that members of the younger, middle-class groups adapt towards ethnic media also reflects their critical approach to the media in general. Chris says that he does not watch ethnic television: 'I find it pathetic. People doing the programmes have no creativity or imagination. If I watched an English programme and it was crap, I'd switch over. Why should I watch something bad just because it's Greek?' Similarly, Maria, an 18-year-old student, rejects LGR, because she feels that it is incompatible with her values and identity: 'The way they [in LGR] see Cypriot women is unrealistic. They do not realise that Greek Cypriot women have changed'.

As already argued, the critical stand of many interviewees – especially of the younger generations – reveals their resistance to media discourses they feel underestimate them, either as media consumers, and/or as people who have different

ethnic identities. Manos, 48, expresses this dissatisfaction: 'I can't stand LGR. They think that everybody is stupid'. As he goes on, it becomes obvious that he looks down on first generation women who have extensively dominated the female community discourse for years. 'LGR's only listeners are the women who stay at home and the machinists<sup>26</sup>', he says in a comment that actually sums up stereotypes of younger generations about the migrants and about the media. These kind of comments – though not often in an insulting tone for the migrant generation – reveal dominant perceptions of younger people who associate ethnic media with the migrants. 'I'm very happy that LGR is there...for my mom and my grandma... I don't know how they'd spend their time without it...For myself?...I don't know if it makes that much of a difference' says Elena, 29. In a similar comment, Agnes, 43, notes: 'It's good that LGR exists. People do listen to it. Especially people who do not feel comfortable with English. But I can't relate to it'. Maria, 18, adds: 'LGR is invaluable for the old people, especially those who can't speak or understand English'. It becomes apparent that differences in the evaluation and consumption practices of ethnic media are extensively related to generational differences – differences in relation to the migration experience and the stage in people's life cycle.

In such comments, younger generations reveal their ambivalence towards the media and their ethnicity. They resist what they consider to be the dominant and first generation culture. Their media consumption practices and their choices of partners, friends and locality indicate that this ambivalence does not erase their attachment to ethnicity, though it does become more critical, selective and situational.

As the situational and non-holistic attachment to ethnicity relates to the experience of British-born generations, their relation of *use and value* with the media predominates. LGR might not be their constant companion, but it is there to inform and keep them in touch with the community – in its local and global scale. Many young Greek Cypriots tune into evening programmes to find out when a forthcoming Greek clubbing night will be, or about an organised trip to Ayia Napa<sup>27</sup>. British-born solicitor, Thelma, 61, also turns to LGR for information: 'I just came back from a funeral. And it

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26 Many of the daytime LGR programmes address primarily people working in ethnic businesses, or at home. Also, the most usual callers in call-in programmes are middle-aged, working class, Greek speaking women.

was on LGR I heard about the man's death', she says. But she also argues that to a large extent LGR is tacky. Her class identity is different to most of LGR's dedicated listeners, or at least that is what she thinks. 'Most programmes address machinists. But since I've been to the university, I expect something more'. Thelma is actively involved in the community, but her involvement is mostly directed to second generation organisations, such as the Association of Greek Cypriot Lawyers or the cultural Hellenic Centre. Katie, 24, who belongs to some of the organisations Thelma belongs to as well, also sees herself as different from the majority of Greek Cypriots, even though she works in one of the most flourishing ethnic businesses. She draws her own picture of LGR and the community:

It's pretty bad quality – it's much too much music dominated and the news are badly read...it appeals to the uneducated and the housewives... The problem is that LGR lacks competition...I'd love to see how it would survive if there was a rival organisation...But the Greek Cypriot community is defined by LGR...which is very sad. But it is a direct vehicle for communication within the community itself, something that you can see particularly when there are appeals, whether its an earthquake or a Radio-Marathon<sup>28</sup>.

Against British-born generations' critical perspective, the migrant generation emphasises the opposite side of ethnic media's community responsibility, as they see it. They emphasise and value the role of LGR as the mediator of ethnic culture and language for the younger generations and put many of their aspirations for ethnic continuation on this primary ethnic medium. 'Through LGR we learn a lot. We learn about the new music, about traditions, it helps children with the language', Koula, 38, says. And the ethnic role given to LGR is summed up in Chris's, 61, words: 'It teaches the language to our children. But it should be more educational... For the youth's sake'.

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27 Very popular Cypriot holiday resort for clubbers.

28 Radio-Marathons are days of LGR's programmes dedicated to collecting money for different charities.

## **Chapter VI**

### **Ethnography at Home: Four families, Four Stories**

The study of media consumption and identities at home exceeded the limitations of the interviews and short visits already discussed and extended to in-depth and intensive ethnographic research in four homes. In this second part of the research at home, I aimed at investigating continuities and discontinuities, family politics, communal and familial use of the media, individual consumption preferences and practices. Ethnography allowed me to study media consumption and ethnicity in the temporal and spatial context of everyday life, while being reflexive about their relation to gender, age, generation and change in people's life cycle.

In this chapter, four different case studies are presented – the cases of four British Cypriot families of North London, all of which are media sophisticated and have domestic access to at least two different electronic ethnic media. The family is chosen for this more extensive ethnographic part of my research as it is the main unit in most Greek Cypriot households. All four ethnic families are as much *typical* as they are particular in their everyday life and in their media consumption. They have as many similarities as they have differences among themselves and with other British Greek Cypriot families. The commonalities that become more visible as the four case studies unfold, reveal important dimensions of media consumption and ethnicity; their differences emphasise that commonality does not imply overall and holistic similarity. In their diversity, these families had to meet certain *prerequisites* in order to be included. As the family, with parents and children living under the same roof is the most common case within the group, the four cases had to fit to this category. The co-existence of parents and children would also allow me to study generational differences, cross-generational similarities and family politics. These families also had to have access to at least two different ethnic electronic media, allowing me to study how ethnicity and media relate in everyday life, how technology, availability and use patterns changes media consumption.

The way these families were chosen varies. The first one was randomly chosen from a Greek school's student catalogue. The first contact started with a phone call and a short interview. The second family was contacted through a friend who was a Greek school teacher and taught the children of the family. The third family was the family of



a British-born Greek Cypriot acquaintance with whom I worked in a Cypriot women's group aiming at bringing together Greek and Turkish Cypriots. The fourth family was one that was friendly with another acquaintance – a producer of LGR. As the four stories unfold, it becomes obvious that my relationship with them and the extent to which I managed to study their everyday life varies. But this diversity and inequality between families as wholes and between different members of each family as individuals reflect the real terms in which ethnographic work is conducted and the real terms in which everyday life unfolds.

Each family was visited between five and seven times within a period of about six months. During the first visit, the initial interview<sup>1</sup> was conducted and during the last visit the concluding, longer interview. Visits to each household took place at different times of the day and the week, even though they were restricted by the family members' activities and schedules. Throughout this period, all the members of the family were asked to fill in, at two different times, brief time use diaries for six different days of the week, where they were asked to write what they watched, listened to or what other activities they did during the specific days<sup>2</sup>. Furthermore, a map of the positioning of the media in the house was also drawn as an assisting tool for my understanding of people's positioning in the natural space where media consumption, socialisation and isolation take place. Time use diaries and media map drawing were both useful as tools, but ethnographic work was primarily dependent on the participant observation that took place over longer and shorter visits to the house and the notes and comments written down after every visit.

### **I. Ioannou Family - An Extremely Media Wise Household**

My relationship with this family started with a short interview agreed during a phone call, after I explained what my research was about. When the interview was conducted in March 1998, the family agreed to participate in a longer and more demanding ethnographic research. I explained to them, like to every family, that I did not want to disturb their everyday life and that they should go on with their activities

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1 Based on the questionnaire presented in Appendix I

2 Sample of the time use diary included in Appendix IV.

like before. They reacted positively to my request, agreeing that media consumption and identities are best studied over longer periods.

This family consists of four members, Eleni, 42, Michalis, 45 and their two children Chryssa, 14 and Yiannis, 17, at the time. When I first visited the Ioannou family, they were a bit reserved. The initial interview took place in the living room, a cold room, which is obviously used only when guests are in the house. There was no television in the room and the shelves were covered with encyclopædias. Long silences forced me to quickly proceed with the interview... Second question: Could you tell me which technologies you have at home? The answer: Five television sets, two satellite boxes, three videos, a computer, two telephones lines... And media consumption exceeds beyond the domestic space. Yiannis has Internet access at college and he owns a mobile phone he never abandons, as his mother emphasises. His father, Michalis, watches Greek Cypriot satellite television at the coffee-shop where he goes once or twice a week. His wife, Eleni, and daughter, Chryssa, watch it during their weekly visits to relatives. And both Chryssa and her brother Yiannis watch television and video a lot when they get together with their friends.

Demographically this household is rather characteristic of the dominant Greek Cypriot household in Haringey: it is a working class, nuclear family household, with two children. The parents are born in Cyprus and the children in Britain; the parents are employed in two of the most widespread professional categories among Greek Cypriots – Eleni is a machinist and Michalis is a self-employed electrician – and they have aspirations for educational and social success for their children. Their media ownership follows patterns that are dominant in the households participating in this research: there is more than one television set in the house, there is at least one VCR (three in this case) and satellite connection (in other cases it is cable), a computer, stereo systems and at least one mobile phone.

Ioannou is a rather close family to *outsiders*. Most of their socialising is with relatives and there is a hesitance to trust non-family members. I was trusted to a certain extent because I was not a member of the local community; thus, there was a small chance of gossiping around about the family. At the same time, I was a Greek Cypriot – a member of the community in its imagining – thus, I was not considered to be a complete stranger. Benefiting from a positive bias that my own identity created, I also

promised the family the confidentiality that my professional role required. As the study developed, it became apparent that Ioannou thought I was interesting company and, in a way, I was a subject of observation for them as much as they were for me. My study was something new for them, so was my intense interest to their everyday life; probably they were trying to understand the *how* and the *why* of my research and methodology. Furthermore, my research interest, combined with my connection to Cyprus, were interpreted as an expression of interest in them by Cyprus – by the *ethnic metropolis* in the diaspora. Such an interest is usually more than welcome, even desired. Overall, I was mostly welcome by Eleni, as I was a female companion and a good listener during her lonely days at home. My gender identity was an inescapable baggage – with all the possibilities and restrictions that it implies – I carried throughout my fieldwork, in terms of how people saw me and in terms of my own strategies for approaching them. My age difference to Eleni did not prove to be a burden, as I tried to reflexively correspond and, with indeed genuine interest, participate in discussions of subjects that concerned her (e.g. children's education).

Gender identities in a Greek Cypriot context largely define people's socialising and their performance in the public and the private space. In this case, the girl is more restricted in the house, her socialising is very much attached to her mother's (e.g. weekend mother and daughter visits to grandmother's and to uncles' houses) and she always keeps a quiet and low profile. Eleni's natural space is considered to be the house where she works and spends most of her time, while her husband breaks the dominant close household – family boundaries when he goes to the coffee-shop once or twice a week. Similarly, Yiannis projects a much more outgoing personality, talking comfortably and with a louder voice than his sister and being the one with the most open relation to the non-family world: he goes out a lot and his friends are the most common visitors to the house.

The identities of this family's members are constructed and performed in a temporal and spatial context, which has many dimensions. The Ioannou define themselves as Greek Cypriots of the diaspora, their present is and their future will be shaped in Britain, they are working class North Londoners with aspirations of progress for the children, they are men and women, young and old, married and single. Most aspects of their identities are integrated into the others: their gender identities are very

much defined as Greek Cypriot gender identities and their Greek Cypriot identities are very much defined as working class, North London Greek Cypriot identities. Individuals shift positions and they experience relations of power differently – in encounters among themselves and with others. When Eleni looks down on her Afro-Caribbean neighbour because both herself and her husband are unemployed, she is in a more powerful position. When she deals with her Greek Cypriot employer who does not pay for benefits, she is weak and her sense of Whiteness and Cypriotness do not cover the social gap of that relation.

Ioannou media consumption interweaves with their identities. On one hand, identities define media use: for example, the Ioannou, like many working class families, own a large variety of media, because, no matter how expensive, they are still more affordable than regular entertainment outside the house. On the other hand, identities are shaped through the media: as, for example, watching satellite Greek Cypriot television news renews their sense of ethnic belonging through the daily reception of images of Cyprus. In this home, new and old media, Greek/Greek Cypriot and British media, are all consumed communally and individually. The two adult members of the family listen to LGR when they work, during daytime. ‘As soon as I finish work on the sewing machine, I switch off the radio’, says Eleni. And as soon as the radio is switched off, television is switched on. Eleni works at home as a machinist. When the rest of the family comes home, the television in the kitchen, which is the communal room, is already on. For Eleni, television is on the background while she prepares dinner; but it is a necessary background: at this time it will be tuned into ERT-SAT where Greek music video clips or a discussion programme will be on; an alternative choice will be one of the many afternoon talk shows on satellite commercial television.

Usually, Chryssa sits in front of the television as soon as she comes home from school. She switches over to watch her favourite sitcoms on satellite, then one of her favourite soaps like *Neighbours*; early afternoon is the time when she takes control off what is on the television in the kitchen. Her domination on the television ends as soon as her father returns from work: dinner and at about 6 pm television the television is switched over to CBC-SAT. A sitcom, then the news and after the news another sitcom or a soap episode. Michalis and Eleni watch these programmes, as well as Chryssa most of the times. Gender relations often define media use. When Michalis is at home, he is

the one who mostly controls the viewing choices in the common room. However, as he himself says, there is a television for every member of the family and the individual choice is rather broad. Chryssa spends most of her evening with her parents in front of the television set in the kitchen. Yiannis, on the other hand, spends most of the evening in his bedroom, surrounded by his large variety of media he controls exclusively: television, satellite, two videos, Play Station, computer and stereo. His use of the media is much more independent than the others', which relates to his age, his gender and his capacity to deal with different technologies. The private space of his sister, her room, might have a television set and a stereo, but the television does not work and she only uses the stereo when listening to music before falling asleep. Most of her time at home is spent in the common space of the kitchen, with her parents. Thus, it comes as no surprise that she is much more involved in ethnic media consumption than her brother.

The family's Greek television daily viewing lasts for a couple of hours. For a few months, while the Greek Cypriot soap *O ' (do s' Den Xehno – 'I Do Not Forget' Road)* was on CBC-SAT, Eleni, Michalis and their daughter would watch it. But when *Eastenders* would start, they would switch over or tape it for a later viewing. *Eastenders* is watched by Chryssa and her parents in the kitchen. Yiannis might watch it in his own room. Sometimes, Michalis wants to watch a documentary on National Geographic or the Discovery channels; he really likes documentaries. Or at least that's what he says. If *Eastenders* is on, Eleni and Chryssa will go and watch it in another room or they will tape it. Chryssa sometimes watches a documentary, not necessarily because she chooses to but because it is on: and for this family, television viewing is the primary way of spending the evening.

Long-hours of television viewing do not exclude other activities taking place. Family members have casual conversations when something they are not interested in is on television. Michalis and Eleni talk about their day while a programme that does not require their full attention is on - for example, they consider CBC-SAT news as being a demanding programme, but not a sitcom. Chryssa might even do her homework in front of the television, even though she usually schedules her studying around her viewing preferences.

Yiannis' media use is more private, though this does not mean he spends no time with the rest of the family. He shares some of his viewing with other family members –

e.g. sports with his father or sitcoms with his sister. At the same time, his participation in the common room where family socialising takes place – the kitchen – usually relates more to his attempts to interact with the other family members, with his performed identity as a member of the family, rather than with his planned viewing. Overall, his use of the media is generally much more planned and sophisticated. He watches many films – often starting his viewing as soon as he wakes up, while he does a lot of video recordings from television and between the two videos he has in his room. Yiannis' good knowledge of using the media is appreciated and admired by the rest of the family. That gives him privileges – like having many different media for himself – but also responsibilities: when the others are out he has to arrange recordings of favourite programmes.

Videotapes produced or owned by the family turn the stable and domestic technology of television viewing into a mobile and public action. For example, Eleni makes sure some Greek sitcoms are recorded during the week; on Sunday she takes them to her mother's house, where there is a new communal viewing. Domestic media consumption in that way becomes mobile and public. Similar mobility and flexibility characterises Yiannis' recordings and viewing choices with friends. The variety of choices that more than sixty channels offer to this family – including ERT-SAT and CBC-SAT and the premium commercial satellite channels – has led to the decline of specific media and media product consumption. Only the two adults use radio during the day when they work, but their children hardly ever do so. They usually listen to the music on music channels, like MTV and VH1. The computer is only used for schoolwork and playing games, but it is not used as much as television and video<sup>3</sup>.

In the past, before LGR was established and before this family had satellite television, Eleni and Michalis depended on video and music tapes sent or brought over from Cyprus. Now that satellite viewing allows them to renew images and sounds of Cypriot culture, they do not count any more on the standing video and tape

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<sup>3</sup> It is very possible that the use of the computer, especially of the Internet, has changed since this research took place. Research at the Ioannou home took place in a transitory period for Internet use. It was the time when Internet use started becoming extensively common, creating dilemmas in the family, whether they should get connected. Even though the household is so media wise, resistance was expressed to the prospect of the 'invasion' of a new technology which is not controlled like the other media. Resistance was mostly expressed by Michalis, who was concerned about his children being exposed to the cyberworld.

technologies. As the media and media products' variety increased, so have Ioannou expectations. Now they complain if there are no new productions on the CBC-SAT and ERT-SAT. Now repetition of the same programmes on satellite television is unacceptable.

Media are generally highly appreciated in this family. Yiannis' parents justify his extensive and expensive consumption as being the start for a future career. Eleni and Michalis value other media products for their informative and educational role. News – both Greek and English – is one of these genres. Eleni is more interested in the Cypriot news; there seems to be a sense that they are more relevant to her own interests and life. Documentaries are the second highly respected genre. Michalis especially, praises documentary channels; probably in an expression of his respect for education. This respect is adapted to Eleni's and Michalis' daily routine and cultural consumption. As they both regret their limited education, they make their best to continue their education, even informally. And they feel that television allows them to do so. Documentaries are the primary source of their informal education, but they often read extracts from the encyclopædia to gain new knowledge. If they watch something that looks interesting on television they look it up in the encyclopædia. Their extensive television consumption has not replaced their respect for books and the belief that written sources are more trustworthy. But documentary viewing sometimes becomes a source of knowledge that informs performed public identities. Michalis often mentions examples when, as he argues, proved to be more informed compared to others, thanks to his documentary viewing.

During the highly valued viewing of documentaries, which often becomes a family bonding activity, ethnicity comes up as an issue. Michalis spoke to me a few times about a series of documentaries about the Greek civilisation and its universal influence. In that case, the projection of Greekness from a Eurocentric perspective becomes a signifier of ethnic supremacy against Others – those not having the 'rich Greek heritage', as he says. In everyday life and in different cases, the situational character of identity is revealed. In this case, the boundaries between Greeks from the mainland and Greek Cypriots disappears.

## Ethnic identity

This family is very conscious of its Greek Cypriotness. No matter how contradictory this self-identification might become, it is a dominant framework in their everyday life. Contradictions are characteristic of ethnic identification. Sometimes, when Michalis and Eleni talk about themselves and their family, they are very critical about other British Greek Cypriots for gossiping and being jealous of each other – in a way expressing a desire of an ideal and idealistic community. More often they become critical of Greek Cypriots from Cyprus who they see as different to themselves – a difference that has to do with class and with living in two different contexts – that of Cyprus and that of Britain. Ioannou, like many British Greek Cypriots, see the diaspora as the strongest link – as the Greek Cypriots who managed to keep their identity in *foreign lands*, as many of them say. The diasporic journey and the sense of being ‘more Cypriot than the Cypriots’ – which is another common comment, are often undervalued in Cyprus. And this often leads to a sense of alienation in the diaspora.

Reproducing as much the negative, as the positive ethnic stereotypes, Ioannou argue that Greek Cypriots everywhere are hospitable, honest and sincere. In recognising commonalities within the hybrid imagined community, they flexibly shift inclusions and exclusions. They say that Greeks from the mainland are inhospitable compared to the Greek Cypriots; but when Greeks are compared to any Other, it is they who gave the civilisation to the world. As identity is relational, so do the performance and evaluation of it change in relation to the Others. English are the worst, no values or ethics, Michalis believes. He emphasises his opinion by using an example from *Eastenders*, where conveniently reality is confused with fiction. He points to one of the female characters in the series and says: ‘See, that’s what I mean. One woman and she slept with every single man. That’s how English are in their life’. Stereotypes projected in the media are appropriated to fill gaps of real experience. It is possible that Michalis’ knowledge of young English women’s cultures is primarily dependent on media images, because of lack of direct experience. To some extent, the same might be the case for the people of Cyprus as their image to him is also represented and *learnt* through the media. Thus, the media might create as much the image of Us as they do of the Others.

Direct experience also challenges preconceptions such as racism. Michalis says that Blacks, Indians, Italians and Spanish are good people, they are good to have as



neighbours, to work with. But he insists: it is the Greek Cypriots one can really trust. Contradictions complete their cycle there, going back to Greek Cypriots who are the starting point. These comments are not only expressed as a continuous narrative. But they reveal ideologies which are deeply embedded in these people's lives and come up in different cases. This does not mean that the lived experience and individual choices do not contradict ideologies.

Generational differences give new meanings to ethnicity: some of its parameters get weaker while other become stronger. It is interesting how Yiannis defines his ethnicity:

Q: If somebody asks you where you are from, what would you say?

Y: Cyprus.

Q: You would not say you are British or English?

Y: No.

Q: How do you feel about this... I mean you were born and you live in Britain.

Y: Yes, but I am not English, I am Greek.

Q: Would you ever see yourself living in Cyprus?

Y: No.

Yiannis seems to be very self-assured and refuses to negotiate aspects of his identity. He is Greek Cypriot but he is Greek Cypriot of Britain. His life is not connected to Cyprus, no matter how strong his sense of belonging in a Greek Cypriot ethnic community is. There are two powerful parameters in his defining of ethnic identity: firstly, he associates it with clear-cut ethnic identifiers, such as his family, his will to have another Greek family himself and his ideological hatred towards Turks. Secondly, his identification lies on a diasporic, ethnic experience which is vaguely informed and extensively autonomous from the current realities in Cyprus. In a way, his ethnic identity is much less flexible than that of his parents. He says he does not like Turks, like most 'Greeks' of his age, he adds. His parents interfere when they hear him say that and try to change his mind. At the same time, he refuses that he chose his Greek friends for their ethnicity. Besides, his friends are not only Greek, they are also Black, Mauritian, Indian: members of some of the ethnic groups that share the same locality. He is not racist with them; he is with Turks, though he admits he never met one. Such ideologies of rejection of the significant Other, which clearly set boundaries, often

become mechanisms for identifying the self with the country of origin. This form of racism becomes performed ethnicity when other ties become weaker. For the British-born generations such ideologies can reintroduce essentialism in ethnicity, by projecting an identity of Us through raising stronger boundaries against the significant Other. Expected identification with Cyprus and demanded loyalties within the ethnic imagined community – often by the media – sometimes create such ideologies. Everyday experience might contradict them, though their reproduction can direct meanings of ethnicity to segregational directions.

For young Greek Cypriots, such as Chryssa and Yiannis, the direct and indirect influence and pressure for performing Greek Cypriotness and for choosing ethnic networks are continuous. 'If there's a programme about Greece or Cyprus, we sit with the children and explain to them what it is about. Or when we hear some English words of Greek roots, we make sure we emphasise that. They have to understand...They have to know', says Eleni, indicating that their children have to be proud of their ethnic cultural heritage – and revealing some of the everyday mechanisms for renewing a sense of ethnicity across generations.

### The Media and Ethnic Identity

Images of *homeland*, nostalgia and belonging in a community beyond boundaries are continuously reproduced in ethnic media. Eleni mentioned once how she saw the Cypriot weather forecast on CBC-SAT and she missed the sun. Another time she noted that it was *Kataklysmos* – a religious, traditional celebration – that day and if it was not for the CBC-SAT she would not even remember<sup>4</sup>. The continuous flow of information about the missiles that the Cypriot government intended to buy was another source of lively debates for months both about Us – the Greek Cypriots – and the Others – the Turks. At the same time, it was an event that allowed and provoked people's involvement and expression of opinion about the politics of Cyprus, giving them the sense of active involvement in the project of the hybrid imagined community.

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<sup>4</sup> Religion and religious celebrations are rituals that people across the diaspora and in Cyprus share. These shared rituals – and their reproduction in the media – can reinforce ideologies about the global and eternal expansion of the hybrid imagined community.

In this home, media consumption as an activity and as a context primarily relates to the first generation's ethnicity – at least as a choice. Especially for Yiannis, ethnic media use mostly takes place within the family context; he says he does not use them alone or with his friends. His chosen media consumption mostly relates to his age identity and the common interests he shares with friends: 'I would watch a sitcom on CBC-SAT. But it is mainly the SKY channels I watch.' Does he talk about Greek music, the Greek media with his Greek friends? Do they watch them? 'Some of them do but not enough to be important and talk about them'. This is in direct contrast to older generations who often talk about ethnic media products they consume. But there is not a unique trend among Yiannis' generation either. As shown in the case of the Gregoriades girls for example – in the next case study – some young Greek Cypriots' socialising is extensively saturated by ethnic media consumption and media talk beyond the familial context.

The synchronous transmission of information from Cyprus through radio and television gives a further validity and importance to Ioannou family viewing and shapes their sense of belonging: through the daily viewing experience for Michalis, Eleni and their daughter and as a symbol through its existence for their son. It is worth noting that Yiannis thinks ethnic media are the most important institutions of the community.

In this household, it is the first generation migrants who decided to invest in receiving the Greek/Greek Cypriot channels on satellite and who choose to switch them and the Greek radio on. Their daughter watches CBC-SAT because it is part of the communal evening viewing; she does not listen to LGR which is an individual choice defined in different contexts (i.e. related to work and driving in her parents case). Yiannis' use of the Greek media is even more limited as he does not spend much time with the rest of the family: his use of the media is more individual and less ethnically defined at this period of his life. How do the parents explain their children's limited use of ethnic media? Michalis and Eleni believe that the main reason is the variety of media on offer:

Q: Why do you think your children don't watch CBC-SAT that much?

M: They are used to different kinds of programmes.

E: There're so many things on TV to choose from.

M: They are used to English television. If Greek television was there since they were young, maybe they'd watch it more. But they were already old enough when its broadcasting began.

E: I don't think it would be any different...

M: But we wouldn't have had SKY in the old days either...

E: ...We always speak to the children in Greek. There are kids that don't even know a word in Greek. Even less, to sit down and watch a Greek programme. So, I don't think that it's important if they don't watch the Greek channels... And there are so many things to watch on SKY anyway. They don't even have enough time for that.

M: The programmes on SKY are more interesting anyway...

Michalis and Eleni recognise that their children's ethnic identities are different to theirs; so is their media consumption. They do not think ethnic media consumption is a synonym to ethnic awareness, though they strongly believe that Greek Cypriot media are among the most professional and effective organisations of the community. But ethnic media use does not only relate to ethnicity; it is also an issue of media consumption patterns: Michalis and Eleni know that trying to force anybody to watch or listen to particular media is in vain. They also know that the variety of media on offer is against small, less commercial and less specialised media. More than anything, they understand that each family member's media preferences are individual and unique; they also understand that their children's appropriation of ethnicity will be different. Bringing them up with what they consider as ethnic values, they feel confident their children will find their own way of being Greek Cypriot.

## **II. Gregoriades Family - A Household Celebrating Ethnicity**

The Greek school system helped me get in touch with the second family, like it happened with the first one. Both families' children have attended the classes of Saturday Greek school, but that does not mean they both construct their ethnic identities in the same ways. The Gregoriades's everyday life is constructed around a very active and open social life, where friends and members of the wider family very often visit their home and participate in everyday activities, such as watching television, having dinner or just spending a quiet evening in. All these visitors are Greek Cypriot: most of

them are members of the extended family network and kinship. This network of ethnic relations does not only characterise the experience of the first generation Andreas, 48 and Christina, 47, but also of their young daughters Irini, 18 and Dimitra, 14. Irini's best friend is the daughter of her mother's Greek Cypriot maid of honour, Natasha. Dimitra's best friend is Yiota, a school friend, whose mother is Greek Cypriot and father Portuguese.

Overall, the Gregoriades family is a very close-knit family, though they all are very sociable. Friends and relatives come to the house for a visit and, when they go out, most of the times, it is for them to pay somebody else a visit. That means that domestic activities, such as having dinner or watching television, mediate their socialisation. Ethnic media and ethnic food are the two kinds of commodities mostly consumed in this household, even though media consumption is rarely exclusive or extensive, except for Andreas, who, following male viewing patterns of the group, consumes the media the most.

Gregoriades family celebrates ethnicity as everyday experience, as a performative repetition of rituals, routines and attitudes that reconfirm ideologies of ethnicity and strengthen social bonds within the immediate and the extended family, within the wider circle of people they work, study and go out with. The aesthetics of their home reconfirm and complement the boundedness of ethnicity that is visual, visible and performative. Outside their front door, a bilingual sticker indicates that Jehovah Witnesses are not welcome. In the home, a few religious pictures reconfirm the family's devotion to Greek Orthodoxy. There are many more small but visible signs of ethnicity's relevance to this family's everyday life. The kitchen is full of ingredients for Cypriot cooking – fresh vegetables and fruits, herbs, olive oil, halloumi cheese, yoghurt, lots of meat... Few Greek music CDs and Greek books stand on the shelves. The television in the evening is tuned into Hellenic TV for at least a couple of hours and LGR is the mornings companion for all and the late night a companion for the girls – Greek pop fans.

Greek is the language spoken the most in this home; it is a language the two daughters understand and speak almost fluently. The parents of Irini and Dimitra make sure that their daughters receive formal and informal ethnic education – that includes Greek school and church going, talking to them about Greek history, mythology,

traditions and politics. The girls actively appropriate all these in ways that fit into their own sense of Greek Cypriotness, their age, gender and lifestyle choices. Unlike other families I met, where children resist and reject their parents' primary ethnic orientation, Irini and Dimitra celebrate it, though in their own terms. The reasons for that rest primarily on the social context of their everyday life. The close relations within the wider family and kin, which includes at least a dozen cousins of their own age, means that their identities are shaped in a communal context of performed ethnicity. Beyond the familial, the context is similarly ethnic. In the college where Irini studies, the vast majority of students is Greek. Thus, the communal performance of ethnicity extends to a broader scale. Because of this context, Irini mostly goes out with other Greek Cypriots. They spend their leisure time in places where their teenage ethnicity is performed in its own diasporic and hybrid tastes: in pubs and clubs, where English music is played next to the Greek. Why does she choose this kind of entertainment, I ask her. An interesting dialogue, revealing the performative character of ethnicity, unfolds:

I: One Greek goes, and they all go! Greeks like to stick together...it's because we don't really like the rest of the population...(laughs)

Q: Why don't you like them?

I: (serious) They got their own culture, they got their own people.

Q: What are the things you do with your Greek friends that you can't do with non-Greeks?

I: For example, if the weather is good, we'll go to the park and make *souvla* (Cypriot BBQ). We enjoy doing it; nobody else would. It is because we all do it at home with our families...And we go to the park and do things like we know them...prepare the salad... It's silly, but that's what we grew up with and we try to keep it up now...Then if you are only with Greeks you can speak in Greek. If there are others, you can't. We're not racists but this is the way things are...With the Greek music as well...you can talk about Greek music with other Greeks. We do speak to each other in school but then we choose to hang out with the Greeks. It is the same with other cultures. The Black people, they all go out together, because they go to the same places, they like the same music.

Q: Are there Greek Cypriot people of your age that reject all these?

I: Yeah...

Q: What do they do?

I: They act differently...They are ashamed to be associated with Greek culture. They don't want people to know they are Greeks...But they grow out of this (laughs). They aren't ashamed to be Greek. They just prefer to do other things, show off. But we all know that we are the same. We have the same upbringing, the same way of thinking.

Irini's lifestyle reveals dimensions of the changing ethnic identities, which relate to experiences within an ethnic and interethnic local community. When she celebrated her 18<sup>th</sup> birthday, she had a party in a Greek taverna. Not only her Greek schoolmates were invited, but also many non-Greeks. Interestingly, I realised that the non-Greek schoolmates were more comfortable with the party activities than I was; they danced to the Greek pop music and they enjoyed Greek cuisine – apparently very familiar to them. I, on the other hand, was surprised by the unfamiliar entertainment practices, that exceeded my expectations. These included such hybrid expressions of ethnicity as the semi-stripping of the supposedly traditional dancers.

The ethnic identities of Irini's parents are also continuously renewed as they experience everyday life in a predominantly ethnic context. Christina is a machinist in a Greek Cypriot clothing factory, like many female Greek Cypriot migrants. Her husband works in another ethnic business – at the deliveries department of another clothing factory. But their identities are as much diasporic as their daughters'. Christina structures her life and constructs her identity in a way that combines the three spaces of belonging: Cyprus, Britain, the diaspora: 'Cyprus is our home country and Britain is our home, if you can make the distinction. We feel that Cyprus is our home country but...then again, when we go there we realise that it is not our home'. This comment reveals as much the diasporic experience as it reveals the feeling of *strangeness* often marking the migrant generation's experience in both countries.

Christina, who is the strongest source of power at home and the one who is primarily responsible for her children's upbringing, promotes the ideology of a common Hellenism which lies on Greek Orthodoxy and Greek history. Most ethnic references in everyday talk – and these are continuous – are for Greek(s), not for Greek Cypriots. While this ideology is not uncommon in Cyprus, this populist form has its own diasporic character. Her religiousness is not combined with a rejection of more radical

values and her nationalism does not promote hatred toward the Others. Her British experience implies a respect to multiculturalism and the rejection of many traditional values. Besides, within the British context, the Greek Cypriots – including this family – do not promote an ideology of inward distinction and social seclusion from the rest of the society and its mainstream values.

Christina has the first generation aspirations for her children's success in British society and she is aware that they will never move to Cyprus. But, she is also concerned with her children 'losing their sense of Greekness' as they grow old. Her advice to her daughters to socialise with people from Cyprus and Greece is a reconfirmation of her belonging in a hybrid imagined community. She believes Greeks and Cypriots are more educated and open-minded than other people, including the British Greek Cypriots and the English. At the same time, she is realistic and self-critical: 'I might be worried that my daughters might become Anglicised, but then I say to myself: "What are these poor things to blame if we decided to come to live in this country"'.

Her understanding of her children's identity difference to hers and her husband's shapes their communicative inter-generational relationship. Both sides understand the other's perspective, even though sometimes, generational conflicts become obvious (e.g. going on holidays to Cyprus as a family or with friends). When I asked Andreas if he would mind his daughters getting married to non-Greeks, he said that would be their choice. 'They will marry them not me!... I would give them the proper advice before they go out to find a husband, then if they'd listen to me or not, is their business'. The 'proper advice', as he explains, is to suggest a marriage with another Greek [Cypriot].

But his daughters themselves seem to agree with him:

D: I want him [future husband] to be Greek for the religion, the tradition, for everything...

I: Definitely Greek! We want to get married to Greeks because we want our kids to grow up like we did...having our cousins around...you know, the Greek way! The Greek way is the best, you see! (laughs) We are so close...we spend so much time with our cousins and our friends.

Q: What would happen if you ended up with a non-Greek partner?

I: It would be difficult...

Q: Do you think this 'preference' will continue with your kids?



I: If my kids bring me non-Greeks, I'll kill them! (laughs)

Q: Generally speaking now, do you see the Greek ethnicity remaining meaningful to people after three-four generations?

Ch: I think there's no question about that. If you see in history....things that we didn't know until recently and we learned through television...people were leaving Greece and Cyprus many-many years before and even though at first they would marry non-Greeks, they would still managed to preserve their ethnicity...

### Media Consumption

Part of celebrating and performing ethnicity involves active participation in the ethnic community life: charity events, youth clubs, village organisations, parent associations. This involvement is mediated by cable television and LGR, which they all use. Christina and Andreas especially value them a lot, arguing that ethnic media have rejuvenated ethnic public community life.

Ch: We needed the radio...the television... Years ago, everybody was reading the newspapers; they'd try to learn everything from them. Then when LGR was established, people were very satisfied...The same with Hellenic TV... But I think that the radio offers more to the community than television.

Q: Why?

A: Because everybody listens to the radio, unlike the newspapers....everybody, from the youngest to the oldest.

Ch: Because you can listen to it anytime, anywhere in the house or at work, even if you do something else. With television you have to spare the time, to sit down and watch the programmes.

Q: If we accept that media offer something to the community, do you think they offer more or less than other institutions?

A: The radio offers more...

Christina protests, tries to explain that the question also refers to the church and other institutions...

A: The radio! The church, you will go on a Sunday and it'll only be about religion, not generally about the world...it's not the same.

Ch: (again interferes) But she also means the meetings, the balls, everything...

A: (insists) If these meetings and gatherings are successful, it's because they are advertised on radio. For example, when Kyprianou<sup>5</sup> came to London, they announced it on LGR... The event was in two days and Athena Palace<sup>6</sup> was full! If they didn't announce it on the radio, who'd go? Who'd know about it? The newspaper... maybe they wouldn't even have enough time to print it in... The paper only comes out once a week.

Ch: Yes, radio offers a lot. Media come to you, while the other stuff, you have to go to them. They reach more houses than anything else.

But the Gregoriades also consume ethnic media for entertainment, information and for passing their time, just like they consume any other media. Irini and Dimitra listen to music programmes on LGR, especially for the music. Their mother, who admits that there is no comparison in terms of quality between the mainstream and ethnic media, still enjoys ethnic radio and television the most. Andreas, whose ethnic media use is the most extensive is less critical: 'I like anything, as long as it's from the *homeland*'.

As ethnic media saturate the family's everyday life, its younger members become more and more accustomed to them. Irini gives a powerful interpretation to the reasons ethnic media do not die out:

People my age are forced to watch Greek TV, to listen to the radio (i.e. LGR). But then, they end up liking them. For example some funny programmes like *Kafenion*<sup>7</sup>, we all get together on Friday night and watch it. We can relate to it. It's like having your parents on TV. It is this kind of stereotype of them, but it's funny!... Then again, with LGR, many young people listen to it, especially at night when they go to bed even if they do not admit it... LGR has started all these Greek club nights and stuff - events that people go to. If it wasn't for LGR they would not be happening. It's great, because, in that way people get together and they do so through the radio.

Ethnic media consumption extends beyond the domestic space. Yet, nowhere ethnic media consumption is exclusive. At Christina's job, five Greek Cypriots work together with four Kurds and an Asian. 'At work we listen to the Greek radio, but not all the time, because there are foreigners<sup>8</sup> (sic) there as well. We can't just listen to Greek,

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<sup>5</sup> Cypriot politician.

<sup>6</sup> Cypriot restaurant/reception centre in Haringay.

<sup>7</sup> Greek Cypriot sitcom.

<sup>8</sup> Comments about 'foreigners' are common among Greek Cypriots. In most cases, they refer to non-white, non-European people – members of ethnic groups that British Greek Cypriots consider to be more distant. This separation also has a quality connotation. The use of the concept of 'foreigner' usually implies a degrading quality.

can we? When there is an entertaining programme on, without too much Greek talking, mostly music, we have LGR on, because you don't have to understand the language. At 11, when there is an hour's long news, we switch over to an English station. Then we listen to English music for a while...' Andreas' LGR listening also begins at work: 'I listen to it from the moment I get in the car to the moment I get back home. I listen to nothing else'. Andreas' LGR listening is then followed by ethnic television watching: 'I watch TV from 6:30 to 1 in the morning', he says. Practically this viewing is interrupted and combined with other activities. But it still saturates his evening.

Christina is primarily responsible for the household duties in which the girls partly participate, but never their father. The performance of ethnicity is gendered in that way, but also in media consumption. Their viewing is more limited than Andreas's. Next to housekeeping, the female members of the family do most of the socialising with the visitors, unless if the guests are adult males and usually end up watching television with Andreas. Ethnic television is the number one choice at home, though not the exclusive choice. A family friend visiting with his wife from Cyprus and staying with the Gregoriades for a few days told me once: 'We watch more Cypriot television here than we do in Cyprus. All we do is watch Cypriot TV'.

'We are forced to', adds Irini while laughing. For the younger members of the family, media consumption might be more limited, as they have homework, friends visiting and other activities in their everyday schedules. But overall, their discourse is saturated by the media. Few times I found them talking with friends about a new episode of *Eastenders*, another day they were trying to explain to their father what *The Jerry Springer Show* was all about and once they were talking about a new Greek song they probably heard over the radio. Everybody's everyday discourse is informed by the media – ethnic and non-ethnic. Christina often talks with visitors about the plot in the latest episode of a Greek soap while Andreas talks about political developments in Cyprus that he recently heard about on the radio or watched on Hellenic TV.

Overall, the Gregoriades value the media a lot, especially those educational programmes and documentaries. Christina for example mentioned a few times how she would like Hellenic TV to show more educational programmes. The family does not lack a critical perspective towards the media though. Irini was watching a BBC sitcom where there was supposed to be a Greek Cypriot character. She enjoyed it but then she

added: 'They make fun of Us'. In another case, herself and her parents have comments to make about the quality of the Greek media and the different things they would like to see broadcasted. However they all appreciate them a lot. Andreas' brother, who was visiting one day, said with emphasis and with reference to the younger members of the family: 'We gave you the radio and the television, you now have to get in the parliament', obviously considering the two as the major achievements one could expect from the ethnic community.

### **III. Ali Family - The Negotiation of Ethnicity**

The situational character of ethnic identities has already been illustrated with the use of various examples in different parts of this thesis. Identities switch and correspond to the changing context – this being historical and cultural but also changing as conditions shift within the same period or same space. The case of the Ali family is a characteristic example of the renegotiation of boundaries of ethnicity within the diaspora. In the diaspora, Greekness and Cypriotness are redefined as the British experience is different to the experience in Cyprus or Greece. The meanings of ethnic identities change as the new context is multicultural, as both We and the Others are in a different position compared to that in the distant *homeland*. As illustrated above, this shift might form ideologies of hostility to the Others in an attempt to strengthen the boundaries around Us, but it might as well redefine the sense of sameness and difference in more fluid and inclusive terms.

Greek Cypriots often form their identities with reference to the *great Greek diaspora*, especially when this suits the projection of a European identity, an identity of a white ethnic group against the coloured Others. But the Greek identification is never holistic for the Greek Cypriots, as their Cypriotness is different to the Greekness of the mainland. The map of these identities' co-existence is not clearly drawn and the shift might be continuous. 'Since I was a child, when people were asking me where I was from, I would say "I'm Cypriot". I would not say Turkish Cypriot, just Cypriot...' says 40-year-old, British born Niazim, married to British-born Greek Cypriot, 28-year-old Helen.

Greek Cypriot Helen and Turkish Cypriot Niazim have been married for six years, they have a 5-year-old son and a baby girl born in May 2000. Their son has neither a Greek or a Turkish name, he has a French-rooted name, a *neutral* name: Armand. Since an early age, Armand has faced the resistance of many Cypriots to the crossing and renegotiating of set boundaries by his parents. While visiting Cyprus, two years ago, and when people asked him if he is Greek or Turkish, young Armand angrily answered: 'I am a human being!'

His parents, in their married life and parenthood, in their everyday performance of identities and as a political project, promote the commonness and compatibility between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots. Helen and Niazim do not reject or overlook difference. They praise it as part of the cultural richness of Cyprus which makes them the Same: both being Cypriot. That is why the violent expressions of ethnic conflict in the island worries them. They clarify that their marriage is not a marriage to an Other; they feel that their upbringing, their values, their culture are so similar that there is no issue of Otherness involved in their relation. What comes between them is a historical and political past of separation which does not correspond to real differences between the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, they argue. 'We shouldn't forget history, but we shouldn't get stuck on it...We have to learn from it instead if we want to have a future together', says Niazim, referring to Cyprus.

Thus, Helen and Niazim renegotiate boundaries and set them around Cyprus and Cypriotness rather than around Greek Cypriotness or Turkish Cypriotness. Boundaries are there, but they are drawn in the new terms their diasporic experience allows them. Interestingly, both having a Cypriot background, yet being... each other's Other, they met in a global telecommunication firm where they worked. While the emphasis on the role of each other as an Other has always been part of their ethnic experience, their global, diasporic experience of ethnicity has taken the *rough edge* off the difference. Their everyday British experience of ethnicity, especially within a global professional context, questioned the boundaries between Us and Them. Their meeting and falling in love in a global firm symbolically indicates a switch from a national to a global context, where difference is more viable, where difference can be a positive component of a common life. At the same time, the global context allows Niazim and Helen to celebrate their common background as Cypriots – people's wish to look for commonness is not

erased in globalisation – while, at the same time approaching difference as an everyday experience beyond the preconceptions set in the national context of Cyprus.

This diasporic experience is complete for third generation, British-born Armand. For him, the similarities and differences that brought his parents together form his experience of British Cypriotness. In the British multicultural society where he grows, away from the ethnic hatred in Cyprus, he constructs an ethnic identity which is inclusive of difference under the umbrella of the common Cypriotness. When he goes to his Turkish Cypriots grandparents he calls them ‘grandma’ and ‘grandad’ in Turkish. When he goes to his Greek Cypriot grandparents he calls them in Greek. So he does with other Turkish and Greek words. He knows what fits where. When his mother introduced me to him, she said: ‘You know, Myria is Greek, like yiayia and papou<sup>9</sup>...like me. She understands the language of yiayia and papou’. Greek is interpreted as a particularity within the broader context of Cypriotness.

The sense of belonging to Cyprus, even if in a hybrid sense, is renewed among the British-born Cypriots. Helen and Niazim are both born in Britain, yet they both identify as Cypriots. They argue that Cyprus is their *homeland* and they think of retiring there. They mention their parents’ villages which they visited in the past as a source of self-identification. Niazim’s father comes from a mixed village and he is almost fluent in Greek. So is Niazim. Through their married life, Helen has also learned enough Turkish to communicate. Their home is literally a trilingual home, even though English is the dominant language in everyday life communication. Helen says: ‘When I speak to Armand in Greek he laughs. He just does not expect it. He associates the Greek language with my parents, but not with me’. Armand’s ethnic identity as a third generation Cypriot is mediated by his British-born parents. This mediation weakens certain characteristics that are crucial for his grandparents’ ethnicity (e.g. language) but which will not be for his own.

Peaceful and close co-existence with the immediate, yet hostile Other of the *homeland* in Britain means that these people’s renegotiation of ethnic definitions is challenged by public discourses that define boundaries differently, including those discourses shaped in local and global ethnic media. Helen says that when she started

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<sup>9</sup> Greek words for grandmother and grandfather.

going out with Niazim some of her Greek Cypriot friends tried to stop her. She explains that her decision to get married to him did not make her parents very happy at first, but soon after they met Niazim and his family they welcomed them into their own family. But her mother's only brother, even now, 6 years after their marriage, is the only member of the family still expressing his disapproval of Helen's choice. 'When I am at my in-laws' house and he is there, he leaves the room', says Niazim, who used to be very offended by this attitude, but who now has grown to accept it as a sad behaviour.

'My real friends are still my friends and are happy with my choice because I am happy', says Helen. The couple now socialises with Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, as well as with Greek-Turkish Cypriot couples like themselves. It is worth mentioning though that most of their friends are of Cypriot origin. For Niazim, the crossing of strict ethnic borders pre-existed his marriage to Helen. 'Before marrying Helen, I had three Greek Cypriot girlfriends', he says. His' and his father's long-term political involvement in Cypriot politics promoting unification has probably been important for his shaping of a personal identity of Same Otherness in relation to the Greek Others.

### Ethnic Media

Within this context, ethnic media are important for defining a framework for Armand's identification as Cypriot, Greek and Turkish. He watches Greek satellite television at his mother's parents' house and Turkish satellite at his father's. He enjoys watching some of the television series in both. His satellite television viewing is one of the main sources of ethnic information he gets that relates to the country of origin of his parents, it is one of the most vital sources for him receiving messages of what the *homeland* actually is, in picture and sound. At home, Armand rarely watches Hellenic TV, which is though available within the package of channels Niazim and Helen pay for. Receiving Hellenic TV at home was a common choice of the couple, even though Helen was not excited about getting it and she proves that by her indifference to its presence at home. Interestingly, it is Niazim that uses it the most.

Niazim flicks through Hellenic TV very often. Helen does not watch it at all. He knows most of the programmes. She does not. Niazim's use of Hellenic TV is not only the outcome of an ethnic orientation towards Cyprus; it is also the outcome of his

extensive media use. Helen's mothering duties have radically decreased the time she spends watching television, even though television almost always remains the background of the family setting, while she is involved in different activities. Differences between Niazim's and Helen's viewing relate to gender identities, but also to different ethnic priorities. Niazim is much more interested than his spouse in everyday Cypriot news. His interest in knowing more about the Other from within – the Greek Cypriots – directs him to the media: the continuous and immediate source of information. Helen's indifference towards ethnic media might also be interpreted as a rejection of a discourse that continuously projects the difference between Greek (Cypriots) and Turkish (Cypriots) and the enforcement of boundaries around this relation.

Niazim and Helen do not have Turkish satellite television, even though they would often watch it at Niazim's parents' house. But Niazim explains that they plan to switch from cable to satellite so that they can receive both Greek and Turkish television. He is the one, who is very interested in watching Cypriot television, especially the news and political debates from both sides, constructing in that way a male, political identity. Even if primarily Niazim, both he and Helen are aware of new technologies and how they can serve them for their communication, entertainment and information needs. While Helen's television watching is not very selective and it is structured around her duties as a wife, mother and housewife, this does not mean her media consumption does not relate to her ethnic identity. If she chooses not to switch into Hellenic TV in the evening and instead chooses to watch a mainstream channel soap, like *Coronation Street*, it is because Greek programmes do not appeal to her. When, at the same time, she fanatically and consistently uses email for ethnic communication and for organising ethnic (or interethnic) events, she does it because she is aware of the possibilities that this technology offers, which suits more her own lifestyle and culture.

At the same time, Helen does not feel interested in tuning into the ethnic media, such as LGR or Hellenic TV by her own choice. Besides, she does not share the sense of threat of assimilation with other young British-born young people who respond to that *threat* by getting connected to ethnic media. She does not have to think about putting ethnic media in her life since her own and her family's everyday life is



structured within an extensively ethnic context<sup>10</sup>. That includes ethnic media, even if not consumed by choice – at her parents' home and at her own home during her husband's viewing. Helen does not miss ethnic media enough to seek them. On top of that, her husband's active dual orientation to Cypriotness – both in relation to the Greek and the Turkish side – including his media use, often mediates the rest of the family's initiation to ethnic cultures.

Ethnic media continuously inform this family's ethnic awareness. During one of my visits, Niazim put on a programme he recorded on video from the Turkish satellite channel which is available to him at his parents' house. It was a debate about ethnic co-existence in Cyprus and Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot public figures participated in it. 'The problem in Cyprus is that people insist on bringing up the past, not because they learned lessons from history but because they want to accuse each other. But this actually makes the future co-existence impossible', argues Niazim and Helen agrees. They are both involved in activities organised in Britain by Turkish and Greek Cypriots promoting peace in Cyprus. Such activities are important for bringing people together within the diaspora, something that is almost impossible in contemporary Cyprus. Diasporic possibilities like that make a difference to the way British Cypriot identities are constructed, compared to Cyprus.

#### The family beyond the nuclear

During my study of this family, I visited the home of the Turkish Cypriot grandparents with Niazim, Helen and Armand. The setting was strikingly similar to most first generation Greek Cypriot households I have visited. Children and grandchildren have this home as their second home, there are family photos everywhere and the television set has a dominant position in the middle of the living room, being constantly switched on and usually tuned into one of the ethnic channels, a satellite Turkish channel in this case.

The centrality of ethnic television in the common extended family space is crucial as a symbolic bonding reference of ethnicity and of family relations. Interestingly

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<sup>10</sup> Ethnic context in this case is mostly framed around Cypriotness, rather than around Greek Cypriotness, but the mechanisms of constructing these ethnic identities are very similar to constructing Cypriot identities that are also Greek.

enough, when the volume on the Turkish channel was off, it could as well be taken for any of the Greek ethnic channels, in terms of programmes, presentation and quality.

The scenery makes it obvious that, for third generation Armand, the ethnic Greek and Turkish television he consumes at the two grandparents' households is not that different. Neither are any of the family relations and values saturating everyday life – and media use in particular – here. People do not constantly watch television, but they turn to it at different stages during the evening. Their viewing is selective and interactive, often taking place in parallel with other activities. Younger and older members of the family switch over the British channels as well to watch something they like on them, like, for example, a charity music show that was on that night. As well as media use, face-to-face communication in this home is also bilingual. English is actually becoming more dominant, even when grandparents speak, since it is a bonding language between both the younger generation, including their Greek daughter-in-law.

The Ali family, in its everyday life, renegotiates the borders between Us and Them of present Cyprus, altering the role of the Other in the process of constructing Greek Cypriot – as well as Turkish Cypriot – identities. Britain allows them to do so. And their case is not unique, as there are a few weddings between younger Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot people in the UK. Even more often, it is the case of the majority of British-Cypriots to co-exist in everyday life with the enemy of the *homeland*. Within the North London, British context, common background is still important for people's choices of personal relations. But here, commonness is renegotiated. The distance from Cyprus allows people to experience everyday by overcoming divisive ideologies of the *homeland*. And in that way, their ethnic identities are rediscovered and redefined to a different direction to the identities shaped at the distant *homeland*.

#### **IV. Papadopoulou Family - The Extended Family Network**

This household is at a crossroad of three generations of Greek Cypriots. It is a household where the transitional character of ethnicity can be studied in the experience of the family members whose age, stage in the life circle and relation to the distant *homeland* and Britain varies extensively. Maroulla, 52, her husband Chris, 60, and their

son George, 27, are the residents of this house, though Maroulla's and Chris's three married children and their six grandchildren pay daily and lengthy visits. The married children of the Papadopoulou family have their own families and homes in North London, not in Haringey, but in the neighbouring Edmonton. Their parents' home is literally and symbolically the heart of ethnic everyday life. This home is at the symbolic heart of the ethnic community – in one of Haringey's Green Lanes. Cypriot grocers and bakeries are all within walking distance, so are Greek schools, churches, Cypriot neighbours and friends... At this home, there is always home-cooked dinner, in large quantities to meet the needs of any of the children and the grandchildren visiting. These visits are part of the daily routine.

For the first, second and third generations, this is the family home, the home of the family everybody depends on. The daily routines of the different family members indicate that Maroulla's and Chris's home is the centre of a network of interconnected homes, of individuals continuously mobile between them. It is as close as a nuclear family household can resemble an extended family household. And in no case this is an exception within the British Greek Cypriot group. As people grow older, they form their own nuclear families. However, the strong connection within the extended family remains and even expands as new generations join it, and the grandparents take a place in its core.

The meeting and integration of the nuclear family with the extended family within this home reveals a crucial parameter of ethnic continuation. The Home – common family reference is in every possible way defined as an ethnic home: the dominant language, the food, the values, the television and the radio consumption. Since new generations grow up in this home, with their early socialisation extensively taking place there, ethnic identities start being formed and performed in a familial and ethnic context. Younger generations *learn* their ethnicity in this familial and local ethnic community context. Also Chris and Maroulla renew their sense of ethnicity in diasporic terms as their identities are reshaped and informed by the experience of their children and grandchildren.

In the heart of this extended family is the strong mother figure of Maroulla. Like many other Greek Cypriot women, Maroulla dominates the domestic space and is actively responsible for both the well-being of her family's members and also for

teaching them the culture and values that she – and a dominant ethnic discourse – consider as appropriate. Maroulla was introduced to me by her best friend, a producer of LGR. ‘I used to listen to her programmes, I would call her a lot to make requests for songs...then we decided to meet face-to-face. We soon became best friends’, she explains. LGR is such an inescapable component of many people’s everyday life and it is so much a component of life in Haringey that its role as a medium gets a character beyond that of the conventional medium. It does not only mediate communication in the community on the airwaves – or on the Internet since last year – it also mediates people’s everyday direct communication, through social interaction with producers in real life and participation in events organised by the station.

LGR is a permanent companion of Maroulla when she is doing housework or when she is in the car. The ethnic radio is switched off in the evening to be replaced by ethnic television – which is on for most of the evening while dinner is served and family socialising takes place. The kitchen-living room is the common room where most of the family evening activity takes place. People eat there, they watch television, they talk on the phone, Chris even takes a nap on an armchair – a nap that is interrupted when somebody switches over from Hellenic TV to an English language channel.

In this familial, daily habitat of three generations of Greek Cypriots, people perform their own particular identities which depend on both their role in this unit as well as on their life beyond this domestic space. For Cyprus-born Chris, who is now a pensioner and socialises mostly with his family and occasionally with other men in a coffee-shop, his ethnic identity primarily depends on the continuous watching of the simultaneously global and local Hellenic TV and on the never-to-come true dream of return to Cyprus. He often tries to persuade his wife to return to Cyprus now that their children are grown up and they have their own families. ‘Where would I go?’ is Maroulla’s answer. ‘Everything I have, everybody I love is here. I might prefer the lifestyle in Cyprus but this is where my home is’. The unfulfilled dream of return saturates many migrants’ everyday discourse, with their ethnic identities largely relying on an attempt to reproduce as much as possible conditions of their life in Cyprus – in imagining ethnicity in the crossroad of their experience in Cyprus and the diaspora. For achieving that, they turn to exclusive socialising with other Greek Cypriots who share common imaginings and those who the first generation see as carriers of continuity of

their imagining: their children and grandchildren. In these social relations, narratives and images which people perceive as signify Cypriotness are reproduced as part of everyday discourse. 'I've never managed to get used to the English weather', says Maroulla, in one of the routinely repeated comparisons between British and Cypriot weather often taking place in people's casual discussions. 'You know, I love having my children growing in this environment....knowing that for the Cypriots family is sacred...that there's nothing more important than that', says her daughter in projecting one of the other characteristics perceived to be ethnically particular.

For this reproduction of images, narratives and stereotypes of ethnic particularity that give meaning to the lived experience of ethnicity, people do not only participate in ethnic networks and community activities. Their consumption – another production, as De Certeau argues (1984) – also mediates ethnicity. When Maroulla buys Cypriot fruit, vegetable, cheese and pasties to use at home and to distribute to her children, tastes are communally shaped. When ethnic media are consumed at home, tastes, routines, information and knowledge are communally shaped – in both the use and the communal experience of their consumption. The everyday interaction between the members of the Papadopoulou family, the commonalities in their consumption, the spatially defined meeting of different generations in an area considered to be *the heart of the community*, brings all into a bounded community. In this community – of the family and of the ethnic group – commonality is achieved through difference.

For Maroulla, ethnicity is primarily experienced in relations of motherhood and grand-motherhood, as well as in her extensive ethnic media use that takes place in parallel to her family. It is no coincidence that she, like many women of her generation, consumes more of the ethnic radio than ethnic television. Radio listening mostly takes place during daytime, when the rest of the family is away and it also allows her to do other activities at the same time, including her housework and her driving her grandchildren from and to school.

For her British-born children, ethnicity depends on the extended family network, Greek Cypriot friends they grew up with in North London and their jobs within ethnic and local businesses. They come back to the area to do their shopping, to meet old schoolmates, to taste their mother's cooking. The three sons work in ethnic businesses and their sister works for Haringey's Job Centre. Even if they have moved further out in

the northern suburbs, Haringey remains an important point on the map of their everyday life. Sue, Maroulla's and Chris's daughter, is married to an English, but she still emphasises the importance of Greekness, as she says, which she consciously tries to bring in her children's life. 'My husband wanted us to move to Cambridge. The jobs are better there, so is the quality of life. But there's no Greek context at all...I wouldn't like that neither for myself, nor for my children'. She says that being married to an English, makes her more ethnically aware. Though her own and her parents' words reveal that they do not consider her husband as a distant Other – apparently because of his *Whiteness* – he is still considered to be an Other. Thus, Sue says that she feels relieved and happy for having her parents around, for continuously being the mediators of Greek culture for her children. Maroulla picks the children up from school everyday and Sue collects them from her parents' home in the evening. They usually have dinner all together, including Sue's English husband who, as she says, has learned to appreciate Greek culture.

For her children, their grandparents' home is a second home. They have their beds, their toys, even their share of the family television viewing choices, as it will be discussed later. Their relation to their grandparents is not without conflict as their casual arguments about food or television viewing reveal. The conflict of their generational identities also becomes visible sometimes. Generational identities often interweave with ethnic identities. I have seen them giving ironic looks to their grandfather for not understanding when they talk to him in English; I have seen them arguing with their grandmother when they did not see the point of fasting before Easter. Though conflicts are part of everyday life, for these children belonging to this family network seems to come as a natural part of their everyday life.

For Sue's brother, George, family and individual belonging and identity go through a phase of transition. Ethnic experience continues in belonging to the familial ethnic network, his friendship networks and in his job as a mechanic in an ethnic business. At the same time, it is completely renewed, as he is about to start a new common life with his British Greek Cypriot fiancée. Their engagement was celebrated with a big party in a Cypriot taverna, with a Cypriot band and 300 guests. 'People would not stop dancing...they were saying they haven't seen such an engagement', his father says, revealing one of the ways the local ethnic community develops and

becomes active: as people communally perform their identities in celebrations and in the talk around them.

Maroulla and Chris repeatedly said that it was a shame I was not present at the engagement, as I would have had a great time. Also, in different cases they would repeat that I should go and have dinner with them anytime as they thought I was 'all alone in England'. As their sense of belonging to an imagined community beyond set boundaries includes Cyprus, North London and any other place where Cypriots live, for them I was a member of the community. They believed, that, like every other community member, I needed the support, the family and the home they thought I did not have in the particular locality.

### Ethnic Media

Everyday life evolves mostly in the home's kitchen-living room, where television is switched on since the time the members of the family start coming home from work and school. There is a daily negotiation around viewing choices. The grandchildren have to negotiate with their grandparents: they can watch an episode of their favourite series on Nickelodeon<sup>11</sup> and then they will switch over to Hellenic TV. The television is almost always switched onto Hellenic TV, except when periodically the grandchildren take charge of the remote control. Any chance they get, the children complain about their grandparents' 'obsession', as they call it, with Hellenic TV. But the truth is that in some cases, they enjoy the Cypriot sitcoms they end up watching when they do not have a choice. These children grow to like ethnic television, as this is one of those activities they cannot escape from when they are young - like ethnic cuisine, like traditional values.

In this home, ethnic television viewing becomes the bonding activity bringing together different generations and ages. The bonding experience of media consumption is never harmonious and without resistance, but it reflects the everyday real terms of family co-existence. The television content might not be bonding, as it might be extremely alienating for the younger generations that cannot relate to it. But the daily experience of cross-generational watching of television brings family members in a

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<sup>11</sup> Teenagers' channel on cable and satellite.

situation of sharing common television products. At the same time, within this communal family context, first generation migrants become the mediators and interpreters of ethnic media products and thus, of ethnicity. Mary, 10, and Takis, 8, do sometimes turn to their grandparents for explanation when something is on television they do not understand. Sue, Mary's and Takis's mother, is happy with that curiosity when she repeats that she appreciates the fact that her children keep in touch with 'the Greek culture' in this close relationship established with their grandparents. But, as much as first generation mediates Greek Cypriotness for the young ones, similarly the younger generations mediate Britishness for the migrants. One evening, while watching *Eastenders*, Chris had a problem understanding the meaning of a fight between two of the characters. 'She's gonna dump him', his granddaughter explains to him.

Ethnic television does not only challenge and expose the third generation grandchildren to ethnic practices. Nicos, one of Chris's and Maroulla's sons, sitting with his parents in front of the television when a Greek soap is on, struggles to understand the language and the plot and asks his parents about it. Soon, and while his parents talk to me, he switches it over to one of the mainstream channels. His dissatisfied father takes the remote control of his hands and switches back to the Greek channel. The son has to deal with it, knowing that this is part of the continuous game of ethnic, inter-generational co-existence.

The Greek soap that is on is one of the favourite programmes in the house. One of the reasons they like it is because an actress-friend of the family has a part in it. In this soap viewing they have an immediate global experience. The friend-actress actually lives in Haringey. But she is at the same time on television, on a soap broadcast via satellite from Cyprus. She is present in the immediate locality for her friends and on their global viewing from Cyprus. They positively comment on her presence on television. Three days ago, they were together having dinner in North London. Her real presence in their everyday local life and her simultaneous virtual presence on satellite Greek television symbolically bring together the local and the global, the diaspora and the distant *homeland* in an imagined community beyond boundaries. The understanding of each of them depends on the other. And the interconnection of different spaces in different combinations, either through mediations or as immediate experience is common among North London Greek Cypriots. Telephone connections, simultaneity of



programme broadcasting in Cyprus and Britain and the growing physical movement between places continuously challenges old boundaries and positionalities.

As spaces, images of ethnicity and experiences come together in new combinations, the members of this family renew their sense of belonging in their own terms. Chris does experience everyday in Cyprus through his extensive consumption of ethnic television. Maroulla does it when she enjoys her family around her and when she listens to 'her companion' LGR, as she puts it. Sue does it when she shapes her diasporic hybridity that meets in her ethnic and her interethnic family life. Her children do it as their own experiences challenge what is taken for granted to be Greek Cypriot and British – when the two meet in new ways and when they grow to have tastes that are British and Greek Cypriot, but none in the clear-cut terms of their parents or grandparents. Nicos forms his sense of belonging when he struggles to speak Greek with his father and when he enjoys a game of viewing choices and media control with him. His brother renews a diasporic sense of new ethnicity with his engagement with another British-born Greek Cypriot, who grew up like him, in Haringey, in Greek schools and Greek churches, while being forced to use Greek media or to speak the Greek language. Now, they will deal with all this in their own terms.

### **A Concluding Note**

Certain similarities between these four families – and many others who participated in the interviews presented in the previous chapter – can lead to conclusions about the processes of ethnic identities' shaping and reshaping in the domestic space, especially as ethnic media become a dynamic part of everyday life in it. In their diversity, all these families – and the individuals within them – identify as British Greek Cypriots, Greek Cypriots, Greeks, Cypriots: all these as they reflect their self-identification in different contexts. These self-identifications reveal an *ethnic awareness*, an awareness and admission of their ethnicity's relevance to their everyday life. Close-knit families, relations of support and companionship that accompany individuals throughout their lives, ethnic networks and reconfirmation of ethnic belonging in new ethnic families – or interethnic families that are still *ethnically aware* – make ethnicity a relevant everyday reference. As one of the young participants' words

reveal when talking about the Cypriot BBQs, the Greek songs and the television jokes British Greek Cypriots share<sup>12</sup>, it is the *small* and *common* everyday things that renew the sense of ethnic belonging.

As younger and older generations, men and women, working class and middle class British Greek Cypriots share the *common* everyday life *small things* and perform routines, habits and rituals, they construct shared discourses and reconfirm their ethnic belonging. As the everyday life extensively becomes ethnic everyday life, roles and values that signify ethnicity – in its stereotyped understanding and self-understanding – are reproduced. Thus, female gender roles that require from women to be the carriers of the family ethnic culture and male roles that require from men to be the mediators of the public into the domestic, become ethnic identifiers experienced by the older and learned by the younger from an early age. The male identities that assume, on one hand, a more natural crossing of the private and the public by men compared to women and, on the other, a leisurely male experience of the domestic, explain men's more extensive media use. Men's extensive use and control of the media is not only the outcome of their having more time for leisure; they also do so, as the media are *a window to the world*, a window they have to have open all the time. For women, this *knowledge of the world* is not considered to be necessary. Thus, their media use is less important for fulfilling their role as ethnic carriers; for that role it is more important to fulfil their duties as cooks, baby-sitters of their children and grandchildren and educators of ethnic and religious ethics and values.

British Greek Cypriots' ethnic awareness and active belonging in ethnic families and networks is not incompatible with their aspirations for social success in the British society. Most working class migrant parents have aspirations for their children's success and indeed, most of them do reach educational and professional achievements that fulfil their parents' dreams. This duality that the devotion to the values of the ethnic community and those of the broader British society imply, signifies the shift of the diasporic experience, as discussed in Chapter II. This same diasporic context leads to an *intimate distancing* from Cyprus, its people and its culture. While these people are affiliated with Cyprus – and some of them with Greece too – and while they consume

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<sup>12</sup> See Irini Gregoriades' comments in the second case study.

Cypriot media, their interpretation and their appropriation of images, information and ethics implies a critical distance. They relate to Cyprus in the context of the hybrid imagined community, but they do not *belong* to Cyprus.

People's practice and talk about the media, while being critical, reveal their expectations: expectations that relate to a role in the community – both the local and the imagined – for disseminating information, images, narratives, for being educators and mediators in everyday communication. All these indicate that among British Greek Cypriots there is a sense that ethnic media are indeed actively involved in the processes of learning, teaching, producing and consuming ethnicity. In their diverse expectations, which primarily relate to their age, gender and generation, British Greek Cypriots reject the media if they don't fulfil them.

## **Chapter VII**

### **Public Space and the Construction of Ethnic Identity: The Case of the Cypriot Community Centre**

In presenting the theoretical and methodological framework of this study, I argued for the need to study ethnic identities in both the domestic and the public. In the previous two chapters and while discussing data collected at home, I tried not to presuppose and impose any domestic boundedness that would undermine the interconnectivity of the home and the public. Thus, I indicated the publicness of participants' everyday experience – e.g. in the locale, through social networks and work – and I highlighted the *intrusion* of the public in the domestic – particularly in the appropriation of public discourses through media consumption. Nevertheless, the focus on the domestic allowed me to study the mechanisms of private and family life that initiate, teach and reconfirm values, choices, attitudes and overall performances of ethnicity. With an equal dual focus on the continuities between the public and the domestic and on the particularities of each space, I did my empirical research in the public.

Greek Cypriots have a series of public institutions and organisations. As already mentioned, among the most important are the churches and the Greek schools; but there are a couple of hundred more Greek Cypriot organisations in Greater London: political, cultural, professional, of people who share the same village origin, neighbourhood centres and more. While schools and the churches have a particular importance – as symbols and as real spaces – for Greek Cypriots, some other institutions achieve a greater and more persistent role: places that are meeting points, spaces of activities and of communal celebrations. The highest concentration of various such centres is probably found in Haringey. The most characteristic and important ethnic community space among them – symbolically and as a living space – is the Cypriot Community Centre.

The centre was established in the 1984, in a period when local government's policies supported and encouraged the creation of various ethnic group organisations; these policies are now on the retreat. The local government still remains the main fund provider for institutions like the Cypriot Community Centre. But at the same time, the

centre depends for its survival on the Cypriot community's participation and funding. The social and temporal context where such institutions were introduced cannot be ignored when examining their community role. Local policies promoting the establishment of autonomous ethnic centres also set agendas for their future function, especially since they focused on easing the migrant generation's integration. It is difficult to say whether the Cypriot Community Centre would have existed without the local government support, though the flourishing of dozens, self-financed Greek Cypriot organisations indicates that diverse mechanisms enable the group's public empowerment.

This community centre is equally important as a symbolic and as real space. Symbolically, its existence reinforces people's belief that Greek Cypriots form a distinctive, active and strong community. As a real space, it has various uses, either as an everyday hangout and meeting point, or as a place where people go to attend specific activities and functions. The Cypriot Community Centre is a place that attracts many members of the group, though different subgroups' representation is unequal. It is a place where the construction of ethnic identities and media consumption can be studied in their publicness – in the rituals and routines, in patterns of sociality, in people's choice of being members of a public that projects ethnicity as the ultimate bond. Within this context, I studied how this dominant ideology is taken on board, especially when it relates to the real commonality of experience of the core group of middle class, migrant, male, working class habitués. I examine how it is negotiated in their everyday juggling of ethnicity, which takes its meanings within the ethnic community, the multicultural locality and particularly in this centre which is attended by Turkish Cypriots as much as by Greek Cypriots. I study how people reconfirm, negotiate and find new meanings and ideologies of ethnicity, while socialising in the centre, while using talking and appropriating the media.

### **The Community Centre in Context**

The idea of establishing the Cypriot Community Centre was part of the project of empowering ethnic communities, making their presence and participation part of local life and public sphere. As a political and social project it was quite ambitious. It

reflected the decision of the local government and the Cypriot leadership to create an autonomous and self-governed space for the Cypriots of Haringey; to serve the community as a day centre for disabled people and the elderly, as a leisure space for adults and teenagers, as a space where community organisations can meet and also as a place where different functions and celebrations can take place. The political ambition behind the creation of that centre was to bring together Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots, Armenian Cypriots and Maronite Cypriots into a common community space.

As a political project with specific aims, it was no surprise that it primarily attracted individuals and organisations of the Left who embraced the co-existence of all Cypriot ethnic groups – especially of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots – the most. Even though there are political disagreements and resistance, the Cypriot Community Centre has been relatively successful in that respect. Members of all the Cypriot ethnic groups gather in the centre; 16 cultural, athletic and village organisations are based in it: 13 Greek Cypriot and three Turkish Cypriot. While Greek Cypriots outnumber the Turkish Cypriots, the elected president of the centre at present is Turkish Cypriot. This co-existence of different ethnic groups under the umbrella of a common community centre is a strong indication of the flexibility in the boundaries of communities, but also of ethnicity. In this case, and for the British local and central government<sup>1</sup> as well, the community and the ethnic group consists of all Cypriots. The people who participate in the activities of the centre, to a smaller or a larger extent, accept this identification. The local character of the centre further enforces this identification: it is a centre for the Cypriots of Haringey, including Greeks, Turkish, Armenians and Maronites. A centre with similar structure might not have been successful outside the specific geographical space, where all groups co-exist.

This co-existence of different Cypriot ethnic groups and the temporal negotiations of limits of community and ethnicity should not be confused with an overall abandonment of the Greek Cypriot ethnicity which remains people's primary reference. The vast majority of Greek Cypriots in the centre still speak Greek among themselves; they define themselves as Greek Cypriots, watch and listen to Greek ethnic media and embrace what they perceive as Greek Cypriot values and culture. But their co-existence

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<sup>1</sup> As already mentioned, the national census in Britain registers a single category for 'Cypriots', not separate categories for Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots, Armenian Cypriots and Maronite Cypriots.

with non-Greek Cypriots informs their shaping of ethnicity. The presence of the significant Other of the country of origin is renewed as a daily experience and it is in peaceful terms unlike the present condition in Cyprus; it is also a reminder that the limits of the *homeland* and its culture go beyond the limits of Greek Cypriotness.

For the scope of this study I had to focus on the Greek Cypriot habitués. Yet, observing and analysing Greek Cypriot ethnicity and media consumption could not ignore the presence of the Others and their media in the common public space. Ethnic identity is always shaped in relation and in contrast to the Others. In the case of the Community Centre this co-presence and negotiation is constantly experienced.

### **The Centre and its People - The 'Core' Group**

Most of the habitués usually gather in the ground floor of the three-storey old building. On the ground floor, among the other rooms, there are two rooms where elderly and disabled people spend the day. The majority of those people are rather old and highly dependent for their communication and mobility on their carers. But the *heart* of the centre is divided between the main lounge – where the canteen and the two television sets are situated – and the game room, where people play card games and backgammon. There is also a small theatre, used once a week by the members of the Youth Club; it is also occasionally used for theatrical performances and other events. The building looks old and the damage is often obvious: mostly caused because of the limited resources for restoration or by negligence. Most rooms have not been redecorated for many years and they are rather unattractive to the visitor's eye. The Youth Club lounge on the third floor is the most characteristic example: it seems to reflect the place's decadence and one could think that it indicates that making the place attractive for young British Cypriots is not among the priorities of the management.

The centre has achieved to a large extent in becoming a space for all British Cypriots beyond ethnic differences. But, at the same time, it has failed to attract all the various groups of British Cypriots. This is a working class, migrant generation, male-dominated centre. It primarily attracts men whose financial position does not allow them to enjoy many other alternatives, those men whose sociality depends almost exclusively on ethnic networks. Women and young people are very much under-

represented in the daily life of the centre, though the picture changes radically during the weekends, when wedding and christening dinners, as well as community organisations' celebrations usually take place. Then, a different group of people, including many young second and third generation Greek Cypriots, visits the centre. But for them, the Community Centre is no different to any other banquet hall where similar events take place. Wedding and christening dinners here are as much *ethnically-defined* as in most other cases<sup>2</sup>.

The vast majority of the habitués usually gathering at the Centre are men above the age of 50. The demography of the place largely reflects the demography of a traditional Cypriot coffee-shop which excludes women. Men gathering here see this space as such as well; their visiting the centre is largely an act of nostalgia, which most of the British-born people are indifferent to. When I asked one of them why his wife and other women do not go to the centre, he was annoyed and surprised: 'Our wives do not go to places like that, otherwise we wouldn't have married them!' Women attending male-dominated coffee-shops are not respected for their ethics according to Cypriot traditions, traditions now retreating in Cyprus. This of course raises methodological questions about my presence and interaction with the men in the centre. While, as discussed elsewhere, my gender and age identity mediated my relation with the participants, my long-term involvement in this ethnographic study partly surpassed preconceptions and boundaries initially bounding my communication with the participating men.

Overall, the male domination in this centre and the gender separation that this domination re-establishes in the ethnic public space, has restricted women from embracing it as their own. Characteristic of the gender separation in the ethnic public space is the physical space separation of male and female organisations. The Haringey Greek Cypriot Women's Organisation – which is discussed in the next chapter – was initially based in the Cypriot Community Centre, but, soon after its establishment, it moved to its own women-dominated space.

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<sup>2</sup> Ethnic wedding and christening parties usually take place in certain restaurants and banqueting halls that have some sort of ethnic character – e.g. the owner is Greek Cypriot, there is an ethnic band playing, the cuisine is Greek and most of the times it is situated within the ethnic locale.



Some activities of traditional Cypriot coffee-shop might be embraced in their original form by the Community Centre and its habitués – such as card and backgammon playing, coffee drinking and watching television<sup>3</sup> – but this space has its own distinct and hybrid identity, which differentiates it from the Cyprus-based traditional coffee-shop. First of all, the co-existence of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots is unique. Secondly, in Cyprus most of the traditional coffee-shops are largely politically defined: they attract men belonging either to the Left or the Right, but rarely both. Furthermore, gabbling is forbidden, unlike the case of the traditional coffee-shop. These are key aspects that differentiate the Community Centre from the traditional Cypriot coffee-shop model and establish it in the locale as a community space, a hybrid space in the British physical and cultural present. From a specific – but not a unique – point of view, this centre is like a small Cypriot island in the heart of North London for first generation, middle-aged, working class Greek Cypriot men. But, even though this characteristic is largely dominant, it is still a hybrid space, a space where new ethnicities are constructed and performed:

- the habitués of the Community Centre have multiple belongings, unlike most of the habitués of the traditional coffee-shops in Cyprus: they are Londoners for the last few decades, but also Cypriots since they were born. Their identity cannot be detached from their British experience: they have lived and worked in this country for decades, their children and grandchildren are born here and they have property, which they value a lot in this country
- these people might be the ones that use the centre the most, but they co-exist, to a smaller or a larger extent, with other Greek Cypriots born in Britain – especially the members of the Youth Club – and spend their days in a centre that houses many British Cypriot organisations. Some of them are members of these organisations which are as much British as they are Cypriot
- this group of people is used to negotiating its ethnic identity – in the public and the private space – even though resistance is often expressed in different ways: they co-exist with the Other of the *homeland*; for example, they have learned to respect Muslim dietary limitations, since the centre's restaurant complies with it; many of them have

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<sup>3</sup> Watching television is an activity which has developed in the last three decades as a necessary component of the coffee-shop culture.

non-Greek daughters-in-law and non-white neighbours and have learned to live with social realities that are attached to the British rather than the Cypriot society

➤ for them, the *homeland's exiled* Greek Cypriots who do not adjust to the mainstream values and lifestyle of the group have become as much members of the group as themselves, even if they sometimes live on the margin of the community. That means that their sense of ethnicity as well as that of difference within Greek Cypriotness has changed.

The ethnic identities of the first generation, Community Centre Greek Cypriot habitués are shaped in the diaspora, like the identities of the younger generations, even if their primal – ideological, at least – reference is Cyprus. The diverse parameters of these identities have been exposed to me during a long-term ethnographic project. Since middle-aged men dominate, they are the ones I studied the most. A combination of methods facilitated a multi-layered, and in-depth study of the habitués' ethnic identity and media use. Observation, casual discussions and unstructured interviews, as well as focus group interviews, formed the triangulated methodology for this ethnic public space research.

### **Ethnicity and Everyday Life in the Centre - A Life Here and There**

Most of the habitués are either pensioners or unemployed; they are the ones who have the time to enjoy the relaxed daily rhythms of the centre. The majority of the men visit the centre occasionally, once a week or less often, but those who work just spend relatively little time there and their visits evolve around card and backgammon playing and chatting with friends. The core group of about twenty-five people spends much longer in the centre and their activities here include a bit of everything: a backgammon or card game, watching television, talking, having lunch. Common to most of these men's activities is their ritual character. Life here follows similar daily patterns. Habitués come to the centre at specific time and days; in that way everybody knows who to expect to meet here. During daytime, the busiest time is around lunchtime; this includes the opportunity to have an affordable lunch at the centre's restaurant. Daytime habitués do the usual activities of playing cards, chatting, as well as reading Greek and English newspapers and 'watching' television – an activity with its own peculiarities as

it will be explained later in this chapter. Mobility characterises activities in the centre, with each room having its use/value and the habitués doing different things at different times.

Most habitués spend a good amount of their time in the centre talking with friends, though a few are excluded from the networks and spend hours alone. These are usually people with attitudes – such as heavy drinking and arrogance – disapproved by the group. As they sit alone for hours, it becomes obvious that there is enough tolerance for their inclusion in the physical space of the centre, though they are actually excluded from the project of the community. Even within this micro-space of community however, there are subdivisions; the majority of habitués keep within their own micro-group of five – six men and even though they meet others every day, they never sit with them to have a chat. In many cases, the competitive relationships between these men are obvious: a quarrel about a political issue, a row about something on television, a hostile discussion about a drink. One day there was a huge argument between two men for a bottle of whisky. All it was about was a disagreement about the price the drink cost. Another time the atmosphere in the game room became very tense as one of the backgammon players joked about his opponent's luck, but he got insulted. Often, issues of no great importance reveal the tensions and politics of the micro-community of the centre and dimensions of performed male identities.

This communicative atmosphere – always with its own particularities – combined with my age and gender identity made it easier to attract people around me, to meet many habitués of the centre and to have casual and, later on, more structured discussions with them.

It is so much easier for the habitués of the centre to narrate their life story in less than an hour than to talk about their media use in a structured way. On one hand this reflects a difficulty most people have in discussing media consumption, a talk that is not usual since media discourses are constructed around media use and particularised talk that relate to specific media products' consumption. The image of two men talking about what they saw in the news, or planning their evening viewing was not rare. However, they would not discuss why they watch the particular media and the particular genres in more abstract way, even if this often reveals more about the media consumption as a social and cultural process. On the other hand, life stories talk is a

narrative these people are used to, as a means of communication, but also as a ceremonial method of performing and forming the image of the Self. It is no coincidence that the majority of people of the migrant generation bring up in most discussions, in one way or another, their life story. Age identity has its role for that, since, often old people put their present position in perspective and in the context of their whole life. But more than that, for these people, life stories form *ethnic talk*.

Most of the Greek Cypriot men who have migrated in the 1950's and the 1960's share similar experiences of *the journey*. A journey that, in most cases, started from a state of deprivation in rural Cyprus, followed by a lonely boat trip to the unknown land, an arrival to an unfamiliar place with no money in their pockets and no knowledge of the English language and culture. The struggle that started with the *journey* for these people and which has probably continued for decades, is a very important aspect for their self-identification, but also for their identification within the Greek Cypriot community. It is a basic component of their performed identity, when they demand respect and authority within the local, the diasporic, the hybrid imagined community. For these reasons, life stories have been the initial methods people used to introduce themselves and communicate with me at the Cypriot Community Centre. My own identity initiated this form of talk: I am young, I am a woman, I am a researcher. For them, that means that I have to be interested in their life stories; I have to be impressed as well.

Indeed, some of these stories are really impressive. Yet they are selective since they are used in a process of self-identification. For example, Vasilis, an 75-year-old veteran unionist, as others introduced him to me, has lived a rather adventurous life. He started working at the age of seven, washing dishes in a cabaret, while later he became a mineworker. He has always been a member of the Communist party of Cyprus and that cost him many jobs and being exiled from villages with his family. He came to Britain in 1950 with 50 pence in his pocket and after struggling with different jobs, he sent money for his wife and children to come and join him in London. After years of struggle, he managed to buy his own restaurant and now he is a prosperous man. Probably in an attempt to impress me, and also in order to demonstrate his male identity, he describes in detail a full and adventurous love life. Apart from performing this particular identity, in his narration the family remains a central and sacred focus. He

speaks of his grandchildren with love and proudly announces they are all university graduates. He emphasises the fact that all his children, grandchildren and even his great-grandchildren have attended Greek language schools, adding that all the weddings in his family have taken place in a Greek Orthodox church, even though he explains that he himself is actually an atheist. He even emphasises the fact that one of his daughters-in-law, who is from Hong Kong, has gone through Greek Orthodox catechism in order to marry his son. The contradiction between individuals' own beliefs and religious attitudes is not rare in this community. A wedding in the Greek Orthodox church, a sharing by all generations of the Greek Orthodox religion sometimes has nothing to do with faith: religion becomes an essential cultural, ethnic identifier and as such it has to be preserved. In the case of interethnic marriages, religion becomes a symbol of initiation in the community and a crossing of the boundaries from the Others to Us.

Vasilis is a man with multiple Greek Cypriot references renewed in everyday life. He visits the Community Centre once a week, even though he lives far away. 'It costs me 20 pounds to come here', he says. He has a house in Cyprus which he visits at least once or twice a year. He receives the Greek/Greek Cypriot satellite channels at home, he is a subscriber of the local Greek newspaper *Parikiaki*, he regularly listens to LGR and he has a rich collection of Greek videotapes and books. He also explains how he makes sure that the younger generations in his family grow up in the context of *Greek culture*. He feels a bit apologetic when he says that some of his daughters and granddaughters-in-law are not of Greek origin. 'Sometimes those English [women] are better than our own. My son's wife is a very good woman...', he adds. For the migrant generation, a wedding outside the limits of the ethnic group has to be justified. No further explanation is given for weddings among Greek Cypriots, they are considered to be the norm; but the reasons for a wedding with a *foreigner* have to be explained. As already discussed, endogamy dominates' British-born Greek Cypriots' choices as well, though they are more flexible in accepting Others<sup>4</sup>.

The narration of Vasilis' life story lasts for more than an hour. It reveals multiple identities of a man, who could only partly be identified as a 'veteran unionist' – the initial characterisation given to him by other people. He shares multiple identities, but

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4 Of course not all others are seen and treated in the same way. As preceding and following comments indicate, the resistance to a marriage with a *coloured* Other is much stronger.

the dominant identity, beyond any other, is that of the Greek Cypriot. However, this is not single-dimensional or stable. For example, this man sees his family as an extension of his self; and this is a family well-integrated to the British society. From his own narration it seems that his children and grandchildren shape a primarily dual identity as Greek Cypriots and as British. How less dual can his identity be, since he sees his own self-fulfilment through his family, a family he spends most of his time with?

One of my visits at the centre was dominated by Vasilis's narration, whom the others did not interrupt. His age, personal history and prosperity seem to be good reasons for the others to respect him. Like most of the other habitués, he is given a role within this small community of the centre. Many people here have nicknames, like for example *the teacher* or *the wise guy* – nicknames projecting a single dimension of individual identities. The identity projected as the communal and universally shared by all Greek Cypriot habitués is the ethnic identity. In everyday talk, in the assumptions that mediate people's communication, ethnicity is the starting point. The habitués assume and perform ethnic commonality based on values, language, habits which they share in everyday life – within the centre, in the locality, in the local and broader ethnic community. These diasporic identities are defined in relation, but also in conflict to the identity of the people in Cyprus.

A 50-year-old habitué, Andreas, comments on the values and ethics in Cyprus and how they are changing for the worse; the Greek Cypriots in Britain have kept their values and traditions more than those in Cyprus, he says. And he adds that, unlike Cyprus, people in Britain live peacefully together.

Here [in Britain] people live peacefully together. In the same building there are Cypriots, Chinese, Arabs, Indians, Blacks, but they still do not have any problem with each other. It's all a matter of habit. We [Greek Cypriots] always teach our children the wrong message. First of all, our Church teaches children that our religion is the best when all religions are as good. Then some of the teachers of the Greek schools teach them the most nationalistic stuff about the Greeks... But our children are born in this country, they grow up with different customs, different language and food. How do people in Cyprus expect them to be just like them? Just the fact that they speak the [Greek] language should be appreciated.

When he refers to his family, another dimension of his identity becomes dominant. In that case he rejected the idea of his children getting married to anybody but to a Greek Cypriot:

I am not a chauvinist but I do not want my grandchild to be called Mohammed. My children know my desire to marry Cypriots and I believe that they are not going to hurt me... I told my kids, marry one of our own kind and if you do not have a good time divorce him [/her].

This man's talk represents the hybrid and conflicting nature of Greek Cypriot ethnicity. At the beginning, his British experience is dominant in shaping his ideas of other ethnic groups and his criticism of Greek Cypriot culture. As he goes on though, the identity of a Greek Cypriot father becomes more dominant. Contradictory talk and ideology often characterises Greek Cypriot experience. It is the resolution of their daily conflicting experiences that are both Greek Cypriot and British.

The importance of the construction of the Others' image and of the setting of the limits between Us and Them is central for people's self-identification. On one hand, they recognise multiculturalism and their co-existence of the immediate, yet distant, Other of the *homeland* as part of their British experience. Costas says:

We do not have a problem with any race. With the Turks as well. They come here, we are friendly to most of them. The conflict took place in Cyprus. Here we all live peacefully together.

But the approach changes when the Other gets closer. Another member of the same focus group says: 'My two daughters are married to Cypriots. My two sons are married to English. At first we got cold to the idea, but then we got used to it'. And Costas adds: 'Well, if you have many children you do not mind if one marries a foreigner, but otherwise it is a problem'. The ethnic restrictions set to their children is much stronger in the case of the girls. The vast majority of mixed marriages are of male Greek Cypriots. Setting of the limits between the considered White Us, against the *coloured* Others can become extremely racist: 'If my daughter married a Black guy...in a way it would be better if I lost her. Of course, they are humans as well, but, oh no, Holy Mary...', says Costas. Weddings between Greek Cypriot and Black people – which is not usual in the group – is one of the main reasons for people to be exiled from the family and the community.

Many of the centre's habitués say that they plan to return to Cyprus as soon as their children settle down in their own families in Britain. Many more than those who do go back to Cyprus, are those who say they want to return, but since their family lives and belongs to this country – referring to Britain – they do not have a choice but to spent all their life here. This conflict is a conflict of desire and reality, but also it is a choice that people feel they have to justify by saying its not their own. The attachment to the country of origin is sacred for the migrant generation and their ethnicity is based

to a large extent to the preservation of their imagined belonging. At the same time, the inescapable belonging of their children in the diasporic community of Britain is the real bridge of their dual belonging, which ideologically is rejected.

### **Television Viewing – The Daily Ritual**

There are two television sets in the Community Centre lounge and at least one of them is always switched on. It is the necessary background of this setting, like it is in most Greek Cypriot homes. One television set is always tuned in the CBC-SAT and the other is usually tuned into a Turkish satellite channel. CBC-SAT broadcasts its programme after 4:00 p.m., but before that, radio programmes are rebroadcast through television and photos of Cypriot sights – especially those on the northern Turkish-occupied part of Cyprus – are shown on the screen. Even before the regular television programme starts, listening to the radio via television and watching the photos on the screen is a usual activity for some habitués. The boundaries between different media technologies and output are blurred, while the oxymoron of listening to the radio...on television is a norm here. Sometimes, when there is music on the Cypriot radio rebroadcast on television, one particular habitué gives a male performance of Cypriotness by dancing in front of the set.

In the evenings, the centre becomes more vivid and the larger numbers of visitors is more diverse. Apart from the pensioners and the unemployed, there are groups who come after work for a game of cards or backgammon and those who come for the evening news on the CBC-SAT. The game room keeps its autonomy during day and night – always used for playing cards and backgammon. But the main lounge is transformed. While the tables next to the canteen are the *heart* of the centre during daytime, with people having drinks and chatting among themselves, in the evening the life evolves mostly around the television set tuned into the CBC-SAT. The second television set keeps broadcasting the Turkish channel, but the volume is very low and there is either none or just a couple of viewers of its programmes. Sometimes, the Greek Cypriots take over that television set as well. ‘The other night, there was a football match on English TV. So we had one of the TVs on CBC and the other on the game’, Nicos, one of the habitués, said once with a cunning smile on his face. This act does not



reflect disrespect to the Turkish Cypriot habitués. It rather reflects a use – value approach to television; since nobody was using the second television set, those present decided to make the most out of the television's programmes that night. It also reflects the co-existence of British media and ethnic media, the co-existence of British identities and Greek Cypriot identities.

The vast majority of the people who do not play a game – usually a large group of about twenty remains in the game room – gather in front of the television broadcasting the CBC-SAT. There are three long couches, which usually face the television set like in an auditorium. Sometimes, during daytime, the couches face each other, but never in the evening; then, they are always facing the television. This space has its own characteristic demography. Usually, those interested the most in CBC-SAT's programmes sit on the first and the second row. Those not so interested in them, sit on the third row or on the side.

When the main CBC-SAT news bulletin comes on at 6:30 p.m., it is a sacred moment. The 15-25 members of the audience keep silent, at least for the main news. Those who dare to talk are given looks of disapproval, while almost every member of the group concentrates on watching the news. As the news evolves with less important stories coming up, some people start talking, usually commenting on what they watch – such as the story of a drug-dealer's arrest in Limassol – or about something irrelevant – like a forthcoming football match. These discussions still take place around and in parallel to their viewing and within the social context of their communal media consumption. The ritual of viewing has its own rules, apparently set by and setting the male audiences' interests and media use practices. While political news<sup>5</sup> is on, nobody talks. The silent concentration to the political stories is followed by vivid discussions

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5 News relating to the Cyprus problem, relations with Turkey and the Turkish Cypriots dominate the political reporting of Cypriot media and they are always high on the agenda of the television bulletins. In their daily consumption of this agenda, Cypriot men renew their own interest and knowledge around the Cyprus problem. They also renew their commitment to the (hybrid) imagined community, since they consume information about the Cyprus problem which is presented through the Greek Cypriot lens – with all its biases, stereotyped and propaganda qualities. If their information about the Cyprus problem originated in non-ethnic media, their own perceptions about it and the priority they would give to it would be different. This can be indeed seen in people's reactions when they see Cyprus (problem) related stories in British media. The different approach of the British media, compared to the Cypriot ones, leads to negative reactions. British Greek Cypriots of all generations often protest against what they call 'bias' in British reporting. This reflects the gap between their own – and that of the ethnic media – dominant ethnic discourse and that of the mainstream media.

and often heated debates, after the news is finished. These discussions, and others in different context, are informed by information obtained from television viewing. It is not rare for people to mention during a discussion that 'I saw that on CBC', or 'As CBC said....'. Viewing the news becomes more participatory, with expression of opinions, when human stories come up. In cases of accidents or other Cypriot local story reporting on CBC-SAT, many people are magnetised by the screen, as they are interested in finding out if a story refers to someone they know. One should not forget that Cyprus is not only a symbolic reference, but also a living and lived reference for most of these people. It is the place where they were born, where some of their relatives and friends still live. In their viewing of local stories on CBC-SAT, the habitués renew their belonging in local Cypriot communities as well – communities that are as much part of the hybrid imagined community, as the Haringey community.

Television viewing is the central activity for most of the habitués for no more than half an hour, as long as the CBC-SAT evening news last. After that, television viewing takes place in parallel with other activities. Many people might continue watching a soap or a sitcom on CBC-SAT, but they do not watch them with the religious devotion they watched the news. After the news, the group of about twenty, who gathered around the set for it, splits between those who go for a game, those who continue watching CBC-SAT and those who prefer to have a chat. This goes on for about an hour more, when people start leaving for home, or for the local pub. 'We live in this country. I like hanging around English people as well', one of them said once, in reference to his usual visits to the local pub. Most of these people, recognise and actually participate in the local inter-ethnic community, which is as much part of their everyday reality, as the ethnic community space.

Even though television viewing is highly ritualised and television use practices are repeated in similar ways on a daily basis, these might change under some circumstances. For example, when important events take place television attracts the attention of more habitués who do not regularly watch the news. For a couple of months and while the Cyprus government was about to make the final decision for bringing some high-tech missiles<sup>6</sup> to the island, the tension caused in Cyprus was also experience

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<sup>6</sup> The decision of the Cyprus government to buy the Russian missiles S-300 led to extensive tension in the relations with Turkey, the Turkish Cypriots and the international community. For about a year the

in the centre. The numbers of the news viewers would double in some days and the debates around the issue would exceed the usual after-news talk and would continue over games of backgammon – and in lively talks outside the centre. The arrest of Abdullah Ocalan<sup>7</sup> was another event that changed the usual routine of the centre and turned the television viewing into the dominant evening activity. Interestingly, many habitués expressed their resentment towards Greek politicians and they related their handling of the issue to Greek governments' handling of the Cyprus problem<sup>8</sup>. 'Well, what's new about the Greeks? They washed their hands of the matter as soon as things started getting complicated'.

In general, most British Greek Cypriot – either in the Community Centre or in their homes – value and trust the information provided by CBC-SAT. For the majority of the viewers in the centre it is the primal source of information, even though it is rarely exclusive. Next to that, there is LGR, the Greek press, as well as the British media. 'We watch the news on BBC or ITV... It's the news of this country...our country, we are interested in it', Costas says.

But television viewing is not only ritual; it relates to the alternative use of time as well. For example, one of the first days of the spring found very few people in front of the television set. On one hand, nothing important or interesting was on, and on the other, the good weather created an atmosphere of mobility between spaces inside and outside the centre, with people being in the mood for chatting and playing games. Even

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issue would dominate Cypriot news and public debates. At the end, the Cyprus government reached an agreement with the government in Greece to store the missiles in Crete.

7 In March 1999, the Turkish Secret Services arrested the Kurdish leader in Kenya. Though the way events took place was never completely clear, it seems that the Greek government was involved in the arrest. A. Ocalan fled to the Greek Embassy in Nairobi (maybe seeking asylum) and after a series of events that remain unclear, he ended up in the hands of Turkish agents. There was a huge outcry for the responsibility of the Greek government in Greece, Cyprus and human rights' activists around the world, as it was common knowledge that Ocalan's arrest by the Turkish government meant he would face the death penalty.

8 The distance between the British Greek Cypriots and the Greeks from the mainland does not only relate to the class difference and the geographical concentration in different areas of London. It is also informed by the historical experience that makes them identify with different imagined communities. For the Left-wing, first generation British Greek Cypriots, the division between the two imagined communities is confirmed in the perceived different political goals of the two governments. Also, what is considered as the historical responsibilities of the Greek leadership for the division of Cyprus raises the emotional and political boundaries between Us – the Cypriot imagined community – and Them – the Greeks of the mainland. Every time they think that Greece's leadership makes political mistakes, the discourse of the division between the two imagined communities is reintroduced. At the same time, there is a sense of proximity and sameness in this Greek Otherness. In the political discourse of the male Greek Cypriots, there is much more interest in the affairs of Greece compared to any other country.

for those people gathering in front of the television of the Community Centre every evening, the interest in obtaining information from Cyprus does not singularly define their viewing, it is also a communal activity, a chance to socialise, to pass their time. For some, it is an extremely important part of their everyday life. This raises questions about the importance of ethnic media use – and the media use in general – as such. Is the television a major attraction for the people who visit the centre? Does it bring them together? Does it facilitate socialisation among the habitués or does it diminish it?

Greek/Greek Cypriot and Turkish satellite television has been offered in the centre as one of the major daily entertainment choices. Its existence might have created a new audience for CBC-SAT satellite, especially those men who cannot afford to have it at home. In most cases, though, these are people who watch a lot of television anyway. What CBC-SAT has created within the Community Centre is not an audience in general, but an audience for ethnic television. CBC-SAT is in a competitive relation with British television for the particular audience of the centre, even though the relation is not mutually exclusive. But for the centre's habitués, who choose to spend a lot of their time in a space saturated with Cypriot references, ethnic media consumption is much more meaningful and important than for many other Cypriots. They look to the CBC-SAT for renewing their images of Cyprus, for building their knowledge around Cypriot politics and culture and for adapting their own culture and ideology to Cypriot contemporary reality. Besides, this is a group of people who are more resistant to the British culture than they are to the Cypriot one. In their ideology, Cyprus remains the primal reference within the imagined community. Nostalgia is renewed through ethnic media. Nevertheless, sometimes ethnic media also remind them that their image of the *homeland* is an illusion. For example, people often make negative comments about contemporary Cypriot values and about the *abandonment*, as they call it, of the Cypriot dialect by younger people in Cyprus.

CBC-SAT consumption has also created a public space for many, especially for those who do not play games and still want to participate in a community centre – a public space where they can meet other Cypriots. Emphasising television viewing in the Cypriot Community Centre here does not relate to the focus of this research alone; media consumption indeed saturates everyday discourse and performed ethnicity,

renewing images and narratives of identity on a daily basis. Media talk is one of the mechanisms for appropriating the media.

### Media Talk

One of the first things I realised as a researcher was that people do not really talk about media consumption; rather about specific programmes, for their plot and characters. In trying to understand how people use and appropriate ethnic media overall, I had to thoroughly analyse the comments in their specificities, cross-examining them with their actual use and with their replies to my questions aiming at recording their evaluation of the media.

The habitués of the Community Centre, like most Greek Cypriots, use media extensively and they talk about them as being a taken-for-granted part of their everyday life's scenario. Within the centre, it is satellite Greek Cypriot television that dominates. As already discussed, ethnic satellite television is even one of the attractions of the centre. Michalis, one of the usual habitués used to spend few minutes, every time he saw me, to explain the plot of a Greek Cypriot soap ( - *Odós Den Xehno*), though I told him that I was not watching it. 'It's very nice', he would insist, inviting me to watch it with him. I would sit and watch it with him, being aware that the invitation did not relate only to the specific programme. Television often mediates people's performance of identity in their attempts for socialising.

Ethnic media consumption is not only CBC-SAT consumption. Even if most are not used in the centre, they still mediate people's communication and talk. Media talk involves discontinuities and contradictions, as it is often justification of choices and performance. Andreas' justification for not having cable or satellite television at home implies that media compete with education: 'When you have children who study, it is better to have as little television as possible'. At a different time, he recognises the important ethnic role of the media when he proudly says that the majority of Greek Cypriots have cable or satellite television at home. 'Most families have CBC at home...it's great...they always know what happens in Cyprus...and you can watch tv in your own language'. Soon after though he turns critical when talking about LGR: 'People at LGR think they protect our traditions, our language and our values. But they don't. I don't want to listen to English music on LGR and these...jumping around

noises! No thanks!', he says emphatically, adopting an attitude of resistance to ethnic hybridity in the media.

Media use is also gendered. This same man says that he listens to LGR everyday, but he never calls-in. 'The woman does', he says referring to his wife. 'She calls to congratulate somebody getting married, somebody who has his [sic] birthday<sup>9</sup>... things like that. But I don't like these things'. The approach to the soap viewing is similarly gendered and age defined, even if in reality soap viewing might be much more universal. Dinos notes: 'We don't watch them. It is the women and children who do'.

When I ask a group of men why their wives do not go to the centre to watch CBC-SAT like they do, some are insulted, explaining that this is not a place for women. And one of them says: 'Do you think that there is a single Greek Cypriot house without at least one or two television sets?' This comment describes the indeed media-wise Greek Cypriot domestic setting, as well as the primarily domestic media use by women. In this research project and with the study of the Women's Centre in particular, it became obvious that female media use is primarily domestic<sup>10</sup>. At least one in three of the centre's habitués has satellite or cable Greek/Greek Cypriot television at home. That does not stop them from coming to the centre for the communal viewing of the evening CBC-SAT news or for meeting their friends and participating in other activities. The majority of people, including those who do not have ethnic television at home, are very much informed about the structure of most media programmes and they have an opinion about them. Their viewing might be extensive, yet it is critical.

'We have Hellenic TV, but the problem is that they show us whatever they like. They show the Greek channel [ERT-SAT], then the CBC-SAT programme, then they interrupt it to put an old film. You can't just choose between ERT and CBC-SAT like those who have satellite can', says Costas B., bringing up two important issues. Firstly, not all Greek television is good. For many people, the ERT-SAT is more alien than British television<sup>11</sup>. It is the CBC-SAT that is the television of the *homeland*, the one

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9 Call-in programmes are very popular for exchanging wishes. In the calls of a primarily female participating audience, events such as weddings turn into community happenings and all the listeners into participants in the celebrations. One of the reasons listeners tune into such programmes is to get informed about such events, about who gets married to whom.

10 This dimension is further discussed in the following chapter focusing on the Haringey Greek Cypriot Women's Centre and the previous chapters focusing on Greek Cypriot media use at home.

11 As already discussed, British Greek Cypriots do not feel they belong in the same imagined community

they can identify with, the one they can understand. Secondly, the interaction that new technologies offer – i.e. the immediate choice between channels on satellite – is considered as an invaluable possibility. Hellenic TV subscribers often complain because the choice between different channels' programmes – CBC-SAT, ERT-SAT, local productions – is made for them, not by them.

The cost of cable television viewing also raises complaints. Most of the habitués having cable television at home pay for having the whole SKY package, while they primarily watch Hellenic TV, as they say. Their complaints show that they choose to have Hellenic TV as an alternative to English television. In this talk, they express an indifference to mainstream channels. The emphasis on the choice of ethnic television, symbolically reflects the predominance of Greek Cypriotness over Britishness as a cultural reference. Though the emphasis is ideological and does not necessarily reflect the diversity of their consumption, it does set a discourse for performing an identity that is primarily ethnic.

While Hellenic TV is the channel that attracts the most severe criticism, CBC-SAT and LGR are the media these people identify with the most. CBC-SAT represents the *homeland* and the LGR is the medium of the local community, of their immediate everyday own life and experience. Almost everybody listens to LGR regularly, at home and in the car. LGR is considered so much a taken-for-granted part of their daily life that some people are surprised when I ask them if they listen to it. 'We all do!', says one of them.

The majority of the people asked find it difficult to say which programmes they listen to on LGR, since they usually have it switched on during the whole day. And Andreas B. words reflect the media-dominance at home: 'During daytime, both LGR and the TV are on'. Television is the almost necessary background. LGR is usually switched off when more structured – yet not necessarily exclusive – television viewing starts in the evening.

People are aware of the local character of LGR and its importance. Two men participating in a focus group say that they miss an old LGR programme discussing

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with the Greeks from the mainland. Historical differences and tensions, language and dialect difference and the development of distinct public spheres in Greece and Cyprus have their part in the way they watch – or not watch – the broadcasts from Greece.

problems of the community. Others express their appreciation for LGR's informative role within the local Greek Cypriot group: 'If something happens in the community we find out immediately about it from LGR', Antonis says. When asked whether he gets more information about the local community or about Cyprus from LGR, he replies that most information refers to the community. Not everybody agrees. Andreas B. says that Greek Cypriots in Britain are so thirsty for news from the *homeland*, that they mostly pay attention to news from Cyprus, rather than community news. The differences in people's evaluation of LGR reflect both the audience's and the station's multiple, and often inconsistent, focus on the local, the diasporic and the country of origin.

'Do you think ethnic media changed your communication?' I ask people participating in a focus group. 'Things have changed, yes. For example, when an association organises an event, media are very helpful in getting people together to support the cause', Andreas B. explains, emphasising media's community and local role.

What about the global character of ethnic media? In LGR's live connections with different countries where Greek Cypriot diaspora lives, British Cypriots get the chance to exchange messages with relatives and friends. LGR's programmes become the virtual space for establishing real, simultaneous and global communication within the hybrid imagined community. What does that mean to these people? 'We listen to people that we share a lot with. We live in a foreign place, so when we hear a voice from the home country, a voice of a person we know... that gives us joy', says Andreas B.. But the global character of all ethnic media, which includes daily live connections with Cyprus and Greece has by now become a taken-for-granted reality. 'We learn the news from Cyprus. We even find out whether it rains there or not', Costas says. In ethnic media, images of Cyprus are daily renewed, as much as images of the local group. None of the two are exclusive, since they are parallel to the lived experience. Even if images and experience of the local space are more lived than mediated through LGR or Hellenic TV, the ones of Cyprus are not exclusively structured through television and radio either. The communication flows include more than the radio and television transmissions. For the migrant generation they might not include the Internet, but they include regular telephone communication with the *homeland* and a lot of travelling to Cyprus.



The centre's habitués also see LGR as having an educational role: 'On LGR they talk about political stuff and get into details that are beyond what people like us would know. They have to', says Petros, who participates in a focus group. But this opinion is not universally accepted. One man at the centre, who is very much involved in local politics and considers himself as being member of an educated elite, says that the role of electronic media is stronger among people with lower political criteria. 'These people, he argues, would talk about an issue as long as it is on television or on radio. But they wouldn't go further to analyse political issues. As soon as a story is not in the news anymore, they stop caring'. In this comment – and in other similar – it becomes obvious that populist media effects' approaches are strong among this group's opinion leaders.

The ritual character of media use in the Community Centre has already been described. But media use as a ritual is not only a characteristic of the media use in the public space. It characterises media consumption at home as well, where it is well-planned and repeated. 'I watch the CBC-SAT between 4 p.m. and 9 p.m. until the station shuts down', says Pavlos. 'I have LGR on the radio alarm, so from 7 o'clock in the morning I have it on', Andreas B. adds.

The majority of men asked say that they listen and watch news and current affairs programmes, more than any other programme. That reflects two dimensions. On one hand, it reflects a male identity shared by these people – one that wants men to be informed about public affairs. On the other hand, it reflects their ethnic identity, since, in reference to the media they use the most, political information usually refers to Cyprus. But they do admit they listen to music programmes, breakfast programmes, even to a women's programme and a children's programme on LGR. Again, identities are negotiated through media use.

Not everybody believes ethnic media are necessary ingredients of their ethnicity. Yiannis, an insurer who is not actually a habitué, but who occasionally visits some of his clients at the centre, says that English television satisfies him enough. He adds that he does not feel the need to use ethnic media which are of low quality anyway, as he argues. He does not listen to LGR, even though he finds it useful for old and lonely people and for those who work in the Greek Cypriot factories. 'Do you feel different compared to the people who listen to LGR?', I ask him. 'Maybe... Sometimes I go to houses or factories and they listen to LGR twelve hours per day... I would never do

that', he replies. Even though it is not put directly like this, this comment reflects the interrelation between class and education with ethnic experience in general and ethnic media use in particular.

Overall, media talk reflects both people's expectations from the media and their communal performance of ethnicity, which is negotiated in public discourse. Like people's perceptions, their media talk is selective and contextualized. What people say about their media consumption does not necessarily reflect all its dimensions; yet, it is invaluable in studying what dimensions people choose to project.

### **The Youth Club**

Apart from the core group of middle-aged Greek Cypriot men, there are other people who casually make their appearance in the main lounge, people beyond the dominant group. The most usual visitors belong to one of the organisations meeting in the centre and they usually just pass through or just stop to greet a friend. Then, there are the children and teenagers of Greek Cypriot or Turkish Cypriot origin attending some of the activities of the Youth Club or a class.

My research has secondarily focused on the young Greek Cypriots gathering in the centre. The young Greek Cypriot 'habitués' are not more than a couple of dozen. Even though there is an established Youth Club, with four youth workers, the group of boys and girls that occasionally join it is very small. Young Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots use the Youth Club on different days and there is no much interaction between them, at least within the centre. The majority of teenage Greek Cypriots visit the centre for specific uses, something that signifies their approach to ethnicity in general, at least in the public space. They engage in it through a primarily use – value relationship, unlike the first generation's full commitment. Most of the times, they go to the centre in order to attend a Greek dancing class or the tai-kwo-do class. No more than six teenage boys and girls visit the centre casually, just to spend the evening, watch television or play billiards.

In the late 1980's and the early 1990's the Youth Club was flourishing, attracting dozens of young Greek and Turkish Cypriot teenagers everyday. Youth workers believe that today's situation reflects, on one hand, the difficulty of attracting young people who

have a variety of entertainment choices and, on the other, the rejection of a place that is not attractive to them. The detachment of younger people from specifically defined ethnic spaces is also important. As long as these spaces are structured by the group's organisations, they cause young Greek Cypriots' scepticism. At the same time, young Greek Cypriot construct their own public space in clubs and pubs where they tend to hang out<sup>12</sup>.

The Youth Club is based on the third floor of the Community Centre. There are two rooms: the lounge with a television set and some couches, and the game room, with three billiard tables, a table football and two table-tennis tables. The lounge reflects the decadence of the place and it is rather unattractive. Since I started this project, the youth workers told me that they planned to redecorate the place and make it more technology-wise, with a PlayStation console and maybe with a computer. Up until I finished my research, nothing had been done.

The people gathering here consciously choose a place which has a clear ethnic character. But this is not what attracts them. The young people who participate in the club's activities come to meet their friends and to play a game of billiard with them. For them, this is a space in the neighbourhood; it is a familiar space for those of them who started coming here since they were young for reasons that they do not even remember anymore – e.g. their fathers started bringing them over when they used to come for a game of cards on the ground floor.

They feel strongly about their ethnic identity, even though their presence in the centre does not seem of key importance to many of them. The vast majority goes to Greek schools and they all say that they will make sure they bring up their children within the Greek culture, whatever they mean by that. How about the Greek language? 'I am definitely going to speak Greek to my children... especially when I shout to them and curse!', says one of the older girls. Cursing and words that relate to food or ethnic-religious celebrations (for example, Pascha, meaning Easter) always come out and without any effort in Greek. In the most intimate relations of their lives, in the way they express strong feelings and in references that have to do with a public, shared

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12 See Chapters IV, V and VI.

culture, Greek language often frames the immediate discourse of British-born second and third generation Greek Cypriots.

Most of these teenagers go to the centre to attend traditional dance classes. Girls and boys of second and third generation are attracted to the Greek and Greek Cypriot culture which is very much of value in their own lives: contemporary Greek music and dancing are very popular among young men and women, as they are part of their entertainment in clubs and parties. Dancing groups form one of the structured ethnic activities that attract young Greek Cypriots the most. Young Greek Cypriots choose to attend them without any pressure from their family or the community. The familiarity with Greek dances and music sometimes make people very popular within teenage and early adulthood networks. Greek music and dances become some of the primary references of second and third generation Greek Cypriots to their ethnic identity. Dancing reflects the performative character of ethnic identity, it is a demonstration of ethnicity and an attempt for public recognition of the young people in the community.

The dancing classes take place in the theatre, situated on the ground floor. The members of the group keep their autonomy from the other activities of the Youth Club since they see their presence in the centre as exclusively related to their dancing. The dancing class also forms a small social group. Its members have friendly relationships, relationships that actively construct and renew the significance of ethnicity as a real reference. Most of them say that most of their friends are Greek Cypriots. Two of the girls are even *half-Greek Cypriot*: one of them is half- *Irish* and the other *half-Portuguese*<sup>13</sup>. They still have a strong orientation towards the Greek Cypriot group, even though the Greek Cypriot-Irish girl participates at the same time in an Irish traditional dancing group. Multiple ethnicities' celebration is an everyday reality of multicultural London.

The relationships between these teenagers and their culture are in many ways different to their parents' or grandparents' whose reference is primarily Cyprus. But it is important that their own hybrid identities are constructed within a Greek Cypriot network of their own. For them, ethnic identity is prioritised differently compared to that of their parents: they speak in English among themselves, they do not have ethnic

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<sup>13</sup> The use of 'half-Greek', etc. is extensively used by the people in this group in defining people's ancestry. In most cases, it refers to the country of origin of a person's parents.

media as primary references; for them, their friendships with other Greek Cypriots, their Greek dancing and music listening become important ethnic references<sup>14</sup>. The importance of such cultural products explains the relationship between the teenagers and ethnic media. For them, media are of use and value; they are not so much part of their everyday life, at least by choice, like they are for their parents. Ethnic media are a major source of information for new Greek music. And these people are very interested in renewing their information about some genres of popular Greek music.

### Media Consumption and Talk

When I ask the members of the dance group if they use ethnic media, their first reaction is to laugh. 'My mother watches CBC-SAT all the time', a 16-year-old girl says. And the other members of the group mention different situations about their parents listening and watching choices, which they comment on ironically. However, they know many of the ethnic media programmes; they know some of them because of their parents or grandparents watching – e.g. CBC-SAT news – and others because they actually consume them themselves – e.g. the *New Generation* music programme on LGR. For this generation, the oxymoron of ethnic media use is that it is *cool* to know all about popular Greek music, but it is *uncool* to follow it through ethnic media. Their source of information is also defined by their lived experience in parties or clubs and through their listening to CDs and tapes. But ethnic media are the primary sources of music knowledge, since the music they offer is much more diverse and continuously renewed.

Ethnic media are not part of these teenagers' everyday talk. None of them talks about them, unless they are asked. But British media are everyday references. The most usual media talk, within this space as well as in other domestic and public spaces, relates to the mainstream soap *Eastenders*. It is mostly girls, but not exclusively, who comment on the plot or try to catch up when they miss an episode. For the members of the dancing group, the viewing of *Eastenders* becomes the main reason for going up to

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14 Friendships as an ethnic reference indicates the importance of the geographical concentration, the locality and the community character of the group for the construction of group and individual ethnic identities

the third floor. 'At 8, on Mondays they rush up here to watch *Eastenders*', one of the youth workers explains.

Even though CBC-SAT is received on the television set of the Youth Club, it is hardly ever watched; most teenagers are not even aware of the fact. But even when they find out, they remain indifferent. Apart from the *Eastenders*, football matches on television attract them in the club's lounge. For male teenagers, their participatory viewing of football matches reconfirms their male identities, which are not necessarily and continuously ethnic. Mobile phones seem to be an almost necessary accessory for the older (16 years old upwards) girls and boys at the Youth Club. More than television viewing and radio listening, it is the mobile phone that is the defining medium for a *stylish* and *cool* age identity. It is also the medium that they seem to depend more on. It could be said that it is an ethnic identifier as well, if one takes into account the vast number of Greek Cypriots that have mobile phones as an accessory and the way the mobile phone has been projected within the ethnic age groups as a necessity.

### A Concluding Note

The Cypriot Community Centre becomes a space where the ethnic identities of the migrant male habitués to a larger extent, and the identities of the other groups that attend it to a smaller extent, become publicly exposed, renewed and communally performed. The processes that take place are complex and multiple:

- In this space, especially for the first generation, ethnic relations of the country of origin are reproduced, with the domination of the Greek Cypriots over other ethnic Cypriot groups. The powerful presence of Greek television reproduces these analogies, even if now they are hybrid and in new diasporic terms: Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots share the same public, something that has not happened in Cyprus for more than a quarter of a century. Also, both Greek and Turkish media co-exist and compete, making the ethnic dimension of communication more obvious: sometimes celebrated and others contested.
- Ethnic identities are shaped through relations and cultural references inside this public space, as well as outside it. The Cypriot Community Centre is a cultural *minority* centre in the British context and people are aware of their *minority* status; in this space

they perform minority ethnic identities. But this minority ethnic centre reproduces the ideology of the Cypriot particularity – of people who are different (and more White) compared to the other minorities they share the locale with.

- Most of the habitués have given the role of an everyday ethnic reference to the centre – a place where lived experience gives meaning to ethnicity. Activities that have some ethnic meaning define the ethnic role of the centre. These include the extensive media use, as well as the interaction and daily communication with other Greek Cypriots and non-Greek Cypriots.
- The Community Centre is a dual ethnic reference for the construction of a Cypriot identity shared with non-Greek Cypriots, and for the construction of Greek Cypriotness in particular. The latter is dominant, but it is negotiated through the former.
- For the younger British Greek Cypriots the Community Centre, like most public community organisations established by the first generation, is being increasingly rejected. Those who join it do so in order to participate in specific activities. It is not their ethnic identities that is in question, but their relation to the community public space. They prefer to form their own generation ethnic public in spaces more familiar to their British-Greek Cypriot experience: clubs and pubs being some of them.

Ethnic media have a major role for the first generation Greek Cypriots habitués of the centre. It is a real and symbolic ethnic reference, where they turn to for communally renewing images of Cyprus and its culture, though they appropriate them in diasporic terms. For the majority of the middle-aged habitués, ethnic media are attached to the public ethnic space, as much as they are attached to the private, primarily ethnic space. They have learned to celebrate their ethnicity, as it can be communicated beyond geographical boundaries and within a hybrid imagined community, to a large extent because of ethnic media and their ability to interconnect different places where Cypriots live. For these people, satellite and cable technologies have become a valuable gift. They praise and benefit from them, though they are also critical and demanding consumers. That is a result of their participatory relation to ethnicity: they are not only on the reception side, but also on the production side of it. And media are part of this interactive relationship.

For the teenagers attending the Youth Club, ethnic media relate primarily to the domestic space rather than the public. Ethnic media are used at home, either because

their parents consume them, or because they themselves choose to catch up with the latest Greek hits. In the public space, it is the mainstream British media they consume. In the context of their age group, watching an English-language soap or listening to Virgin Radio or Capital FM is the socially expected and accepted performance. It is not only ethnic identity that is performative, age and gender identities are as well. As Silverstone argues:

If communication is thought of as a ritual rather than a transmission, then it is associated with performance rather than movement, participation rather than consumption, meaning or beauty rather than strategy or results, evocation or calling rather than influence or effectiveness. A ritual is not something one is audience to but something one is participant in (1988: 125).



## **Chapter VIII**

### **The Public and the Construction of Ethnic Identity II: The Case of the Haringey Greek Cypriot Women's Organisation**

In the previous chapter, I discussed everyday life as this unfolds in a primarily male-dominated public space. In this chapter, the focus turns to the construction of female ethnic identities in public, and in particular, in the Haringey Greek Cypriot Women's Organisation. Even though the research conducted in the public space has a dual focus on a male-dominated community space and on a female space, I do not claim to study exhaustively the universe of Greek Cypriot ethnic identities' diversity, as this is publicly expressed. The sample of people included is rather specific, while the study of their activities in these public spaces originates and is pursued from a particular theoretical and empirical perspective. Nevertheless, the research in this women's centre, as much as the study in the Cypriot Community Centre, allowed me to study public experience extensively.

As ethnic identities are constructed both in the public and the domestic, through different levels of socialisation, research in the two centres became an essential part of methodological triangulation in the process of constructing a meaningful understanding of ethnicity. And part of this process was studying the gendered character of ethnicity and the differences between male and female ethnic identities. These differences relate to the diversity of female and male socialisation and the construction of identities as a continuous social experience. Yet, not all women (or men) share the same ethnic references; not all women experience ethnicity in the same way. But for the specific subgroup of Greek Cypriot women shaping their ethnic identities in Haringey – in most cases within a family and a working class context – gender identities have certain common characteristics. And as a result, there are unifying threads of their ethnic experience as well.

#### **The Centre: Context and Content**

The Haringey Greek Cypriot Women's Organisation was founded in 1982 as a supportive and informing initiative addressing Greek Cypriot women in a friendly,

familiar, and more than anything, ethnic community context. Migrant women who would otherwise be exclusively dependent on family and kinship relations were the potential members of the organisation. Common language and background, shared experiences of migration, family and working life environment, as well as familiarity between individuals, made this organisation, like other ethnic women organisations, more accessible than any other non-ethnic/inter-ethnic institution. First generation Greek Cypriot women's demand to establish their regular participation in the public space, without the intervening of the male members of their family, as well as their seeking of sharing experiences with other women, facilitated the establishment of organisations like this one.

Two characteristics of the organisation that had defined its development should be noted here. First, it was, since the beginning, a Greek Cypriot organisation, excluding other ethnic groups of Cypriot origin – e.g. the Turkish Cypriots – unlike the Cypriot Community Centre. It seems that this characteristic has to do with the differences in Greek Cypriot women's socialisation compared with men, particularly for women of the migrant generation. Their ethnic public space is constructed so that it is more *familiar*; only women sharing the same language and cultural particularities can actually *belong*. Even women from Greece participating in the activities of the organisation, are seen as *different*; the co-existence with Turkish Cypriot women would be even more difficult<sup>1</sup>. The second important characteristic is that this organisation was founded to meet the needs of the migrant generation women and it has directed its activities almost exclusively to meeting them. Since its foundation, it has failed to attract substantial numbers of second and third generation women or address their needs and interests. This is revealed more and more as a common characteristic of the first generation community institutions that fail to adjust to the changes of British Greek Cypriot ethnicities<sup>2</sup>.

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1 I do not suggest that there are actual reasons for Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot women not to get along and not to share public spaces. On the contrary, similarities and shared codes of communication by Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot women might be much stronger for some subgroups, than it would be between some women within the Greek Cypriot group. And that reflects the crossing of commonalities beyond set boundaries. The actual difficulties for sharing the same public spaces have more to do with the dominant Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot ideologies and politics promoting differences rather than similarities between the two groups.

2 For more, see Chapter IV.

The Greek Cypriot Women's Organisation was originally based in the Cypriot Community Centre. Yet, moves reflecting the need of the participating women to have their own space and not to be at the periphery of a male-dominated space, resulted in moving to another building in 1990, which they first shared with Bangladeshi women and then had its exclusive use. The building is actually owned by the London Borough of Haringey but it is run by the organisation with money that primarily comes from the local council. Just after this research was completed, the Council substantially cut down the funding of the organisation, resulting, among other things, in the organisation having to share the building with an Asian Women Organisation. While studying this shift of the centre's character would reveal important changes in (multi-)ethnic public space, time and resources' limitations required the completion of fieldwork. The preparations for this change were partly recorded at the end of my fieldwork, with women being very dissatisfied with the developments. They would blame the centre's leadership for failure and would complain for having to share 'their space' with Other women – especially women of a non-white ethnic group, as they would emphasise in their way. In words that reveal a, primarily first-generation, inflexibility especially against non-white Others, Stella, 56, says: 'Oh, holy Mary! That's all we needed... Now, they [Asian women] will come here and nothing will be the same... you see, we are used to different ways...we don't know their customs...we don't know what'd insult them...' In such talk, these women raise ethnic boundaries in ways that make their crossing very difficult; in this context, their Greek Cypriotness and not their female identities, becomes their defining *difference*.

The centre offers for free, or for a low fee, different activities, information and counselling to its female members. Information about health issues, rights and services women can have access to in Britain and confidential one-to-one or group counselling are some of the services offered. Furthermore, different classes take place in the centre regularly: fitness and yoga, Greek and Cypriot traditional dances, English as a foreign language, flower arrangement. There is also a three-hour daily playgroup for young children, while excursions are organised for the members and their families every two or three months.

The activities take place in four rooms within the centre: the kitchen – the primary space for socialisation, the lounge – where some more formal meetings and viewings

take place, the classroom and the big hall – where fitness and yoga classes are taught. This centre is much less media sophisticated and media defined than the Cypriot Community Centre. There is a television set and an old VCR situated in the lounge, yet neither is regularly used. There is no cable or satellite television reception and the VCR is often broken for months. An old stereo, usually dusted in a corner, is hardly ever used except for playing music during fitness and yoga classes. As it will be discussed later in this chapter, the peripheral role of the media within this public space reveals the differences in everyday activities, routines and rituals in an exclusively female ethnic space compared to the male-dominated Cypriot Community Centre.

### **The Centre and Its People**

The ‘core’ group of the centre includes almost exclusively middle-aged, migrant generation, working class women. The small group of young women participating in the activities of the organisation – especially in fitness and dancing classes – come to the centre in the evenings and after work, but they do not spend much more time at the centre than their attendance to the classes requires. But for older women, this is a social space of extensive presence. The group that joins the centre regularly consists of about 15-20 women. As discussed later, for many of these women, this is an extension of their home. They usually gather in the centre’s kitchen, a space which makes them feel more comfortable than the lounge – an obvious similarity with the domestic space. They have coffee and herbal tea before or after going to a class and they sometimes bring a home-made cake to share with others. As ethnic identities depend on specific gender identifications and vice versa, demonstrating good cooking or housekeeping skills to others is a performative way of reinforcing specific Greek Cypriot female identities in public. The kitchen looks very similar to a house kitchen, but as a room it reflects the cross between working and leisure space for women, the cross between the domestic and the public. As most socialising takes place around the kitchen’s table, women reproduce a familiar setting. As, on the other hand, their public talk never touches sensitive and private issues, it is filtered by the publicness of the place.

Afendra, the managing director of the centre at the time this research took place, who is also a founding member, draws a profile of the first generation, working class

women, who the organisation primarily addresses. The most usual problems among them are arthritis, melancholy and depression. Many Greek Cypriot women suffer from melancholy, she says, and this is the result of multiple pressures they face. Most of them are machinists and rarely leave their home. They have to deal with pressures from their bosses, their husbands and their children. But problems remain for years *under the carpet* since women are not supposed to talk about them, especially outside the home. The women's centre a way out, a female space where female networks offer informal and counsellors offer formal support. Even in this space though, most women do not talk about their problems, as the lightness of the discussions that take place reveal and as a counsellors' words confirm. As she told me, it was very difficult to persuade women to participate in a therapy group. She says they feel very uncomfortable talking about their problems in a group; if they get to the stage to seek counselling – which in any case is rare – they would do it only on a one-to-one basis.

The pressures, stress and problems of some members of the organisation do not reflect negatively on the character of the centre. On the contrary, it is a pleasant place where women are friendly and hospitable and where lively discussions take place, especially during the breaks between different activities. These women like to talk to each other and they grab every opportunity for socialisation. That is why they hardly ever use them within this public space. Even though most of the participants are heavy media – both ethnic and non-ethnic – users within the domestic space, they hardly use the media in this public space. The media found here are old and limited because there is no demand. If there was a demand for satellite or cable television, they would probably be provided; but women prefer to get involved in other activities. However, it would be interesting to see the changes that would occur in the activities and socialisation if Greek/Greek Cypriot television were available here. At present though, women do not actually use the media, even though they talk a lot about them.

Taking into account the profile and the socialisation of most of the organisation's members, the value they put in their public socialisation comes as no surprise. For most, the domestic space is their primary everyday life space. Home is the space of work, leisure, socialisation with family members and friends<sup>3</sup>. The public is an alternative

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<sup>3</sup> Even activities outside the home usually consist of visits to other houses of family members and friends. See also Chapters IV and V.

space, where they can get involved in activities they do not experience at home: socialisation with a large group of women, participation in group activities and enjoyment of services offered by others to them, not by themselves to others, like it is usually the case within the home. Yet, within this context, the women's organisation is primarily a *use space* for most of its members. Women go to the centre in order to participate in specific activities. Socialising takes place in parallel to that. It is very rare for a woman to go to the centre exclusively for meeting others. She goes there to attend a class and she chats with others before and after a class. This again is very different to the male-dominated Cypriot Community Centre where men go to in order to socialise and to enjoy their leisure time without any effort in any sort of structured activities<sup>4</sup>.

The difference in the use – and even more in the ideology around the use – of the two centres relates to the different structure of gendered time. As argued in research focusing on the domestic political economy and media use at home (e.g. Morley, 1986; Seiter *et al.*, 1989; Lull, 1990), women rarely enjoy exclusive leisure time, without doing some kind of work at the same time. Similarly, a sense of *use of time* and *wasted time* saturates women's activities within the public space. There is a sense that leisure time should not be 'wasted time'. Also, within this ethnic group, there is a sense of gendered guilt for women socialising with large groups of other women, since this is stereotyped as an opportunity for gossip. In their talk, participants try to exclude themselves from this stereotype, revealing the conflict between the desire to belong to a female public and at the same time rejecting it – the lived conflict in the performance of Greek Cypriot female identities in public. During a lively kitchen discussion, Elena, 60, turns to me: 'Look at them! They never shut up! Like chickens, they cackle all the time...Oh, they give me a headache. If it wasn't for the yoga, I wouldn't be here'. But her distancing remark received an ironic comment from another woman: 'Yeah, right. Like you are never thirsty for gossip yourself!' Even if not admitted by themselves – and more usual by others – in their socialising between other activities, the participants partly construct their public space, their time use and their ethnic and gender identities.

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4 Ritualized activities, such as watching specific programmes at set times, are the most structured activities in the Cypriot Community Centre.

## Doing Research in the Women's Centre

The first time I visited the centre was a few days after the Orthodox Easter of 1998. There was a party organised with most women bringing in and treating Cypriot Easter pies (flaounas) they made themselves. Competition about whose flaounas were the best was obvious and I ended up eating so much because everybody insisted I should try their own. This party, being more formally organised, took place in the lounge, with the television being switched on, but silent, on the background, while nobody was actually watching it. It was one of the few times I saw the centre's television switched on. Almost all the other times it was on, there was a gathering in the lounge. Like at home, when people are in the room where the television set is situated, it becomes the necessary background, even if not actually watched.

Women were busier talking about Easter celebrations, family gatherings and church attendance than watching television. For these women, like for the ones of their age in Cyprus, Easter is an important time in the year. It is not only a religious celebration, but also an ethnic celebration<sup>5</sup>. During this meeting, people talked continuously about what they did and ate<sup>6</sup> during Easter, whether they went to Cyprus or not, which church they attended and also what they watched on television. Special Easter programmes on CBC-SAT for Easter and the direct transmission of the liturgy from churches on both LGR and CBC-SAT were some of the issues of discussion. The immediacy of the transmission of the liturgy from Cyprus was praised as a break of the barrier of time and space. 'I switch on the television... it is like being in Cyprus', says one of the women. Another one adds that with these transmissions, people do not forget 'our religious celebrations', even if 'in this country it is so easy to forget'.

This gathering and other similar ones have been privileged situations for talking and listening to the women within an unforceful communicative context. It is characteristic that many talked to me about their lives extensively and without any hesitation, while knowing I was a researcher. When I asked one of them if I could visit and interview her whole family though, concerns about being *exposed* became dominant. The advantages of unstructured discussions against planned and structured

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<sup>5</sup> For the role of religion in ethnic identities' construction see Chapter IV.

<sup>6</sup> Within the Greek/Greek Cypriot culture, food is very often a central component of rituals and social

interviews were revealed once more. My own gender and ethnicity were crucial for my being welcome in the centre and for people not questioning my presence. Women often thought of me as another member of the organisation. However, sometimes my young age and my use of the Greek language with more of a mainland accent raised suspicion and questions about whether I was actually one of Us or an Other.

Researching the media turned out to be a rather complex task within this context. First of all, these women do not actually use the media in the centre, even though they often talk about them. This meant that I could not study actual media use, even though, valuably enough, I could study the public construction of media discourses. Secondly, during fieldwork, people often saw in me an opportunity to have their voice and complains heard by the media. This was just one of the reminders that as a researcher, my role was never neutral and that people projected on me specific roles and had various expectations – in a way, that was the other side of the coin of what I was doing. Thirdly, questions about the ethnic role of the media – here like elsewhere – would often receive commonplace and stereotyped comments that are reproduced within the group without too much thought. This could only project the necessary interpretative character of research that cannot just cite people's comments but has to examine meanings of talk – or of non-talk – as well as of action – or of non-action – within particular contexts.

### **Female Greek Cypriot Ethnicities**

As already mentioned, most women were as friendly to me, as they were among themselves. Female, like all other relations, are not harmonious though. There are subgroupings, competitive relations, conflicts. Sharing the same ethnicity – or age and gender – is not a holistic reference for identifying or not with people. Individual characteristics for example, are important. Women who tend to dominate the usual kitchen discussions between classes attract as many positive as negative comments. Competitive relations are characteristic within this environment. For many of these older women, constructing their public identity is based on defining themselves in

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gatherings.



relation to their place of origin – the specific village, not Cyprus in general – and in relation to their children's and husbands' professional success.

One morning, two women kept competing among themselves about their fathers. They come from neighbouring villages and they both claim that their fathers were among the richest men in the area, but they lost all their fortune because of their good heart. The story was almost identical and attracted smiles from other women, while even the two of them admitted at the end that they always get involved in this childish competition. One of them, Androulla, who has been in Britain since 1969 says that after she came to this country, she was depressed for a whole decade, missing her home and lifestyle in Cyprus. But now she prefers Britain. 'People have changed in Cyprus. Besides, I am a (xeni – a foreigner/a stranger) there, now that my village is occupied (by the Turkish army)' she says, reflecting the importance of locality for her identification with the *homeland* and at the same time, problematising her connection to present Cyprus. This strong sense of locality was adapted to migrant everyday life by many people of her generation, who primarily define their British life within a North London context. Admitting the present distance from Cyprus, another woman participating in the same discussion, Soula, says that there is no way back since both herself and her husband have established themselves in Britain – 'that's where our future is', she explains.

The story of the two women is shared by many more. The definition of their identity in relation to the past is different to their present and future orientation, even though there is an actual inescapable continuity. Their migration experience, the journey and the settlement in a new country define as much their Cypriotness as they define their Britishness. The process is very much psychological. They left Cyprus – a place that was familiar and the people they loved. That meant leaving a part of them behind. However, they left Cyprus because it was a place that could not offer them jobs or promise them financial prosperity; it was a place that was politically divided and inhospitable for almost half of the population that belonged to the Left; it was a country that suffered ethnic hatred that led to its division. Thus, the real experience of living in Cyprus has never been as ideal as ethnic ideology often proclaims. Britain was the opposite. It was strange, different and unfamiliar yet, through hard work most people managed to achieve a comparatively comfortable life. Sticking together and forming

ethnic communities in Britain was an attempt to combine the two. Living within this context makes most people satisfied. They might always consider Cyprus as their *homeland*, but it is not actually the place where they belong.

The continuation of belonging to Britain is largely related to their children living and having their own children here. For women especially, their children and grandchildren are central references of identification. These women – most of them as grandmothers – are the ones who actually teach the third generation the Greek language, they are the ones who introduce them to the Greek Orthodox religion by taking the children to church and they are the ones that, while baby-sitting, they sit with young British Greek Cypriots and watch a Cypriot sitcom on the ethnic channels or listen to Greek music on LGR. First generation women's family is their inescapable belonging in Britain, even if some are not happy to admit that North London is more of a home than Cyprus.

Many members of the first generation are disillusioned about their country of origin, but for many of their British-born children, Cyprus is the utopic imagined *homeland*. While it cannot be argued that this reflects a majority tendency, a considerable minority of second and third generation British Greek Cypriots dreams of moving to Cyprus and some of them actually do. The most usual case is for one of them to marry a spouse from Cyprus, who they met on holidays on the island, ending up settling down there. Maroula, 65, says that one of her sons, out of three sons and three daughters, has married and settled down in Cyprus. 'He's like a real Cypriot now! My other son has married an English solicitor, they live far away and the children hardly speak any Greek...', she says. Diversity and inconsistency in ethnic experiences is characteristic even within the same family, revealing that individual characteristics and particular experience lead to different choices.

Another woman, whose son is an active member of second generation ethnic organisations, says that the reason for moving to Britain was her children's education. 'We had a hard time at first. My husband became a factory worker and I was sewing at home. But our children's education was a priority... When we moved here, my husband told the kids to sign a contract that they would return to Cyprus after finishing their studies. They told him "no way!" Now they are all married with foreigners', she says with a smile. 'It doesn't matter...thank God, they are good people and they are all

successful in their jobs'. Success in the British society is often important for abandoning the dream of return and for accepting the Others as members of the family. The success of the British-born generations also soothes the pain of first generation nostalgia. When compared with living in a divided country, living in Britain, with happy and successful children and grandchildren around, becomes a choice much more easily made. In the life of the new generations, migrants integrate and accept the duality of their in-betweenness.

This same woman says that one of her grandchildren, an 8-year-old boy is the best student in his Greek school class, even though his mother is English. 'Sometimes, when I don't understand something in English he is my translator', she adds proudly. The relationship between the first generation grandparents and their third generation grandchildren is very often intimate and emotionally important for both sides. I heard both grandparents and grandchildren talking about each other with great affection. This special relation, which usually takes place around activities, such as watching television, shopping, going to church and going for holidays in Cyprus, constructs a cross-generational bond that mediates a dual belonging for the old and the young Greek Cypriots: migrants are introduced to British culture through their grandchildren and their grandchildren are introduced to Cyprus and Cypriot culture through their grandparents. The *cultural translation* that goes both ways brings memory and present experience, Britishness and Cypriotness into a common discourse of identity.

Britishness informs the identities of the participants in the centre, as much as their Cypriotness. In their constructing of new ethnicities, middle-aged women start learning English in classes offered at the centre. Some of them say that they feel they spent their whole lives for others and did not manage to progress themselves. Sophia, a 70-year-old woman attending the language classes, describes the context of her everyday life that pushed her to the decision to learn English:

First, it was the children and work, then I was sick, now it's the grandchildren... My husband speaks English so much better than me. When I find a word I can't read I ask him to translate it for me. I tell him: 'All you do is listen and watch Greek television and radio. At least tell me what this English word means'... And he replies to me: 'I am sick of English. I have to use it everyday at work. I come home, I want to speak and listen to my own language..'

Another woman, participating in the English class adds: 'All these years we were shut in our houses, sewing and raising the children. How could we learn English? Just a

few words we learned from the TV'. For many, extensive media consumption at home has been for decades their *window to the world*. But in that sense, the actual distant world was the one outside their front door, the British world, mediated by the media; the ethnic world was the familiar one, the one that did not need to be mediated.

Most of the women gathering at the centre during the evening are in general younger than the majority of pensioners who attend morning classes. Some of them are well-dressed and well-spoken, revealing their middle class profile. Some of those attending the traditional dance classes do so, not because this is an ethnic space they feel more familiar with, compared to non-ethnic spaces. They attend the centre's activities once or twice a week because they choose to get involved in ethnic activities. They share a sense of 'the need to know our culture', as one says. For them though, ethnic culture is just one of the components of their everyday life. During one of our discussions before their class, a woman admits that she is embarrassed not to know any Greek dances, while another says that she enjoys dancing because it is a great component of 'our cultural heritage'. 'For me it is also a night out', argues Kate, 50, who comes from Camden. She adds that she does not usually socialise with Greek Cypriots because she lives and works in a different environment. Her attendance to the centre started when she saw an advertisement for its dancing classes in the Greek press and she decided to join. Her personal story narration introduces a long group discussion about the village organisations' balls and many of the women say how much they enjoy them and how good it is that they take place, helping people to keep in touch.

While this discussion takes place in the lounge, the television is playing on the background. *Eastenders* was on a while ago and a couple of women switched on the television to watch it. Like at home, *Eastenders* is broadly watched. In an ethnic centre, as well as at Greek Cypriot homes, cultural references are never exclusively ethnic. That is why, the women participating in the previous discussion would soon after change the subject and start talking about dieting and about relevant information they got from English-language women's magazines.

#### Young women's perspective

Saying that older women dominate the centre does not mean that younger women do not participate in its activities in one way or another. A few younger women

belonging to the age group 25-40 join the evening classes after work. For some, this space serves similar uses as any gym, for others it is an ethnic space, which however is not of dominant importance in their everyday life. Yet, it is no coincidence that almost all these younger women have migrated from Cyprus. It is obvious that they can *fit in* much easier in an ethnic space – where Greek is the first language, where ethnic talk and discussions about Cyprus dominate, etc. – compared to British-born Greek Cypriots. Most British-born Greek Cypriots, as discussed elsewhere, choose to participate in different kinds of ethnic spaces. Some other young British Greek Cypriot women have a professional relation to the centre – as employees or as associates. All of these women I spoke to, draw a line between themselves and the migrant core group. It has to be noted that I have had some of the most sincere, in-depth and personal discussion around ethnicity – e.g. as it relates to relationships and sex – with younger women. This was the consequence of our commonality in terms of age, experiences and discourse. For the younger women, everyday communication was not so much saturated by the taboos that often dominate the older women's discourse.

Maria is a 25-year-old British-born social worker, whose mother is from Cyprus, her father is from Greece and her husband is British-born Greek Cypriot. She lives in Haringey because she likes the Greek ethnic context, as she argues. 'People are warm', she says in fluent Greek, but immediately adds with a smile '...when they want something in return'. Commenting on that, she emphasises that she can't stand this aspect of the community and that she keeps a distance from some community activities including the media. 'I never listen to LGR, only by coincidence. And then, I immediately switch over to another station 'cause I get upset with its stupid programmes. LGR is a London Greek thing', she says. But she is a Londoner as well. 'Yes, but LGR is for the first generation. It is very much focused on Cyprus. I was born here and I'm not interested in listening to all that. LGR is good for the first generation women who work in factories or at home and this is their window to the world...Unless of course they have cable or satellite'. This same person though cannot define herself as anything else but 'Greek'. 'I don't discard what I am', she says. She also explains that she got married to a Greek Cypriot, because she thinks it would be difficult to be with somebody who is not Greek: 'We share something, we have a common background and this is very important'.

Another second generation employee of the centre, on the other hand, Elli, 24, has a different approach to her own ethnicity. She is fluent in Greek, she dreams of moving to Cyprus one day, yet she is engaged to an English man. 'Greek Cypriot men look for their mothers in their wives', she says defending her choice. She argues that most Greek Cypriot girls rebel against their parents' traditional expectation. 'But it's not the same with boys. They learn to be treated like masters by their mothers and expect that from their girlfriends and wives. But young Greek Cypriot women are not willing to accept this attitude, that's why there are many split-ups', Elli says. Her own construction and experiencing of gender identity is essential for the way she deals with ethnicity in her life. Her gender identity has defined her choosing a partner outside the ethnic group. And it is reflected in conflicts with her migrant father. 'My father calls me ' (Englezouda – English girl). I ask him why. Just because I don't always say "yes father", "whatever you say father"?' However, there is no clear-cut division between conforming to traditional ethnic values and breaking away from them. She defends her choice of an English partner, but she adds:

At least he's not Muslim. That, not myself nor my family could accept. I am not that strong, if you know what I mean. You see, it's easier with an English man because they are not religious or anything. With Asians for example, the religion would be in the way, making it difficult to work. Either you or him has to sacrifice culture and religion. And I'm not willing to do that.

The complex processes of identity construction involve belonging or keeping distances from some ethnic values and subgroups in different cases. Young Greek Cypriots do not continuously and exclusively distance themselves from the first generation. As much as Elli criticises the first generation for being traditional and stubborn, refusing to change – like, e.g. the use of the ancient Greek language in church that she mentions – she criticises her own generation. She says there is a fashion about where Greek Cypriots should go at night. 'They all go to Eros Club<sup>7</sup> in Enfield. Also, they go to one pub for six months and then change. Now, it's trendy to go to this pub in Cockfosters. It's just a pub. But they drive for 20 minutes to go there, just because everybody else does'. Beyond this criticism, Elli participates to these ethnic activities with people of her own generation. She does so, as much as she participates in ethnic spaces shared by all generations. Her ethnic experience includes watching and listening

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<sup>7</sup> Local North London night club, very fashionable among young Greek Cypriots. Music usually includes

to Greek media and music, even if this is not actually her choice (e.g. her parents' or her friends' choice).

Inconsistencies and contradictions are inescapable characteristics of constructing hybrid ethnic identities; inconsistencies and contradictions are characteristic of these British-born women's discourse. They participate, they reject, they struggle against, they adapt the dominant concepts. All these form the complex face of ethnicity that is reproduced and redefined but does not disappear as a reference in everyday life.

### Media Talk

The members of the organisation might not use the media in this centre often, but they certainly talk a lot about them. Ethnic and non-ethnic media talk among themselves is a usual, easygoing issue of discussion; media are some of the cultural references they all share, shaping a discourse they all share. What happened in the latest episode of a Greek or an English soap, celebrity news and media technology changes within their homes – including the installation of satellite, cable, or buying a new mobile phone – are usual topics of discussion. Political information received through the media is rarely on the agenda, unlike the male-dominated Cypriot Community Centre, since this is not considered to be 'women's talk'.

Media talk being such a casual and usual part of everyday life meant that it was not difficult to get women involved in media discussions. What was more difficult to achieve was the involvement of the participants in media talk that would surpass the specificities of talk about a particular series or media personalities, or the generalisation of stereotyped comments about what is 'good' or 'bad' about the media. This was not always the case though. In one of our group discussions, the broader role of ethnic media for learning and using the Greek language became a concern sparking lively debates. A woman questioned the effects of the media: '[Ethnic] media are good, they offer something important to us, our language, our culture... but no matter what, our children will not speak the language just by watching a series or two on Greek television. You have to talk to them in Greek at home, that's the only way...' Eleni, the only woman in the same discussion group of six that does not have the Greek/Cypriot

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English and American pop, but also Greek pop chart hits.

channels at home is even more sceptical, questioning the value of my own research: 'There are other much more important things you should concentrate on... there should be youth organisations developed...things like that'. She also raises the issue of media alternatives: 'There are so many channels out there to watch, there is no time for Greek TV. Especially for the young... do you think they'd bother watching them?' This comment provokes a vivid discussion and British-born Toula says: 'You can't just let them [the children] do whatever they want! When I want the Greek channels, I put them on!' A younger member of the group, Maria says that some members of her generation have difficulties understanding the language of the ethnic media but 'we have to try to understand them and that's good... it helps us learn the language'.

Toula adds that she does all she can to *preserve* the Greek culture in her home, even though she admits that Greek is the second language for her children who have difficulties in understanding many programmes. 'But both my daughter and I love the music programmes on ERT. I tape many of them and play them again and again', she explains, revealing how media technologies allow her and her family to choose the ethnic cultural references of their interest and fit them in their own everyday life time and space. VCR allows Greek Cypriots flexibility in their use of ethnic media and increases their choice in viewing. Lena, 24, says that she does not have satellite at home, but her aunt does. 'She tapes films and series and then we get the tapes and watch them...' The variety of programmes offered by ethnic channels, including local and global productions, as well as programmes from both Greece and Cyprus – most films on video used to be from Greece only – created an increasingly interactive relation with ethnic media. Unlike the past domination of the VCR, at present, it is mostly used for taping favourite programmes and programmes to be watched at a convenient time.

Media talk also reflects people's evaluation and relation with ethnic media. Maroula, 65, talks about LGR as being part of it. Like many people, she uses words such as *We* when she refers to it, obviously talking about a medium that is part of the community. Hellenic TV though, even though local, it mostly attracts complaints and expressions of dissatisfaction for not actually broadcasting what people want. The fact that Hellenic TV rarely broadcasts local programmes and it is hardly interactive – unlike for example LGR, which almost continuously accepts phone-ins – makes it lose, at least



symbolically, its local character. Yet, both Hellenic TV's and LGR's ability to surpass local borders and to become global media at times, is highly appreciated. 'I do watch Hellenic TV mostly for the news from Cyprus... I want to know what's going on there', says Maria, 26. And others add that they watch Cypriot soaps and sitcoms on Hellenic TV and they love them. Most of them demand an increase in the broadcasting of new programmes of these genres, showing an interest in global media products, an interest which does not compete with a co-existing interest in local programmes, but which reconfirms their belonging in a community that exceeds the local boundaries.

Media talk also reveals the sense of distance that the local community and the broader diaspora feel in relation to the satellite channels. The feeling that people in Britain cannot influence the content of the satellite channels is often expressed as a complaint. While I was doing this research, many people saw me as the mediator between themselves and the satellite channels. Sometimes, I was given direct instructions about what I should tell CBC-SAT and ERT-SAT to broadcast. Similarly, I was seen as the mediator for Hellenic TV, since people often felt the same inability to communicate directly with this cable local channel. Less so was the case with LGR: the medium they do see as local and that allows them to pick up the phone and talk to its producers.

At the same time, the global and diverse opportunities that satellite television has introduced are symbolically very important for them in constructing their identities, while feeling they belong to a global whole. Many of the owners of satellite television project the fact that, apart from the ethnic satellite channels, they can receive 30-40 other foreign channels. Most of them agree that this ability extends their horizon, even though they admit that they never really watch them as they do not understand the different languages. In this case, the potential and the symbolic value of being part of a global public becomes more important than the actual participation in it.

The vast majority of the centre's members are heavy ethnic media users. However, none of them uses ethnic media exclusively. They all watch British media to a smaller or a larger extent. 'Anything', says one of them when I ask her what she watches on mainstream television. 'Films, *Eastenders*, *Sunset Beach*...' says another. English-language radio is mostly used for listening to music, when people need a change from their usual LGR listening, or when it is the alternative listening in factories

where *foreigners* and Greeks work together. Only some of the younger members say that they listen to English-language radio more regularly and that it is a part of their everyday use of the media.

### **A Concluding Note**

For the women of the centre, public space is a continuation of their domestic life, since the values saturating their evaluation of space and time use and leisure opportunities are similar. While there is a continuation though, the exclusively female public space of the Women's Centre is a *window to the world*, beyond the home and beyond the dependence on male members of the family for leaving the home. But this *window to the world* which takes them outside the house is rather different to another *window* they have in their own houses: the media.

In the domestic space, television and radio mediate their experience of the world that is beyond their reach – symbolically and literally. Within this context, it comes as no surprise that most of them have cable and satellite television at home: it is the primary medium for their access to the globalisation process; it is one of the primary methods for participation in the ethnic hybrid imagined community. At the same time, going out of their homes means that experience becomes immediate; that their participation in the (ethnic) local community is direct and unmediated. The opportunity to enjoy different experiences to what they usually experience within the home – and the socialisation that comes with it – temporarily weakens the value of the media use as a particular act. On one level, ethnic public experience in the women's centre becomes much more local and immediate than the dual and simultaneously local and global experience of the Cypriot Community Centre. On a second level though, media talk and ethnic talk in general shape multi-layered ethnic experience, which cannot actually be singularly understood within a local public context. Regular media talk and ethnic talk continuously explore ethnic definitions through negotiations and re-negotiations of ethnic geographical borders in time and space, mobility and variety in ethnic and multi-ethnic communication and create new understandings of Greek Cypriot ethnicity, which can actually have different faces at different stages of people's lives and among people of the same network and family.

## Conclusions

In this thesis, I aimed at portraying and interpreting British Greek Cypriot ethnic media consumption, while making the participants' own voices heard and their presence seen in the extensive ethnographic data, in their quotations and in my analysis of the data. I hope that my long commitment to studying, living among and sharing diverse experiences with the specific group led to a reflexive discussion of data that recognises emic and etic meanings of action and consumption, of talk and non-talk. Four years of living in the field, of extensive research in the home and in the two ethnic centres, of extensive participant observation in the locale, made my understanding of the ordinariness (Silverstone, 1994) of Greek Cypriot everyday life and of media consumption possible. In having dinner with the Gregoriades family, I saw the appropriation of ethnic media, when Irini compared her father to a Cypriot sitcom character. In my long evenings at the Cypriot Community Centre, I realised that many interpersonal relations develop around communal television viewing – a bonding activity that initiates social interaction and ideologies of Greek Cypriotness. In wandering around the local shopping centre, I observed cross-generational female networks reconfirming their belonging in a community when their consumption was shared as a cultural and communicative activity. In this ordinariness, identities are constructed and performed – identities that have to do with ethnicity and with (British) Greek Cypriotness in its particularity, and identities that do not, and which are shared with other ethnic groups and other (media) consumers.

In examining media consumption and identities, this research hopes to contribute both to the studies of Greek Cypriot ethnicity and to studies of ethnicity and the media, beyond the particular case. Thus, it adapts a reflexive approach, which (i.) indicates why the British Greek Cypriot case is of particular interest; (ii.) investigates how the particular case study relates to others; and (iii.) reaches an abstract theorisation of the relation between ethnic identity construction and media consumption – a question that has very rarely been addressed both in media studies and in studies of ethnicity. In this concluding chapter, I summarise what I believe to be the contribution of the thesis to these three main areas. Before doing that and in order to evaluate my empirical study, I discuss the research methodology, its strengths and weaknesses.

## Evaluating Methodology in Practice

This research draws primarily from the ethnographic tradition within media studies. Learning from this tradition, I adopted an ethnographic perspective that would allow me to critically study media consumption as a cultural process (Ang, 1991), media consumption as part of everyday life and as a never-ending cultural experience (Silverstone, op. cit.) and audience as a relation and not as a phenomenon (Nightingale, 1996). The theorisation of audience as a relation and of media consumption as a cultural process emphasises the centrality of the relational and communicative dimension of media consumption – the importance of *who shares the media with whom* (Meyrowitz, 1985). In this context, I focused on the relations developing around media consumption rather than on the texts being consumed. For the purposes of this research – which involved the question of how people share common ethnicity – I examined how British Greek Cypriots *share* the media when they use them, talk about them and appropriate them in their everyday life. This orientation informed my methodology, framed my involvement with British Greek Cypriots and my participation in public and private spaces. Inevitably, I do not provide a detailed discussion of particular genres and of media textual analysis. Though further research on texts and on the involvement of audiences with particular genres could broaden the understanding of the Greek Cypriot media consumption, I made a necessary choice that relates to the particular focus of the research and the limitations in available time and resources. Nevertheless, my ethnographic research extended into a large variety of spaces, over a long period of time and in various relations with members of the Greek Cypriot community. I believe that this involvement led to a broad understanding of Greek Cypriot ethnicity, reflected in the presentation of specific data (e.g. kitchen discussions in the Women's Centre; shared cross-generational viewing in the Papadopoulou home), as much as in the more general and abstract discussion of the particular group and the locale (e.g. dynamics of multiculturalism in North London, reinvention of Greek Cypriot ethnicity in new spaces such as pubs and clubs). Arguing about the extent and depth of my empirical research, I do not underestimate the limitations of this study.

On one hand, such limitations had to do with my own identity and the identities of the participants. Being Greek Cypriot myself, I benefited from my familiarity with the culture, codes of communication and language of the group. But this familiarity created almost as many problems as it solved – especially at the early stage when I assumed that I could understand fully, while at the same time keeping the necessary reflexive distance from the group. Though long-term research allowed me to adapt a critical distance from what it meant to be an Other from within<sup>1</sup>, my research approach involved biases that relate to my identity as a Greek Cypriot, as a woman, as a researcher of middle-class background. Thus, implications and limitations did not only relate to my ethnic in-betweenness, but were also relevant when I had to cross boundaries of identities and spaces (e.g. male spaces and activities; private family space and intimate relations).

On the other hand, limitations had to do with the particularity of the specific case and the time and resources restrictions. The predomination of first generation, working class households in the sample is the most obvious bias that emerges from doing this research at the particular space and time<sup>2</sup>. The limited time and resources did not allow me to completely overcome this bias, though I argue that my research reflects extensively the group's class and generation diversity and indicates the emerging changes that the new generations' experience brings to ethnicity. Taking into consideration the limitations of the research, I tried to form a reflexive and flexible research methodology, which would allow me to expand the sample and my understanding. Thus, I combined qualitative and quantitative methods, which I hope that complement each other. The orientation of the research remains primarily qualitative and ethnographic, but the use of quantitative data<sup>3</sup> – based on the analysis of

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1 See Chapter III, where I address questions of reflexivity. Myself being a Greek Cypriot, but not a British Greek Cypriot, and also being a researcher, put me into a position of in-betweenness, where my identity as being an insider and an Other was continuously negotiated.

2 As already discussed in Chapters III and IV, the migrant generation working class Greek Cypriots still dominate the group, while the British-born generations, whose class status involves more diversity, and their ethnicity is not dependent onto a direct relation to Cyprus, are still young and dependent on migrant generation ethnic discourses and cultural capital.

3 The quantitative data presented in Chapter V is not by itself sufficient to lead to conclusions, as (i.) the sample is still quite limited (40 households/40 respondents) for quantitative research and (ii.) the methods of collection of this data did not conform to strict guidelines of survey. Quantitative data presented in Chapter V cannot stand by itself as reliable data leading to any conclusions; rather it offers interesting additional information that is cross-examined with the qualitative data – the main empirical material of

the 40 interviews in the home – offer additional material for achieving validity through triangulation. The questionnaire used for these interviews had its weaknesses – especially as its design was not based on strict survey models. Nevertheless, its weaknesses as a survey questionnaire initiated my expanding the agenda of the interviews beyond the limitations of the questions printed on paper. At the end, the 40 interviews offered me valuable and extensive information about Greek Cypriot ethnicity and culture, though the information collected during each interview varied extensively.

Similar inconsistencies applied in the case of the study of the public and of public media consumption. The predomination of the migrant generation is apparent, though it is a predomination that relates to the real dynamics of the – formal at least – public ethnic space. The diversity of male and female presence and media consumption in public creates inequalities in the presentation of data in the two centres. But though men are more visible in the data relating to the public, women become stronger presences in the data relating to the domestic. This methodological inequality cannot be underestimated, but it has to be associated with the particularity of gendered Greek Cypriot presence in the private and in the public space.

The empirical realisation of this research was not only limited by the particularities of the specific case study; it also aimed at addressing and understanding these particularities. For this study has the ambition to contribute to the understanding of British Greek Cypriot identities' construction and ethnic media consumption.

### **The British Greek Cypriot Particularity**

Deterritorialization and reterritorialization, political division, self-exile and inter-ethnic conflict in Cyprus are all experiences that saturate this group's past experience, collective memory and discourse of Greek Cypriotness. Such experiences become symbols integrated in everyday ideologies of ethnicity and of self-identification and are produced and reproduced in narratives that reconfirm belonging in both a distinct ethnic community and in Britain. As much as such symbols project the group's distinctiveness, they also remind British Greek Cypriots that Cyprus is not an ideal place to return to. The adventurous, emotional and often painful historical journey of this community has

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this study.

shaped the present British Greek Cypriot condition in Britain – a condition of integrated particularity. The historical and cultural context of British Greek Cypriotness involves interesting particularities:

- Cypriots are some of the very few European peoples in Britain whose migration relates to violent deterritorialization from the country of origin; Cyprus' continuing division renews a collective concern for the *homeland* among the diaspora. This particularity in the history of Cypriots, compared to other White Europeans, is one of the mechanisms that set limitations to their assimilation<sup>4</sup>
- Greek Cypriots are European and White, but their migration was primarily part of the late colonial and postcolonial mass movement of populations to the former colonial powers. Their peculiar position creates a particular condition of in-betweenness, both in relation to the White British, as well as to the other *coloured* ethnic groups. This in-betweenness is shifting and changes in context as illustrated in the thesis (e.g. Greek Cypriots are White in multicultural Haringey, but *coloured* in the City)
- British Greek Cypriots have renegotiated in the diaspora their relations with the *homeland's* significant Other: the Turkish Cypriots. While in Cyprus the two communities live separately and their relations are hostile, in London they share the same locality. Though still each other's Other – as indicated in data about the resistance of most participants to accept close and intimate relations with Turkish Cypriots – they live peacefully in the same locale
- The close connection between British Greek Cypriots, other diasporic Greek Cypriot populations and Cyprus, that renews the sense of belonging in a shared imagined community, is not only the outcome of initiatives and conditions in the diaspora. The Cypriot government (as well as the government in Greece) have reinvented the diaspora in their political discourse, as they have realised the political and financial benefits of keeping close relations with it (Demetriou, 2000). Part of the policies of connectivity with the diaspora was the establishment of the satellite television channels

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<sup>4</sup> In the following section, I discuss further the everyday mechanisms of tension that create the fragile balance between integration and assimilation.

- Ethnic media availability to the British Greek Cypriots creates another interesting and quite distinct condition. Though this ethnic group is relatively small, it has access to a large variety of diverse media – media that originate in the country of origin, in the locality and in the broader diaspora

These particularities of the British Greek Cypriot case initiated my interest in researching the group – a group that has been understudied, as explained in Chapter IV. I argue that this research offers in-depth understanding of British Greek Cypriot ethnic identities and of ethnic media consumption. In the following sections I summarise my arguments, as I move from the empirical research to an abstract analysis.

### Summing Up – British Greek Cypriot Identities

British Greek Cypriot ethnic identity is not singular but plural. Ethnic identity means many different things to different people in different contexts; it is shaped through past and present everyday experience, symbolic and spatial positioning in relation to the community, use of Greek language and ethnic institutions, interaction with significant Others and distant Others. Furthermore, ethnic identity is performed in social contexts, where social positioning, age, gender and class identities, individual experiences and choices co-exist and compete. There are no straightforward and generalising analogies like for example: old people – strong sense of ethnicity; gay people – distanciation from the ethnic community. What seems to be more of the case is that ethnicity informs and is informed by everyday life, reminding us that ethnic belonging is not holistic, stable and unchangeable. The sense of belonging and ethnic identities cannot be understood in quantified terms or while making simplistic assumptions – it is not very useful to shape any conclusions based on whose identities are ‘stronger’ and whose ‘weaker’; it is not very useful to make arguments that focus exclusively on the country of origin and the migration experience. It is much more meaningful to understand how identities change, how ethnic references shift and how the qualities that become significant within the ethnic context might vary for different individuals and subgroups. It is within this context that (i.) the anti-essentialist arguments around identities can be framed and (ii.) the role of the media can be evaluated.



The meanings of ethnicity vary – especially when it comes to different generations. For first generation migrants, Greek Cypriot ethnicity is an unquestioned fact. Unlike the younger generations, for the migrants ethnic identity very much relates to an imagined Cypriotness of their past in Cyprus, excluding to a large extent the complexities of present experience in Cyprus and its people's everyday life. For British-born Greek Cypriots, ethnicity is more complex and more symbolic. For them, being Greek Cypriot might be as much an unquestioned fact as it is for the migrant generation – its content though is usually completely different. The direct connection with the country of origin is blurred and rarely desired. The allegiance to the Greek and Greek Cypriot culture remains strong, but it is virtual and almost faceless when it comes to Cyprus. At least, this was the case before electronic ethnic media invaded people's everyday life.

Now, globalisation and rapid changes in information and communication technologies and in transportation challenge old limitations, though belongings and meanings do not necessarily change equally radically and they certainly do not become homogenous. The allegiance with Cyprus remains stronger for the migrant generation compared to the British-born generations. The experience of Cyprus is much more direct for them and based on the selective memories of their past life there. But for both the Cyprus-born and the British-born generations, the image of the distant homeland is now daily renewed through ethnic media consumption. Though media images and representations are selective, they are still a continuous reminder that Cyprus and Cypriots are changing as much as the ethnic community in Britain. Ethnic media, next to the increased possibilities of travelling back and forth between Britain and Cyprus (and other places where Cypriots live), the regular telephone communication, the exchange of consumers' products and the possibility of owning property in both countries, creates new allegiances that surpass the estrangement that the reality of the British-born generations assumed in the past.

At the same time, the establishment of regular communication between Britain and Cyprus reveals the differences between the Greek Cypriots of *here* and of *there* and reconfirms the diversity of their experience. Communication between here and there does not erase these differences, it does not manage to create a holistic attachment to ethnicity – the diversity of the real experience and the different cultural contexts where

people experience everyday life alter the way people use, interpret and appropriate ethnic media. Even if the media are the same, people in London, Nicosia and Sidney do not read them in the same way. What ethnic media do manage to establish is not homogeneity, but commonality – commonality in symbols, in representations of the country of origin and in the ethnic agenda. Ethnic media renew the sense of sharing among dispersed populations; they shape a common shared ethnic discourse. This commonality is the basis for belonging in an ethnic imagined community. Within the Greek Cypriot (hybrid) imagined community, ethnic identities are formed and informed by the change and the mobility that characterise different subgroups' ethnic experience through time and space. Change and mobility allow Greek Cypriot ethnicity to remain an unforceful, but everyday performance for most. Mobility and change even allow groups whose multiple identities challenge ethnic traditions to negotiate identities, not to reject them. For example, my encounters with gay British Greek Cypriots indicate that their performed Cypriotness is either compatible with their sexuality, or does not conflict with it.

Diaspora is the unifying thread that brings diversity into a whole of commonality, shaped away from the *homeland*. Again, its conceptualization is different for the migrant and for the British-born generations. For the first generation it is defined as a relation of centre – periphery with Cyprus and for the new generations it is defined as a global, decentralised experience; centripetal and centrifugal forces co-exist and often conflict within the diaspora. For all generations though, ethnic identities are primarily grounded in their diasporic experience and in the particular London locale, where people grow up and where they form ethnic families (or interethnic families extensively saturated by ethnic values); where they perform their ethnicity in attending weddings and celebrations; where they learn to enjoy Greek music by listening to the LGR. Their positioning in the locale and the diaspora varies. For the first generation, this positioning has being the outcome of a directly experienced – and usually painful – deterritorialization. For the British-born generations, North London has always been a physical and cultural space of belonging, even if their identities are still informed by the deterritorialization discourse.

Interestingly, a linguistic difference between the way the migrant generation defines itself (in Greek) in opposition to the British-born generations (in English)

reveals a difference in the sense of belonging, which is much more broad than the etymological differences imply. (Paroikia) and *Community* – the two different names of the group identification reflecting two different focuses. The first is in Greek; it literally means ‘by the (distant) home’ and it refers to a group of people that is an inseparable part of a Home: Cyprus. The second concept of community is used in English and its conceptualisation involves all the conflicting demotic connotations of the concept as it is used in everyday life. The two words are usually used as synonyms, reflecting the differences in the representations of the same entity – the British Greek Cypriot ethnic group in that case – even within the same dialectic context. But the survival of ethnicity as a commonality shared by many people who have diverse belongings, multiple identities and different personal histories lies on a discourse of *misunderstandings* and on symbols that have diverse meanings for different people. As Cohen (1994: 14) argues: ‘We deploy the same symbols to signal the commonality of our beliefs, but this says little about how we interpret and make meaningful to ourselves those “symbols”’.

What brings the diverse meanings together into constructing communal ethnic identities is the common rhetoric – a demotic discourse (Baumann, 1996) of strong symbolic references (Greekness/Greek Cypriotness/Greek Orthodoxy/Community Belonging). ‘Common discourse is forged out of diverse meanings rather than shared ones’, argues Stromberg (1986: 51). In everyday life diversity is accepted as the basis for belonging and the boundaries are loose enough to include most. Ethnic identity’s viability depends as much on people’s identification with those strong references, as it depends on the actual fluidity of these references’ meanings in everyday life. There are some key unifying references in this context; these are not unchangeable and they become meaningful as they shift and adapt to the people’s experience.

- More than anything, it is the sense of belonging in a Greek Cypriot community – in a whole that leaves space for diversity, though it sets agendas about what is shared. In this never-ending process, media have a major role
- A crucial parameter that brings people together is the sense of deterritorialization. Greek Cypriot ethnicity is centrally dependent on the fact that there is a country somewhere far away that people have as a reference, that people can relate and refer to as the *cultural source*. For that same reason, they can identify with others who

experienced this deterritorialization either directly or as a narrative – which is the case for the British-born generations

- In giving content to commonality, religion and ethnic culture become shared qualities and values: Greek Orthodoxy as a major unifying element and culture – within a demotic discourse again – as referring to traditions and customs, consumption of ethnic cultural products, going on holidays in Cyprus, etc.
- A centrally important symbolic issue reconfirming particularity for Greek Cypriots is the Cyprus problem. While it is experienced differently by different people and generations, the Cyprus problem is a concern, not only all British Greek Cypriots share, but a concern they share with other people in the diaspora and the people in Cyprus. The information regarding the Cyprus problem that dominates ethnic media's news acts as a daily reminder of the problem and a daily renewed issue that informs the everyday ethnic discourse.

This symbolic unifying agenda indicates that, apart from being a lived experience, Greek Cypriotness is an ideology. Part of this ideology is people's concern with preserving and renewing the sense of continuity, uniqueness and community. The performed rituals, the language, the symbolic boundaries must be preserved against the Others, the non-Greek Cypriots. The spatial co-existence in North London with the significant Others of the old country, the Turkish Cypriots, is an everyday ethnic awareness experience. As already mentioned, the Cyprus problem has played a great role in preserving Greek Cypriot ethnic identity, since a peculiar patriotism and common perceptions about Turkish/Turkish Cypriots saturate all generations' discourse, as data already presented indicates.

In multicultural Haringey, Greek Cypriots identify themselves as one of the few white minorities. Whiteness and Europeanism are projected from a community that wants to distantiate itself from other Third World migrants and has aspirations for social success in this country. British Greek Cypriots distantiate themselves from non-white minorities, as they attempt to achieve greater integration into the mainstream, dominant British, white culture. Younger generations are directed to professions that guarantee success in the mainstream: law and accountancy more than any other; their lifestyle is continuously influenced by attempts to adapt to the mainstream middle-class stereotype. The younger generations' social success and their performance of Whiteness often make

the boundaries between British Cypriotness and (middle-class) Englishness difficult to draw. Often the two co-exist, without this co-existence being necessarily a deliberate choice – it is more of an everyday tactic (as tactic is defined by Goffman against strategy, 1959) for their wellbeing. In most cases, the two identities co-exist and put individuals and groups in situations of continuous negotiations.

More than being a case of *either* (being Greek Cypriot)/*or* (being British), people's identities involve shifts and combinations of cultural choices in their performance. Greek Cypriot Whiteness allows the group's members to achieve that in a playful performance of parallel belonging to a particular ethnic group and to the broader British society. As a result, there are special tactics and special codes for people's behaviour, so that, for example, it is acceptable to act English in a non-Greek environment, while Greek rituals and traditions have to be respected within the community borders. This negotiation makes it easier for youth to accept and celebrate their ethnicity without giving up other cultural choices. This does not mean that there are no conflicts and extremities, nor does it mean that British Greek Cypriot ethnicity is the outcome of harmonious relations.

### **The Context of British Greek Cypriot Everyday**

As already discussed, especially in Chapters V and VI, the persistence of the family and the strong family relations saturating British Greek Cypriots' lives, forms the initial context where ethnicity is reproduced and reinvented. The four case studies presented in Chapter VI, apart from their diversity, reveal the similarities in the familial everyday that allow the emergence of shared belongings and the construction of shared mediated and immediate discourses among different individuals, different generations, genders and age groups. As in the domestic ethnicity is initially performed and communicated through shared talk and activities taking place there, people start shaping ethnic identities, individual and family cultural tastes and preferences while consuming representations of the Self, the ethnic community and the Others.

The meanings of Home have a special importance for British Greek Cypriots. Home and its definitions and symbolic value are negotiated in everyday life, as the differences and the boundaries between the public and the private are negotiated as

well. Home can be different things at different times, signifying different belongings or different levels of belonging. Home can be the domestic natural space, the immediate family, private home, the refuge from the outside world. It can be the local and the national space where everyday life evolves (i.e. Haringey – North London – Britain); the place people always return to. It can also be the country of origin, the symbolic Home, *the source*. Belonging to a different Home is stronger or weaker at different stages of people's lives and that relation largely relates to their generation and gender. At the same time, media – the electronic ones especially – by bringing the world to the home and by turning the home into the world, largely facilitate a multiple Home belonging.

As discussed in Chapters V – VIII, important differences in the ways identities are performed and constructed and media are appropriated, relate to gender identities and the differences in the positioning of men and women in the domestic and the public. The division between the private and the public is experienced differently by men and women, especially those belonging to the first generation. Traditional conceptualisations of the home as a work place for women and as a leisure space for men are reproduced in the Greek Cypriot domestic. A sense of duty saturating women's life in the domestic is crucial (i.) for them being the major agents of ethnicity for the new generations and (ii.) for making the most possible use out of their participation in the public space, unlike men, who enjoy it leisurely.

For all these, public media consumption is different. For women, media use is a private affair, while for men it is both private and public. For women, global and local public experience is mediated by the media used at home, as media get a central symbolic and real position in the domestic. For men, it is the participation in the public that mediates their local and global experience. For them, media are only part of it. Women cross traditional boundaries separating the private and the public space in two ways: (i.) by a heavily media-saturated daily routine, which brings the world to the home, and (ii.) through their participation in public spaces. Both are part of their British experience and form their hybrid identities. But as much as women use the media primarily at home, so is their participation in the public saturated by media discourses. Female roles, both as represented in the mainstream and the ethnic media, challenge their own perceptions of themselves and the others. The media construct shared

discourses and agendas that women share among themselves in public and with their family in the domestic. Media discourses give ethnic institutions and the community specific meanings and the participation in these institutions and the community gives meaning to the media as they are communally appropriated there.

But participation in ethnic institutions is only a part of the public experience. For both men and women, but especially for the latter, the public often becomes domesticised and privatised. People's public sociability depends heavily on visiting friends' and especially family members' homes. Within this public – private space, it is common to reproduce male and female roles and close ethnic networks in repetitive and ritualistic performances. This sociality is most often connected to communal media consumption – media consumption becomes both a mediator of sociality and a shared ethnic reference.

The public is not only ethnic. People go to their workplace, which is often a multiethnic environment; they go to the shops and the cinema – they shape their everyday through the fragmentation and the diversity of real experience which is never completely bounded within the ethnic community. This is the case, especially for the British-born generations who experience everyday life both in and outside the ethnic context. Their ethnic experience remains strong though different to that of the first generation. British-born people form their own alternative ethnic spaces. Ethnicity is important enough as a reference to have a role in the way British-born Cypriots socialise and entertain themselves. It is never the unique reference for shaping and participating in the public, but it remains a persistent partial reference. That means that for many young British-born people, the circle of friends consists of other British-born Cypriots, often exclusively. In forming football and dancing clubs and in attending Greek music clubs and restaurants, Greek Cypriotness becomes a performative experience. Most of the important events in their lives – weddings, birthday and christening parties, etc. – are also informed by ethnic traditions and they are organised in places with Greek reference, and performed in *Greek style*. This is the most usual case even when their partner is not Cypriot. The importance of the ethnic public and the social role of sharing happiness and sorrow within the ethnic community remains strong among the young generations, who adapt them to their lifestyle and hybridity. The Other who comes in – the non-Greek spouse – has to adapt to the ethnic culture to be

accepted: to be baptised, to send the children to the Greek school, to reproduce a close-knitted family, as relevant data presented in Chapters IV, V and VII reveals.

The ethnic public space is a primary reference for first-generation men and a secondary, yet important, reference for women and the second and third generation. The mainstream ethnic public space is largely male-dominated, controlled by male politics and leaders. It is though a necessary reference for constructing ethnic identities and for keeping them viable beyond the bounded domestic, in social and public performances. That is why new generations construct alternative publics, which are still ethnic. Ethnic identities are kept alive and reproduced in public. They originate in the private, but they tend to die out when there is no participation in the ethnic public. In the same way, media discourses are not only constructed during media use at home but they are actively appropriated and get their meaning throughout people's everyday life and through their communication with others, through the diversity of their continuous mobility between the private and the public, the ethnic and the interethnic spaces. In this context, neither identities, nor media consumption can be perceived as homogenous.

### **The Media**

Different media have different roles in people's everyday life since their consumption requires various levels of participation, concentration and effort, financial ability and knowledge of information and communication technologies. People always use a combination of different media: ethnic and non-ethnic, print and electronic, local and global, old and new. Variety in media consumption reflects and addresses the richness of everyday life and identities.

Generally speaking, British Greek Cypriots use the media – both the ethnic and the non-ethnic – a lot. Satellite or cable commercial television packages, as well as VCRs, are very popular in the community. Greek channels are often part of the satellite or cable television package; however ethnic channels are found in just a fraction of the ethnic households that receive the commercial cable, satellite (and now digital) channels. British Greek Cypriots' ethnic media use cannot be separated from their overall media consumption. Greek Cypriot heavy use of the media is very much related to the broader British cultural context, the general patterns of media use in Britain and



Greek Cypriots' own working class status and cultural capital. Panay, a 24-year old council employee explains:

We got cable because overall it's cheaper entertainment. It would cost much more to go out every evening, or even every weekend. So, we choose to pay and get the various entertainment choices cable offers... But the Greek channel, no we don't have it... I can't stand it, it drives me crazy.

The important role that media have in Greek Cypriots' lives has had a part in the ethnic media establishing their popularity. But this audience, as well as its entertainment and information choices, is not homogenous, as the words of Panay reveal. Media preferences are related, among other things, to class, gender, generation, spatial location, while they are situational and shift to fit in the routines, choices and restrictions characterising people's everyday life.

Apart from gender and class – and more than any other identity – it is the generation, as combined with age, that defines people's ethnic media consumption. It is true that older people, who have emigrated from Cyprus and do not have a good knowledge of the English language, are the ones who use more than any other group the ethnic media. Eleni, a pensioner says:

My husband always watches Hellenic TV. But I do get bored sometimes and I ask him to switch over an English channel for a while. He gets angry and tells me: 'That's my language. That's what I want to watch and listen to'.

Ethnic media are less popular among teenagers and young adults. Nevertheless, this fact does not reflect an overall negative relation to the media. To a large extent, young Greek Cypriots criticise and dislike ethnic media, but still do use them and often enjoy them. This has been revealed in my ethnographic work with young Greek Cypriots<sup>5</sup>. In other cases, young Greek Cypriots refuse to consume any kind of ethnic media, which they see as an obstacle to their integration to British society, as kitsch and low quality products and as underestimating their audience's intelligence. At the same time, a third case, which is not in contrast to the previous two, is the exposing of young people to ethnic media, not by choice, but simply because they are on, at home or at work. However, some specific media programmes are more successful among this group. Music programmes on radio and comedy – sitcoms, also known as sketches – on

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<sup>5</sup> See especially Chapters IV and V.

television are the most characteristic – these are genres that fit in people's cultural choices and they are compatible with their generational and age ethnic discourse.

- Young Greek Cypriots are, in general more selective than other age groups, in their ethnic media consumption choices. The fact though, does not signify a decline in ethnic media consumption; it signifies the shared importance of non-ethnic and ethnic media in young Greek Cypriots' lives and the changing patterns in media consumption – not only the ethnic – that becomes more diverse and fragmented. As such, it indicates a parameter of an ethnic identity, which is Greek Cypriot, but inescapably integrated with their identities as consumers and British. It is interesting to emphasise again that British-born Greek Cypriots who reject ethnic media at an earlier age, as they grow older and settle down, often in a new Greek Cypriot family, turn back to ethnic media. The same people who admit that at a younger age they rejected ethnic media, say that they turn to them in order to keep in touch with the community, Greek culture and religion, as well as for their children to be exposed to the Greek language. But if ethnic media become important for people, it is because they are meaningful in everyday life and relevant to their identities.
- Ethnic media create flows of communication and information allowing people to actively renew and reinvent their ethnic identities and not to depend only on past experiences of the distant *homeland*
- Ethnic media *teach* ethnic culture, language and religion
- Ethnic media's existence as institutions reminds both the members of the ethnic group and the rest of the society that there is a fairly defined ethnic community, including certain people and excluding others
- And overall, media allow and facilitate the construction of imagined communities (Anderson, 1983). Even though Anderson refers to nations, media are involved in constructing ethnic imagined communities, as argued extensively already. On one hand, media bring distant people living in Cyprus, in the diaspora and in the North London locale together. On the other hand, ethnic media serve in the construction of local communities of people living in London (or in Birmingham, in Sidney and in Astoria, NY) and set agendas of ethnic culture.

In all these, it is the electronic media – it is those media that can take advantage of the new information and communication technologies – that become the most important:

- With electronic media Greek Cypriot diaspora has become both real and virtual – ethnic images and information do not depend only on physical (co-)presence
- Electronic media technologies leave space for more diversity, choice and interaction
- Local electronic ethnic media shape a dual agenda for belonging to the local London community and the hybrid and global imagined community – media technologies allow them to do so
- Electronic media use is less demanding and more *casual* than print media use. In that way, they are more inclusive than exclusive, opening ethnic communication channels for more ethnic subgroups. As a result, electronic media are more present in Greek Cypriots' everyday life, they inform and shape everyday performances and discourses and they have a more active and permanent role in the continuous process of ethnic identity construction.

Ethnic media have a role in communicating ethnic identity, both as a symbol and as an everyday lived experience. Like other Greek Cypriot institutions, media often celebrate an ideology of singular and common Greek Cypriotness for Greek Cypriots in Cyprus, in the UK and the rest of the diaspora. For electronic media, which have the prime role, the projection of a singular global Cypriot identity is facilitated through the globalisation of their messages and through simultaneous broadcasting beyond national borders. However, the ideology of a singular Greek Cypriotness is challenged (i.) as the media's own diversity and interactivity allow ethnicity's contradictions to be aired and (ii.) as the ethnic audiences challenge, negotiate and debate the ethnicity that is meaningful to them as individuals and as a community.

Apart from the negotiation inherent in all media consumption, ethnic media achieve their role in people's lives as they cross physical boundaries and allow direct access to information from the country of origin and immediacy in communication beyond space limitation. The globalisation of ethnic media does not only blur the boundaries between the local, the country of origin and the diaspora; it also blurs the boundaries between different media and challenges their categorisation as *old* and *new* media. New technologies are adapted by both conventional and new media and the local

and the global focus shifts accordingly. This does not mean that locality and old media lose their role to that of globalisation and of the new media. The result is rather co-existence than replacement. Media might change their technologies in order to include programs that their audience wants to follow. That is why both LGR and Hellenic TV use satellite technology, without abandoning other technologies to rebroadcast programs from Greece and Cyprus.

Diversity in production relates to diversity in consumption. As some might choose BBC1 for watching the popular soap *Eastenders* and ITV for the news, in the same way they might listen to LGR for a favourite music program and watch satellite television for the news from Cyprus. Greek Cypriots do not use ethnic media out of a sense of duty but to get information, to be entertained and as part of their everyday rituals and routines. This means that ethnic media compete among themselves, with non-community media, with other community institutions and other alternative uses of leisure time within and outside the home.

Media are active players in everyday life, where struggles for power and control increasingly take place around the consumption of cultural and material goods, around the knowledge, the ability to afford and the actual use of cultural products; around the participation in constructing discourses of communication, participation in the domestic, the public and the community life. With all these, everyday life changes and new possibilities as well as restrictions emerge for British Greek Cypriots to become more or less involved in choosing their cultures, their identities and in defining their futures.

### Beyond the Particular

So far, I focused on the particular case of the British Greek Cypriots, their identities and their media consumption. But, the study of the particular group led to the theorisation of arguments about ethnic identity construction and media consumption that surpasses the Greek Cypriot specificity. The question of Whiteness for example, relates to the experience of other *invisible* ethnic groups, such as the Italians or the Jews. The arguments about the discursive formation of identities, which are not defined at birth, but performed in historical and social contexts (Butler, 1990) are crucial for an anti-essentialist analysis of identity. Such arguments surpass the Greek Cypriot case, though case studies, such as the present one, test such theories in people's real

experience. Issues of belonging in local, diasporic and imagined communities, community dynamics, tensions and negotiations that take place around and in them, have been examined in this particular case study and led to abstract conclusions that helped me understand it, but also surpass it. Thus, I argue that the proposed notion of the hybrid imagined community<sup>6</sup>, can contribute to understanding ethnic identity construction and media consumption – and not only the British Greek Cypriot. Similarly, the arguments about the ordinariness of media consumption and its appropriation in the interaction among members of audiences, which have emerged through this case study, address issues of media consumption and everyday life that are more universal than the specific case study.

This thesis has attempted to seek new knowledge about ethnicities in their particularity and ethnicity in its universality. Going beyond the particular, I want to conclude by associating it to the universal and to the wider implications of the relationship between ethnic identities and the media. Everyday life provided the context and the key to understanding this relationship. Everyday life, in its regularity, its banality (Cormack, 2000), in its taken-for-grantedness (Silverstone, *op. cit.*), has allowed media to become shared culture. People consume them unforcefully, as they become the background, the foreground and the mediator of communication and social relations in the domestic space and beyond.

While discussing minority media and everyday life in Britain and Ireland, Cormack (*op. cit.*) argues that in post-independence Eire, Irish-language broadcasting has not succeeded because it has not become an integral part of Irish everyday life. ‘The language needed either to become more of a part of everyday life (that is, more banal), or to be given up completely as an empty symbol’ (*ibid.*: 386). Minority films and music, on the other hand, have become some of the most successful minority media products, as they produce contemporary popular culture and not necessarily tradition, as a shared and shareable minority discourse (*ibid.*).

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<sup>6</sup> I propose the notion of the hybrid imagined community as I believe it usefully brings together key dimensions of hybridity and of imagination (see analysis in Chapter II and concluding arguments later in the chapter). As a notion, it might have its weaknesses, especially in adopting the concept of hybridity (notion that in its original sense implies sterility); however, since there is a lack of more sophisticated notions, we need to appreciate the theorisation of hybridity, as this addresses issues of intermixing and negotiation of cultures and identities.

In their temporality, banality and taken-for-grantedness, the media and media consumption as part of popular culture are not only compatible with everyday life, but they are part of it. The media speak everyday language, they produce and reproduce everyday humour, as the repeated comments of many participants emphasised<sup>7</sup>. Media representations, agendas and discourses inform the discourses of ethnicity and in their dailiness they produce and reproduce symbols of ethnicity. Urry (2000) argues that the media form a new 'public stage' and 'alter the very possibilities of interaction and dialogue...producing new ways of conceiving of self and identity and generating fundamentally new performativities' (ibid. 180).

People share symbols produced in the media and beyond the media<sup>8</sup>, symbols that produce and reproduce their ethnicity. As already emphasised, shared symbols communicated and appropriated communally do not necessarily imply that their meanings are all the same throughout the ethnic group (Cohen, 1994). Thus, it is more appropriate to talk about *ethnic commonality* rather than about ethnic similarity. Ethnic commonality implies sharing of the same symbols, the meanings of which are, at the same time, the outcome of communal, subcommunal and conflicting interpretations. Ethnic commonality can host diversity, while at the same time it frames and limits its expandability.

Diversity in the interpretation and appropriation of meanings relates, first of all, to the diversity inherent in ethnic identities. Ethnic identities are not independent from people's particular and complex social experience (especially as it relates to gender, age and generation); from their positioning in time and space and in relation to the Others and the ethnic community; in relation to the country of origin, the diaspora and the locality. Theories such as those of Hall (1992), Gillespie (op. cit.), Gilroy (1993a, 1995), Brah (1996), Baumann (1996) and Fortier (1999, 2000), aimed at surpassing the essentialising of ethnic identities in popular discourses and certain kinds of identity

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<sup>7</sup> See comments in Chapters IV and V, where young people say they enjoy the sitcoms on CBC-SAT because they remind them of their parents and grandparents. See also participants' comments of preference to CBC-SAT against ERT-SAT, because the language of the former is considered as more familiar than that of the latter.

<sup>8</sup> That is in non-ethnic and ethnic publics, such as the two community centres in this case study. Oldenburg cited in Urry (op. cit.) argues about the significance of informal meeting places as 'third places' where communities come into being. Also relevant here is the immediate and face-to-face everyday communication, the participation in other ethnic institutions, such as the churches and the schools and the adoption of ethnic traditional values.

politics (Gilroy, 1995). This essentialism considers ethnicity to be either bounded within inescapable dependence upon a distant *homeland* or doomed to fade out through unavoidable assimilation. It assumes homogenising continuity and similarity between all those people who feel that they share the same ethnicity; essentialism does not consider the significance of diversity in keeping ethnicity viable through change.

As identity and ethnic studies have initiated the deconstruction of the concept of ethnic identity, they have challenged our understanding of diversity, continuity and sharing as being antithetical and exclusive concepts. In examining the meaning and value of ethnic identity for people, we have to understand the interweaving of diversity – continuity – commonality.

- Commonality, as already mentioned, is not the same as similarity. It does not imply homogenous understanding of the Self, Us and the Others; it does not imply harmonious relationships. Rather, it implies dynamic relations that shape a sense of community, where diversity is brought together into a common discourse<sup>9</sup>. Ethnic commonality raises ‘the possibility of sameness’ (Gilroy, 1995: 26), without this sameness ever actually *being* – rather, it is always a process of *becoming*
- Continuity is implied in the process of *becoming*. It refers to what Gilroy (1993a) calls the *changing same* – it is the continuously changing *outcome* of the meeting of the ethnic roots with the ethnic routes (Gilroy, 1995). Continuity depends on shared memories and myths, the shared ethnic *journey*, the shared experience of deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation (either directly or as a narrative); it also depends on the dual standpoint that brings the past and the future together in the core of ethnic identification
- Diversity is inherent in ethnic identities which, as already mentioned, are shaped in their intersection and their interdependence with people’s other identities. Ethnic diversity relates, on one hand, to people’s multiple identities; on the other it relates to their mobility in time and space and their mobility inside and outside the ethnic context. This mobility, Urry argues (op. cit.), is defined by certain temporalities, it is subject to relations of power and intersections and has certain directions (though these directions are not always the outcome of clear-cut endpoints or purposes).

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<sup>9</sup> See subchapter that follows for the discussion of community and of the hybrid imagined community.

Thus, when we talk about fluidity and change in relation to ethnic identities, we do not necessarily imply *ever-expandability* and unbounded *free-floatingness*; we are talking about a contextualized, socially and culturally bounded possibility.

Ethnic identities are not the outcome of pacified relations, either within or outside an ethnic group; they are the outcome of power relations, struggles for domination and conforming to norms. Thus – and as this study has shown – men might enjoy more mobility in the public space and more control over the media at home; women might enjoy less of their leisure time and often be subject to media choices of others; the migrant generation might enjoy a narrower range of cultural choices, as their economic and cultural capital does not allow them to benefit from the range of choices their children and grandchildren have. The inequalities, unevenness and particularities of ethnic experience, which extend in many different directions, shape the dynamic context of ethnic identities.

As already argued, ethnic identity also relates to the different temporal and spatial positioning of people. Ethnicity has been defined in different ways in the early postcolonial period, when migrants entered a social space of racism and extensive resistance to their presence, and in contemporary multicultural Britain (Rex and Guibernau, 1997; Modood, Berthoud *et al.*, 1997). The spatiality of ethnicity is also central: diasporic experience allows people to have more than one loyalty, to be emotionally and practically affiliated with their country of origin and the host country (Demetriou, *op. cit.*). In the case of the British Greek Cypriots, this is revealed in the fact that most have aspirations for success in British society and can only see their future in Britain; simultaneously they are affiliated with Cyprus: they consume its media and have emotional, political and property ties with it.

At the same time, particular spatial positioning in the local, the national and the diasporic context disrupt popular perceptions of the homogeneity of the diaspora. The co-existence with significant Others of the *homeland* and new Others, the dominant perceptions about difference and *ethnic colour*, the politics and policies of ethnic and interethnic relations, position ethnic groups in their particular local and national context. Communication between *here and there*, between the country of origin and with the rest of the diaspora, does not erase the differences in context. The diversity of the diasporic everyday experience leads to the construction of multiple ethnic identities. Greek



Cypriots in London, Nicosia and Melbourne share ethnic commonality, but are not ethnically homogenous. Their commonality is the outcome of sharing common ethnic symbols, representations of the country of origin and communally used communication flows.

Ethnic media have allowed dispersed populations to establish communication beyond the old limitations of time and space (Gillespie, op. cit.; Brah, op. cit; Ogan and Milikowski, 1998). Media allow *imaginative travelling*, they disclose events as *live* and enable people 'to be in a sense in two places at once' (Urry, especially with reference to television, op. cit.: 67). As much as electronic media have surpassed the strict boundaries separating the public and the domestic (Urry, *ibid.*, Morley and Silverstone, 1990; Morley, 1999) and have brought the world into the home, they have also brought the distant *home(land)* close and the distant relative and friend into the living room and the community centre.

### **Media and Ethnic Identities – A Matter of Compatibility**

As the emphasis turns to media culture as context, it allows an understanding of the relation of the media and identities as discursive and never-ending. Identities are shaped within the context of media culture. Thus, their multiplicity cannot but be informed by, and their commonality constructed around the shared media consumption. In the cultural process of media consumption, audiences participate in the construction of meanings. What does that mean? The relation between media and identities is dialectical and homologous, especially as it unravels in the context of everyday life. The functions and values of the two meet dynamically in everyday life and although, or perhaps because, conflicts and inconsistencies exist, they achieve compatibility.

When, for example, young British Greek Cypriots choose ethnic radio, they listen to programmes addressing their age group; they choose programmes that are as bilingual as they are; they choose programmes of (Greek) pop music – a genre they enjoy in both its *ethnic* and *non-ethnic* listening. As much as their multiple identities (teenage – Greek – British) bind their media consumption, these identities are renewed and continuously reframed within the media and media(ted) culture. As the media continuously inform everyday life, identities learn and are shaped around the act of

media consumption and media discourses. The media inform us about what is important, what is fashionable, acceptable and attractive. As these perceptions are appropriated, adopted and adapted in everyday consumption, the multi-layered homology and the dynamic compatibility between the media and identities are shaped.

The ethnic media are not as much a taken-for-granted part of everyday life as are the mainstream media and their values. Thus, the homology of ethnic media and ethnic identities is shaped in a particular context, where the media's presence can be established and renewed and where media become meaningful components and mediators of ethnic communication. This context is the community.

### **The Hybrid Imagined Community**

As people consume the same media, as the shared media inform their everyday discourse, they shape ethnic belongings. In their communal consumption, people appropriate shared representations, they construct codes of communication and set boundaries between Us and the Others. *We know, We understand, We share* (the media); the shared experience of communities as audiences gives content to their commonality; ethnic media renew the sense of sharing a common ethnic identity among dispersed populations; they shape a common ethnic discourse. They help the development of *imagined presences* (Urry, 2000), of '[nonnational] communities of sentiment and interpretation' (Gilroy, 1995: 17). Media 'images can connect local experiences with each other and hence provide powerful sources of hermeneutic interpretation to make sense of what would otherwise be disparate and apparently unconnected events and phenomena' (Urry, op. cit.: 180).

The imaginative (co-)presence, next to the real and immediate ethnic co-presence, the daily interaction and participation in ethnic homes and publics, becomes the basis for constructing a multi-layered belonging in an ethnic imagined community that crosses geographical boundaries. The mediated and the immediate come together in a hybrid imagined community – it is a community that is informed by changes in communications, in mobility and allegiances at the local and global levels. It is a hybrid imagined community as it is not bound within specific geographical boundaries. It is hybrid because it does not require exclusive belonging or people's holistic conforming

to the community's rules. It is hybrid because it does not rely exclusively on the mediated imagining of belonging: it only becomes viable as it is informed by both the shared mediated discourses and the unmediated discourses shaped by people's immediate and face-to-face communication, their participation in traditional institutions and their adoption of ethnic traditional values.

Nevertheless, it is a community with boundaries – if not geographical, boundaries of the values and expectations of its members. For the hybrid imagined community, these boundaries have become more flexible and more reflexive since the interpretations of ethnic symbols are now more diverse; since they are challenged by discourses beyond the ethnic community, such as the mainstream media, non-ethnic institutions and alternative contexts of everyday life. Representations have also expanded to include those produced by the ethnic group and by Others, representations produced in the local, the diasporic context, that of the distant *homeland*. Representations of ethnicity are more decentralised in the hybrid imagined community, as are interpretations and appropriations. Commonality still remains and it remains in a way to make ethnic media consumption meaningful for the construction of ethnic identities. Ethnic media, as dialectically combined with other ethnic daily references<sup>10</sup>, become the framework for ethnic identity construction in everyday life. They propose what constitutes *the ethnic*, they propose agendas, they (re)produce everyday ethnic culture.

The radio, the television and the Internet are becoming more and more the necessary mediators of the triangular spatial context of ethnic belonging (the local, the country of origin and the diaspora). The dependencies of ethnic identities on relations and experiences are primarily framed within these three spaces, even though their meanings and significance vary among people. The interplay among these three spaces and the mobility of people across them – either in real or virtual terms, cultural and psychological – initiates the construction of an imagined community, an imagined community which depends simultaneously on mediated and direct communication among its members. The media bring individuals, subgroups, people who have never met before into an imagined community (Anderson, 1983).

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<sup>10</sup> Such as community centres, ethnic hangouts, churches and ethnic schools.

## A Final Note

*The possibility of community is 'a necessary prerequisite of any effective politics' (Morley, 1999).*

This thesis is not political in the narrow sense. It has not dealt with anti-racist or integration politics and policies; it has not focused on relations of power and conflict between different ethnic groups in the multicultural societies; it has not proposed policies for the establishment of multi-ethnic media pluralism. It has not done any of these in the way ethnic and race relations popular discourses would have expected a research on ethnicity and the media to do. What this thesis has tried to do is to raise issues that politics and policies of ethnicity often ignore in ways that limit their effectiveness and meaningfulness both for ethnic groups and for the broader national/ diasporic/ global society. It has raised the issue of ethnic diversity that relates primarily to generation, gender, age and people's life cycle. It has discussed the value of ethnicity beyond its visibility in terms of *social colour* and beyond the singular dependence on the country of origin. It has argued that hybrid imagined communities emerge at the meeting of the local, the diaspora and the country of origin – communities that have evolved as much through the mediated as through the immediate co-presence.

In developing these arguments and with reference to a specific case study, I aimed at challenging those understandings of both ethnic identities and ethnic media as being static and unchanging. Such perceptions have dominated popular understandings and influenced academic debates. When local and national governments consider the loyalties of ethnic populations to be tied to the country whose language they speak the best, they underestimate the possibility of dual loyalties and the emergence of new languages of communication beyond the spoken tongue. They ignore the new mechanisms that bring people together in communities beyond the national context: new communication technologies and transportation allowing a mental, emotional and physical mobility between places.

When ethnic radio stations, such as LGR, receive their licence to broadcast with the precondition that the vast majority of their output has to be in the minority language the politics of multiculturalism fails to understand that the survival of ethnic groups depends on change and its inherent anti-essentialism. Similarly, when the media of the

country of origin transmit the same programme inside and outside the *homeland's* national boundaries, they fail to understand that the positioning of their consumers in a diasporic space alters their expectations, interpretation and identities. Furthermore, when assuming that the ethnic media are meaningful and attractive only for those who have directly experienced the distant *homeland*, it is ignored that (i.) the media can address different (sub)cultures, (ii.) that the members of the ethnic groups increasingly shape their ethnic identities in their participation and consumption of (shared) popular culture, and (iii.) that the media bring people with diverse experience of the three spaces of belonging (the local, the diaspora, the country of origin) into a common imagined community.

Thus, our understanding of ethnic identities and the media has to be dynamic and sensitive to both commonality and diversity. Shaping such an understanding can lead to the formation of a more effective politics of identity, while challenging us to consider the effects of the relation between ethnic identities and the media for a changing local, national and global society. It allows us to consider the implications for a changing world, where the crossing of boundaries is both mediated and immediate, where participation in one national society is not exclusive (Urry, op. cit.) and where particularity does not contrast with community, but instead dynamically renews it.

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## **Appendix I**

### **The London Borough of Haringey in its Geographical Context**

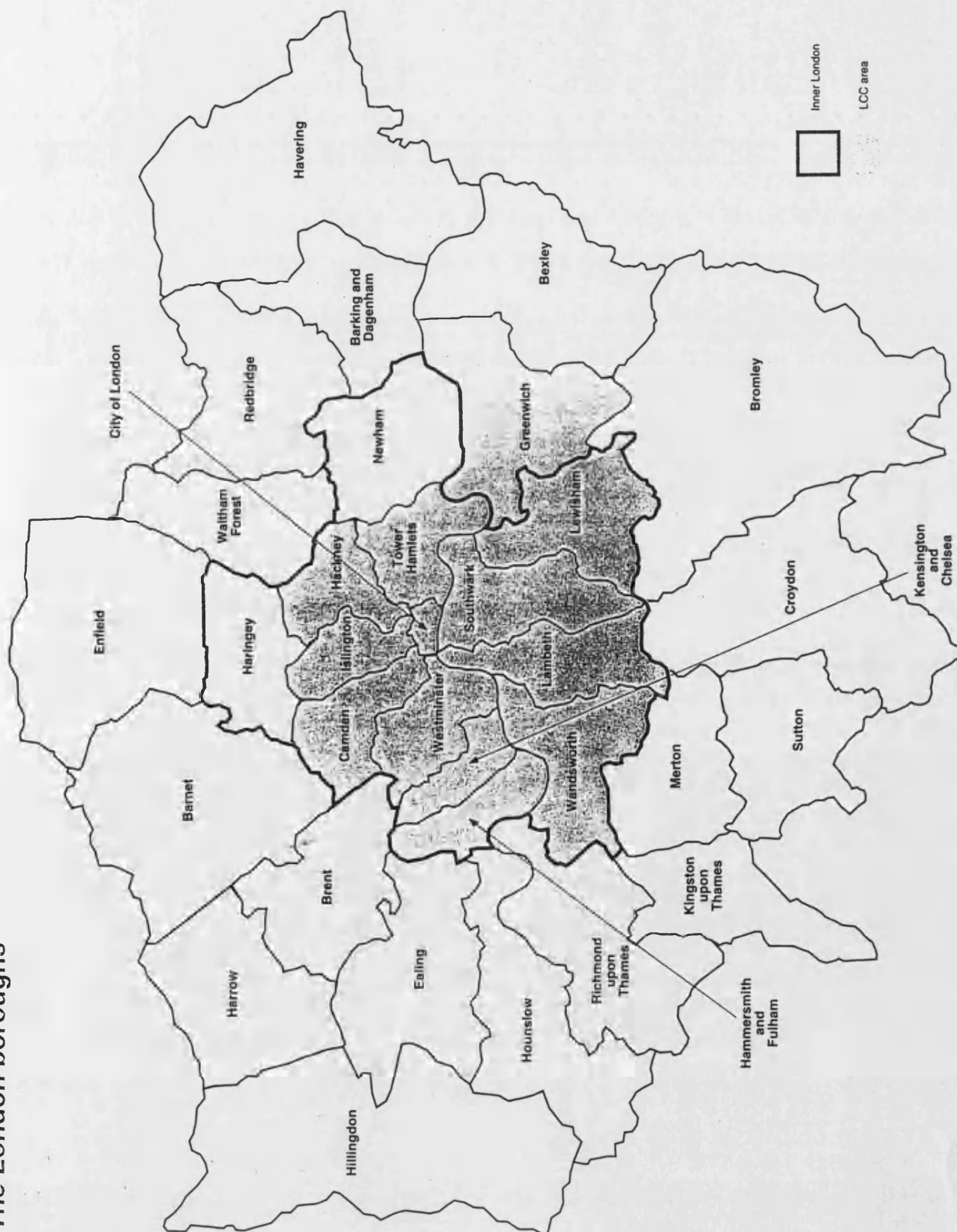
From: Matheson Jil and Gwyneth Edwards (2000) Focus on London 2000.  
London: The Stationery Office

## Appendix I

### *The London Borough of Haringey in its Geographical Context*

From: Matheson Jil and Gwyneth Edwards (2000) Focus on London 2000. London: The Stationery Office

The London boroughs



## APPENDIX II

### The Interview Questionnaire in English and Greek

#### Questionnaire

1. This interview will provide me useful information about the Greek Cypriots in London. Do you think that there is a need for research about the Greek Cypriots?

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2. Could you name the members of this household and their ages?

Names	Ages

3. Which of these technologies do you have in your house?

	yes	no	how many
Telephone			
Cordless telephone			
Television set			
VCR			
Cable Television			
Satellite dish			
Computer			Who used it/them?
Radio			



4. Do you regularly use any of these technologies outside your house?

	yes	no	If yes, where?	If yes, for what reason
Television				
Cable				
Satellite				
VCR				
Telephone				
Mobile phone				
Pager				
Radio				
Computer				

5. To which of these do you have access?

- Sky TV- Yes No -How come? \_\_\_\_\_
- Hellenic TV - Yes No - How come? \_\_\_\_\_
- CBC satellite - Yes No -How come? \_\_\_\_\_
- E.T. satellite - Yes No - How come? \_\_\_\_\_
- Internet - Yes No - How come? \_\_\_\_\_

6. Do you listen to any of these radios at all?

- LGR - Yes No - If yes, how often \_\_\_\_\_
- Radio One - Yes No - If yes, how often \_\_\_\_\_
- Capital FM - Yes No - If yes, how often \_\_\_\_\_
- Virgin Radio - Yes No - If yes, how often \_\_\_\_\_
- Other(s) (specify) \_\_\_\_\_ How often \_\_\_\_\_

6a. Why do you (not) listen to LGR? \_\_\_\_\_

(If yes) Which programmes did you listen to during the last week?

---

(If yes) do you ever call LGR? Yes No (If yes) how often \_\_\_\_\_

For what reason(s) \_\_\_\_\_

Do you have any favourite programmes(s) on LGR \_\_\_\_\_

(If yes) what makes it your favourite \_\_\_\_\_ (If not) why \_\_\_\_\_

(If you listen to news) Which news do you like to listen to \_\_\_\_\_

6b. Why do you (not) listen to radio X? \_\_\_\_\_

(If yes) Which programmes did you listen to during the last week?

Do you have any favourite programmes on radio X \_\_\_\_\_  
 (If yes) what makes it your favourite \_\_\_\_\_ (if not) why \_\_\_\_\_

6c. Why do you (not) listen to radio Y? \_\_\_\_\_  
 (If yes) Which programmes did you listen to during the last week?

(If yes) Do you have any favourite programme(s) \_\_\_\_\_  
 (If yes) what makes it your favourite \_\_\_\_\_ (if not) why \_\_\_\_\_

7. What is your opinion about LGR? Please explain

8. Did you watch any programmes during the last week on:

	Yes	No	Which one(s) [if news, specify which ones]	how often do you watch that
BBC 1				
BBC 2				
ITV				
Channel 4				
Channel 5				
SKY				
Hellenic				
CBC				
E.T.				
Other (specify _____)				

[if you have access to:]

- 8a. How come you (do not) use BBC 1 that much/that little/at all? \_\_\_\_\_
- 8b. " " BBC 2 " " \_\_\_\_\_
- 8c. " " ITV (or Channel 4/or Channel 5) " " \_\_\_\_\_
- 8d. " " SKY " " \_\_\_\_\_
- 8e. " " Hellenic TV " " \_\_\_\_\_
- 8f. " " CBC " " \_\_\_\_\_
- 8g. " " ERT - SAT " " \_\_\_\_\_
- 8h. " " Channel X " " \_\_\_\_\_

9. During the last week did you learn any news/info you did not know before from:

LGR	Yes No	what kind	_____
Hellenic TV	Yes No	what kind	_____
CBC	Yes No	what kind	_____
ERT - SAT	Yes No	what kind	_____

---

10. What is your opinion of CBC satellite programme? Please explain

Would you like to see any changes in the programme? \_\_\_\_\_

11. What is your opinion of Hellenic TV programme? Please explain

---

Would you like to see any changes in its programme? \_\_\_\_\_

12. What is your opinion of ERT-SAT programme? Please explain

---

Would you like to see any changes in the programme? \_\_\_\_\_

13. There are three Greek television and one radio programmes for the Greek Cypriots to choose from. Which do you think is (are) the best?

---

What makes you say that? \_\_\_\_\_

14. Do you think that any of these have a role to play for the Greek Cypriot community?

LGR	Yes No	Explain	_____
CBC	Yes No	Explain	_____
Hellenic TV	Yes No	Explain	_____
ERT-SAT	Yes No	Explain	_____

15. Does any family member have access to the Internet?

Yes No I do not Know

(If yes) which one(s) \_\_\_\_\_

15a. To the member(s) who has access

Do you use the Internet for	All the time	S/times	Rare.	Nev.	Why?
Getting various information					
Communication					
Entertainment					
Passing my time					
Accessing Gr. Home Pages					

Accessing Cy. Home Pages					
Participating in Greek Discussion groups					
Participating in Cypriot Discussion groups					
Professional reasons					

15b. (If you do visit Greek/Cypriot Home pages, which do you remember visiting the last two weeks? \_\_\_\_\_

Do you ever send an email to any Greek/Cypriot Home page? Yes No

(If yes) how often \_\_\_\_\_ What are your emails about? \_\_\_\_\_

How would you evaluate Home page X \_\_\_\_\_

16. Do you read any newspaper?

Yes No Which one(s) \_\_\_\_\_

(If yes) how often do you read newspaper no.1 \_\_\_\_\_ no.2 \_\_\_\_\_ no.3 \_\_\_\_\_

16a. What do you like reading in the newspaper no.1 \_\_\_\_\_

What do you like reading in the newspaper no.2 \_\_\_\_\_

16b. Do you buy any Greek/Cypriot newspaper? Yes No Which one(s)? \_\_\_\_\_

17. Do you ever read any magazines?

Yes No Which one(s) \_\_\_\_\_

How often do you read magazine no.1? \_\_\_\_\_ no.2? \_\_\_\_\_

Now I would like to ask you some more general questions

18. Haringey is considered to be one of the areas in London with a big number of Cypriots. Do you have any Cypriots in your neighbourhood?

Yes No Do not know

18a Was the fact that there are many Cypriots around important for you moving in the area? Yes No Why? \_\_\_\_\_

19. Do you have any family in the area?

Yes No (if yes) How often do you see them? \_\_\_\_\_

20. Do you have any Greek Cypriot friends in the area?

Yes No (if yes) How often do you see them? \_\_\_\_\_

21. The person(s) that you would name as the closest friend(s) is/are:

Greek Cypriot \_\_\_\_\_ Turkish Cypriot \_\_\_\_\_ Greek \_\_\_\_\_ English \_\_\_\_\_ Other (name) \_\_\_\_\_

21a. Did you meet this/these person(s)  
 at work \_\_\_\_ in the neighbourhood \_\_\_\_ at the Greek school \_\_\_\_ in the Church \_\_\_\_  
 in the English School \_\_\_\_ at a friend's house \_\_\_\_ Somewhere else (spec.) \_\_\_\_

22. Do you:

	v/often	Often	s/times	rarely	never
Go to Greek Church					
[did] go to Greek school					
Shop from a Gr/C shop					
Shop from a T/Cypriot shop					
Shop from local s/m					
Go to Cypriot Community Centre					
Send child(ren) to Greek school					
to a Cypriot coffee shop					
Participate in any other Cypriot organisation (Specify) _____					

22a. Why do/did you (not) go to Greek school? \_\_\_\_\_

22b. Why do you (not) visit the Greek Church? \_\_\_\_\_

23. Have you or any member of your family ever experience any act of racism because of being Cypriot?

Yes No

(If yes) In what case \_\_\_\_\_

Now I would like to ask you your opinion about some issues:

24. Which of these issues do you consider as important for you or for your family?

	Very Important	Important	A bit important	Not very important	Not important at all
A new war in former Yugoslavia					
The Cyprus problem					
Unemployment rates in the UK					

The permanent G/Cypriot demonstration outside the Turkish Embassy					
Cyprus becoming EU member					
The financial problems in Greece					
The construction of the Millennium Dome in Greenwich					
MPs' anti-corruption initiatives					
Quality of schools in N. London					

25. Many people use the term 'Greek Cypriot community' to refer to the Greek Cypriot in Britain. Do you think that there is a sense of community among the Greek Cypriots?

---

I would like to finish with some questions bout yourself and your family

26.      Where you born in England?                      Yes    No  
             Your spouse?                                        Yes    No  
             Your mother was born in England?            Yes    No  
             Your father?    Yes    No

27.      How often do you visit Cyprus? \_\_\_\_\_  
             How often do your child(ren) visit Cyprus? \_\_\_\_\_

28. Could you tell me your family's members' professions (including place of work):

Name	Profession

29. Could you tell me in which category your family's weekly income belongs:

£ 1 – 50	
£ 51 – 150	
£ 151 – 300	
£ 301 – 500	
£ 501 – 800	
£ 801 – more	

30. Would you ever like to emigrate to Cyprus?      Yes    No    Why?

## Ερωτηματολόγιο

1. Αυτή η συνέντευξη θα βοηθήσει στο να συγκεντρώσω στοιχεία για τους Ελληνοκύπριους του Λονδίνου. Νομίζετε ότι γενικά υπάρχει ανάγκη για την πραγματοποίηση ερευνών για τους Ελληνοκύπριους στην Αγγλία;

2. Θα μπορούσατε να μου πείτε τα ονόματα και τις ηλικίες των μελών της οικογένειάς σας;

Όνομα	Ηλικία

3. Μπορείτε να μου πείτε ποιές απο αυτές τις τεχνολογίες έχετε στο σπίτι σας;

	ναι	Οχι	πόσα –ες
Τηλέφωνο			
cordless τηλέφωνο			
Τηλεόραση			
Βίντεο			
Cable Television			
Satellite dish			
Computer			Ποιός/οι χρησιμοποιούν
Ράδιο			

4. Χρησιμοποιείτε μήπως καμμία απο τις παρακάτω τεχνολογίες έξω απο το σπίτι;

	Ναι	Οχι	αν ναι, πού	αν ναι, με ποιό σκοπό
--	-----	-----	-------------	-----------------------



Τηλεόραση				
Cable				
Satellite				
Βίντεο				
Τηλέφωνο				
mobile τηλέφωνο				
Pager				
Ράδιο				
Computer				

5. Σε ποιιά απο τα παρακάτω έχετε πρόσβαση;

Sky	TV-	Ναι	Οχι	/Πως	και	(δεν)
έχετε						
Hellenic	TV	-	Ναι	Οχι	/Πως	και (δεν)
έχετε						
CBC	satellite	-	Ναι	Οχι/	Πως	και (δεν)
έχετε						
E.T.	satellite	-	Ναι	Οχι/	Πως	και (δεν)
έχετε						
Internet	-	Ναι	Οχι/	Πως	και	(δεν)
έχετε						

6. Ακούτε κάποιον απο αυτούς τους ραδιοσταθμούς;

- LGR -	Ναι	Οχι	(Αν ναι, πόσο συχνά)	_____
- Radio One	Ναι	Οχι		_____
- Capital FM	Ναι	Οχι		_____
- Virgin Radio	Ναι	Οχι		_____
- Άλλο (ποιό/ούς)	_____		Πόσο συχνά	_____

6α. Γιατί (δεν) ακούτε το LGR;

(Αν ναι) ποιιά προγράμματα παρακολουθήσατε την τελευταία εβδομάδα;

(Αν ναι) τηλεφωνάτε ποτέ στο LGR? Ναι Οχι (Αν ναι) πόσο συχνά \_\_\_\_\_

Για ποιό λόγο (-ους); \_\_\_\_\_

Έχετε κάποιο-α αγαπημένο-α πρόγραμμα-τα στο LGR \_\_\_\_\_

(Αν ναι) τι το κάνει το αγαπημένο σας \_\_\_\_\_

(Αν όχι) γιατί \_\_\_\_\_

(Αν ακούτε ειδήσεις) ποιες ακούτε \_\_\_\_\_

6b. Για ποιό λόγο (δεν) ακούτε το ράδιο Χ;

( Αν ναι) Ποια προγράμματα ακούσατε την τελευταία εβδομάδα;

Έχετε κάποιο αγαπημένο πρόγραμμα στο ράδιο Χ; \_\_\_\_\_

(Αν ναι) τι το κάνει το αγαπημένο σας \_\_\_\_\_

(Αν όχι) γιατί \_\_\_\_\_

6c. Γιατί (δεν) ακούτε το ράδιο Υ; \_\_\_\_\_

(Αν ναι) ποιά προγράμματα ακούσατε την τελευταία εβδομάδα;

(Αν ναι) έχετε κάποιο αγαπημένο πρόγραμμα; \_\_\_\_\_

(Αν ναι) τι το κάνει το αγαπημένο σας; \_\_\_\_\_

(Αν όχι) γιατί \_\_\_\_\_

7. Ποια είναι η άποψη σας για το LGR; Παρακαλώ εξηγήστε

8. Κατά την τελευταία εβδομάδα παρακολουθήσατε κάποιο πρόγραμμα στο:

	Ναι	Όχι	αν ναι, ποιό-α/ αν βλέπετε δελτίο, ποιό;	Πόσο συχνά παρακολουθείς
BBC 1				
BBC 2				
ITV				
Channel 4				
Channel 5				
SKY				
Hellenic				
PIK				
E.T.				
Άλλο (ποιο _____)				

[Εαν υπάρχει πρόσβαση στο συγκεκριμένο:]

8a. Γιατί (δεν) παρακολουθείτε BBC 1 τόσο πολύ/τόσο λίγο/καθόλου \_\_\_\_\_

8b. “ “ BBC 2 “ “ \_\_\_\_\_

8c. “ “ ITV (or Channel 4/or Channel 5) “ \_\_\_\_\_

8d.	"	"	SKY	"	"	_____
8e.	"	"	Hellenic TV	"	"	_____
8f.	"	"	PIK	"	"	_____
8g.	"	"	E.T.	"	"	_____
8h.	"	"	Channel X	"	"	_____

9. Ενημερωθήκατε για κάποια είδηση/γεγονός που δεν γνωρίζατε την τελευταία εβδομάδα απο το

LGR	Ναι	Όχι	Τι ακριβώς	_____
Hellenic TV	Ναι	Όχι	Τι ακριβώς	_____
CBC	Ναι	Όχι	Τι ακριβώς	_____
E.T.	Ναι	Όχι	Τι ακριβώς	_____

10. Ποια είναι η άποψη σας για τα δορυφορικά προγράμματα του PIK; Εξηγήστε

---

Θα θέλατε να δείτε κάποιες αλλαγές στο πρόγραμμα του; \_\_\_\_\_

11. Ποια είναι η άποψη σας για τα προγράμματα του Hellenic TV; Εξηγήστε

---

Θα θέλατε να δείτε κάποιες αλλαγές στο πρόγραμμα του; \_\_\_\_\_

12. Ποια είναι η άποψη σας για τα προγράμματα της E.T.; Παρακαλώ εξηγήστε

---

Θα θέλατε να δείτε κάποιες αλλαγές στο πρόγραμμα της; \_\_\_\_\_

13. Υπάρχουν τρία τηλεοπτικά και ένα ραδιοφωνικό πρόγραμμα στα Ελληνικά για να διαλέξει κανείς. Ποιό (ποιά) είναι το-α καλύτερο-α;

---

Μπορείτε να εξηγήσετε την απάντηση σας; \_\_\_\_\_

14. Νομίζετε ότι κάποιο-α απο τα παρακάτω έχουν να παίξουν κάποιο ρόλο για την ελληνοκυπριακή κοινότητα;

LGR	Ναι	Όχι	Εξήγησε	_____
PIK	Ναι	Όχι	Εξήγησε	_____
Hellenic TV	Ναι	Όχι	Εξήγησε	_____
E.T.	Ναι	Όχι	Εξήγησε	_____

15. Διαθέτει κάποιο μέλος της οικογένειας πρόσβαση στο Internet; Ναι Όχι  
Δεν ξέρω  
(Αν ναι)ποιός (ποιοί) \_\_\_\_\_

15a. Για τα μέλη που έχουν πρόσβαση

Χρησιμοποιείς το Internet	Συνέχει α	μερ/ φορές	Σπ αν.	Ποτ έ	Γιατί;
για διάφορες πληροφορίες					
για λόγους επικοινωνίας					
για διασκέδαση					
να περνάω τον καιρό μου					
για ελληνικές Home Pages					
για κυπριακές Home Pages					
για να συμμετέχω σε ελληνικά discussion groups					
για να συμμετευχω σε κυπρ. discussion groups					
για επαγγελματ. Λόγους					

15b. (Αν επισκέπτεσε ελληνικές/κυπριακές Home pages)ποιές θυμάσαι να επισκέφθηκες την τελευταία εβδομάδα

Στέλνεις ποτέ email σε κάποια ελλην./κυπριακή Home page? Ναι Οχι

(Αν ναι) πόσο συχνά

Σε τι αναφέρονται τα emails σου;

Ποια είναι η άποψη σου για την Home page X;

16. Διαβάζετε καθόλου εφημερίδες; Ναι Οχι (αν ναι) ποιά (ες)

(Αν ναι) πόσο συχνά διαβάζετε την no.1 no.2 no.3

16a. Τι σας αρέσει να διαβάζετε στην no.1

Τι σας αρέσει να διαβάζετε στην no.2

16b. Αγοράζετε κάποια ελληνική/κυπριακή εφημερίδα;

Ναι Οχι (Αν ναι) πόσο συχνά

17. Διαβάζετε κανένα περιοδικό; Ναι Οχι (Αν ναι) ποιά -α

Πόσο συχνά διαβάζετε το περιοδικό no.1; no.2;

Τώρα θα ήθελα να σας ρωτήσω κάποιες γενικότερες ερωτήσεις

18. Το Haringey θεωρείτε ως μια απο τις περιοχές του Λονδίνου με το μεγαλύτερο αριθμό Κυπρίων. Εχετε καθόλου Κύπριους γείτονες;  
Ναι Οχι Δεν ξέρω

18α. Επαιξε ρόλο για τη δική σας εγκατάσταση στην περιοχή το γεγονός ότι έχει πολλούς Κύπριους;  
Ναι Οχι Γιατί; \_\_\_\_\_

19. Εχετε οικογένεια στην περιοχή;  
Ναι Οχι (Αν ναι) πόσο συχνά τους βλέπετε; \_\_\_\_\_

20. Εχετε ελληνοκύπριους φίλους στην περιοχή;  
Ναι Οχι (Αν ναι) πόσο συχνά τους βλέπετε; \_\_\_\_\_

21. Το-α άτομο-α που θα περιγράφατε ως καλύτερο-ους σας φίλο-ους είναι:  
Ελληνοκύπριος \_\_\_\_\_ Τουρκοκύπριος \_\_\_\_\_ Έλληνας \_\_\_\_\_ Αγγλος \_\_\_\_\_ (Άλλο/ τι) \_\_\_\_\_

21α. Το-α συγκεκριμένο-α άτομο-α το-α συναντήσατε:  
στη δουλειά \_\_\_\_\_ στη γειτονιά \_\_\_\_\_ στο ελληνικό σχολείο \_\_\_\_\_ στην εκκλησία \_\_\_\_\_ στο αγγλικό σχολείο \_\_\_\_\_ στο σπίτι κάποιου-ας φίλου-ης \_\_\_\_\_ Άλλου (πού) \_\_\_\_\_

22. Πόσο συχνά

	πολύ συχνά	Συχν ά	Κάπ οτε	σπάνι α	ποτ έ
πάτε εκκλησία					
πάτε (πήγατε) ελληνικό σχολείο					
ψωνίζετε απο ε/κ κατάστημα					
ψωνίζετε απο τ/κ κατάστημα					
ψωνίζετε απο το τοπικό σούπερμαρκετ					
Πηγαίνετε Cypriot Community Centre					
στέλνετε τα παιδιά σας στο ελ.σχολείο					
πηγαίνετε στο καφενείο					
Συμμετέχετε σε ε/κ οργανισμό/ομάδα (ποιό-ους) _____					

22a. Γιατί (δεν) πηγαίνετε στο ελληνικό σχολείο;

22b. Γιατί (δεν) επισκέπτεστε την εκκλησία;

23. Μήπως εσείς ή κάποιο άλλο μέλος της οικογένειάς σας έχει αντιμετωπίσει κάποια μορφή ρατσισμού επειδή είσαστε Κύπριοι; Ναι  
Οχι  
(Αν ναι) σε ποιά περίπτωση \_\_\_\_\_

Τώρα θα ήθελα να ζητήσω την άποψή σας για κάποια ζητήματα

24. Ποια απο τα παρακάτω θέματα θεωρείτε σημαντικά για σας και την οικογένειά σας

	Πολύ σημαντ ικά	Σημαντ ικά	Κάπως σημαντ ικά	Οχι πολύ σημαντ ικά	Καθόλ ου σημαντ ικά
ένα νέος πόλεμος στην πρ. Γιουγκοσλαβία					
το κυπριακό πρόβλημα					
τα επίπεδα ανεργίας στην Αγγλία					
η μόνιμη ε/κ διαμαρτυρία στην Τουρκική Πρεσβεία					
η ένταξη της Κύπρου στην Ε.Ε.					
τα οικονομ. Προβλήματα της Ελλάδας					
το κτίσιμο του Millennium Dome στο Greenwich					
οι πρωτοβουλίες βρετανών βουλευτών κατά της διαφθοράς					
η ποιότητα σχολείων στο Β.Λονδίνο					

25. Πολλοί χρησιμοποιούν τον όρο 'Κυπριακή κοινότητα' για να αναφερθούν στους Ελληνοκύπριους της Αγγλίας. Νομίζετε ότι υπάρχει η αίσθηση της κοινότητας ανάμεσα στους Ελληνοκυπρίους της Αγγλίας;

---

Θα ήθελα να τελειώσω με κάποιες ερωτήσεις σχετικά με εσάς και την οικογένεια σας

26. Γεννηθήκατε στην Αγγλία;                   Ναι   Οχι  
    Ο/η σύζυγος σας;                        Ναι   Οχι  
Η μητέρα σας γεννήθηκε στην Αγγλία;   Ναι   Οχι  
    Ο πατέρας σας;                           Ναι   Οχι

27. Πόσο συχνά επισκέπτεστε την Κύπρο; \_\_\_\_\_  
Πόσο συχνά επισκέπτονται τα παιδιά σας την Κύπρο; \_\_\_\_\_

28. Θα μπορούσατε να μου πείτε τα επαγγέλματα των μελών της οικογένειάς σας (συμπεριλαμβανομένου του χώρου εργασίας);

Όνομα	Επάγγελμα

29. Μπορείτε να μου πείτε σε ποιά κατηγορία ανήκει το εβδομαδιαίο σας εισόδημα;

£ 1 – 50	
£ 51 – 150	
£ 151 – 300	
£ 301 – 500	
£ 501 – 800	
£ 801 - και πάνω	

30. Θα θέλατε κάποτε να μεταναστεύσετε στην Κύπρο;

Ναι      Όχι      Γιατί \_\_\_\_\_

---



## APPENDIX III

### Demographic Information/ SPSS output

**Table iii1**

**Number of members in the household**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1	5	12.5	12.5	12.5
2	3	7.5	7.5	20.0
3	6	15.0	15.0	35.0
4	17	42.5	42.5	77.5
5	4	10.0	10.0	87.5
6	4	10.0	10.0	97.5
7	1	2.5	2.5	100.0
Total	40	100.0	100.0	

**Table iii2**

**adult males in the household**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid no male adults	4	10.0	10.0	10.0
one male adult	21	52.5	52.5	62.5
two male adults	10	25.0	25.0	87.5
three male adults	4	10.0	10.0	97.5
five male adults	1	2.5	2.5	100.0
Total	40	100.0	100.0	

**Table iii3**

**number of adult females in household**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid no female adult in household	2	5.0	5.0	5.0
one female adult	26	65.0	65.0	70.0
two female adults	11	27.5	27.5	97.5
three female adults	1	2.5	2.5	100.0
Total	40	100.0	100.0	

**Table iii4****number of members under 18**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	no members under 18	13	32.5	32.5	32.5
	one member under 18	16	40.0	40.0	72.5
	two members under 18	10	25.0	25.0	97.5
	four members under 18	1	2.5	2.5	100.0
	Total	40	100.0	100.0	

**Table iii5****number of members born in UK**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	no members born in UK	3	7.5	7.5	7.5
	one member born in UK	7	17.5	17.5	25.0
	two members born in UK	13	32.5	32.5	57.5
	three members born in UK	9	22.5	22.5	80.0
	four members born in UK	5	12.5	12.5	92.5
	five members born in UK	3	7.5	7.5	100.0
	Total	40	100.0	100.0	

**Table iii6****Age of person responding**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	18-25	2	5.0	5.0	5.0
	26-35	5	12.5	12.5	17.5
	36-50	20	50.0	50.0	67.5
	51-65	13	32.5	32.5	100.0
	Total	40	100.0	100.0	

**Table iii7****Respondent using or not ethnic media**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not at all	1	2.5	2.5	2.5
	Occasionally	13	32.5	32.5	35.0
	Frequently	19	47.5	47.5	82.5
	All the time	7	17.5	17.5	100.0
	Total	40	100.0	100.0	

**Table 1****Type of household**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Nuclear Family	31	77.5	77.5	77.5
	Single-person Household	5	12.5	12.5	90.0
	More than one adults with no children	4	10.0	10.0	100.0
	Total	40	100.0	100.0	

**Table 2****Members of the household born in Cyprus**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	no members born in Cyprus	11	27.5	27.5	27.5
	one member born in Cyprus	7	17.5	17.5	45.0
	two members born in Cyprus	20	50.0	50.0	95.0
	three members born in Cyprus	2	5.0	5.0	100.0
	Total	40	100.0	100.0	

**Table 3****Household including non-Greek Cypriot(s)**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid yes	7	17.5	17.5	17.5
no	33	82.5	82.5	100.0
Total	40	100.0	100.0	

**Table 4****Respondent's best friend**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Greek Cypriot	29	72.5	74.4	74.4
Greek (mainland)	2	5.0	5.1	79.5
Turkish Cypriot	1	2.5	2.6	82.1
English	3	7.5	7.7	89.7
Other	4	10.0	10.3	100.0
Total	39	97.5	100.0	
Missing -9.00	1	2.5		
Total	40	100.0		

**Table 5****Respondent's Best friend Crosstabulated with the Respondent's Country of Birth**

	Greek Cypriot	Greek – mainland	Turkish Cypriot	English	Other	Total
Respond. Born in Cyprus	22	1	1	1	1	26
Respond. Born in the UK	7	1		2	3	13
Total	29	2	1	3	4	39

**Table 6**

**Where the respondent was born \* Respondent's evaluation of 'community' Crosstabulation**

Count

		Respondent's evaluation of 'community'					Total
		No sense of community	Some people have it - I don't	Everybody has it - support	Sense of community - not necessarily positive	don't know/no opinion	
Where the respondent was born	Cyprus	4	2	11	6	1	24
	UK	1	3	4	5		13
Total		5	5	15	11	1	37

**Table 7**

**How Important is the Cyprus Problem for Respondents – Crosstabulation with their Country of Birth**

	Born in Cyprus	Born in the UK	Total
Very Important	19	9	28
Important	5	3	8
A bit Important	2	1	3
Not very Important	1		1
Total	27	13	40

**Table 8**

**Whether respondent wants to emigrate to Cyprus one day**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid No	17	42.5	42.5	42.5
Yes, if Cyprus problem solved	5	12.5	12.5	55.0
Yes, if family arrangements allow me to	15	37.5	37.5	92.5
Yes, definitely	1	2.5	2.5	95.0
don't know/no opinion	2	5.0	5.0	100.0
Total	40	100.0	100.0	

**Table 9**

**Whether respondent wants to emigrate to Cyprus oneday \* Where the respondent was born**  
**Crosstabulation**

			Where the respondent was born		Total
			Cyprus	UK	
Whether respondent wants to emigrate to Cyprus oneday	No	Count	7	10	17
		% within Whether respondent wants to emigrate to Cyprus oneday	41.2%	58.8%	100.0%
		% within Where the respondent was born	25.9%	76.9%	42.5%
		% of Total	17.5%	25.0%	42.5%
	Yes, if Cyprus problem solved	Count	5		5
		% within Whether respondent wants to emigrate to Cyprus oneday	100.0%		100.0%
		% within Where the respondent was born	18.5%		12.5%
		% of Total	12.5%		12.5%
	Yes, if family arrangments allow me to	Count	13	2	15
		% within Whether respondent wants to emigrate to Cyprus oneday	86.7%	13.3%	100.0%
		% within Where the respondent was born	48.1%	15.4%	37.5%
		% of Total	32.5%	5.0%	37.5%
	Yes, definitely	Count	1		1
		% within Whether respondent wants to emigrate to Cyprus oneday	100.0%		100.0%
		% within Where the respondent was born	3.7%		2.5%
		% of Total	2.5%		2.5%
	don't know/no opinion	Count	1	1	2
		% within Whether respondent wants to emigrate to Cyprus oneday	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
		% within Where the respondent was born	3.7%	7.7%	5.0%
		% of Total	2.5%	2.5%	5.0%
Total	Count	27	13	40	
	% within Whether respondent wants to emigrate to Cyprus oneday	67.5%	32.5%	100.0%	
	% within Where the respondent was born	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	67.5%	32.5%	100.0%	

**Table 10****Number of television sets available in the household**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	One tv set	9	22.5	22.5	22.5
	Two tv sets	18	45.0	45.0	67.5
	Three tv sets	6	15.0	15.0	82.5
	Four tv sets	5	12.5	12.5	95.0
	Five tv sets	2	5.0	5.0	100.0
	Total	40	100.0	100.0	

**Table 11****Ethnic and non-ethnic television ownership**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Only terrestrial channels	12	30.0	30.0	30.0
	Mainstream terrestrial and sat/cable channels	11	27.5	27.5	57.5
	Terrestrial and Sat/cable channels including ethnic tv	17	42.5	42.5	100.0
	Total	40	100.0	100.0	

**Table 12****Respondent's evaluation of CBC**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	CBC ethnic role is non-existent	4	10.0	10.0	10.0
	CBC is useful for informing us about Cyprus life/culture	11	27.5	27.5	37.5
	CBC is useful for old people	1	2.5	2.5	40.0
	CBC is useful for new generations	1	2.5	2.5	42.5
	CBC is invaluable for all ethnics	13	32.5	32.5	75.0
	No Opinion	10	25.0	25.0	100.0
	Total	40	100.0	100.0	

**Table 13****Hellenic TV evaluation by respondent**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Hellenic TV has no ethnic role	2	5.0	5.0	5.0
	Hellenic TV is very bad quality; it is good only for the CBC	14	35.0	35.0	40.0
	Hellenic TV is unsatisfying - no local focus	2	5.0	5.0	45.0
	Hellenic TV is good because of local programmes	2	5.0	5.0	50.0
	Hellenic TV has a positive role for the community	4	10.0	10.0	60.0
	no opinion	16	40.0	40.0	100.0
	Total	40	100.0	100.0	

**Table 14****LGR listening patterns in the household**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Nobody listens to LGR at least once a week	8	20.0	20.0	20.0
	Everybody listening to LGR at least once a week	22	55.0	55.0	75.0
	Only First Generation listening to LGR at least once a week	10	25.0	25.0	100.0
	Total	40	100.0	100.0	



**Table 15****Respondent's evaluation of LGR**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	LGR has no ethnic role	4	10.0	10.0	10.0
	LGR brings the community together	15	37.5	37.5	47.5
	LGR informs us about Cyprus	2	5.0	5.0	52.5
	LGR informs us about the local community	2	5.0	5.0	57.5
	LGR is good companion for old people	6	15.0	15.0	72.5
	LGR is good for those working at home or ethnic businesses	4	10.0	10.0	82.5
	LGR is good for introducing new generation to ethnic culture	2	5.0	5.0	87.5
	LGR is invaluable for information, culture and as a companio	5	12.5	12.5	100.0
	Total	40	100.0	100.0	

**Table 16****Internet usage by household members**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Nobody uses the Internet	18	45.0	45.0	45.0
	At least one member uses the Internet but use is non-ethnic	15	37.5	37.5	82.5
	At least one member uses the Internet /use ethnic and non-e	7	17.5	17.5	100.0
	Total	40	100.0	100.0	

### Table 17

**Respondent using or not ethnic media \* Where the respondant was born Crosstabulation**

			Where the respondant was born		Total
			Cyprus	UK	
Respondent using or not ethnic media	Not at all	Count		1	1
		% within Respondent using or not ethnic media		100.0%	100.0%
		% within Where the respondant was born		7.7%	2.5%
		% of Total		2.5%	2.5%
	Occasionally	Count	4	9	13
		% within Respondent using or not ethnic media	30.8%	69.2%	100.0%
		% within Where the respondant was born	14.8%	69.2%	32.5%
		% of Total	10.0%	22.5%	32.5%
	Frequently	Count	16	3	19
		% within Respondent using or not ethnic media	84.2%	15.8%	100.0%
		% within Where the respondant was born	59.3%	23.1%	47.5%
		% of Total	40.0%	7.5%	47.5%
	All the time	Count	7		7
		% within Respondent using or not ethnic media	100.0%		100.0%
		% within Where the respondant was born	25.9%		17.5%
		% of Total	17.5%		17.5%
Total	Count	27	13	40	
	% within Respondent using or not ethnic media	67.5%	32.5%	100.0%	
	% within Where the respondant was born	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	67.5%	32.5%	100.0%	

## APPENDIX IV

### Time Use Diary

NAME

DAY

Time	Watch (Programme, or channel, or film)	Listen (if radio, what station)	Other Activities (what)
7:00 am			
8:00 am			
9:00 am			
10:00 am			
11:00 am			
12:00 noon			
1:00 pm			
2:00 pm			
3:00 pm			
4:00 pm			
5:00 pm			
6:00 pm			
7:00 pm			
8:00 pm			
9:00 pm			
10:00 pm			
11:00 pm			
12:00midnight			
1:00 am			
2:00 am			
3:00 am			

## **Appendix V**

### **A Sample Selection of Greek Cypriot Home Pages on the WWW**



Ραδιοφωνικό Ίδρυμα Κύπρου  
*Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation*



Radio1 Schedule

Radio2 Schedule

Radio3 Schedule

Live TV Schedule

CyBC Brief History

CyBC Site Map

Cy-Sat Position

Feedback E-mail



Real TV Programmes



Real Radio Programmes



- Ειδήσεις στα Ελληνικά
- News from Cyprus in English
- Learn Greek through the Internet
- CyBC Lottery Results



How to download Real Player Software

For any comments . information . suggestions: [rik@cybc.com.cy](mailto:rik@cybc.com.cy)

Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation  
CyBC Street, Athalassa  
Nicosia 2120, Cyprus

Telephone: +357 2 862000  
Fax: +357 2 314050

Ραδιοφωνικό Ίδρυμα Κύπρου  
Όδος ΠΙΚ, Αθαλάσσα  
Λευκωσία 2120, Κύπρος



Enquiries about London Greek Radio [[LGR](#)]

Any suggestions for this web site please contact..... [Webmaster](#)





television  
news  
radio  
satellite  
pacific  
feedback

ΑΝΑΖΗΤΗΣΗ

Απολαύστε κι εσείς  
τα μοναδικά  
προνόμια



Νέα Πρωτοποριακή  
ON-Line σύνδεση με  
το XAA



## INVESTOR RELATIONS

Antenna TV SA, the leading Greek media group, announced that it has entered into an agreement with Endemol, to broadcast "Big Brother" in Greece and Cyprus.

### - ΕΙΔΗΣΕΙΣ -

Ενημέρωση 10/03/2001

#### Ενημέρωση

Κατάπαυση του πυρός  
στη Νότια Σερβία;

#### Πολιτική

Αντιπροσωπείες ΚΚΕ  
και Συνασπισμού στα  
Σκόπια

#### Οικονομία

Προβληματίζει η άνοδος  
του πληθωρισμού

#### Χρηματιστήριο

Επιλεκτικές οι  
τοποθετήσεις στη  
Σοφοκλέους

#### Αθλητικά

Τρεις Έλληνες  
συνεχίζουν στο  
τουρνουά πάλης  
«Ακρόπολις»

#### Τεχνολογία

Απάτη με πλαστούς  
πίνακες σε δημοπρασία  
του eBay

#### Καιρός

Βελτίωση του καιρού με  
άνοδο της θερμοκρασίας

#### Γεγονότα

Σεισμός 5 ρίχτερ στην  
Κρήτη

#### Κοινωνία

«Παιχνίδια» θανάτου

#### Κόσμος

Εντείνονται οι εικασίες  
για παραίτηση του Μόρι

#### Διεθνή

Προσηλωμένος στην  
ειρήνη δηλώνει ο  
Αραφάτ

#### Υγεία

Δώδεκα νέα κρούσματα  
αφθώδους πυρετού στη  
Βρετανία

#### Πολιτισμός

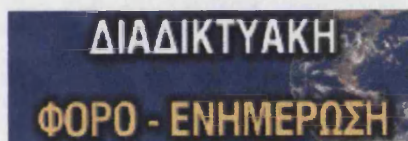
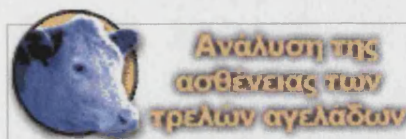
Οι νέες ταινίες της  
εβδομάδας

### Σήμερα στον ANT1

Σάββατο, 10 Μαρτίου 2001

- 07.00** ΚΑΛΗΜΕΡΑ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ  
Την πιο ζεστή και φιλική  
καλημέρα σε όλη την  
Ελλάδα και την Κύπρο  
απευθύνει κάθε πρωί ο  
Γιώργος Παπαδάκης στους  
χιλιάδες πιστούς φίλους του  
μέσα από την τηλεόραση του  
ANT1..
- 10.00** ΠΡΩΙΝΟΣ ΚΑΦΕΣ  
Αρωματικός, φρέσκος κι  
αχιστός θα είναι ο καφές  
που θα προσφέρει και φέτος  
η μοναδική Ελένη Μενεγάκη  
στος τηλεθεατές του ANT1.
- 13.00** ΣΟΥΠΕΡ ΣΑΒΒΑΤΟ  
Τα αθλητικά γεγονότα της  
εβδομάδας που πέρασε..
- 15.15** MORTAL KOMBAT  
Βασισμένη στο ομώνυμο  
περίφημο πλέον  
βιντεοπαιχνίδι, αλλά και στις  
επιτυχημένες  
κινηματογραφικές ταινίες  
που ακολούθησαν..
- 16.15** ΜΠΑΜ  
Ψυχαγωγική εκπομπή με  
τον Χρήστο Φερεντίνο

### Special Reports



Also Visit:

StarHellas - MissHellas 2000  
Tsiklitiria 2000  
Antenna FM - Thessaloniki

Top 

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## Σαν Σήμερα

Ένα μουσικό, ιστορικό και αθλητικό... χρονολόγιο

## Καιρός

Αθήνα 08 . . . .  
19°C  
Θεσ/νίκη 05 . . . .  
18°C

## Κυκλοφορία

Χάρτης που δείχνει την κίνηση στους δρόμους της Αθήνας (από το ΕΜΠ).

## Εκδηλώσεις Από τον Όμηρο στο 2000 μ.Χ

"Β. Κορνάρου:

## Ερωτόκριτος"

11/3, ώρα 11 π.μ.

## Παίξτε

## κερδίστε

Αν σας αρέσουν οι προκλήσεις, λάβετε μέρος σε έναν από τους online διαγωνισμούς και κερδίστε πλούσια δώρα.

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## Ηλεκτρονικές κάρτες

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## Μηνύματα

## σε κινητό

Στείλτε δωρεάν μηνύματα στους φίλους

## Μελωδίες

## ΟΜΟΓΕΝΕΙΑΚΟ ΔΕΛΤΙΟ



στη διάρκεια επίθεσης Αλβανών ενόπλων εναντίον του χωριού Οσλάρε, της Νότιας Σερβίας. Μόλις χθες το αλβανικό κοινοβούλιο είχε εκφράσει την δυσφορία του στο κλείσιμο των συνόρων από τα Σκόπια, ασκώντας εμμέσως κριτική στην Σόφια την Αθήνα και το ΝΑΤΟ για τις θέσεις που έλαβαν στην κρίση της ΠΓΔΜ.

## NEWS IN ENGLISH

## ΤΟΠΙΚΑ ΝΕΑ

## CHAT

## RADIO LIVE

Συγκρούσεις στην κοιλάδα του Πρέσεβο

Τεταμένη παραμένει η κατάσταση στα σύνορα του Κοσσυφοπεδίου με τα Σκόπια και τη νότια Σερβία καθώς συνεχίζονται οι συγκρούσεις στην κοιλάδα Πρέσεβο ανάμεσα στη γιουγκοσλαβική αστυνομία και τους Αλβανούς αυτονομιστές. Το πρωί ένας εντεκάχρονος Σέρβος τραυματίστηκε

## online magazines

mp3

βιβλίο

cinema

θέατρο

γλυπτική

φωτογραφία

οικολογία

motorsports

## αναζήτηση

Ψάξτε στο Web με όποια μηχανή αναζήτησης προτιμάτε.

☐ Google ☐ Lycos ☐ MetaCraw  
☐ AltaVista ☐ Excite ☐ WebCrawl  
☐ Yahoo ☐ Infoseek

Αναζήτηση

## χρηματιστήριο

Οριακές απώλειες υπέστη κατά το κλείσιμο της τελευταίας συνεδρίασης της εβδομάδας ο γενικός δείκτης τιμών του ΧΑΑ. Υποχώρησε στις 3269,75 μονάδες χάνοντας -0,2% της αξίας του.

Στους επιμέρους δείκτες επικρατεί ελαφρά θετικό κλίμα.

Τα μεγαλύτερα κέρδη αποκόμισε και πάλι η κλωστουφαντουργία (+2,01%) ενώ τις μεγαλύτερες απώλειες υπέστη ο δείκτης τροφίμων και ποτών (-1,05%).

Θετικό πρόσημο φέρουν κατά το κλείσιμο 215 μετοχές (36 μετοχές πάνω από το +10%), αρνητικό 127 μετοχές και 29 παρέμειναν αμετάβλητες.

Η αξία των συναλλαγών ξεπέρασε τα 92 δις. δραχμές.

**Οι τιμές είναι προσφορά της origin**





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Ministry of Commerce - Travel agents - UK

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[Eurovision](#)  
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Country	Rank	Score	Points	Percentage
France	1	12.50	12.50	100.00%
Spain	2	10.00	10.00	80.00%
Italy	3	7.50	7.50	60.00%
Germany	4	5.00	5.00	40.00%
United Kingdom	5	2.50	2.50	20.00%
Sweden	6	1.25	1.25	10.00%
Netherlands	7	0.62	0.62	5.00%
Belgium	8	0.31	0.31	2.50%
Austria	9	0.16	0.16	1.25%
Portugal	10	0.08	0.08	0.62%
Switzerland	11	0.04	0.04	0.31%
Denmark	12	0.02	0.02	0.16%
Finland	13	0.01	0.01	0.08%
Poland	14	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Czech Republic	15	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Slovakia	16	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Hungary	17	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Slovenia	18	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Croatia	19	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Serbia	20	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	21	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Montenegro	22	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Albania	23	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Moldova	24	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Ukraine	25	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Belarus	26	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Lithuania	27	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Russia	28	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Georgia	29	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Armenia	30	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Azerbaijan	31	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Kazakhstan	32	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Uzbekistan	33	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Tajikistan	34	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Kyrgyzstan	35	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Latvia	36	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Estonia	37	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Finland	38	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Sweden	39	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Norway	40	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Denmark	41	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Germany	42	0.00	0.00	0.00%
France	43	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Italy	44	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Spain	45	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Portugal	46	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Greece	47	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Turkey	48	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Cyprus	49	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Malta	50	0.00	0.00	0.00%
San Marino	51	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Vatican City	52	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Monaco	53	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Liechtenstein	54	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Andorra	55	0.00	0.00	0.00%
San Marino	56	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Vatican City	57	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Monaco	58	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Liechtenstein	59	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Andorra	60	0.00	0.00	0.00%
San Marino	61	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Vatican City	62	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Monaco	63	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Liechtenstein	64	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Andorra	65	0.00	0.00	0.00%
San Marino	66	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Vatican City	67	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Monaco	68	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Liechtenstein	69	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Andorra	70	0.00	0.00	0.00%
San Marino	71	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Vatican City	72	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Monaco	73	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Liechtenstein	74	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Andorra	75	0.00	0.00	0.00%
San Marino	76	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Vatican City	77	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Monaco	78	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Liechtenstein	79	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Andorra	80	0.00	0.00	0.00%
San Marino	81	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Vatican City	82	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Monaco	83	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Liechtenstein	84	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Andorra	85	0.00	0.00	0.00%
San Marino	86	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Vatican City	87	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Monaco	88	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Liechtenstein	89	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Andorra	90	0.00	0.00	0.00%
San Marino	91	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Vatican City	92	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Monaco	93	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Liechtenstein	94	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Andorra	95	0.00	0.00	0.00%
San Marino	96	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Vatican City	97	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Monaco	98	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Liechtenstein	99	0.00	0.00	0.00%
Andorra	100	0.00	0.00	0.00%

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**Lefkosia**  
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Clear 19°C



**Lemessos**  
Mostly Cloudy  
20°C



**Paphos**  
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7/3/2001, at 13:30



EURO 1.7215



USD 1.6072



GBP 1.0983

Friday 09<sup>5</sup> March 2001

Traded Volume - CYP 9 377 591

CSE General Index	204,08	2,894%
FTSE/CySE 20 INDEX	868,81	4,414%
Banks	219,84	5,167%
Investment	195,37	0,920%
Insurance	81,21	1,576%
Manufacturing	73,63	1,657%
Tourism	136,65	3,893%
Trading	52,79	2,925%
Offshore	105,00	0,000%
Building Materials and Construction	67,01	1,700%
Information Technology	55,10	1,924%
Financial Services	39,04	0,853%
Fish Culture	70,25	-0,833%
Hotels	94,57	0,789%
Other	239,65	1,135%

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## THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS

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Daily update

Friday, 09 March 2001

1. Cyprus and Latvia sign cooperation agreements
2. Finnish Parliamentary meets with House President

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Gov. Spokesman

### Latest Press Briefing by the Government Spokesman

Special Issues

1. **NEW** (8.03.2001) Concession contract for the development and operation of international airports at Larnaka and Pafos
2. (22.02.2001) Address by Mr Takis Klerides, Minister of Finance, at the Symposium on the "Challenges and prospects at the Beginning of the Century", organized by Laiki Group and City University of London, on Thursday 22nd February, 2001

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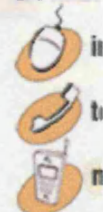
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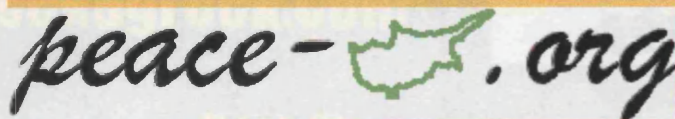
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Musical Odyssey  
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Music: Thalassa

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Musical Odyssey is, to our knowledge, the only English Language Greek Music show in the East Coast. We play music from all over the spectrum of Greek sound ranging from Demotic Music and Byzantine Chant to Tzimis Panousis and Sakis Boulas. This includes rebetiko, laiko, greek new wave, Hadjidakis, Theodorakis, Xarchakos, Dalaras, Kazantzidis, Alexiou and all the other stars of the blue-and-white music sky.

The show began in 1993 and has had many talented DJs over the years. We broadcasted at 11:00 AM every Saturday morning until 1993, when it was moved to Sunday afternoon at 5:00 PM. Currently the show is hosted by [Bonnie Steiglitz](#). Address all your comments to any of us and your requests for whatever Greek music you like to (609) 258-1033 every Sunday 4:30-6.00 pm. Thanks for listening!





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