

***The Process of Inter-Ethnic
Marriages/Relationships: The case of
Greek-Cypriots in Great Britain***

by

Joanna Bartholomeou

(May 1997)

***I am submitting this thesis as partial fulfilment for the Masters Degree in Gender
and Ethnic Studies at the University of Greenwich.***

***Supervisor: Professor Floya Anthias
Pathway Leader: Professor Nira Yuval-Davis***

Introduction

The issue of inter-ethnic/racial relationships/marriages has been of little interest to the academic field. However, Social Scientists have expressed an interest in and extensively researched experiences of racism and exclusion, issues of ethnic identity of minority groups and the role and importance of group boundary maintenance. The neglect of inter-ethnic/racial relationships/marriages suggests a serious void in the literature, particularly as marriage to a member of the ethnic collectivity is an important factor in maintaining and reinforcing boundaries of ethnic groups (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1989). Through marriage to a non ethnic group member, cultural practices which are naturalised and normalised are in jeopardy of becoming ambiguous.

The existing literature on mixed marriages, which does not examine cohabiting inter-ethnic unions, is limited for three main reasons. Firstly, the majority of published research stems from American academics and is set within the American context. Secondly, the literature is very dated, the majority having taken place between the 1950s and 1960s. Finally, nearly all the studies concentrate on inter-racial unions, and view racial difference as being at polar ends of the spectrum, thus leaving unexplored inter-ethnic unions.

This paper aims to contribute to the discussion of intermarriage by focusing on inter-ethnic unions and the issues this raises. This is a deliberate move away from conceptualizing racialised groups as being only those of colour and viewing the spectrum of racial and ethnic groups at polar ends. The paper will also explore how intermarriage maybe seen as a threat to ethnic group borders which operate on

processes of inclusion and exclusion (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992), and the implications of this process.

This research paper aims to examine the processes in motion when a member of a minority ethnic group is in a committed relationship for periods exceeding two years or the experience of marrying a partner of a different ethnic group. The ethnic minority group which shall provide the basis of my research is the Greek-Cypriots in Great Britain.

The focus of this paper is to explore the effects of a mixed union on immediate family and the extended Greek-Cypriot community and what their concerns and fears are about the relationship. This paper will then look at the individuals who are involved in the inter-ethnic union. The paper will focus on the Greek-Cypriot partner and explore their relationship with their ethnic group when growing up; and in the present context. The paper will explore the extent of both positive and negative identification with own ethnic collectivity. The paper will also explore unions between members of ethnic minority groups and probe into issues around transethnic commonalities, who are these Greek-Cypriots choosing to marry when they cross the ethnic divide? I shall examine some of the conflicts and commonalities occurring within the inter-ethnic union. Finally, the paper will explore the gendered aspect, how concepts of 'honour' affect men and women in the Greek-Cypriot community, looking at whether men and women have differentiated experiences and if so in what contexts and how is this manifested. Using statistics obtained for the Greek-Cypriot community, I will compare the rate of women involved in inter-ethnic marriages with other ethnic minority groups and see where they correlate and where they diverge.

I have only focused on Greek-Cypriots in this research paper. I felt that I would have more access to Greek-Cypriots due to my own Greek-Cypriot ethnicity. I also wanted to concentrate wholly on one ethnic group particularly as my sample was limited in size.

I will define the terminology I will be using in this research project. I will use the term 'ethnic group' to define Greek-Cypriots in Great Britain. I am aware of the

contested nature of the term as issues arise such as, how is an ethnic group defined and how definite are the boundaries of these groups. However, Anthias (1992) notes that both language and religion are two vital elements to the construction of ethnic groups, although not essential. I will refer to the marriage or relationship between a Greek-Cypriot and a non Greek-Cypriot as 'inter-ethnic'. The reason for this is that within my sample there are some who have crossed boundaries which are 'racial', religious, ethnic or combinations of these social divisions. The common denominator in all the unions in my sample has been their different ethnicity. Therefore, I have chosen to use the term 'inter-ethnic' to describe the crossing of any or all three social divisions as they cannot be easily separated. There is limited research conducted in a contemporary British context which looks at non racialised ethnic groups.

Chapter One will examine and critically discuss the existing literature on inter-ethnic marriages and highlight the areas of limited research.

Chapter Two will give a brief historical outline of the Greek-Cypriot communities settlement in Great Britain, looking at employment patterns, marriage expectations and issues of honour for men and women. This will contextualise the Greek-Cypriots and illustrate the mechanisms through which ethnic identity is maintained.

Chapter Three will outline the methods used to gain the qualitative research material and the statistical data. I will discuss critically the methods I used and the value of empirical research.

Chapter Four will explore the data around how the family reacted to the inter-ethnic unions and what issues were raised.

Chapter Five will explore issues of identity of those involved in inter-ethnic unions, how they perceive their ethnic group and to what extent they integrate with the community. This chapter will also explore issues of transethnic commonalities.

Chapter Six will explore the gendered aspects of inter-ethnic unions.

Chapter Seven is my conclusion.

Chapter One: Theoretical Debates

1.1: Three main Research Areas

Research around the area of intermarriage has predominately stemmed from American academia prior to the 1950s. Theoretical debates on intermarriage fell within three broad foci of research according to Barron (1951). That is of (1) Aetiology: the causal factors which lead to an ethnically, racially or religiously mixed union, for example, factors such as unequal sex ratios within particular ethnic groups, being socially disadvantaged or having a marginal role within society. (2) Incidence and frequency: literature which focuses on the demography of intermarriage. (3) Consequences: what happens following the marriage, how the family respond and what happens to the children. I will critically discuss each research framework.

Research based on the aetiology of intermarriage incorporates many contributory factors, such as the social positioning, gender and ethnic status of the individuals involved. Early work in this field, such as Robert Merton's (1941) work on inter-racial marriage is based on these factors. Merton's work is embedded in the functionalist perspective. He defines endogamy and exogamy in terms of both class and caste. By caste he is referring to 'race'. Class exogamy is more socially accepted than caste exogamy which is not a stable unchallenged norm in our society. The reasons Merton gives for this are that we have folklore which depicts love between individuals of different social class as romantic; also according to Merton there are no strict class lines which subvert the effectiveness of preferential class endogamy. However, inter-caste or inter-racial marriages are perceived as deviant. The terminology Merton uses to describe inter-racial marriages is 'cacogamy', which literally means 'bad marriage' from the Greek word 'kakos'. So far it can be ascertained that Merton structurally places

inter-racial marriages in terms of class and caste and one could assume that Merton views these caste exogamous marriages as deviant. Merton noted a gendered imbalance within the data of inter-racial marriages. He noted that black men married to white women was the most frequent combination. Merton sets out to explain this pattern and argues that inter-racial marriages are based on gendered "reciprocal compensatory pairings" (1941:372). An example of this would be a man of low ethnic status but high socio economic positioning marrying a woman of high ethnic status but low socio economic positioning. Merton calls these 'hypergamous' unions. However, not all 'cacogamous' marriages will involve socio-economic compensation, such as in the case of both partners belonging to the same class background. Merton's explanation for these types of cacogamous marriages is that they are formed by the 'pariahs' of society, or those in 'concubinage' or those who are emancipated and are radicals, who repudiate the legitimacy of the caste/race distinctions.

Contemporary writers have taken on board Merton's notion of 'hypergamy', such as Benson (1981) and Shinagawa and Pang (1988). Shinagawa and Pang (1988) look at "intra ethnic, inter ethnic and inter racial marriages among Asian Americans in California". They stress that inter-ethnic marriages are a function of inequality within a class and racially stratified society. Their data supports Merton's notions of ethnic minority men marrying women from the ethnic majority.

Another interpretation of the visible pattern of men being in higher socio economic positions than women in intermarriages is the general inequality between men and women. This class division could also be found within intra-ethnic marriages. Also Merton presumes a racial hierarchy which he does not expand upon. It is not clear which ethnic and racial groups have status and which do not and on what basis they are presumed upon, is it colour, religion or language? Merton's theory is quite problematic as it assumes a form of racial/ethnic hierarchy without an explanation of how this hierarchy is formed and on what criteria.

The second discourse focuses on the demography of intermarriage and tries to document the different patterns emerging between ethnic groups. British studies have noted that ninety six per cent of marriages are between two whites, two per cent between two non-

whites of same ethnic origin and one per cent between a white partner and ethnic minority (Coleman, 1985:5). Coleman obtained his statistical data from the Labour Force Survey, using this data he has attempted to discover various patterns of intermarriage, such as the frequency of inter-ethnic marriage in accordance to whether or not spouses were born in the UK, the age distribution of partners in inter-ethnic marriages and the age structure of the population of mixed ethnic origin. Coleman does not clearly define his terminology and it is difficult to ascertain what he means by 'white' and whether this includes groups such as the Cypriots, Maltese and Irish. Also, Coleman has not noted the percentage of marriages between different minority ethnic groups.

The final discourse focuses on the outcome of such unions. These include how the couple conduct their lives, how they are perceived and the decisions they make about the upbringing of their children. One of the few contemporary studies conducted in this area includes the work of Raymond Lee (1994) who looked at inter-religious marriages in Northern Ireland. Lee felt that a lot of earlier research on intermarriage portrayed images of deviancy and social degeneracy among the participants, particularly literature emerging from the discourse of aetiology. He argued that although the marriages within his sample were inter-religious, with reference to other social factors they were in fact homogenous. For example, many of the marital partners had reached a similar educational attainment level, lived in the same geographical location, had interests in common and had similar religious views but in the context of different faiths. These homogenising factors are often neglected in the literature of intermarriage. The implications of this is that only the differences and problems within the marriage are highlighted and none of the similarities and positive aspects. Therefore, perpetuating notions that cultural, ethnic and religious differences are problematic in a relationship.

The three research areas I have outlined provide the framework within which studies around intermarriage emerge from.

1.2: Assumed Pathology of Intermarriage

It is not difficult to conclude that a pathologising tendency exists in the literature on intermarriage; this is clearly seen in Merton's arguments. Those who intermarry are perceived as socially disadvantaged, slum dwellers and young people who want to rebel and be radical. The language used to describe intermarriage can be derogatory, such as 'miscegenation', which as has been pointed out by Alibah-Brown and Montague (1992), it denotes something negative and deviant like 'mis-behave'. The children of intermarried relationships can also be defined in derogatory terms, such as 'half caste' or 'mulatto'. These terms denote impurity of breed, mulatto is Spanish for mule which literally implies mixed breed which is inferior to pure breeds. Here I will outline theoretical studies which pathologise intermarriage and the consequences of such unions, through their marginal role and the effects on the children if inter-racial.

The work of Erik Cohen (1969) portrayed marriages between Jewish and Arabs in an Israeli town. He found that Jewish women who entered these relationships were either prostitutes or had marginal roles within their community before marriage. Cohen concludes by stating that the outcome of these marriages has not been towards "mor

fraternisation but more segregation" (1969:50) and should be seen as a warning to others. This notion of women entering intermarriage having histories embedded in prostitution was also noted in the British context by Benson (1981). Benson's research in Brixton of inter-racial couples found that of the twenty couples in her sample, two of the white women had been prostitutes. Those with a particular conservative agenda could use this data to reinforce notions of deviancy and pathology around intermarriage, particularly inter-racial marriages, however such analysis would lack the conceptualisation of the social class aspect.

Another interpretation of why people chose to intermarry founded on pathological assumptions is illustrated by Golden (1954). He describes those who intermarry as having "little regard for public disapproval, or who take delight in shocking respectable circles of socially attended white places" (1954:144). Following in a similar vein, Freeman (1955) describes the intermarriage process as being:

Individuals ethnic group becom[ing] identified as an agent of frustration and negatively evaluated on that basis (Freeman, 1955:372).

Freeman goes on to describe these youths who are rejected by their own ethnic group as feeling hostility towards their own ethnic group which consequently leads to positive identification with another ethnic group. Freeman refers to those who intermarry as "rebels" (1955:376), therefore implying a degree of consciousness in their choice of partner. Many inter-marriages may come about through circumstantial meetings and not because either one was intentionally seeking a partner from a different ethnic group. Also, if an individual does systematically seek partners from different ethnic groups, there could be more than one explanation. For example, being attracted to something different, finding it more exciting being with someone who may speak another language, is exposed to different food or keeps different religious practices. Freeman assumes that the positive identification with another ethnic group suggests a negative identification with one's own ethnic group. The two are not mutually exclusive. As can be seen, Freeman portrays a rather simplistic analysis on the behaviour of those who intermarry and again reinforces notions of deviancy and rebellious behaviour.

Literature deeming intermarriage as pathological has also been applied to the children of such unions; particularly those which are inter-racial. Early sociological interest in the mixed race phenomenon argued that the mixed race child would play a marginal role in society due to their ambiguous identity. For example, Stonequist (1937) portrayed the mixed race person as having a marginal role in society. He argued that they would be conscious of their difference from the dominant society and be rejected by them and realise they partially belonged to an inferior group. The marginal person would consequently be rejected by both groups. Park (1928) on the other hand, portrayed a less dismal image of the mixed race individual. Park believed the 'marginal man' would be able to look at both cultures with a degree of critical detachment.

Arguments suggesting the marginality of mixed race individuals were also accompanied with theories of mental confusion and maladjustment. Nye and Berardo (1973) note:

It appears that children of black-white marriages are subject to some deprivations in relationships, some role contradictions, and uncertainties in role definition that are attributable to interracial parentage; therefore, the incidence of personality malfunctioning might be expected to be higher among the children of such marriages.

Even contemporary empirical work maintains these notions of 'marginality' and identity confusion for people of mixed race. Susan Benson's (1981) work on inter-racial couples in the Brixton area came to these findings. She states "For the mixed race child ... even more than for his or her parents, there were problems inevitably arising from an ambiguous ethnicity" (1981:134). This is not to suggest that Benson's empirical findings are invalid, and there may be problematic issues of identity formation if one is mixed race, however, there has been a rise in criticism of this perspective as it has been used as a deterring factor for intermarriage, particularly if inter-racial. The following section will outline the criticisms made of the literature which deems the children of inter-racial couples as 'marginal'.

Phoenix and Owen (1996) have noted the shift from eugenic concerns to liberal concerns of the welfare of the inter-racial child. They outline three pointers to why these perceptions are negative and inadvertently racist:

- (1) It prevents charges of racism by deflecting attention from racist discourses, instead deems the children as misfits:
- (2) It individualises the issue by shifting the focus onto problems of identity for children produced from mixed unions:
- (3) It constructs individual regulation - people do not want to damage their children, so responsible parents should not bring into the world children with such destinies (1996:8).

There has been some empirical work conducted on the mixed race child and constructions of identity by Wilson (1984), Tizzard and Phoenix (1993) and Phoenix and Owen (1996). They argue against the essentialist way of theorising mixed race children, and this 'caught between two cultures' ideology which implies that mixed race

individuals cannot have identities which are both/and and not either/or. They try to argue away from the polarised construction of black and white. These issues will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Five.

Overall, there is a wealth of literature which deems intermarriage as pathological and those who partake in these unions as socially deviant. The language used to illustrate the pathological nature of intermarriage include deviant, segregation and rebels, this assumed pathology has also been extend to the children of these unions. They have been predicted a marginal life, living on the fringes of society and never being truly accepted and as also suffering identity confusion. This assumed pathology will be challenged in Chapter Five using my ethnographic material.

1.3: Assimilation and the ‘Melting Pot’

Discussions around intermarriage tend to include theories on assimilation of minority groups. For many, the incidence of such marriages is the growing evidence of assimilation (Schaefer, 1980). Coleman (1994) points out that inter-ethnic unions illustrate the extent to which individuals are able to mix in the relationship market. Intermarriage promotes further breakdown of separate identities and barriers between ethnic minorities by the creation of a dual ethnic population. Shinagawa and Pang (1988) who looked at intermarriages in America, state that intermarriage is a sign of growing acceptance of minority groups by majority groups. They also argued that intermarriage demonstrated that there were no racial boundaries when it came to marriage patterns. Shinagawa and Pang’s (1988) overall argument is in support of the American melting pot, the idea that racial and ethnic divisions are becoming less distinct and the notion of plural identifications. However, this appears to be a sweeping generalisation to be made on a relatively small phenomenon of intermarriage. It appears they have not compared their findings to ethnic/racial intra-ethnic marriages which are still the most prominent. Furthermore, their argument has neglected other aspects of race-relations, such as the many incidences of violence and the informal segregation in schools, neighbourhoods and employment.

Other theorists however, such as Cohen (1969) see intermarriage as increasing segregation. Writing in the context of Israel, Cohen found that these marriages sharpened group solidarity particularly within the Jewish community. As can be seen, intermarriage is not always a process which is accepted within an ethnic group. In Israel with its particular political and historical past, these intermarriage unions act to redefine ethnic borders and exclude those who transcend religious and ethnic divisions in marriages.

The Melting Pot theory is based on the premise of ethnic minorities adopting the cultural norms and values of the ethnic majority. One manifestation of this is the existence of intermarriages, as has been discussed above, the notion of all social boundaries being crossed indiscriminately. It has been noted however, that certain social divisions are not transcended, for example, Kennedy (1952) does not agree with the single melting pot theory but postulates the existence of a triple melting pot. Kennedy's study in New Haven, looked at marriages between the period of 1870 and 1950 and found that when people intermarried they rarely crossed the religious division, only the racial and ethnic boundary. According to Kennedy the three main religious groups which remained essentially homogenous were Catholicism, Protestantism and Judaism. This would assert that religious boundaries are more difficult to transcend than racial and ethnic boundaries.

Bescaney however, challenges the methods used by Kennedy in collecting her data. She has based her figures on "marriages which are *now* mixed, but do not include as "mixed" those marriage partners who were brought up in different religions" (1965:721). Thus illustrating how religious affiliations can be malleable, due to religious conversion, unlike ethnic and racial origin. For this reason Kennedy's theory of a "triple melting pot" may be problematic.

This literature survey would suggest evidence to support the notion that intermarriage is a sign of assimilation. This is not to concurrently argue that one loses their ethnic identity if one is in an inter-ethnic relationship. As has been shown by Cohen (1969) there are some contexts in which this is not the case, for example in Israel where the

conflict between Arabs and Jews is further aggravated with the presence of mixed unions.

1.4: Gendered Dimension

Much of the literature discussed so far has noted the gendered imbalance of intermarriage, i.e. some ethnic groups have a disproportionate number of either men or women opting for intermarriage. This has been noted for more than just one period of time and in the context of more than one country by the following sociologists, Merton (1941), Golden (1954), Cohen (1969), Burma (1963), Bagley (1972), Benson (1981) and Shinagawa and Pang (1988). Each study has noted the predominant pattern of men from minority ethnic groups having relationships and marrying women from the dominant ethnic group. One theory which has tried to explain this gendered difference has been Merton's (1941) theory of hypergamy. This perspective is based on the axis of 'race' and class. The notion that men with low ethnic status but high economic status have relationships with a woman of high ethnic status but low economic status, hence a process of "compensatory pairing". However, using this theoretical logic which is based on 'race' and class, it would be assumed that an equal number of successful women from the ethnic minority groups would have relationships with much less successful men from the dominant society. This is evidently not the case, one possible missing element in Merton's theorisation's is the gender dimension. The emerging patterns of intermarriage are a reflection of the particular intersection of 'race', class and gender. The terminology that Merton uses in this particular theorisation reflects his gender blind perspective.

Some attempt has been made to suggest causes of this gendered imbalance. Bagley (1972) who writes in the British context, puts forward the notion that men from minority ethnic groups are more free to explore new territory and more prone to social interaction with the dominant society. Another factor is the demographic distribution of men and women during the period of migration. In many cases men migrated alone, consequently leading to an unequal sex ratio with the migrant population. However, this argument is no longer valid as the sex ratio of migrants has generally balanced out since

the early days of migration. Jones (1982) has put together a table from data collected in the Labour Force Survey (LFS) of 1979, illustrating the sex differences in intermarriage.

Inter-Ethnic marriages by ethnic group and sex (%)

	Exogamy with whites		Exogamy with other ethnic minority groups	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
West Indian	22.3	10.3	1.0	1.5
African	18.8	9.6	6.8	6.7
Indian	9.3	5.1	2.3	1.4
Pakistani	6.3	1.1	1.6	4.3
Bangladeshi	4.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Source : Jones, P R (1982)

As can be seen from this table, men are more likely than women to intermarry from the above stated ethnic minority groups. There are no statistics compiled for the intermarriage rate of white ethnic minority groups. This reflects how white ethnic minority groups have not been perceived as racialised groups, as opposed to minority groups of colour. Also this illustrates how colour is seen as a marker of difference, more so than cultural and religious difference. However, my statistical research and analysis will attempt to illustrate the gendered patterns for Greek-Cypriots, who are a white ethnic minority group. This will broaden discussions on intermarriage

only on minority ethnics of colour and therefore treating the debate as being polarised between black and white racial groups.

As yet there has not been a comprehensive empirical study of the causes or understanding of this gendered pattern. Research on intermarriage generally mention

this gendered dimension and notes the imbalance, but does not give an in-depth analysis. This is an area which needs more research.

1.5: Theories on identity

What is generally ignored within the literature on intermarriage are notions of ethnic identity, and the issues of ethnic boundaries. This seems quite surprising particularly as an intermarriage/relationship is the most obvious crossing of ethnic/racial boundaries. It raises issues of loss of cultural identity of those in the mixed union and jeopardises the continuation of that cultural identity through the dilution of ethnic identity of prospective children. Defined ethnic boundaries become hazy and ambiguous.

There have been discourses in the literature around issues of identity which have been based on essentialist notions. For example Tariq Modood (1992) speaks of the Asian community as being distinct from other racialised communities due to the specific racism they experience, but also because of their distinct cultural needs. Modood deconstructs the political and unitary term 'black' to define all minority ethnics and instead prefers to use the term 'Asian', however this category encapsulates people from just as many diverse backgrounds as 'black' does. Modood's attempt to highlight the Asian communities specific needs is a valid project and an area that needs to be addressed, however, Modood takes this stance and asserts the need for a Muslim Parliament, and formations of other separatist organisations. This highlights how ethnic, cultural and religious affiliations can be perceived to be the most important aspect of a persons identity. This leads to an essentialist way of conceptualising identity, one based on belonging to an ethnic group in a static and prescriptive manner. The homogenising of ethnic, racial and religious groups subsequently leads to the dichotomy of either/or, and in the context of ethnic and racialised identities, notions of them and us. Ethnic identity viewed in this context subsequently fails to recognise the hybridity and fluidity of identity, which is an emerging area within sociology (read Les Back 1996 for a more detailed argument).

There has been an abundance of criticism of this essentialisation of cultural identities by feminists, cultural studies and by Social Science literature, for obscuring intra group

differences and over emphasising inter group differences (Brah, 1992, Rutherford, 1990). The formation of essentialist groups organised around identity politics has evoked much debate, particularly in the arena of local government and access to funding. Organisations formed around common ethnic identity, sharing a country of origin, language and religion have been able to mobilise their own group interests and create a competitive sphere for funding and resources among minority groups. This has fostered fragmentation between and among racial, gender and other such focused groups. This has been one of the criticisms made about organisations formed around the politics of identity. Kobena Mercer (1990), for example states that identity politics is based on essentialist notions of a fixed hierarchy of racial, sexual or gendered oppressions which play on each other to be deemed with the greatest oppression, for the purpose of funding. This becomes a "zero-sum" situation (Mercer, 1990:47). Rutherford (1990) also criticises the essentialist foundations of organisations and tries to break down these polarities. He asserts that the word difference can be used as a motif for uprooting certainties and "assembling new practices and languages, pulling together a diversity of theories, politics, cultural experiences and identities into new alliances and movements" (Rutherford, 1990:10). Ultimately Rutherford encourages a move away from conceptualising homogenous and essentialist identities and instead using the politics of difference to recognise "interdependent and relational nature of identities, their elements of incommensurability and their political right of autonomy" (Rutherford, 1990:10).

The major criticism of essentialist identity politics is that it supports a notion of there being one privileged agent of social and historical change. The consequences of such separatism is that it mimics the authoritarian power in which it is opposed, because it creates binary discourses which legitimate domination.

Apart from essentialist notions of identity being the ideological foundations of identity politics, essentialist views have been adopted in discussions of the ethnic identity positioning of second and third generation minorities. Ideas of these youngsters being 'caught between two cultures' prevailed in the 1970s. This was the title used by James Watson (1977) for his edited volume of migrant communities in Great Britain. Again it was presumed that youngsters were confused about their identity, confused by the fusion

of British life and that of their parents cultural homeland. Oakley (1970) heads one of his paragraphs with "Conflict of Cultures", he proceeds to then describe the problems of young Greek-Cypriots in Great Britain and their attempt at "seeking ... an identity astride two cultures" (Oakley, 1970:102). This ideological discourse is based on the notion that ethnic identity is a fixed and unchanging construct, rather than as being fluid and changing. Ethnic identity is perceived to be homogenous and unchanging over time and place, therefore, when there is the influence and interplay of more than one culture, theorists assume the onset of an 'identity crisis' and not of a harmonious plural identity.

Frederik Barth (1960) was one of the first to write about ethnicity in a non-essentialist way. He argued that it was the ethnic boundary which was significant. The cultural "stuff" was perceived by Barth (1960) to be secondary in importance and a set of norms which were adhered to only to reaffirm membership within the group boundary. This non essentialist perspective has been further argued in more contemporary research.

More recently there has been an interest in the "processual nature of ethnicity" (Phoenix & Owen, 1996). New terminology has emerged such as 'hybridity' and 'new ethnicities' to denote the syncretism and plurality of ethnic and racial identities. Back's (1996) ethnographic work on a South East London housing estate noted how young people's lives are shaped by the multi ethnic environment they grow up in, but also affected by the national portrayal of minority ethnics. He terms this syncretic identity as the emergence of "new ethnicities" (Back 1996). Hall (1990) defines two ways of thinking about 'cultural identity'. The first, as a position of unity, our cultural identities reflecting the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us as one people, with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning. The other view of cultural identity, is to recognise that there are just as many points of difference as there are similarity. One can not speak with any "exactness about one experience, one identity" (Hall, 1990:225).

Phoenix and Owen (1996) also adopt this term 'hybrid' in their discussions of children of mixed parentage, specifically children with one black and one white parent. They find the term useful because it opens up discussions around 'race' and racial identities which are not based on polarised definitions of black and white, which "construct black

people and white people as cultural and visual opposites rather than either as part of a continuum or as united and/or differentiated by factors other than 'race'" (3:1996). Theories of hybridity pursued by Hall (1990), Back (1996) and Phoenix and Owen (1996) have been criticised by David Parker (1995). Parker argues that the term 'hybrid' becomes an "uneasy biologicistic metaphor for combination which can connote a state rather than a process... The focus should be on specific processes of identity formation rather than subsuming them all into one state of hybridity" (26:1995). Parker (1995) further criticises the work of Hall and Gilroy, by stating their theories on hybrid identities are not drawn from any empirical research and findings. Ultimately, Parker believes that the term hybrid can be used as just another essentialist category, without examining if all people of minority groups necessarily define themselves as hybrid.

In the context of Parker's examination of Chinese youth in the take away industry, it appears many of his sample did not identify with notions of fluid identity, but had rather fixed notions of how they felt. However, in the context of my research I have found the notion of plural identities as a useful starting point to examine the process of mixed unions in the Greek-Cypriot community. As Phoenix and Owen illustrate people can be "differentiated by factors other than 'race'" (3:1996).

1.6: Summary

The first detailed sociological studies of intermarriage emerged in the United States in the years prior to the Second World War. These studies, and those which followed, fell according to Barron (1951) into three main categories, aetiology of intermarriage, studies concerned with patterns and incidence of intermarriage and finally, the consequences of intermarriage through the analysis of ethnographic data. What emerged, particularly from the discourse of aetiology is an assumed pathology of those involved in intermarriage. Theories around the marginal man, or those who intermarry being rebellious. These pathological traits were then perceived within the children of such unions, particularly if they were inter-racial. These children were seen to never fully be part of society and to be maladjusted as a result of their mixed parentage.

Within discussions around intermarriage the issue arises of to what extent the ethnic minority groups will assimilate with the occurrence of intermarriage. The two perspectives outlined in this chapter stand at oppositional ends, Cohen (1969) sees intermarriage as sharpening ethnic divisions whilst Shinagawa and Pang (1988) argue that racial and ethnic divisions become less distinct with the process of intermarriage.

The statistics on intermarriage which have stemmed from the demographers, noted a sex imbalance in the frequency of intermarriage. A few sociologists have given brief accounts as to the cause of this sex imbalance, but nothing of an in-depth nature. This prominent pattern which has been widely noted has yet to be theorised comprehensively.

Theories within identity and ethnic identification have not traditionally conceptualised the process of intermarriage. In this section I discussed some of the theoretical debates and used the notion of plural identifications for the examination of intermarriage.

Chapter Two: Cypriot Immigrants in Great Britain

This chapter will contextualise the Greek-Cypriot ethnic group in Great Britain. I will begin by outlining the preconditions in Cyprus which led to migration to Great Britain. I will then explore the mechanisms through which Greek-Cypriot ethnicity was maintained in a foreign country. These mechanisms include employment, the church, social organisations and the family and kin network. This will contextualise the qualitative data analysis and discussion.

2.1: History of Cyprus

Cyprus is a small Mediterranean island, situated forty miles from Turkey. It has a history of colonisation due to its strategic positioning between the East and West. One of its most recent colonisers have been the Ottomans which held Cyprus from 1571 to 1878 (Anthias, 1983:76). In 1878 Cyprus came under British colonial rule, attaining Crown Colony status in 1925. Under British imperialism economy, social and political progress on the island was stagnant for long periods of time. The Second World War offered some prosperity to the island as it was of strategic importance and led to massive military expenditure, this generated some employment, but the effects were short term. Cyprus finally became independent in 1960 after many years of struggle with the British. Unfortunately this independence was short lived. In 1964 troubles began between the two main Cypriot communities, which was made up of eighty per cent Greek-Cypriots and eighteen per cent Turkish-Cypriots, the remaining two per cent were made up of Armenians and Maronites.

In 1974 Turkish troops invaded Cyprus following the Greek coup by the EOKA group and occupied thirty seven per cent of the island (Stavros, 1992:2). Since 1974 the Greek and Turkish Cypriots have lived apart, divided by the Green Line which passes through the capital city of Nicosia, the only divided capital in the world. Since 1974, Rauf Denktash the leader of the illegally occupied territory of Northern Cyprus has brought approximately 80,000 thousand mainland rural Turks to Cyprus, thus changing the demographic composition of the island and making it more difficult for a peace settlement and united island. In Great Britain, Greek and Turkish-Cypriots live together and have had very similar migratory experiences.

Historically, Cyprus was a rural community based on an agricultural economy. Geographical changes during the 1940s altered the structure of the economy. There was a rapid growth in urban population at the expense of rural areas. Small villages in Cyprus began to suffer at the result of this depopulation. Much of the island languished in rural poverty and unemployment. Many, particularly those from villages which lay beyond the orbit of the main towns, chose to emigrate. This created the environment for large scale migration to Great Britain in the 1950s and 1960s.

These are some of the factors which precludes the estimated figure of 120,000 migrant Cypriots living in Great Britain by 1974, (80% were Greek-Cypriot, the remaining 20% were Turkish-Cypriots, Cyprus High Commission, 1992). This also illustrates the relationship between urbanisation and emigration. Great Britain was the obvious migrant destination due to the colonial relationship Cyprus had with Great Britain.

2.2: Cypriots as Immigrants

In the 1930s a system of affidavits of support for Cypriot immigrants was set up by the Cyprus government with the approval of the colonial office (George and Millerson, 1966/7: 278). To satisfy the Cypriot government, those intending to emigrate needed a guarantor in Great Britain. In 1954 the affidavit system was abolished and migrants no longer needed a sponsor in Great Britain. Migration from Cyprus to Great Britain flowed freely from 1954 until 1962 when the New Commonwealth Immigrants Act was

introduced and led to a decline of migration from the New Commonwealth to Great Britain.

It has been noted that distinct groups chose to migrate from Cyprus to Great Britain. Constantinides (1977) identifies three Cypriot immigrant groups who are distinguished by status, education and reasons for migrating, there are some overlaps with each category. First were the officials of the Cyprus High Commission and other banking, trade and tourist offices. These posts were for long periods of time and some families chose to settle permanently in Great Britain. The second group were those who wished to study in Great Britain, or were employed by the Cypriot Government to work in welfare in areas with a dense Greek-Cypriot population. The third category, and by far the largest were those who migrated in order to improve their financial and social status (Constantinides, 1977:279). My interview sample come from families which exclusively fall within this final category, economics being the main incentive for migration.

The basic unit of migration was the young, single adult male. Men under the age of 30 years would migrate first, find a job and a place to live and then send for wives if married and other family members (King and Bridal, 1981:98). These observations are entrenched in discourses that discuss migration in the context of men and fail to recognise the input of women. My own observations of the Greek-Cypriot community and stories of migration often include cases of women coming to Great Britain alone and staying with a member of kin, or cases of employers in Great Britain sending for previous female employees from Cyprus and allowing them to stay in their home. Also, there are examples of employers helping female employees to find suitable partners and financially aiding the wedding.

The geographical distribution of Greek-Cypriots is quite significant in the light of how self reliant the community was in Great Britain. London was the most densely populated area for Greek-Cypriot immigrants. It was estimated in 1961 that eighty three per cent of all Greek-Cypriots lived in London. This is the highest concentration among the immigrant groups from the Commonwealth, (George and Millerson, 1967:280). In London it was areas such as Camden Town which accommodated the largest group of

Greek-Cypriots and was referred to as "Little Cyprus". As the community became more prosperous they moved to areas such as Islington, Hackney and Haringey. Some moved across the Thames to Southwark and Lambeth.

2.3: Early Life in Great Britain

The major source of employment for the Greek-Cypriot community when they arrived in Great Britain was the catering and clothing industry. Greek-Cypriot migrants took jobs which were low in pay and long in hours. The Greek-Cypriot community displayed high levels of entrepreneurship. It is estimated that twenty per cent of Greek-Cypriot men were self employed, which is more than twice the national average (Oakley, 1970:101). Oakley only recognises the entrepreneurship of men within the community and fails to note the vital efforts put in by women. Small businesses may have been registered in the name of the male spouse, but in reality the cheap labour of wives and children was an essential element to the businesses success (Anthias, 1992:102). The majority of Greek-Cypriot businesses were "one-man or small family enterprises" (Oakley, 1970:101).

Migration to Great Britain for women was positive with regards to employment. Issues of female labour were wrapped in ideologies around female sexual honour. Female employment implied the male was unable to support the family, which can cause loss of 'face' in the community (Josephides, 1988). In Great Britain this changed, and it was estimated in the late 1960s that as many as eighty per cent of Greek-Cypriot women were involved in the clothing industry (George and Millerson, 1967). Women's new role as employees was however exploited in many ways.

Many women were employed within the clothing industry as home workers or seamstresses on the factory floor. There are many factors which led to such a high proportion of women being employed in the 'ethnic economy'. Firstly, working for and with fellow Cypriots bypassed the obstacle of language, secondly, women could be flexible and work from home and provide child care, for it would not be financially feasible to employ child minders. Thirdly, working either from home or with co-

villagers imputes less gossip from community members and does not give rise to any dishonour.

Anthias (1983) examines the sexual divisions at work and the nature of Greek-Cypriot ethnic and economic adaptations by looking at the clothing industry. Firstly, women tend to be employees and men employers. Secondly, women are usually machinists, finishers or overlockers, whereas men take on positions of pressers or cutters, and finally men on the whole earn more than women (Anthias, 1983). However, both men and women fear redundancy if production is low, many employers do not pay national insurance contributions or are not registered. The result of this is that employees are not entitled to sick pay and have no retirement benefit to look forward to.

The relationship between employer and employee in these small and enclosed Cypriot dress factories "is underpinned by ethnic and familial networks. This makes infiltration by the organised unions very difficult" (Anthias, 1983:83/4). This further highlights the exploitative work environment. However, employers within the clothing industry are accountable to their boss and are exploited by them.

Despite the negative elements of the "ethnic economy" there are many women who are grateful for the opportunity of financial independence. For many, the Cypriot clothing industry is their only avenue for employment. They are thus exercising their right to earn an independent salary (Constantinides, 1972:280).

The "ethnic economy" provided for many Greek-Cypriots daily contact with family and co-villagers. Also there developed social and political organisations, community newspapers and in the 1980s a London Greek Radio station. All these provided a self reliant and insular ethnic group. Constantinides discusses the various factors which contributed to this "moral community" in her study (1977:297). She concludes that the reasons for a strong sense of ethnic identity among Cypriots is due to firstly, the high proportion of married couples and nuclear families that migrated and secondly the bulk of immigrants that arrived in a short space of time, from 1955 to 1962. A further analysis which could be made about Constantinides conclusions is that in the early days of migration there was a low incidence of intermarriage due to the insular nature of the

community and due to the that fact many migrated to Great Britain with their spouses. The low significance of intermarriage could also be deemed a contributory factor to what Constandinides defines as the “moral Community”.

2.4: Concepts of Marriage

Within the Greek-Cypriot community there is a heavy onus on marriage, especially for women. Josephides writes of the importance for women to marry as she states, it is "a tragic situation ... since there are very few roles available to her other than that of wife and Mother" (1988:35). For single women and their families there is the additional burden of providing a dowry, without which marriage prospects become far more limited.

Traditionally parents find marriage partners for their children through *proxenia*, which is an arranged meeting. These liaisons are usually set up by relatives or an acquaintant of the family. It is customary for the boy's family to visit the girl's family. It depends on how strict the two families are as to how long they can see one another before they come to a decision. If the decision is in favour of marriage then the two families come together to celebrate over food and drink. This meal symbolises a verbal agreement to marry, and the couple become *loyasmeni*.

The concept of honour is one of paramount importance to both men and women in the Greek-Cypriot community, particularly in Cyprus thirty and forty years ago. Anthias (1992) and Peristiany (1965) distinguishes between feminine and masculine honour. For men 'filiotimo' (honour) denotes self respect, conformity and ultimately to be able to control the behaviour of females within the family. Any immodest behaviour from the women reflects the lack of patriarchal control. Female honour 'timi', denotes sexual purity. She must safeguard her reputation and not give opportunity to the rise of gossip. As Juliet du Boulay notes "women are the potential victims to their own sexuality which they must be protected from and they are seen as essentially carnal. A woman's loss of honour is a reflection on the man who controls her. Men must therefore strive to keep their honour through the control of their family and 'their' women", (Anthias, 1982:235).

The older Greek-Cypriot community in Great Britain still hold on to the values around honour and sexual purity, which were prevalent at the time they migrated from Cyprus. In reality these values would be very difficult to uphold, particularly in British society. However, it is no longer deemed vitally important to marry with a co-villager. Partly because intra-ethnic marriage in Great Britain does not involve the transference of land or any economic gain in Cyprus, although there may be financial gains to be made in the British context. Also, the importance of marrying co-villagers has decreased due to the impracticality of this with Greek-Cypriots being such a small community, also with migration, village ties are secondary to ethnic ties.

2.5: The Second Generation

Second generation Greek-Cypriots born and brought up in a British environment, have gone through the British education system but equally experienced a Greek-Cypriot home life, which is highly pinged on family, trips to Cyprus, Greek food and the Greek language.

There has been little written about the second generation. In most studies of Greek-Cypriots the focus has been on migrants, with only a short discussion on the younger generation. Here, I shall discuss the limited research conducted on the younger Greek-Cypriots in Great Britain.

The first generation took employment predominately in the clothing and catering industry. Many parents hoped their children would continue the family business. Work conducted by Ladbury (1984), Josephides (1988) and Anthias (1992), found that many young Greek-Cypriots found themselves working within the 'ethnic economy' or within an all Cypriot environment.

Anthias (1992) found that many Greek-Cypriots rejected their Cypriotness at school. They chose to associate with English or other peers. However, once they tried to enter the labour market, they began to re-identify with being Cypriot. Explanations for this have followed that the youngsters face "difficulties of integrating economically and socially in British life and the problems they face as foreigners" and that "even where

British born Cypriots may speak English better than Greek ... they are still ethnic in the sense that their social relations are bound by the form of economic and social adaptation of their families within a new exclusionary social context" (Anthias, 1992:121/2).

This pattern of re-identification with ethnic groups was also noted by Ladbury (1984). Her findings which are based on the Turkish-Cypriot community, was that many young Cypriots sought employment in the 'ethnic economy' due to the lack of success in the open market. The reality for many of the Turkish-Cypriots, according to Ladbury is that they leave school with inadequate qualifications, and are faced with unemployment and do not see benefits as a viable option, so seek employment within the 'ethnic economy' sphere, despite having aspirations for other employment. Ladbury observes that "ethnic ties were being used by young Turkish-Cypriots to find employment, but only after they had failed in their own attempts to find a job independently of their ethnic network" (1984:122).

Another pull factor for Greek-Cypriots working within their own ethnic group has come about with the introduction of Section 11 funding and the promotion of multiculturalism. Josephides (1988) notes how despite many second generation Greek-Cypriots not wishing to work for Greek-Cypriot employers because of their perception of them as exploiters, many are involved in occupations such as social work, multicultural advisors and youth workers for the Greek-Cypriot community. Employment, however through local authority and employment with a clothing industry would differ greatly. The first is offering a service and not motivated by profit margins, the later is very much geared towards profit. It could be argued that what young Cypriots perceive as the clothing industry being exploitative is the result of their economic positioning and this exploitative trait is not ethnic group specific and does not transcend class echelons.

One of the greatest fears of the first generation is the eventual assimilation of the second generation. These fears have been prevalent for the past forty years. George and Millerson (1967) document extracts from the Vema newspaper, proclaiming such fears, one extract was as follows:

What has the Cypriot gained by coming to England? He has exchanged his language, his tradition, his national identity, even his own children, for a few pounds which he will probably soon lose. A very dear and unequal exchange indeed. In two generations there will be nothing left of the present thousands of Greek Cypriots but a few Anglicised Greek names. We, ourselves, have offered our conquerors the very same thing that they have been unsuccessfully trying to achieve for so many years.

(Vema, 1 June 1946)

Fears now surround issues of maintaining the Greek-Cypriot ethnic identity and passing this on to future generations. This is why intermarriage is a contentious issue. The limited research on attitudes towards intermarriage within the Greek-Cypriot community has found that most youngsters want to marry within the ethnic collectivity. This has been noted by Constantinides (1977), the youngsters felt they would have "more in common" (1977:294) with another Greek-Cypriot. This preference for marriage with a member of one's own ethnic collectivity has also been noted in South Asian youngsters in Great Britain. South Asian young women perceived black and white men as unreliable and felt they would not make faithful husbands. The majority in the study felt that one should marry within their own community (Wilson, 1978). This notion was also voiced in Brah's (1978) study of South Asian teenagers in Southall. This illustrates an overall acceptance and conforming behaviour of second generation youth when it comes to choice of marriage partners.

Josephides (1988) suggests that second generation Greek-Cypriots on the whole accept parental sanctions. The reason proposed for this conforming behaviour is that abided sanctions are rewarded materially. Youngsters are economically better off living at home where they are not expected to contribute to the household economy. Also, parents may provide material comforts such as a car, summer holidays to Cyprus and clothes. Josephides concludes that Greek-Cypriot women and men to a lesser degree, accept their parents values and feel secure in being part of the community (1988:52/3). However, Josephides bases her findings on speculation. There is no evidence to support her statements. Josephides assumes that all youngsters accept their parents values

unchallenged and that the experience of living in Great Britain does not problematise the acceptance of these values. She does not explore issues of inter-generational conflict and seek out areas of contention between youths and their parents. There is also little differentiation of family relations experienced by young men and women. Despite having discussed issues of female honour, virginity and sexual purity in her paper, Josephides has not highlighted or explored the possible effects of this within the family unit.

The notion that young Greek-Cypriots accept parental attitudes and values and adhere to these unquestioningly is problematic. It may appear that parental values are being upheld, but youngsters can conduct their interests in secrecy. They use friendship networks established through Greek school, Cypriot youth clubs and through school which are approved of by parents to carry out their own social agenda. These 'ethnic' environments provide a free space for the youngsters to conduct personal relationships, go clubbing, go to bars, smoke and drink. During a period of participant observation at a summer scheme in a north London Cypriot youth club, I noted how the parents were very pleased to send their children during the summer. One mother pointed out to me "it's nice they can be with other Greek children" (Anthias, forthcoming). The centre was perceived by some parents as a safe haven for their children to interact with other Greek-Cypriot children, safe from the immoral perils existent in English schools and from English and other children. Many of the youths however, would use the centre as an alibi, and go and meet friends at the local shopping centre, or would use the toilets to smoke or flirt with the opposite sex and form physical relationships. It was a constant battle for the youth workers to prevent couples hiding in secluded spaces in the building to be able to kiss and cuddle. This example illustrates how youngsters use the available mechanisms to form friendship networks, within their ethnic collectivity which meet parental approval, but then go on to pursue their own interests and desires.

Despite this negotiated freedom, many young Greek-Cypriots strongly differentiate themselves from their English peers, believing they lack in morals, unlike themselves. This progression or negotiation for more personal freedom especially for women, does not loosen the restrictions or attitudes towards intermarriage within the Cypriot community. Most young Greek-Cypriots think it is acceptable to intermarry, but prefer

not to personally. Those who do choose to intermarry, do so at a cost, as Anthias (1982) states:

Ethnic boundary definition is entailed by a whole system of sexual relations concerning who can marry whom which relates more rigidly to women than men. This works both in relation to control by the dominant group and also in relation to process of reproduction of the migrant group through restrictions on the marriage of say Greek-Cypriot women to non Greek-Cypriot men. The attempt to maintain ethnic reproduction can be linked to patriarchal control so that children of such women are not "lost" to the ethnic group (1982:267).

As can be seen the maintenance of the Greek-Cypriot identity in Great Britain is a contentious issue. Economic inter-relations keep many young Greek-Cypriots within the ethnic fold due to their disadvantaged economic positioning. Also the older generation attempt to maintain values imported from Cyprus to ensure the community is kept insular. The prospect of intermarriage is therefore perceived by many as quickening the process of assimilation.

2.6: Summary

Greek-Cypriots in Great Britain have maintained a distinct ethnic identity. Values from a more traditional era have been brought to Great Britain and modified in a British context. For second and third generation Greek-Cypriots concepts of shame and honour are still of importance, but have fewer ramifications if not totally upheld.

The Greek-Cypriot community have remained distinct through the development of the 'ethnic economy' which employs working class Cypriots and other ethnic minorities. Also, through close kinship ties and the activity of organisations and institutions, such as political groups, community newspapers, the London Greek Radio, youth clubs, village associations and Greek schools.

Having outlined the Greek-Cypriot migrant group which is relatively small in numbers, it becomes easier to fully comprehend the anxieties caused within families when an ethnic member decides to transcend the ethnic, religious or racial division in marriage or cohabitation.

Chapter Three: Methodology

As originally conceived the study is concerned with examining the process of intermarriage within the Greek-Cypriot community in Great Britain. In particular, I will be looking at how the Greek-Cypriot parents and siblings of those who intermarry/interrelationship react, and to outline their main concerns. I will also focus on the Greek-Cypriot partner of the intermarriage/relationship and how they identify with their ethnic collectivity, both when they were younger and in the present context. Finally I will look at the gendered factors, how the process of intermarriage is differentiated according to gender.

3.1: Research Methods Used

At the onset I decided to interview twelve Greek-Cypriots who had intermarried or were cohabiting with a non Greek-Cypriot. The sample I have based my analysis on is limited and by no means representative and will not enable me to make any generalisations. However, I do believe the richness of qualitative material will illustrate on a micro scale, the dynamic relations within inter marriage/relationships, in terms of the perceptions and constructions of ethnic identification which are felt by those who are involved in inter-ethnic unions.

In this case, as for most previous studies of intermarriages/relationships, no adequate sampling framework exists. There seemed little choice other than to use the 'snowballing' effect to access interviewees. This may lead to the sample being over representative of a particular class, political or social view point. Weisberg, Krosnick and Bowen (1989) define this method of gaining interviewees as "purposive samples". They argue that key people could be omitted from the sample which would make the

data less representative. Despite the possibilities of error in using this method, it seemed the only feasible method, for the following reasons. Firstly, the population of Greek-Cypriots in Great Britain who are intermarried or cohabiting with a non Greek-Cypriot is very small, a random approach to obtaining interviewees would be time consuming, with limited results. Secondly, those who are in such unions may be more reluctant to speak to a sociologist if approached directly and not via a friend. Finally, as my sample would be small irrespective of my methods of gaining interviewees, there was not the issue of me claiming to make any ground breaking theories.

I interviewed eight Greek-Cypriots, four men and four women. Their ages ranged between 21 and 31 years. The interviews were qualitative and semi-structured. I always tried to arrange a private and comfortable space for the interviews to take place in, always preferring the home of the interviewee. The interviews were fully transcribed. The names of interviewees were changed in order to secure confidentiality.

I fully support Oakley's (1981) emphasis on building a rapport with interviewees and not trying to establish a distanced and unbiased relationship. This however, can be achieved without giving out extensive information about the research which could possibly shape the respondents answers. I feel that the interviewer can express opinions and enter discussions with the interviewee without compromising the validity of the data. My experience of extensive interviewing for another research project has been that interviewees are more willing to disclose information if the interviewer themselves shares a little bit about their experiences. There is a sense of bartering with information, I believe this interaction gives the data a far more enriching texture.

Many debates have arisen around the researchers standpoint positioning and how a researchers class, gender and ethnicity can affect the dynamics of the interviewing process. My sample consisted of male and female Greek-Cypriots which is the ethnic group I also belong to. Many theorists strongly argue that it is far more methodologically sound if the sample and the interviewer are of the same ethnicity, therefore having a more in-depth understanding of their cultural background and having an insiders status. However, there are theories to the contrary of this, for example,

Rhodes (1994) feels that having "outsider" status can enable the researcher to access a different perspective, one which is not any less inferior to same 'race' interviews, merely different. Rhodes strongly argues against stringent matching of interviewer and interviewee according to 'race', as this could risk a form of academic marginalisation and the separation of "black people from mainstream research [which] reinforces their status as an exotic or, worse, alien group in society" (1994:554).

Standpoint epistemologists however, suggest that gender, race or disability should be matched in interviews. For example, feminist standpoint theorists argue that women should conduct research on women as they share a similar set of experiences and therefor produce different knowledge that would be produced by men. Ann Oakley (1981) relies on the notion of 'sisterhood' and assumes all women have some shared experiences. This perspective has heavily come under criticism. From a black feminist perspective Avta Brah (1993) asks "Is sisterhood global?", should one assume commonalities between women across cultures and political and economic experiences. Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992) also problematise the notion of 'sisterhood' by observing that not all women have commonality of interests and argue that "every feminist struggle has a specific ethnic (as well as class) context" (1992:107). White feminist standpoint theory assumes homogenous identities which are fixed and does not conceptualise multiple or complex identities (Hill Collins, 1990). Hall (1992) has suggested that identity is best viewed as a positioning between many variables such as class, 'race', age, and gender. Hall argues it is the articulation of these many factors which is of interest, and the prioritisation of any one limits insights. This is a valid point as to separate any one variable and to treat it in isolation will not give a holistic understanding of individual experiences.

From my experience, I would agree with Rhodes (1994) postulations and not give superior status to any one form of conducting ethnographic interviews. I also agree with Stuart Hall (1992), that the prioritisation of one identity variable leads to the essentialising of the subject and fails to recognise the articulation of many variables. Whatever your class, 'race', gender positioning, whether it is the same or different to those being researched will create a unique dynamic interaction. There is no way of ascertaining which combination will result in the most valid or truthful account. By all

accounts a successful interview could depend on individual nuances, whether one maintains lots of eye contact, or is friendly and easy to talk with, or whether the researcher smiles a lot, or how they are dressed or in which manner they approach the interview. All these factors can put the interviewee at ease and affect the success of an interview, but it is immeasurable to what extent.

The second phase of data gathering involved going to the Greek Orthodox Church's head quarters Thyateira House, in central London. There were stored all the marriages conducted by the Greek Orthodox church in Great Britain for the past thirty two years, since 1964. Records of marriages from before this date are kept by Saint Sophia.

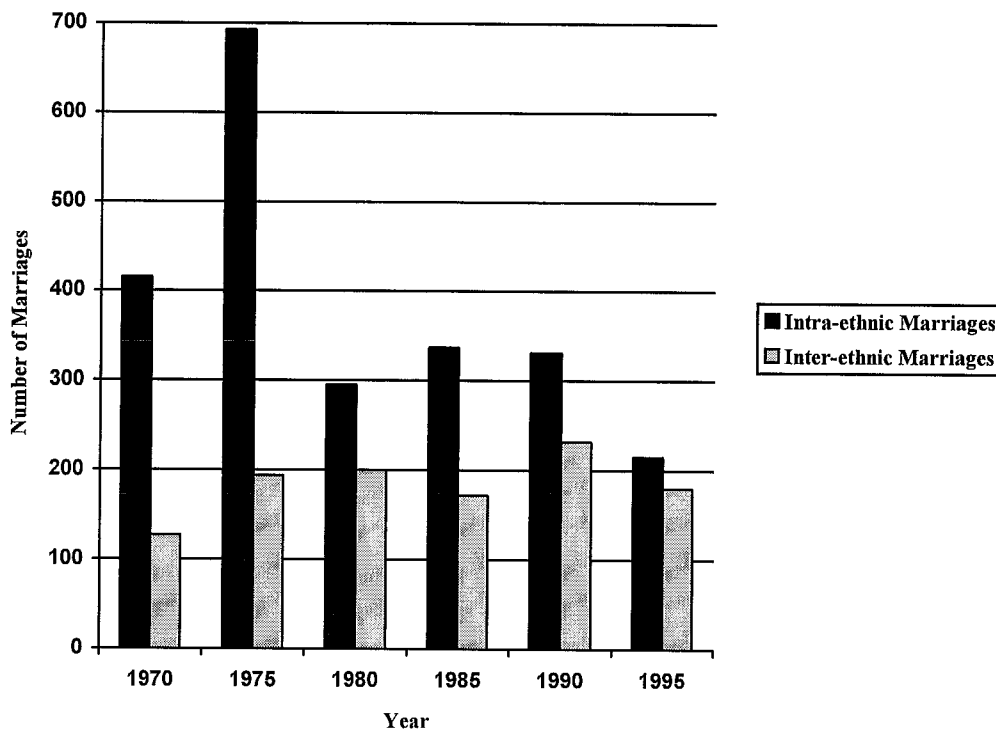
I analysed the many ledgers of marriage records, documenting the frequency of intermarriage and noting the gender of those involved. I concentrated on the period from 1970 to 1995, looking at five year intervals. I also visited a local church in South London and looked through their records and a similar sized church in North London, to identify regional differences. Later on in my data collection phase I decided to look at *who* Greek-Cypriots were marrying, whether they were drawn to members of the dominant society or to other members of minority ethnic groups. As a result, I only noted the ethnicity of the non-Cypriot partner when looking through the records of the North London church. Unfortunately I was unable to revisit my earlier source at Thyateira House as the records were no longer accessible.

The method I used for identifying intermarriage was by inspecting the names and recognising those which were not Greek. There were many inconsistencies in the recording of information, in some cases the ethnicity of the partners was stated, in others it was not. There were inconsistencies in whether age was stated and in which region the marriage took place.

This method of gaining statistical information is prone to much error. Firstly, relying on the recognition of non-Greek names, secondly the data is reliant on church records which were not consistently maintained, thirdly, does not recognise those who have opted for a civil marriage and fourthly, the data does not reflect inter-ethnic couples who cohabit. Finally, the records contained marriages from both the Greek-Cypriot

community and Greek community, however, the Greeks in Great Britain are very small in numbers. Despite these flaws in the statistical data, I feel it adds important demographic justification to my findings. There is at present no other statistical presentation of intermarriage within the Greek-Cypriot community in Great Britain. A summary of my findings can be seen in Table 1.1, which compares the rate of inter and intra-ethnic marriages in the Greek/Greek-Cypriot community in Britain.

Table 1.1 : The Rate of Intra-Ethnic and Inter-Ethnic Marriages within the Greek/Greek-Cypriot Community in Britain.



Source : Thyateira House, 1996

3.2: Sample Characteristics

My sample of empirical interviewees is made up of eight Greek-Cypriots. I originally aimed for twelve but found great difficulty in obtaining interested subjects. I was refused access to in-depth interviews on two occasions. The first was a man who had recently married an English woman; he did not give a reason for his non participation. The other case is more interesting. A female acquaintance of mine who is married to an Orthodox Sikh, felt uncomfortable talking about such a sensitive issue, particularly as issues of religion for their children had yet to be resolved.

Preconditions of those to be interviewed for the project were quite limited. I decided I wanted an equal number of male and female respondents in order to explore the gender dynamic, I also wanted all the sample to have been British born. I had no set guidelines for social class and educational attainment. All the sample were born and lived in London. The reason for keeping the criteria loose was because of the difficulty of firstly finding Greek-Cypriots in inter-ethnic relationships and secondly, them allowing me access to their homes to be interviewed. Half of the female and male sample were married, for periods between eight months and five years. It was their first marriage for all four. The other half of the sample were cohabiting, the lengths of their relationships spanned from two years to six years. All the relationships appeared to be committed and stable. Of the eight people in my sample, only Lenos who has been married for five years had a child. My sample is as follows:

Yiannis (30 years) married to Mandy (English)
Lenos (31 years) married to Nada (English)
Tony (26 years) cohabits with Naz (Pakistani)
Michael (24 years) cohabits with Lorraine (Black Caribbean)
Christina (21 years) Married to Chris (Welsh)
Yiota (24 years) married to Andrew (White Australian)
Anna (24 years) cohabits with Danny (English)
Artemis (24 years) cohabits with Stewart (English)

All of the sample had gone on to either further or higher education. Lenos, Tony, Yiota and Artemis all studied at University and completed their degrees. Michael and Christina left school after completing their A-levels and Yiannis and Anna completed vocational training courses. The entire sample were employed in various fields, such as journalist, youth worker, PhD student, engineer, teacher, legal secretary, estate agent and an administrator for the Metropolitan police. The class affiliations of my sample do not reflect the Greek-Cypriot community in Great Britain at large. Fifty per cent of the sample were educated to degree level and above, which is higher than average for the Greek-Cypriot community. This evidently is not an accurate representation of the community and will not illustrate the processes of intermarriage/relationships within the working class and those employed in catering and clothing industries within the 'ethnic economy'. This randomly collected sample reflects a disproportionate number from the middle echelons of the social ladder. Intermarriage being more prevalent in the middle and higher classes has been noted by Shinagawa and Pang (1988) for Asians in California, however, this class analysis has not been applied to the Greek-Cypriot community in Great Britain and remains an area of ambiguity.

Half of my sample were from the North of London, which has a higher concentration of Greek-Cypriots, and the other half were located in South London which has a smaller Greek-Cypriot community.

From the statistics I have obtained, there appears to be an insignificant differentiation between men and women's rates of intermarriage. It appears that Greek-Cypriot men and women marry out of the ethnic collectivity at the same rate. This point shall be further explored in Chapter Six.

Chapter Four: Reactions of Parents, Family and Greek-Cypriot Community

In the following chapter, I will examine the initial responses of the family of those who are intermarried or cohabiting with a non Greek-Cypriot partner. This can be fully understood by examining the response of parents and the community at large towards inter-ethnic marriages/relationships; exploring their fears and concerns and unpacking the motives behind their responses. This relates to the broader issue of maintaining a clearly defined ethnic group boundary and the sense of threat which is felt when an intermarriage/relationship is formed.

4.1: First Telling Parents

The starting point is from when the parents were first told of the inter-ethnic relationship. In six of the cases, parents were told together, the other two preferring to tell one parent before the other. The majority told their parents early on in the relationship, only Artemis, conducted her relationship in secret from her Father for five years.

Only two sets of parents accepted the news easily, five parents were not happy, but eventually came to accept it, and one set of parents to this day show extreme forms of hostility to their son, Tony and to his Pakistani partner, Naz. Although at the onset, Tony's parents were not too concerned, it was only as time passed their disapproval increased; Tony states,

They were not too worried in the beginning, they started getting more worried once it became more serious. They wanted me to marry a Cypriot girl, for them it is very important.

Within the Greek-Cypriot community, young men having personal relationships is accepted and to some extent encouraged. This confirms sexual virility within the male which is deemed a positive attribute. This can be seen cross-culturally, men who have many sexual conquests are 'studs' whilst women who have many sexual partners are perceived as 'whores'. In the example illustrated by Tony, this is clearly outlined. His parents assumed this was another short term relationship and were happy to accept this, despite his partner being non Greek-Cypriot. Their sons relationship proved he was heterosexual and able to sexually attract women. Sexual conquests do not taint young men's reputations, unlike for women, and men can easily come back within the ethnic fold and conduct relationships with Greek-Cypriot women. Tony's parents however, become concerned when the relationship became serious and when cohabiting was mentioned. The same relationship which at one stage was accepted, now became threatening and caused strong feelings of hostility from the parents. This pattern reoccurred within my male sample. For example, Yiannis, who is married to an English woman, said of his parents "they thought 'oh well another girlfriend' sort of thing. As it was getting serious I think it was getting to be a concern". This experience was also reiterated by Michael. This was specific to the male sample. For women the disapproval or disappointment of their relationship began from the onset.

This was not the case for all my male sample, with Lenos, his parents were happy at his marriage as she was an improvement on his last girlfriend and Michael who is in an inter-racial relationship, had no problems introducing his girlfriend. His Mother was totally supportive, and to a lesser extent so was his Father.

For the women in the sample the process was very different. Parents expressed concern at all stages of the relationship, its mere existence was an issue of contention in all four cases. Christina's experience of telling her Mother of her new Welsh boyfriend, was not very successful:

I tried telling my Mum about a month after, I said "what do you think of red hair", (her partner has red hair) she just hit the roof. She was being really horrible and it really made me cry, she knew there was someone I liked, she said "don't you dare bring them home, don't you dare", she really got annoyed.

Here it can be seen that Christina is concerned about her partners physical characteristics and how her Mother will react to his overt non Greek-Cypriot appearance. This raises issues of difference; how Tim will be perceived as not being an integrated member of the community due to his overt difference via, language, religion and cultural upbringing. This is further epitomised by his physical difference compared to the dark complexions of most Greek-Cypriots.

This initial disapproval from parents towards their siblings inter-ethnic relationship was expressed by all the respondents, however, to a mild extent for Michael. Artemis's Father's reaction was very hostile, she states:

At the beginning he threw a right wobbly! he threatened to throw me out if I didn't stop seeing him, so we sort of pretended that we had stopped seeing each other".

As for Yiota who is married to an Australian, her parents were equally unhappy over the news, her Father asked her "are you some kind of page three girl". This was followed by her Mothers concerns of "I don't understand how you can sleep with somebody before marriage". Following this outburst, Yiota's parents proceeded a period of silence, in which their disapproving views were made known but without the use of verbal communication. This example illustrates that Yiota's parents primary concern was that she had jeopardised her virginity and imputed her sexual honour. Yiota had demonstrated that she could independently seek out sexual relationships and not within the construct of the family unit.

Here, it is evident that issues of sexual honour come in to play for women, which do not for men. All four women from the sample were met with immediate obstacles, when they told parents of their relationship. Parents concerns were that their daughters had shamed the family by flouting their sexual moral duties, they had brought to the family a perceived 'outsider' and finally demonstrated that they had independently sought a sexual relationship.

Despite parental reactions ranging from mild acceptance to total rejection, the siblings of all the sample reacted favourably. In all the cases, siblings knew of the relationship before the parents and were on good terms with their brothers/sisters partner. This may reflect how the younger Greek-Cypriot generation are far more accepting of inter-ethnic unions. However, many of the siblings had themselves intermarried. From the sample of eight, four had older siblings who were in a committed inter-ethnic union. Three had siblings who were younger than themselves and had yet to embark on any relationship. The remaining one, Tony had younger brothers, one of which was engaged to a Greek-Cypriot women, the remaining two were single

4.2: Parents Main Concerns

It was noted that 75 per cent of my sample's parents put strong reasons forward as to why their son's/daughter's relationship or marriage was not a good idea, none of which were personal to the non Greek-Cypriot partner, but were social and cultural factors. The most common was that by marrying/cohabiting with a non Greek-Cypriot, they would lose their cultural identity. In five cases, this was put forward very strongly. For example, Tony spoke of the long and endless debates he had with his parents over his relationship with a Pakistani woman. For his parents, maintaining his Greek-Cypriot identity was paramount and was manifested in many of their decisions in life. Tony explains:

We moved to Cyprus to be brought up as Cypriots and have an identity, that was central to the move back.

Tony's parents took him and his three younger brothers to live in Cyprus when they were teenagers in order to instill a strong Greek-Cypriot identity. The family later returned to Great Britain for the purpose of education for their sons with the view of returning to Cyprus once their studies were complete. By Tony having a non Greek-Cypriot partner, his chances of returning to Cyprus with the rest of the family were limited. This was one of his parents main concerns. For many first generation Greek-Cypriots who migrated in the 1950s and 1960s, the move to Great Britain was seen as a temporary one. Many harbour hopes of eventually returning to Cyprus and taking their children with them. In the majority of cases, return to Cyprus is never accomplished. This consciousness of longing for one's homeland has been noted widely in migrant groups and termed as the "myth of return" by Muhammad (1979). However, for Tony's family return to Cyprus was a reality. Tony interprets his parents motives for return as follows:

They see the importance of the community, the preservation of the past, the preservation of our ethnic group, there are so few of us and we are going to get lost.

This highlights the sense of nationalistic pride Tony's parents felt towards their Greek-Cypriot ethnic identity. They perceived an intermarriage as a threat to their son's Greek-Cypriot identity and his potential children not being pure Greek-Cypriot blooded. This notion of losing one's ethnic identity through the process of intermarriage resonated through all the interviews. Yiannis's described his parents feelings as follows:

Their culture [is] gradually diminishing. They come to this country and all they have got left is their culture. If they see people marrying English people it will start to destroy it and water it down. I think the idea is to keep it pure, to pass it on. Ideally they would like to see me marry a Greek girl. Also their ideas of non Greeks... you know the stereotypes.

This statement also reflects how parents may perceive non Greek-Cypriot spouses through negative cultural stereotypes, such as that English women have no morals and

do not value the family. Yiannis' Mother coped with his marriage to an English woman by trying to make her more acceptable to the Greek-Cypriot community. This was achieved by suggesting she cooked Greek food, learned to speak the language and attended extended family functions; ultimately that she adopted the Greek-Cypriot culture and upheld cultural markers such as food and language. Yiannis succinctly states:

She would still try and enforce the Greekness in her, "try to learn a bit more Greek, try to do a bit more this", "this is the Greek way". They try as hard as they can to try and bring the kids up in a Greek way. They are getting scared, they are seeing the loss of their culture.

This notion of cultural preservation was equally voiced by the women in my sample. For Artemis's Father, his reasons for initially objecting were many, as Artemis illustrates:

He is quite a proud person, he is worried what other people are going to say. He just doesn't like English people I suppose at the end of the day, he thinks that they are not good enough for Greek people, they lead different lives which is fair enough but it does not mean they are better or worse. Most importantly he feels that you can't compromise between two cultures, it is one or the other with my Dad. He reckons I am going to forget about my culture and my kids are not going to speak Greek.

As can be seen, the main objections from parents towards the marriage/relationship, is the fear that their child will lose their cultural and ethnic identity. Furthermore, that the Greek-Cypriot community in Great Britain will slowly assimilate and become indistinguishable. Also, families are concerned with what other members of the community will think of the intermarriage and finally how some of the families will perceive the non Greek-Cypriot partner as inadequate, or some how inferior to the Greek-Cypriot ethnic group.

4.3: The Families Meet

In all eight cases, the non Greek-Cypriot partner had been introduced to their partners immediate family. In seven of the cases there existed good relations between the non Greek-Cypriot party and their partners family, however, Tony's Father in particular exhibited extreme hostility to Naz. An example of this would be for Tony's Father to leave the room when Naz enters. This behaviour prevents Tony from visiting his parents frequently, as he says:

I don't have the same freedom to visit, the fact they have this attitude makes me more restrained.

Tony and his partner cohabit, and do not necessarily believe in formal marriage. Tony's parents feel they still have the chance of influencing his choice because he is not yet legally married.

When Anna brought her partner home to meet her parents, her Mother also invited along extended family members:

He came down on the Sunday for dinner, and they really liked him, I was quite surprised. And then the whole family turned up after the meal as they knew that he was coming round.

Here, Anna's parents are adopting the Greek-Cypriot tradition of carrying out a meal to welcome someone to the family. This process is called 'loyasmata', which is a verbal contract between two families to ensure their children's future marriage. Anna's parents are trying to fulfill traditional processes as if it had been an intra-ethnic marriage. Also the parents are making public to their family that this is a serious relationship which will lead to marriage, hence trying to protect their daughters honour against rumours of her involvement in a casual relationship.

For Yiota and Artemis, first introductions to the family were awkward and strange and the two women felt uncomfortable. Yiota recalled the first time she took her partner to a family function:

The men always sit in one room and the women sit in another room, and he was with the men and I was with the women and every now and again I would keep flitting back thinking "God I cannot leave him, I better see what is happening"... It was hurtful to feel this kind of rejection, coldness or whatever, but he could stand up to it.

At this particular function the men and women informally segregated themselves. This is quite common at functions in people's homes, the men sit at the dining table while the women chat and tidy up either in the kitchen or in the living room. This common practice proved to be an additional strain for Yiota, as she could not translate to him conversations which were said in Greek or to simply explain certain attitudes. Yiota noted how the family excluded her partner, through mechanisms such as speaking in Greek or referring to subjects of which he had no knowledge.

Artemis's experiences of introducing Stewart to the extended community was equally discomfoting, she states:

I felt like I was walking around in the nude. All your life you are trying to hide this part of you and you have to watch every word you say and basically you feel it is life or death if anyone finds out and then all of a sudden Stewart is there and everyone knows and everyone is talking about it. I just could not understand what was going on. It felt too strange.

Artemis had kept her relationship secret from her Father for five years. This also meant not being open about the relationship with extended family. In these situations, it is common for youngsters to only tell cousins, or other young Greek-Cypriots. Confidentiality is usually maintained and older members tend to be oblivious to personal relationships.

It is clear that first introductions are never easy, particularly an inter-ethnic relationship in the Greek-Cypriot community. The parents try to be welcoming in

most cases, but discomfort does arise at extended family functions. There are processes of exclusion, through mainly language, or through informal segregation of the sexes which subsequently forces the non Greek-Cypriot partner to sit with unfamiliar people, without the support of their partner. The Greek-Cypriot partner can also experience a sense of treading in previously perceived forbidden territory, as was mentioned by Artemis. I will now go on to illustrate how the extended family and community responded to inter-ethnic unions as perceived by my data sample.

4.4: The Community's Perspective

This paper will use the term 'community' to refer to the Greek-Cypriots living in London who have formed a framework of interaction. This interaction is based around employment i.e. the 'ethnic economy', around kinship and village associations, weddings, Baptisms, living in areas of high Greek-Cypriot population, the Church, Mother tongue classes and through social events organised by various committees. The Greek-Cypriot community, since migration has formed a social network which is held together by the above mentioned mechanisms.

The way in which the larger Greek-Cypriot community responds to an intermarriage / relationship depends on various factors. Firstly, the gender of the Greek-Cypriot involved in an inter-ethnic union, and secondly, who they are choosing to have a relationship with, their racial, ethnic and religious positioning. Two men from my sample were in inter-racial relationships, one of which was also inter-religious. It appears that these unions incited the most negative reactions. Tony spoke of how he noticed some coldness when he told certain people of his relationship. Tony attributed this to the experience of racism young Greek-Cypriots face, and how instead of challenging it they look inwards, they try to identify with an extreme form of Greek-Cypriot nationalism. Michael also noted subtle comments from certain friends which could be perceived as racist, he gave the following example:

If we are driving and there is a black girl walking down the road he will point her out to me, "look there is one for you". I would look round and think just because she is black she is one for me.

Michael is perceived as being attracted to black women exclusively. For Michael's friend, the attraction is perceived as based on an exotic taste for the 'other'. This illustrates how Michael's partner is essentially defined through her racial positioning and how it is assumed that any black women would hold the same attraction for Michael.

For women the experience of inter-ethnic relationships has the additional burden of shame and this emerged significantly through my data. Christina felt this quite acutely as some family members mentioned the embarrassment of having an English person marry into the family, she states:

My Mum's family were being the most difficult, that is what I heard indirectly "why do I have to bring the family name down and marry an English person".

As can be seen the reaction of extended family and the community at large is not of immediate acceptance. Parents on the whole will try and accept the situation, but maintain a preference for a Greek-Cypriot partner for their siblings. In all the cases there was no conflict of personality, hostility was entirely based on their ethnic, religious or racial background.

The ideal situation for parents is if their siblings marry within the Greek-Cypriot ethnic collectivity. This is epitomised with a saying told to me by Lenos, which he heard from a neighbour, reiterating this hierarchy, it follows, "ie xeroteri Kyprea inea ie kaliteri Englesa" which translates as "the worst Cypriot woman is the best English woman".

4.5: Summary

This chapter has examined the varied responses parents have towards their son's or daughter's inter-ethnic relationship/marriage. Here is a summary of explanations which underlie parental hostility towards inter-ethnic relationships/marriages:

-
- (i) It threatens the ethnic boundary, i.e. future children will not be 'pure' Greek-Cypriot;
 - (ii) Fear of assimilation to British culture, the partner having no Greek-Cypriot cultural characteristics such as language, religion and food;
 - (iii) What will the 'community' say, fear of losing face in the community;
 - (iv) That the non Greek-Cypriot partner will be perceived as different, in areas of religion, culture, language, 'race', and possibly have different family values. All of these factors are seen to problematise integration into the family and community;
 - (v) For women, an inter-ethnic relationship/marriage reflects that she independently sought and carried out sexual relationships, therefore blatantly rejecting patriarchal control (within the ethnic collectivity) over her sexuality and consequently her reproductive rights.

Parental reaction was not gender neutral, the women in the sample experienced obstacles from the onset of the relationship, whilst the men, experienced obstacles once the relationship was perceived as serious. However, once the relationships had been formally established either through marriage or expectation of marriage, parents reactions did not differentiate according to gender. The reason for this is that women are not expected to be sexually active, therefore the news of having a boyfriend repudiates this. The women in my sample made it clear to their parents that their inter-ethnic relationship/marriage was serious which then led parents to the second issue at stake, the fact it was an inter-ethnic union.

From my sample of eight Greek-Cypriots, seven had been able to maintain good relationships with their parents and family throughout the process of introducing the non Greek-Cypriot partner, however, as has been made clearly evident inter-ethnic unions are merely tolerated and intra-ethnic unions are definitely preferred. The following chapter will explore how Greek-Cypriots who are in inter-ethnic unions perceive their own ethnic identity, and whether this influenced their choice of partner.

Chapter Five: Identification and Identity

This chapter will explore issues of ethnic identification of the Greek-Cypriot partner involved in an inter-ethnic relationship. Aspects that I will focus on are to what extent did they integrate with the Greek-Cypriot community when they were younger? What views did they hold towards inter-ethnic relationships? I will also explore whether they perceived Greek-Cypriot spouses in a positive or negative way. I will also investigate their attitudes towards the upbringing of children in an inter-ethnic relationship. This is to try and understand how they view their Greek-Cypriot identity and how they perceive intermarriage as affecting their involvement in the Greek-Cypriot community and their sense of identification. This will explore the accuracy of parental predictions of loss of culture when intermarriage occurs.

5.1: Interaction with Family

Interaction with family when young

My sample of eight Greek-Cypriots all talked about the involvement they had with extended family when they were younger. For some this was the only interaction they had with the Greek-Cypriot community as they lived in an area where there was a low concentration of Greek-Cypriots and/or just chose not to mix with them. Others took the opportunity of Greek school to form close friendships.

From my interview sample, only six extensively mixed with Greek-Cypriot families when they were younger. The main reasons put forward by the remaining sample was because there were not many Greek-Cypriot families living close by. The church and Greek school proved to be two areas of interaction for even those who lived in areas of

low concentration. This was the case for Yiota, who had many family friends and friends made through Greek school. However, Yiota had difficulties in maintaining these friendships as she was expected by members of her extended family to choose between her Greek and English friends. Yiota gives an example of the pressures she felt:

My cousin Elena said "do you want to go out on such a date" and I said "I can't, I'm going out with friends from school". My aunt turned around and said "why do you go out with English friends, what is wrong with your Greek friends".

Two important issues emerge from this example, firstly that a young Greek-Cypriot living in Great Britain *should* prefer and choose the company of members of their own ethnic collectivity who will reinforce their ethnic identification, secondly, it is implied that non Greek-Cypriot friends will be a bad influence and are inferior to Greek-Cypriot friendships. Yiota states:

Elena was allowed to go out clubbing with her friend Helen who was a Greek girl, but not with me. Helen was perceived as a *good Greek girl*, they go out and do Greek girl things, and little do their parents know.

This illustrates how certain members of the community assume that when youngsters are in the company of other Greek-Cypriots then they are behaving themselves, but if in the company of English friends then flouting all modesty. Youths however, form Greek-Cypriot friendships and then proceed to enjoy themselves the way they want to. With Greek-Cypriot friends, they can go to night clubs, bars and on holidays abroad with parental consent. This illustrates how second and third generation youths negotiate space with their parents, who feel more secure knowing they are mixing with their own ethnic collectivity. This was similar to the case of Anna, her parents prevented her from maintaining friendships with English girls and encouraged her to mix with Greek-Cypriot family and friends. These examples illustrate how important it is to maintain ones ethnic identity, which is perceived to be symbolised through social relations. To

have Greek-Cypriot friends affirms your positive identification with the Greek-Cypriot community.

The rest of the sample were fully integrated in the Greek-Cypriot community and with their family. Yiannis, Lenos and Artemis however, were quite critical towards the Greek-Cypriot community when they were younger and sometimes chose to exclude themselves from the community. These feelings however, changed as they became older. This will be discussed in more depth later on in the paper.

Interaction with family once inter-ethnic relationship formed

Once an inter-ethnic relationship has been formed and a decision to marry or to cohabit has been made, the non Greek-Cypriot partner becomes part of the family or at least known to them. I will explore in this section to what extent the Greek-Cypriot party to the relationship maintained contact with extended family members and the Greek-Cypriot community generally, once the inter-ethnic relationship had been formed.

Three of the women from my sample felt more alienated from the community since the establishment of their relationship. Each had complex reasons for feeling this alienation. Christina for example, articulated an incident of how Greek-Cypriot people treated her differently since her inter-ethnic marriage:

Topics of conversation change. My aunt and uncle are quite snobby, we went round one day and he was talking about this porcelain, he knew all these names and how much they are worth, I am totally out of the conversation. Topics like that where a Greek wouldn't even think about. You just don't talk about porcelain, so they do treat you differently, talk about different things.

Christina perceived this as an example of people treating her differently because of her inter-ethnic relationship, however, it would appear that this illustrates class difference. Christina has attributed the differences she has with Tim to their cultural and ethnic background. Her experiences of the Greek-Cypriot community which is predominately

working class, has been not to discuss subjects such as porcelain. This is not to undermine her feelings of alienation from the Greek-Cypriot community since her marriage to Tim, however this does illustrate how conscious Christina is of her inter-ethnic union and how she attributes subtle difference in peoples response to her marriage.

For Artemis her sense of distance from the Greek-Cypriot community came from how language excluded her partner, Stewart. This made Artemis feel excluded on her partners behalf as it became apparent how difficult it would be to integrate Stewart with her family and for it to be a pleasant experience for him. Also she felt less Greek, as Artemis explained:

I don't know the Greek songs that are out at the moment, I don't listen to Greek radio and I don't know the Greek current issues.

For Artemis being Greek-Cypriot is symbolised in her involvement with Greek-Cypriot people and Greek media. Artemis feels she cannot share Greek music and cultural life with her partner, however, this would appear to be a self imposed obstacle. Again this notion of feeling alienated from the community was reiterated by Anna, she felt more distanced from her ethnic community, as she stressed that they were only invited to Greek-Cypriot functions through her and not through her partner, her social involvement with the Greek-Cypriot community had not increased through marriage.

The fourth woman within my sample, Yiota, did not feel excluded from the Greek-Cypriot community due to her inter-ethnic marriage. She had made a conscious decision to only attend the weddings of people she cared about, secondly, she was in her final year of a degree and attributed her low interaction with the community to that and nothing more.

The male sample did not feel more alienated from the community as a result of their inter-ethnic relationship. Three of the male sample were directly involved in the community either through employment or through study, for example Lenos is the editor of one of the Greek-Cypriot community newspapers, Tony is a PhD student who

has chosen Cyprus as the focus of his study, and Michael is a youth worker at a Cypriot community centre. They all have daily contact with other Greek-Cypriots. Both Lenos and Tony, have predominantly Greek-Cypriot friendships. Yiannis, the last of the four male interviewees did not interact with other Greek-Cypriots but did not feel any less alienated from the community. The degree of interaction may be attributed to geographical location, Tony, Lenos and Michael all live in the north of London which has a large Greek-Cypriot community, whilst Yiannis lives in the south of London where the community is much smaller.

The literature outlined in Chapter One, of the marginal and deviant characteristics found in those who intermarry was not evident in my data findings. Despite the women feeling more distanced from the Greek-Cypriot community, they were not perceived as social outcasts. They still maintained strong relations with their family and were included at large social functions such as weddings and Baptisms. In relation to notions of those who intermarry being deviant, and associated with prostitution and crime, again this was not evident in my sample. All eight respondents were in employment and did not admit to having been involved in any criminal activity.

Experiences of family and community interaction were varied among my interviewees, a significant gendered pattern did however emerge. From my sample of four women, three felt alienated from the community since the public recognition of their inter-ethnic relationship/marriage. This was not felt by any of the male sample.

5.2: Ethnic Identity

Positive and Negative feelings towards being Greek-Cypriot

From the analysis of my sample, I have noted three differentiated ways of viewing ethnic identity. The first is that identification with one's own ethnic collectivity is rejected at an early stage, only to re-identify with their ethnic group at a later stage usually after their teen years. The second, is to have always experienced a positive identification with being Greek-Cypriot. The third, is to never have felt positive

identification with being Greek-Cypriot. I will now discuss these differentiated forms of ethnic identification providing examples.

The first process, of rejecting a positive identification of their ethnicity and then later re-identifying is not unique to my research, this has been extensively noted by Josephides (1988) and Anthias (1992) who argues that the re-identification process is spurred by the economic and social problems of integration the youth face once they leave the school environment. My sample illustrates these patterns but also some slight variations to Anthias theory. For example Yiota, felt she identified more with her Greek-Cypriotness once she was established in an inter-ethnic relationship. She states:

At the time you don't see what your parents are trying to reinforce in you, but when you get older you understand the values that they try and reinforce in you and you actually believe in them. I do believe that you have to look after your community. It doesn't have to be Greek how they saw it, but generally the community you are living in. I believe in the family very much because it is an important part of you, because if you don't have your family then who do you have really.

Artemis became aware of her ethnic difference at University, she states:

I realised I wasn't who I was trying to be, I realised that I couldn't really associate so much with the people around me and that was because at the end of the day my roots and heart were Greek and that is the way I thought.

Yiota and Artemis experienced no social or economic disadvantages, yet began to re-identify with their Greek-Cypriot ethnicity because they valued certain cultural practices. This is contrary to theories suggested by Anthias (1992) and Josephides (1988), it is more than the economic advantages which cause youngsters to re-identify with their ethnic grouping once they enter their middle years, but more of an awakening to their ethnicity. A possible explanation for this re-identification process is the realisation that these youngsters do not totally belong to the dominant ethnic group

either through the experience of racism and exclusion or through not being able to identify culturally with English and other peers. Therefore, values such as the family and maintaining the Greek language can become an important part of asserting ones identity even if there are no economic gains.

For Lenos however, the re-identification process was closely linked to social and economic problems of integration due to his foreignness. For Lenos there was an economic incentive to re-identify with his Cypriotness following his critical views of the community. His first employment was with Greek-Cypriots and this has continued ever since. He plans to become a Barrister, this decision has been encouraged by the fact that a Greek-Cypriot friend had offered to give him articles.

The second process of ethnic identification was voiced by Tony and Michael. They have always felt proud of being Greek-Cypriot and never rejected their ethnic identity during their school years or after. Both felt happy to participate with the Greek-Cypriot community through all stages of their life and did not hold negative perceptions of Greek-Cypriot people.

The final process I noted was experienced by only one person in my sample. Yiannis said he didn't feel Greek-Cypriot. When I asked him how and if his inter-ethnic marriage affected his ethnic identification, he replied:

Nothing has been taken away from me and nothing has been added, I am just as I was. Quite a good balance, being brought up English, English schools, English cultures, you take some of the good points and not the bad, some of the Greek good. As you get older you sift out the bad parts. I don't feel as if I am Greek. If you was to say to someone "what do you think Yiannis is like" they would say English.

Here Yiannis is quite adamant that both he and others would define him as English. However he does recognise that he has taken on board some of the positive aspects of the Greek-Cypriot culture and "sift[ed] out the bad parts".

Irrespective of how my sample has chosen to define themselves, they *all* felt they had experienced "the best of two worlds" in terms of their cultural experiences. For Artemis this was one of the main issues raised by her Father, that you had to either choose one or the other and by marrying a non Greek-Cypriot, you were rejecting your own ethnic identity. Her response to his views were as follows:

I can't see why you can't have a compromise, why you can't have the best of both worlds.

Yiota also felt very comfortable with a multi-faceted identity, she states:

My identity is like a mixture, but that is not to say I don't know who I am because I do. It is just the person that counts, just the fact I am Greek and was born in England makes me a richer person.

The literature of old which reiterates the "caught between two cultures" syndrome does not apply to my sample and the idiom should instead be replaced with "having the best of both (or more) worlds". This section has illustrated the fluidity of identity and identification with ethnic collectivity. More in-depth discussions around identity can be found in Anthias (1992), Back (1996), Hall (1990), and Parker (1995).

Early views towards intra-ethnic marriages, positive and negative stereotypes

I felt it would be interesting to note how my respondents felt about Greek-Cypriot intra-ethnic marriages when they were younger and whether any patterns emerged. What I found was that six of the eight interviewees voiced negative stereotypical characteristics of Greek-Cypriot spouses. For some this view was critically discarded as they got older, however, some still felt there were identifiable Greek-Cypriot characteristics which were not appealing to them in a prospective partner.

The negative stereotypes were gender specific. For two of the women, it was felt that Greek-Cypriot men would restrict their partners freedom and have certain domestic expectations, for example Anna states:

There is no way a Greek man would accept me going out on my own, without him or with some girls, going out for drinks.

Anna did differentiate between Greek-Cypriot men and did not view them as a homogenous group, but equally had noted certain sexist characteristics within the community. For Christina this was felt more strongly. She had a firm understanding of what would be expected of her if she married a Greek-Cypriot man, she states:

If I had married a Cypriot man, no matter how liberal he thought he was, no matter how many non Cypriot girls he went out with, if he married a Cypriot girl he maybe would expect Cypriot favours, like dinner on the table and all that stuff. I have seen it happen where people just step into Cypriot mode. Mode Cypriot man, mode Cypriot woman, you get your butt in gear and get the cooking on!

Yiota's negative views of Greek-Cypriot men stemmed from her perception of them being too mollycoddled. She held strong feminist views, and believed a relationship should be about shared responsibility, which she felt a Greek-Cypriot man would not be able to adhere to. The last of the female respondents did not voice any negative stereotypes and when she was younger assumed she would marry within her ethnic group.

Negative depiction's of Greek-Cypriot women were quite different to those applied to Greek-Cypriot men. It was felt by the male sample that the family was too controlling, or that due to the women's restrictive upbringing they would not be very stimulating. These attitudes were voiced by three of the four male respondents. For Michael, an early experience with a Greek-Cypriot girlfriend put him off forming such relationships in the future. Michael's experience is as follows:

We arranged to go out and it turned out that her Dad once worked with my Granddad, they were on the phone, it was madness! I went to visit my grandparents and they said "are you going out with Androulla".

Every time I went round there they were asking me what was going on, her Mum phoning my Mum.

The young woman's family became involved in the relationship and wanted confirmation from Michael's family that he had honourable intentions and more importantly that the relationship was of a long term nature. The pressure from the families led to Michael terminating the newly developed relationship. This confirmed for Michael the difficulties of having a relationship with a Greek-Cypriot women due to issues of honour and marriage and never again pursued such a relationship. Yiannis also felt restraints imposed on him by the family and felt quite hostile towards Greek-Cypriot ethnic members:

As much as people think Greek families are warm, they are not. They are warm as long as you go their way. They will invite you in and say you are welcome but once you are part of the family they are very much "you've got to do what they tell you to do".

Again this notion of the family trying to control the lives of their off-spring was felt, particularly in relation to marriage as it becomes an extended family affair. Tony, the last of the male respondents did not voice any stereotypes of Greek-Cypriot spouses. However, he was critical of the ideology behind intra-ethnic marriages. His family had emphasised the importance of marrying someone he could identify with, he states:

If you want to marry someone you want to identify with why don't you marry your sister. Identification is not ethnic or cultural.

I found that 75 per cent of my sample perceived negative characteristics in Greek-Cypriot partners and these characteristics were not gender neutral. Greek-Cypriot women are perceived to be dominated by the family, to expect marriage after a short period of courting due to family pressure and intellectually unstimulating. The Greek-Cypriot men are perceived to be chauvinistic and expect to be dependent on their partner to care for all their needs. There could be a link between early negative perceptions of

Greek-Cypriot spouses and the increased chances of entering a committed inter-ethnic relationship/marriage.

However, there would need to be further research with young Greek-Cypriots who do marry intra-ethnically to fully explore these processes and to identify differences and similarities with inter-ethnic unions. One cannot extrapolate from these limited findings conclusively, that early negative perceptions of Greek-Cypriot spouses lead to an increased tendency towards inter-ethnic marriages and relationships.

Having to prove your Greek-Cypriot ethnicity

The establishment of an inter-ethnic relationship can result in family, extended and immediate watching and assessing to what extent you assert your Greek-Cypriot identity and whether this assertion has decreased due to the relationship. This is observed through your participation with the Church, family, speaking Greek, what food you cook and eat and whether you have alienated yourself from the Greek-Cypriot community. An example of this was given by Anna:

My mum always says to me silly things like "you never go to church" and things like that. I never used to go to church when I was at home.

Anna is expected by her Mother to display a very public and overt interest in Greek-Cypriot cultural and religious events. She is pressurised to make a public statement which is contrary to the common view that those who intermarry assimilate into the dominant culture. If Anna had been intra-ethnically married, it would not have been so important that she attends religious events, her belonging to the Greek-Cypriot community would have been normalised. This process of asserting ones ethnicity through public cultural markers is not gender neutral. Yuval-Davis and Anthias (1989) argue that women have a specific role to play within the state, they are the reproducers of members of the ethnic collectivity, reproducers of ethnic boundaries and the transmitters of culture. The role of women is to ensure the future reproduction of members of the ethnic collectivity with the ascribed cultural norms. This illustrates the necessity for women to participate in these cultural activities and explains why it is

important to Anna's Mother that her daughter attend church. Anna is the key to passing on Greek-Cypriot cultural values, and defining the ethnic collectivity.

The men from my sample did not experience this pressure to overtly participate in Greek-Cypriot cultural activities which illustrates the gendered dimension of intermarriage.

The non Greek-Cypriot partner and issues of their ethnic identity

The non Greek-Cypriot partners of those who intermarry are also affected by how the Greek-Cypriot community perceives inter-ethnic relationships. From my interview sample, the non Greek-Cypriot partner showed many examples of conceding to Greek-Cypriot cultural expectations. For example, of the four married couples in my sample all were married in the Greek Orthodox church, followed by a large reception with a sit down meal. Traditional aspects were kept at the reception, such as the pinning of money on the bride and groom and having Greek music. In the case of three of these marriages, the non Greek-Cypriot partner had not been christened previously. Anna and Christina's partners were christened within the Greek Orthodox church to enable the religious ceremony and Lenos's partner was Baptised within the Church of England faith.

Within my sample it is evident that the Greek Orthodox faith was more dominant than that of the non Greek-Cypriot partners. All marriages had been conducted within the Greek Orthodox church, and both Artemis and Anna, who are presently cohabiting wanted a Greek Orthodox religious ceremony. The remaining two of the sample, Tony and Michael did not express a desire for a Greek religious ceremony. In fact Tony was quite clear that his was a secular relationship. This finding also reflects the gender differences. It would appear that it was more important for the women in the sample to marry within the Greek Orthodox church. This relates to the arguments put forward by Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1989) discussed earlier, i.e. that there is more emphasis for women to fully participate in cultural and ethnic markers, such as the church.

There was little resistance from the non Greek-Cypriot partner in terms of accepting the Greek-Cypriot family and some of the cultural values, in all but one of the cases. Christina's partner Tim however, did begin to feel over powered by Christina's enforcement of the Greek-Cypriot way of life and particularly her enforcement of religious doctrine. Tim in response asserted his Welsh ethnicity, Christina states:

Before he met me he probably couldn't give a toss about the Celts or the Welsh or the Scott's, it only suited him to bring it up every now and again. But because us Greeks are very sort of "us Greeks" you know, and with Chris it's like "us Taffies". He brings it up when we are talking about something else which is totally Greek.

This illustrates how ethnicity became important to Tim, when it juxtaposed another. Tim felt that his ethnic identity was being forgotten and his partners Greek-Cypriot ethnicity deemed more important.

There were also issues involved for Artemis's partner Stewart, who felt he was considered not good enough for Artemis because he was English. This was due to their relationship being conducted secretly for many years and the initial adverse reaction from Artemis's Father. For the other couples the non Greek-Cypriot partner felt comfortable with their partners ethnic identification. Lenos's Mother-in-law however, was concerned that her daughter was becoming a Greek wife, but this was not felt by Nada and did not seem to interfere with their relationship.

What about the children?

Opinion which is adverse to mixed unions can focus on the potential harm the relationship may have on the children. It is thought the children will experience confusion through not having a clearly defined identity and generally be mentally unstable. Anne Wilson's (1987) work conducted in this area, looked at mixed race children and found none of the above negative characteristics within her sample of children. Wilson (1987) argued that children of mixed race integrate far easier in schools, forming friendships with white, black and mixed race children.

The research material I gathered focused on issues around the eventuality of children, their cultural, linguistic and religious upbringing. For seven of my respondents this was based hypothetically, Lenos and his partner were the only ones to have a young daughter. The analysis of this data disclosed a gendered configuration towards decisions made about children's cultural upbringing. The four women from the sample all expressed the desire to have their children christened in the Greek Orthodox faith, although for varying reasons. For Christina it was a firm decision that her children should be christened in the Greek Orthodox church and be given traditional Greek names; for her there was to be no compromise.

He (her husband) did say at one point "we shouldn't get our kids christened, let them make their own mind up" which totally pissed me off. I said "no", I said "they are going to be christened and they are going to be christened Orthodox".

However, for Yiota it was less of a personal imperative and more of a way to please her parents, as she states:

I will do it to please my parents, I don't see the harm in it, I would bring them up in a Christian environment.

It was equally important for the female respondents to teach prospective children the Greek language and for them to have a Greek-Cypriot identity. Yiota stated how ideally

she would like her Mother to look after her children during the day in order for them to learn the language. This illustrates how Yiota perceives herself to not be able to carry out this task. Also how she does not want the Greek-Cypriot language and culture to be eradicated.

This desire was not as urgently felt by the male respondents. Lenos's daughter had not been christened despite his Mother's gentle pleading. Tony had strong secular views, Yiannis did not believe in christening children and believed they should have the choice and for Michael this was a matter of little importance which he had given no thought to. The comparisons between the male and female sample were quite stark. This finding is related to discourses around the role of women as culture bearers and to notions of how women reproduce the ethnic collectivity through religion, language, culture and food (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1989). This will be further expanded upon in Chapter Six when I will concentrate more closely on the gendered differences in relation to intermarriage.

Transethnic commonalities

Minority ethnic groups in Great Britain are estimated at 5.7 per cent of the total population (Social Focus, 1996). London is the most densely populated city in Great Britain with minority ethnics. An area of little research has been the relationships *between* minority ethnic groups and the exploration of whether there are any shared experiences due to their migrant status, or commonalities due to their economically disadvantaged positioning and through the experiences of racism and exclusion. One method of ascertaining transethnic commonalities is through the process of intermarriage, i.e. who are Greek-Cypriots choosing to marry when they cross the ethnic boundary? This can be explored through studying the ethnographic material and analysing the statistics gained through the records of marriage kept at the offices of the Greek Orthodox Church, Thyateira House.

Only three of the interviewees were in relationships with English people, that is Anna, Artemis and Lambros. Yianni's partner was a quarter black, but culturally defined herself as English. Christina's partner was Welsh and Yiota's was white Australian.

Both Michael and Tony were involved in inter-racial relationships, Michael's partner was black, from the Caribbean and Tony's partner was Pakistani. From this limited data it is difficult to draw any quantifiable conclusions, but having gone through the material in detail, certain observational comments can be made. The two interviewees who expressed notions of transethnic commonalities were Michael and Tony. Common features were food, having another homeland, family, both being defined by the dominant society as foreign and through the experiences of racism. When I asked Michael how he perceived his partner to be different from an English girlfriend, he stated:

I think she will be different... just in terms of attitude and where she is coming from.

I asked Michael to further articulate this point, he replied:

Again the cooking. She is a wicked cook, it is not beans on toast or nothing like that. Maybe it is inbred into people that are not white English, just a sort of attitude or mentality that is different.

For Michael, there is a shared sense of commonality between members of minority ethnic groups. He speaks of the food, and implies that English people do not have a recognised cuisine and eat food that is easy to prepare and is bland and uninteresting, unlike minority ethnics who cook elaborate dishes. Michael also recognises a difference in attitude or mentality, which he cannot further articulate. One possible meaning which he may be referring to is the experience of racism, how being foreign alters your social experience. This was outlined in detail in Chapter Two for the Greek-Cypriot community, i.e. how this group were disadvantaged economically and the consequences of this.

Within certain members of minority ethnic groups it is deemed a betrayal to have personal relationships with English people. This was not voiced within the Greek-Cypriot sample but Michael reflected the experiences of his girlfriend, and comments on how she was perceived by her ethnic community, he states:

[A] few people that she knows have said to her "how can you go out with a white boy" she says he is not white, he is not English, she says he is Cypriot, he is in the same boat as us.

This poignantly illustrates how racial identities are viewed as polarised. Michael was perceived by certain members of the black community as white and not part of a racialised ethnic group. The category 'black' however, would be problematic if it claimed to represent all ethnic minorities. The deconstructionist arguments note that there are just as many differences within minority ethnics as there are shared experiences. This poignantly highlights the ambiguous status of Greek-Cypriots, when racial and ethnic identities are viewed as polarised and not as a spectrum of racialised identities.

The common experience of racism was a factor mentioned by Tony, he states:

I think they think we are black, you are all the same, so if anything we feel we have a common enemy which is racism from racists and white supremacists.

Once again the categorising of black and white emerges, this notion of racial identities being at polar opposites. Tony perceives himself as black, and believes those from the dominant ethnic group perceive all foreigners as black and do not distinguish between the different ethnic groupings. This perspective was not voiced by any other members of the sample, however, they recognised their minority ethnic status and the disadvantages this brought.

Only Michael and Tony overtly stressed transethnic commonalities. Others however, did vocalise thoughts of how they had more in common with other Greek-Cypriots. Both Lenos and Christina felt there were things only a fellow Greek-Cypriot could understand. For example, Christina was very involved with the Greek Orthodox church and attends bible classes and she felt that her partner did not understand her religious affiliation and mocked this. Christina attributed his behaviour to his non Greek-Cypriot

ethnicity. There are others factors which Christina believes to be essentially ethnic characteristics, she states:

I find him quite cold, I don't know if that would have been the same with a Greek but the majority of Greeks are warm because of their upbringing.

Christina views Greek-Cypriots to have essentialist characteristics, for her they are more open to the Christian faith and more warm and friendly. By default, her perceptions of English people are of being infidels and quite cold. However, not all the interviewees had such essentialist and homogenous perceptions of other ethnic groups. For Yiota characteristics were not ethnically determined, she explains:

I don't think there is a difference really whether he was Australian or German, French or whatever. It is universal, it doesn't matter what nationality you are.

This perspective was voiced by Yiannis and Artemis, the final interviewee, Anna did not express any views on the subject.

As has been illustrated in Chapter One, a huge amount of the literature on inter-ethnic marriages has focused on the assumption that these marriages represent the melting pot ideology or assimilation to the dominant culture. The view that people choosing to have relationships with members of different ethnic, religious and racial backgrounds implies a move towards greater acceptance, and a process of assimilation. The work of Benson (1981) looked at inter-racial couples in Brixton and documented examples of white women in such relationships voicing racist discourses. One woman for example did not like her mixed race child to play with the black children as she perceived them as dirty and rude (Benson, 1981). This hypocrisy became evident within my research material.

In the course of the interview, I asked questions regarding their views on inter-racial and inter-religious relationships/marriages. The responses were quite varied. Two of the female respondents expressed the most non accepting perspective. For Christina it was inter-religious marriages which she disagreed with, particularly marriages with Muslims.

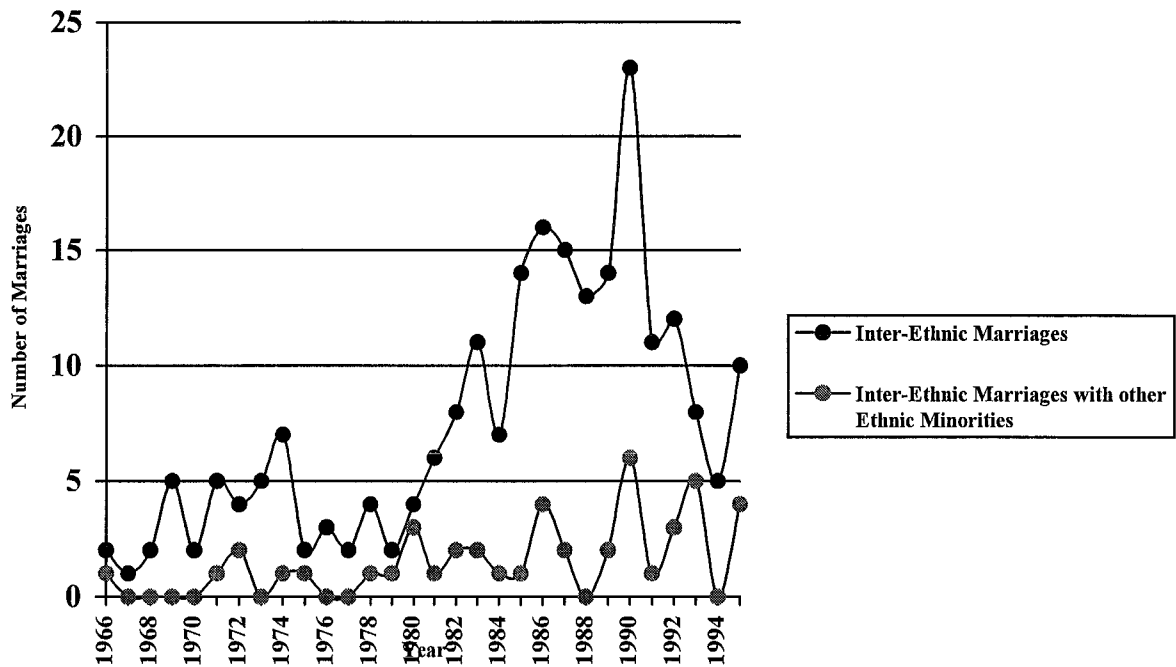
Her opinions of the Islamic faith were very derogatory. Her views however, on inter-racial marriages were very positive, believing that if two people loved one another it was fine. In contrast to this Anna believed inter-religious marriages to be acceptable according to romantic notions of “love conquers all”, but her views towards inter-racial relationships were far less tolerant:

I think it is mainly the Asian and Black that I wouldn't like but any other would be OK. I think it is the colour issue. I'm not racist, I've got friends or what ever.

This reiterates the findings of Benson (1981). Those who cross divisions of ethnicity in terms of marriage are not necessarily moving towards a more accepting environment. This example illustrates how neither Christina or Anna could extrapolate from their own experiences of an inter-ethnic relationship and the various obstacles they faced and apply it to other forms of crossing social divisions. Both Yiannis and Yiota felt that crossing religious boundaries could potentially cause problems, but felt that inter-racial unions were totally acceptable. For the remaining four interviewees, inter-racial and inter-religious relationships were thought to be down to individual choice.

The graph below shows the rate of intermarriage for Greek-Cypriots and which of those are marriages to members of other ethnic minority groups. These findings were based on one church's marriage records.

Table 1.2 : Greek/Greek-Cypriot Intermarriages with Members of Other Ethnic Minority Groups in Great Britain.



Source: St John’s Greek Orthodox Church, Wightman Road, N8

During the period from 1966 to 1995, 1,021 marriages took place in St John’s church which is in north London. Of these 1,021 marriages, 798 were intra-ethnic marriages and 223 were inter-ethnic marriages, therefore 28 per cent of the marriages were inter-ethnic. Within the sample of inter-ethnic marriages it is estimated that 20 per cent are marriages between a Greek/Greek-Cypriot and a member of another ethnic minority. It is difficult to ascertain whether these statistics reflect a tendency of Greek-Cypriots to marry members of other ethnic minority groups when they marry out of their own ethnic collectivity. It was however, found that approximately 20 per cent of intermarriages were with members of other ethnic minorities, therefore 80 per cent of intermarriages were to members of the ethnic majority. The qualitative data did reflect notions of commonalities with either members of other minority groups or with members of own ethnic collectivity, although it is problematic to use the quantitative statistics as supporting evidence of this. The limited evidence does not allow for any conclusive

findings and further research would need to be done to fully understand the process of transethnic bonds and how this manifests in relation to intermarriage.

5.3: Some Reflections; Differences and Similarities

Extensive literatur

relationship and does not focus on what sustains the relationship in a positive way. This section sets out to challenge the assumed pathology of intermarriage as outlined in Chapter One and highlight the commonalities within the union and some of the positive aspects. By using different criteria for measurement other than ethnic, religious or racial background then in many ways the couple would be viewed as homogenous. Those who intermarry may have a similar class background and share the same political views, or share views on religious ideology. There were homogenising characteristics within the relationships which emerged from the sample. Each respondent discussed how they had met their partner, how they had common interests, common views on religion, similar occupations or educational background.

Tony and his partner met at University, and were both studying the same course. Both share the same political views and both have adopted secular attitudes towards religion and neither practice their faith. By applying a different criteria of measurement, one could ascertain that Tony and his partner were homogenous in many areas. This was the case for all the sample, Artemis and her partner lived in the same town, went to the same school and both studied A-levels together and Yiota and her partner are both teachers and share an interest in theatre and the arts. Michael, Yiannis, Anna and Christina all met their partners through a mutual friend. I sensed only one relationship to contain tensions over social divisions, this was the case of Christina and her husband Tim. There was contention over the issue of religion, Christina was very Orthodox in her beliefs, whilst Tim proclaimed to be an atheist. Despite their differences, Christina still could never envisage life without Tim and felt no regrets over her decision to marry. These are aspects which are not often highlighted in many studies conducted on intermarriage.

Nevertheless, some disadvantages and advantages within the relationships did surface during the course of the interview. The most prominent negative aspect was how each partner held different values towards family, this was mentioned by both Anna and Christina. For Anna it was a case of her parents expecting to spend lots of time with their new in-laws, by sharing meals and spending Sundays together. Anna's parents invited their in-laws for meals but the gesture was never reciprocated. Anna did not particularly feel uncomfortable over the situation, but did express this as an area of tension with her parents. This illustrates how within the Greek-Cypriot community marriage is not an affair perceived to be between two people but seen to be the bringing together of two families. Due to Anna's inter-ethnic relationship, her parents had to accept in-laws with very different boundary definitions of family. Anna's parents perceived this as their lack of hospitality. For Christina however, the issue was directed at her partner, she states:

I think it is wrong for him not to represent us as a couple and for me to go on my own. Yet I know if he was to ask me out and I was to say no, he would say "OK".

Christina felt her partner did not value the importance of 'showing your face' at family functions. She told me of an example when he refused to attend a wedding with her, even though a table had been reserved for them. Tim had noticed that Greek-Cypriot people stared at him, he felt this was because he physically stood out due to his red hair. Christina felt very let down by this incident and illustrated to her how they perceived family obligations very differently. Tim saw things from an individualistic perspective, feeling he should only do things if he wanted to, where as Christina was governed by family obligation and what people would think if she affronted family functions. Again, as above the boundaries of personal space and family are perceived differently by Christina and Tim.

The issue of hospitality was raised by Yiannis, he had come from a family which was open to guests at all hours and without prior arrangements. When Yiannis first began to live with his wife he found it very different from his parents home. Melanie expected guests to make appointments when visiting and was not willing to have extended family

to dinner at weekends. Again, the boundaries of family obligation are defined differently. These examples illustrate how the role and importance of the family is constructed differently in each ethnic group, however, the unprompted comments of the positive elements of the relationship far outweighed the negative.

Two of the female respondents expressed how they felt they had more personal freedom, being in a relationship with a non Greek-Cypriot and for Lenos it offered a broader vision towards life, he says:

It helps me appreciate all aspects of life, I can see life through the eyes of a non Cypriot person and through the eyes of a Cypriot person and I feel I can perhaps make more informative decisions.

This illustrates the process of the mixing of cultures, the hybridisation of ethnic experiences. This was reiterated by Michael:

I have learnt a lot from my girlfriend just by the fact I am with her. Same way she learnt a lot from me and what my family is about, you get so much knowledge and information just being around that, you don't have to be taught.

This hybridisation, to use Hall's terminology, can be taken further and applied to members of minority ethnic groups in Great Britain who then proceed to have relationships with members of other minority groups. Michael feels enriched by having had a dual cultural upbringing and now experiencing his partners cultural background. This illustrates the complex interplay of cultural processes.

5.5: Summary

This chapter has looked at varied aspects of ethnic identification; some of which have been gender specific. Here is a summary of the key findings:

(i) The sample of Greek-Cypriots involved in inter-ethnic relationships, were fully integrated in the community when they were young. The main sources of contact with the ethnic collectivity was through family, Greek school and the Church. For the women it was particularly felt by their parents that they should form friendships within the Greek-Cypriot community and not with English school friends who may influence them and cause a conflict of interest with parents.

(ii) The men's involvement with the community did not decrease after the formation of the relationship, however the women stressed they felt more alienated from the community since the establishment of their inter-ethnic relationship. This gendered differentiation relates to the specific relationship women have to the reproduction of ethnic members. The female sample however, did not correlate with Cohen's (1969) notions of marginality. Neither did my sample fit the description of social deviants as portrayed by Freeman (1955) and Merton (1941).

(iii) I explored how the sample viewed their ethnic identity. Three perspectives emerged, those who began to re-identify with their ethnic collectivity in their late teens, those who always strongly identified with being Greek-Cypriot, and one respondent who did not strongly identify with his ethnic background at any point. All the sample spoke of having the best of both worlds, which contradicts early studies of ethnic identification among minorities which conclude these youngsters were confused and "caught between two cultures".

(iv) I looked at early perceptions of intra-ethnic marriages and found that three quarters of my sample held negative stereotypes of Greek-Cypriot spouses when they were younger. The women felt that Greek-Cypriot men would not allow their partners freedom and the men perceived a Greek-Cypriot wife to be nagging, controlled by her family and not very mentally stimulating due to her restricted upbringing. It was also felt by both the women and the men that the family could at times be oppressive and intrusive. Most of the sample grew out of holding such perceptions, again when they entered their teens.

(v) Regarding the issue of children, it was felt more strongly by the female respondents that they should be Christened and learn the Greek language, the male respondents were less concerned with such issues. Again this reinforces theories which argue that women play a primary role in reproducing members of the ethnic collectivity and are the cultural carriers of the ethnic group (Anthias & Yuval-Davis 1989:9).

(vi) Inter-ethnic relationships have an effect on the non Greek-Cypriot partner and how they view their ethnic identity. My sample illustrated an overwhelming dominance of Greek-Cypriot cultural and religious practices. For example, all those who had married had done so within the Greek Orthodox Church. This overt dominance only became an issue in one relationship, which led to the non Greek-Cypriot partner to assert his Welsh ethnicity in reaction.

(vii) I explored the theme of transethnic commonalities. Two respondents felt they had more in common with other ethnic minorities and expressed this commonality. The remaining respondents expressed commonalities with other Greek-Cypriots as opposed to all ethnic minorities. This illustrates that all the respondents did differentiate themselves from English people in terms of their experiences and commonalities.

(viii) Finally, I at looked at homogenising aspects of the relationship. How many respondents shared important interests with their partner. There were also some differences particularly around how the boundary definitions of family differed between the couple. All these factors explore the processes of ethnic identification in various contexts.

Chapter Six: Gendered Aspects

This chapter focuses on various gendered aspects which emerged during my data analysis and how notions of sexual ‘honour’ pertaining to an earlier more traditional period affected the female and male sample in relation to inter-ethnic relationships. It also examines the theoretical discourses which try to explain the patriarchal hold over women’s sexual behaviour and ultimately reproductive rights. This paper will probe into the underlining notions of why it is important *who* Greek-Cypriot women reproduce with, which is of paramount relevance in discussions around inter-ethnic marriages and relationships. It then looks at the overall experience of inter-ethnic unions for the male and female sample and notes any significant patterns, similarities and differences. Finally there is an investigation of the demography of intermarriage in the Greek-Cypriot community in Great Britain in comparison to intermarriage for other ethnic groups.

6.1: Sexual ‘Honour’

As has been outlined in Chapter Two, the subordinate position of women within the Greek-Cypriot community has led to their behaviour being sanctioned, particularly their sexual behaviour. In the British context, notions of ‘timi’ or honour are not as overt. Young Greek-Cypriot women can seek employment beyond the home and they are not expected to work within the ethnic economy to ensure close surveillance. It is now argued that second and third generation Greek-Cypriot women’s honour has been “divorced from that of women’s work and has become exclusively attached to girls going out socially” (Josephides, 1988:54). The emphasis is now on how women conduct themselves socially, whether they form sexual relationships, and with whom. As has been discussed in Chapter Five, there is also the parental concern that

daughters will form friendships outside of the Greek-Cypriot ethnic collectivity. This is perceived by parents as a potential threat to ethnic identity maintenance, particularly if intimate relations are formed. Contrary to this there is no onus placed on Greek-Cypriot men to uphold sexual purity and no sanctions on forming intimate relations. Parents turn a blind eye to intimate relationships formed by their sons and only become concerned when and if the inter-ethnic relationship becomes permanent. These findings emerged in my ethnographic material, as I shall now examine further.

There was a distinct gender division in the findings of my sample on the issue of 'sexual honour'. The four women in the sample all expressed the enforcement of sanctions on their social behaviour when they were growing up as teenagers, this was not felt by the male respondents. Anna felt very strongly on the subject and summarizes the gender differentiation's as follows:

Men get so many privileges and the girl does not get any privileges. The main issue is freedom, you haven't got any if you are a Greek girl. The girl has to do everything, she is the slave of the house basically.

Anna highlights the lack of personal mobility she experienced as a youngster, unlike her male counterparts. Anna notes, as a woman her role is defined as one of domesticity and the importance of being a good homemaker for when she marries. Notions of 'honour' imply two specific codes of behaviour for a women, firstly that she should be sexually modest, and secondly, a good home maker, a 'nikogera'. Issues of 'honour' become a predominate concern when women enter inter-ethnic relationships. Yiota felt this poignantly when she told her parents of her relationship, her Father asked her in a fit of rage "are you some kind of page three girl?". Yiota explains that this was how her Father verbalized the implication that she was sexually immoral. Christina, who married Tim, who is Welsh, also felt there was the added dimension of being perceived as actively seeking to flout the sexual norms, when her relationship became known. She states:

There are still a lot of 'proxenias', not arranged as such but sort of forced to marry a Greek. Because we have met somebody else outside of our

normal culture it is like we have gone and looked for it, therefore we couldn't have been very good girls.

The data from the male sample did not illustrate notions of their sexual modesty being imputed due to their inter-ethnic relationship, in fact the onus was still on the women. One example illustrates this poignantly. Lenos spoke of how he used his Father's disused house to court with his girlfriend. The Father one time spotted some blood stained sheets and assumed that Lenos's partner was a virgin. Lenos states that from that day onwards there was a "renewed smile on his face". This illustrates how for Greek-Cypriot families female honour is of paramount importance, and that even though Lenos's partner was not Greek-Cypriot she at least was sexually 'pure' and therefore that much closer to the myth of the ideal Greek-Cypriot bride.

Unlike the female respondents whose relationship was problematic to parents from the onset, the male respondents enjoyed the early stages of their relationship with relative ease. It only became an issue to parents once the relationship had taken a turn towards commitment. This was expressed by three of the four male respondents, Michael's experiences were different in that his parents never posed any objections at any stage of his relationship with an Afro Caribbean woman.

Lenos, Tony and Yiannis all described how their parents initially did not mind them having relationships with non Greek-Cypriot women. Tony stated how the Greek-Cypriot community did not mind if men experienced a "little bit of the other, so long as they go back to the community when they get married".

Lenos, Tony and Yiannis all experienced pressure from their parents to not pursue the relationship. Yiannis and Lenos both married their partners, at which point the parents accepted the situation. Tony cohabits with his partner and his relationship is perceived by his parents as not fully committed and therefore harbour hopes of it ending, hence the continued pressure to end the relationship. These examples clearly illustrate the gendered differentiation's towards inter-ethnic marriage and relationships in relation to issues of sexual modesty and notions of 'honour'.

As can be seen in my sample, women are subjected to patriarchal control over their sexual bodies which ultimately leads to control of their reproductive rights. In the Greek-Cypriot community it is important that Greek-Cypriot women marry within the correct ethnic grouping in order to have children which will be fully Greek-Cypriot, therefore safeguarding the communities identity from foreign forces. These theoretical arguments have been put forward by Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1989). They argue that it is women who will instill cultural and religious elements into their children's upbringing. The role of women and reproduction is crucial in the process of reinforcing the ethnic collectivity. Women are perceived to be the "transmitters of the 'cultural stuff' of ethnicity" (Anthias, 1992:91), therefore their role of Motherhood is instrumental to the ethnic group.

Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1989) theoretical arguments were evident in my empirical data, despite the sample being small and non representative. From my sample of eight Greek-Cypriots involved in inter-ethnic relationships/marriages, none of the four male respondents spoke of the importance of passing on 'cultural' aspects to their children, yet all four female respondents emphasized the importance of teaching their children the Greek language and to christen the child in the Greek Orthodox faith. The four male respondents were not concerned whether their children were christened or not. The ethnographic data illustrates how transmitting the 'cultural stuff' is felt more strongly by the women, however both male and female respondents spoke of wanting to share their enthusiasm for Cyprus with their children and for them to know where their Father/Mother originated from.

As can be seen women are the "gatekeepers" to the ethnic boundary and the ones to transmit cultural aspects and to foster a sense of ethnic identity within offspring. It is through women that the ethnic boundary is reproduced. This theoretical perspective gives insight as to why women's bodies and sexuality is so tightly controlled by men within the community. If female sexuality is not controlled then there is the fear of reproduction with the *wrong* ethnic group. This further highlights why ethnic collectivities deem the importance of intra-ethnic marriages.

The theoretical perspective outlined above argues that women are the principle transmitters of cultural identity, which therefore necessitates patriarchal control over sexual and reproductive rights. Following on from this perspective one could assume it is more problematic for men to cross ethnic, racial, and religious divides in marriage. It could be interpreted that when a woman marries out of her ethnic collectivity she is not lost to the community and neither are her children, due to her role as their primary nurturer, unlike men who marry out of their ethnic collectivity have children who are socialized by the non Greek-Cypriot Mother. Therefore, if the community is concerned with the cultural identity of the offspring of inter-ethnic unions, which it evidently illustrated in Chapter Five, then surely it is more detrimental to the communities identity if the male members marry out.

This issue was raised in my empirical interviews. I asked the male and female respondents if they recognized a gendered differentiation in response to their relationship from family. All eight believed there was a difference, the female respondents believed it was more difficult for women and two of the male respondents agreed with this. The reason for this was that for women to be involved in an inter-ethnic relationship displayed overtly the flouting of sexual norms within the Greek-Cypriot community. They had also shown evidence of independently seeking sexual relationships without parental approval. Two of the male respondents however, did not agree with this and felt that men encountered specific problems when involved in an inter-ethnic relationship. In the following section I will illustrate their perspective and give some analysis.

The two male respondents who felt that men who intermarried encountered more problems gave the following reasons as to why. Firstly, Yiannis felt that his sister's intermarriage was more easily accepted than his because his non Greek-Cypriot wife would take a more dominant role of child rearing than himself, hence there would be less Greek-Cypriot cultural stimuli. Yiannis states:

It makes it more difficult when losing a son because the children will brought up my by wife, or at least spend more time with her.

Yiannis recognizes that his wife who is non Greek-Cypriot will not be able to incorporate the Greek language and cultural aspects in child rearing practices, which are important elements in maintaining a Greek-Cypriot ethnic identity. Again this reinforces the theoretical perspective put forward by Yuval-Davis and Anthias (1989), only in this example the greater onus is placed on the son to marry a women within the ethnic collectivity who will be able to reproduce the correct cultural values. Yiannis mentions another issue, the notion of ‘losing a son’. This implies that when a son marries out of the ethnic collectivity, he is seen to be leaving the ethnic fold. This point is reiterated by Tony, he explains how due to the patriarchal nature of the Greek-Cypriot community the loss of a daughter is not as damaging as the loss of a son. Tony felt that sons were valued more within the community, he states:

It would have been easier for the parents to accept that the daughter has followed the husband, it legitimises it. But if it is the son who decides to marry outside and they do not follow the kind of traditions the parents expect, then they will be seen as failing in getting their name to carry on properly in the way they expect. So there may be additional pressure on men to conform because of the way gender roles are defined. They don’t expect much from her because she is a woman.

Tony emphasizes here, the role men have in continuing the family name and how men are valued more in the family, therefore their choice of marriage partner has greater implications. Tony’s experiences led him to conclude that a daughter is ‘lost’ when she marries irrespective of what ethnicity her partner is, whereas the son remains close to the family even after marriage and his distancing from the family is dependent on who he marries.

These examples illustrate the varied gendered processes in motion. It is difficult to ascertain whether intermarriage raises more problematic issues for men or women. Overall, it is felt that women illicit the most negative response due to their role as Mothers and the keepers of the ethnic boundary. This is theoretically substantiated by Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1989) with their argument on women’s relationship to the state and ethnic boundaries. Their theoretical model however, does not explore the

role men have in processes of reproducing the ethnic collectivity, and the implications of men reproducing with women from the *wrong* ethnic group. The varying perspectives illustrate that the process of inter-ethnic marriages and relationships is not gender neutral, and different issues are evoked for men and women.

6.2: Demography of intermarriage in relation to gender

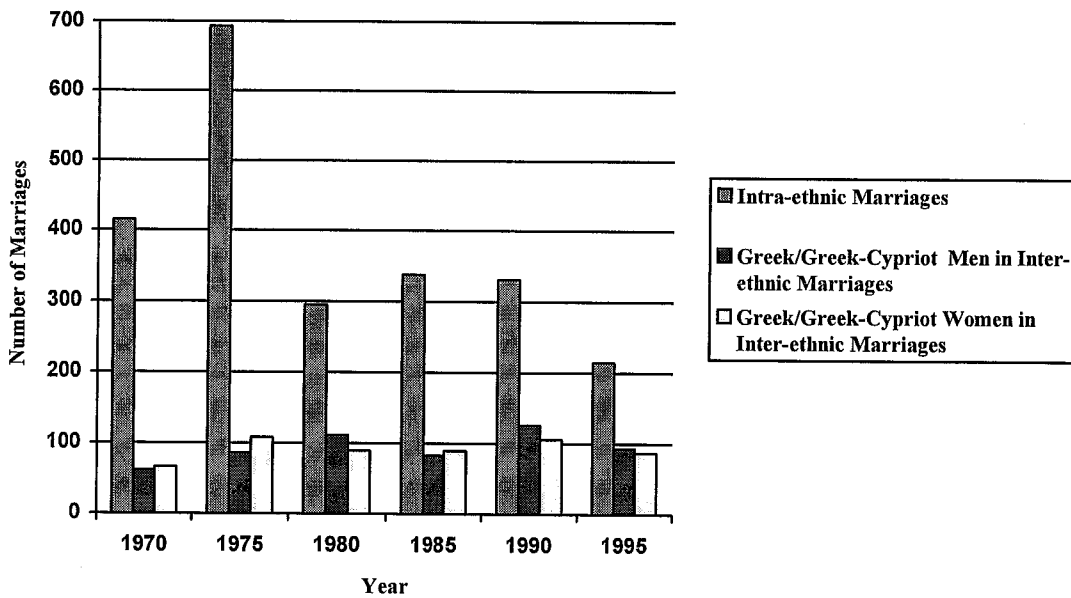
Chapter One looked at the main theoretical arguments around the issue of intermarriage. One significant factor which was highlighted by many writers was the frequency of intermarriage by men and women and how it was very unequal within ethnic minority groups. The predominant pattern was for men from ethnic minority groups to marry out of their ethnic collectivity, at a much higher rate than women. Despite this phenomenon being frequently noted little effort has been made to fully investigate this area. Writers would briefly outline some tentative suggestions as to why this was so, for example, that men from ethnic minority groups experienced greater freedom than the women and could therefore explore territory away from the home, secondly, because of the unequal flow of migration of men and women led to ethnic minority men seeking partners from the ethnically dominate group. Neither of these suggestions have been fully explored and remain rather speculative.

There are no published compiled statistics on the intermarriage of Greek-Cypriots in Great Britain to be able to draw comparisons with other ethnic minority groups. I have however, compiled statistics of intermarriages by going through the marriage records at the centralized Greek Orthodox church in central London. The marriages recorded were from predominately the Greek and Greek-Cypriot communities in Great Britain. The methods used to collect this data were not error free and I have critiqued the methods I used in Chapter Three. Despite the inherent flaws in the quantitative data, I nonetheless felt that this would be a very useful exercise.

I examined the period between 1970 to 1995, at five year intervals. My findings did not correlate with intermarriage rates for other ethnic minority groups in Great Britain, both in terms of the frequency of intermarriage for men and women and for the

average rate of intermarriage. The findings for the Greek/Greek-Cypriot intermarriages can be seen in the following table:

Table 1.3: Comparison of Greek/Greek-Cypriot Male and Female Intermarriage



Source: Thyateira House, 1996

The average percentage of intermarriage for Greek-Cypriot men during the twenty five year period was 17.3 per cent and for women is was 16.3 per cent. The rate of intermarriage for men and women in the Greek/Greek-Cypriot ethnic group was found to be very similar which differs quite markedly to other ethnic groups. For example, using Jones's (1982) statistics, the West Indian male rate of intermarriage was 22.3 per cent compared to the female rate of 10.3 per cent, more than double the rate. The Indian community also displays this pattern, for men intermarriage is at a rate of 9.3 per cent and for women 5.1 per cent. The Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities show an even greater difference, for Pakistani men the rate is 6.3 per cent compared to 1.1 per cent and for the Bangladeshi community, 4 per cent of men intermarry compared to 0 per cent of women. This shows that only the Greek/Greek-Cypriot ethnic group appear to intermarry equally among the sexes.

In this section I will suggest possible explanations for the this sexed difference which are however entirely speculative. It could be argued that Greek/Greek-Cypriot women experience a greater degree of freedom than women from Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities, therefore allowing these women to form relations with men from other ethnic minority groups and the dominant group. There is also the issue of religion, women from Muslim and Hindu backgrounds may be further restricted. The low rate of intermarriage for West Indian women in comparison to men may be due to negative perceptions of black women.

My findings also suggest that intermarriage is more prevalent in the Greek/Greek-Cypriot communities than the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi, and approximately equal to the average rate of intermarriage for West Indians. I will speculatively suggest possible explanations for this. To begin with Greek-Cypriots differ from these racial groups because in the British context they are not perceived as a racialised group and Greek-Cypriots are predominately Christian which is the same as the hegemonic group. This could explain why Greek/Greek-Cypriots have more intermarriages than the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups, as they are perceived to be more acceptable by the dominant group. This does not however, explain why West Indian men marry out of their ethnic collectivity at higher rate than male and female Greek/Greek-Cypriots. This could be related to how the black man is perceived in a British context, the positive role models in music and sport. This could explain why white women are attracted to black men, however, there is also the negative perception of black men which would equally deem them unattractive to white women. This is a problematic debate, one which needs extensive research and discussion. I cannot provide any substantial analysis due to the limitations of my sample.

6.4: Summary

The process of intermarriage or involvement in an inter-ethnic relationship raises different issues for men and women. This chapter has aimed to explore some of these gendered differences. The issue of 'sexual honour' predominately affects Greek-Cypriot women. They are expected to safeguard their virginity and demonstrate

domestic qualities. It is these qualities which are perceived to make a good wife and Mother. One explanation for this patriarchal control of women's sexual bodies is related to the idea that women nurture the 'cultural stuff' to their children and therefore define the boundaries of the ethnic group. This becomes more important in the British context when there is the constant fear that younger Greek-Cypriots will lose their Greek-Cypriot identity and assimilate into English culture. The interview sample expressed the view that there are more obstacles and restraints for women in inter-ethnic unions, than for men. There was the additional burden of women being known to have flouted the expected sexual behaviour if in an inter-ethnic union.

The sample however, also reflected the notion that men can equally transmit a sense of ethnic identity to their offspring and intermarriage was problematic to the immediate family because of this.

Finally, using the demographic data, gender patterns of intermarriage were explored. The Greek-Cypriot community in Great Britain differed from other ethnic minority groups in relation to the rate of intermarriage of men and women. For the Greek-Cypriot group, men and women intermarried at approximately an equal frequency. For the West Indian, Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups the male intermarriage rate was double if not more than the women's rate of intermarriage. This may be related to the non racialisation of Greek-Cypriots in Great Britain, and how the women are perceived by the dominant ethnic groups. Also the predominately Christian background of Greek-Cypriots women may lead to experiencing greater emancipation than Muslim women.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

This project has outlined the areas of research interest on the issue of intermarriage. These studies have attempted to explore why individuals choose to cross racial, ethnic or religious divides in marriage and the consequences of such unions in terms of family, themselves and any offspring. A lot of the discussions around intermarriage emerged from the American context during the 1950s and 1960s, which predominately focused on inter-racial marriages. The historical context of studies which emerged in this era is significant. It was a period during which segregation was formally abolished in America, therefore inciting fears from the white population that inter-racial mixing would become prevalent and permanently alter the physiognomy of the white population. This explains why a lot of the studies during this period portrayed those who crossed such social divides as inherently deviant. This leads me onto some of the criticisms of these studies. Firstly, they were written with a specific racist agenda, to warn people against such unions due to the many problems but also formulating images of those who intermarry as slum dwellers and social outcasts. Secondly, this literature predominately examines inter-racial unions and ignores issues of ethnic difference which suggests some authors are concerned with intermarriage from a eugenics perspective rather than analyzing the processes in motion. Finally, the literature only examines married inter-ethnic unions and neglects cohabiting unions which in the present context excludes the experiences of many people.

This therefore highlights the importance of this paper which has not excluded couples who cohabit, but nonetheless experience the process of bringing a non ethnic member to the ethnic collectivity. I have also chosen to focus on a non racialised ethnic group, this is not to suggest that Greek-Cypriots do not suffer exclusion in the British context, however this group have not been discussed in sociological terms as a

racialised ethnic group. I also wanted to move away from discussions which treated ethnic and racial difference as being at polar ends of the spectrum, but to view the spectrum as a continuum. This is also true of other white ethnic groups such as the Irish and Maltese. For these reasons I feel the paper has been able to fill an important gap in discussions around inter-ethnic relationships.

I chose the Greek-Cypriot community in Great Britain as my case study. This migrant group came to Great Britain predominately in the 1950s and 1960s. My interviewees were the children of these migrants. My sample could be defined as second generation Greek-Cypriots. In Great Britain, particularly in London Greek-Cypriots have recreated certain network structures in order to provide employment and maintain ethnic characteristics brought from Cyprus. Employment is typically of a manual nature in catering or the clothing industry. The church and Greek language schools also provide spheres for ethnic bonding. Within the first generation Greek-Cypriots there are fears of assimilation with the dominant group, which therefore conceive intermarriage as undesirable in the community.

My research was based on eight semi-structured interviews with Greek-Cypriots who were either married or cohabiting with a non Greek-Cypriot partner. This data was further contextualised with statistical information of Greek/Greek-Cypriot intermarriage by analyzing marriage records kept in the central Greek Orthodox church.

Inter-ethnic relationships predominately caused disappointment and fear from the parent of the subject. What emerged from my data was that the first generation were fearful of assimilation, and that Greek-Cypriot characteristics would be forgotten. Ethnicity is perceived as a static, unchanging vessel which can be retained if certain cultural traditions are upheld. Debates however, have now focused on the hybridity and fluidity of young ethnic minorities. Also many first generation Greek-Cypriots harbour hopes of returning to the island of Cyprus, with the occurrence of intermarriage with an offspring this further makes this an impossibility. It is evident that inter-ethnic relationships are perceived to weaken ethnic boundaries. This is further heightened by the fact that this ethnic group are in the British context.

I also looked at those involved in inter-ethnic unions and how strongly they identified with their ethnic group, both when they were younger and in the present context. I found they were integrated in the Greek-Cypriot community, attended Greek school and regularly went to Cyprus for holidays, however when they were younger, many of the sample held negative characteristics of Greek-Cypriot spouses. These stereotypes were gender specific, it was thought that Greek-Cypriot husbands would be chauvinistic and domineering and Greek-Cypriot wives controlled by the family and uninteresting. I examined the existence of transethnic commonalities and found that many of my sample felt particular commonalities with either other ethnic minorities or Greek-Cypriots. This was due to factors such as the shared experience of racism and the importance of family and food within certain ethnic groups.

My data also illustrated a gendered dimension to the process of inter-ethnic relations. It emerged that men and women experienced the process quite differently, women were immediately met with negative reactions from the parents, however for men, their inter-ethnic relationship only became problematic once it took on a more committed path. It has been argued that women's sexual bodies are under tighter control due to their role as "gate keepers" of the ethnic borders (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1989). There has been however, little conceptualization of how Fathers transmit a sense of ethnicity. My sample reflected the notion that both men and women have specific roles to play in child rearing and instilling a sense of Greek-Cypriotness.

This paper has illustrated how intermarriage and inter-ethnic relationships can incite fears of assimilation from first generation Greek-Cypriots. These unions are perceived as threatening the boundaries created by ethnic groups, this threat is further heightened in a foreign context. Those involved in inter-ethnic unions however, do not view their relationship as weakening their sense of ethnic belonging. In the British context, second generation Greek-Cypriots will develop fluid notions of identity and inter-ethnic marriages and relationships will be one of the possible expressions of this.

Appendix I

My sample consisted of eight Greek-Cypriots who are involved in an inter-ethnic relationship and are either cohabiting or married. The sample was made up of second generation Greek-Cypriots who were born and lived in Britain. Here I will provide some contextual details about them:

Males	Age	Occupation
Lenos	31	Journalist
Michael	24	Youth Worker & Support for Special Needs
Tony	26	Ph.D. Student
Yiannis	30	Service Engineer

Females	Age	Occupation
Yiota	24	Primary School Teacher
Artemis	23	Legal Assistant
Christina	21	Business Development Adviser
Anna	24	Administrative Officer

Marital Status and Ethnicity of Partner

Lenos married to Nada (English)

Michael cohabits with Lorraine (Black, Caribbean)

Tony cohabits with Naz (Pakistani)

Yiannis married to Mandy (English)

Yiota married to Andrew (white Australian)

Artemis cohabits with Stewert (English)

Christina married to Tim (Welsh)

Anna cohabits with Danny (English)

Educational Qualifications

Lenos Degree, Masters Degree

Michael Completed Further Education

Tony Degree, Masters and Studying for Ph.D.

Yiannis Completed Further Education

Yiota Degree, PGSE

Artemis Degree

Christina Completed Further Education

Anna Trained as a Hair dresser

Geographical Location

North London - high concentration of Greek-Cypriots

Lenos

Michael

Tony

Artemis

Anna

South London - low concentration of Greek-Cypriots

Yiannis

Yiota

Christina

Appendix II

I collected extensive quantitative data to support and contextualise the qualitative data. This was achieved by going through the marriage records held at Thyateira House in central London. All marriages conducted by the Greek Orthodox church in Great Britain since 1966 are recorded here. I also went to two churches in north and south London in order to account for regional nuances. The two churches I studied were St. John's in Wightman Road, N8 and St. Eleni in Crystal Palace, SE19.

Here are tables illustrating my findings from the three sources.

Table 1: Rate of Intra-Ethnic and Inter-Ethnic Marriages within the Greek and Greek-Cypriot Community in Great Britain.

Year	1970		1975		1980		1985		1990		1995	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Intra-ethnic marriages	41	75	69	77.	29	59	33	65.	33	58.	21	52.
	5		3	5	5		7	5	1	2	5	6
Men in inter-ethnic marriages	61	11	86	10	11	22	83	16.	12	22.	93	22.
					1			1	6	2		7
Women in inter-ethnic marriages	66	12	10	12	89	17.	89	17.	10	18.	87	21.
			8			8		3	6	6		3
Other	5	1	7	0.7	4	0.8	5	0.9	5	0.8	17	4.1
								7				5
Total	54	10	89	10	49	10	51	10	56	10	40	10
	7	0	4	0	9	0	4	0	8	0	9	0

Source: Thyateira House (1996)

Table 2: Rate of Intra-Ethnic and Inter-Ethnic Marriages within the Greek and Greek-Cypriot Community in Great Britain

Year	Intra-ethnic Marriages		Men in inter-ethnic Marriages		Women in inter-ethnic Marriages		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
1966	2	50	0	0	2	50	4	100
1967	3	75	1	25	0	0	4	100
1968	8	80	0	0	2	20	10	100
1969	15	75	3	15	2	10	20	100
1970	23	92	0	0	2	8	25	100
1971	11	68	0	0	5	31	16	100
1972	18	82	2	9	2	9	22	100
1973	12	70	0	0	5	30	17	100
1974	10	59	3	18	4	23	17	100
1975	15	88	0	0	2	12	17	100
1976	11	78	1	7	2	14	14	100
1977	11	85	0	0	2	15	13	100
1978	11	74	2	13	2	13	15	100
1979	11	85	2	15	0	0	13	100
1980	7	64	2	18	2	18	11	100
1981	19	76	3	12	3	12	25	100
1982	20	72	4	14	4	14	28	100
1983	38	77	5	10	6	12	49	100
1984	33	82	2	5	5	13	40	100
1985	53	79	4	6	10	15	67	100
1986	63	80	6	8	10	12	79	100
1987	91	86	6	6	9	8	106	100
1988	43	76	5	9	8	14	56	100
1989	72	84	6	7	8	9	86	100

1990	53	70	9	12	14	18	76	100
1991	38	77	6	12	5	11	49	100
1992	25	67	4	11	8	22	37	100
1993	24	76	4	12	4	12	32	100
1994	33	87	3	8	2	5	38	100
1995	22	69	3	9	7	22	32	100
Total	795	79	86	8	137	13	1018	100

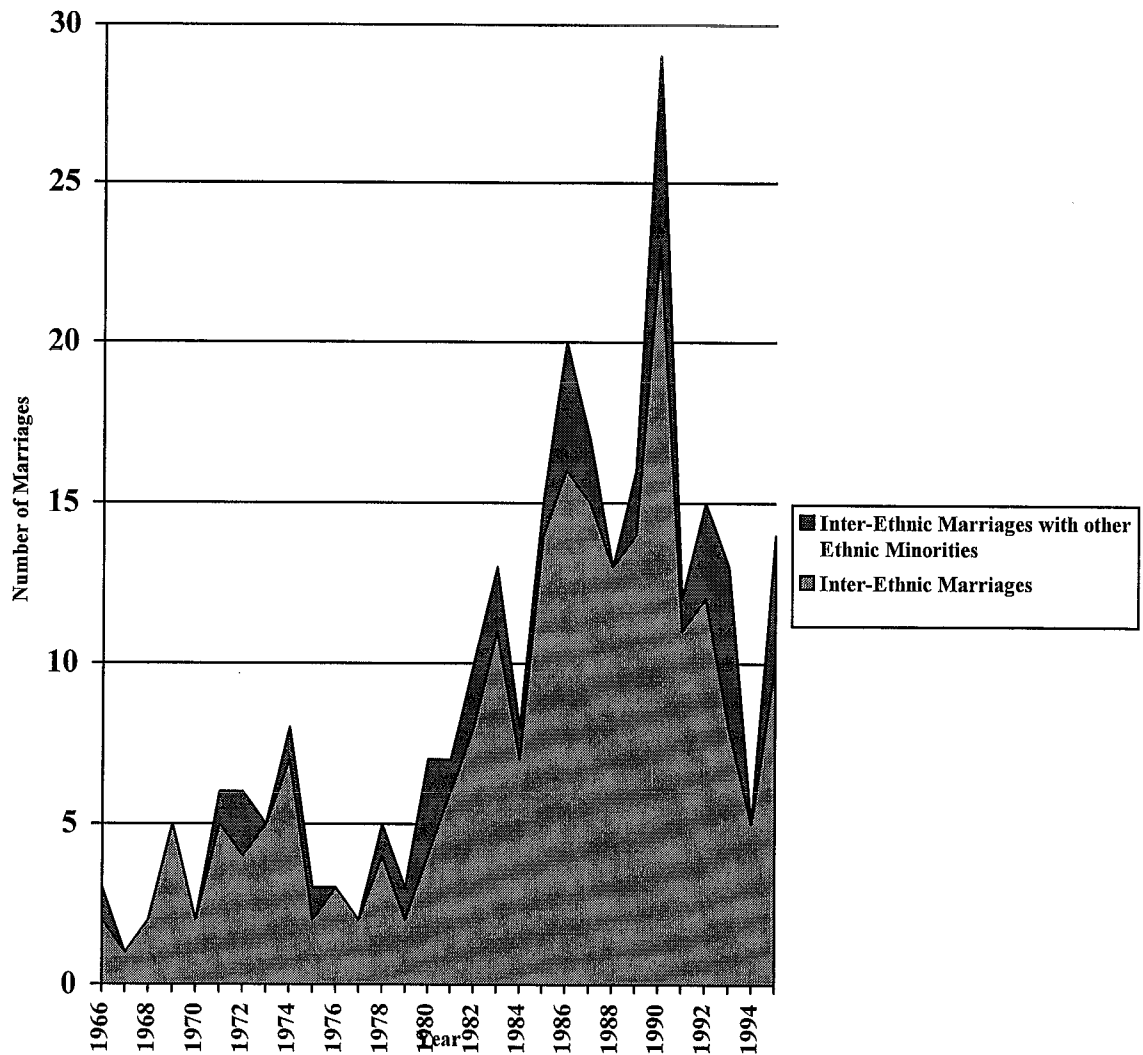
Source : St. John's Greek Orthodox Church in Wightman Road, N8 (1996)

Table 3: Rate of Intra-Ethnic and Inter-Ethnic Marriages within the Greek and Greek-Cypriot Community in Great Britain

Year	Intra-ethnic Marriages		Men in inter-ethnic Marriages		Women in inter-ethnic Marriages		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
1983	0	0	3	43	4	57	7	100
1984	4	80	1	20	0	0	5	100
1985	5	50	1	0	4	40	10	100
1986r	3	43	1	15	3	43	7	100
1987	3	38	1	0	4	50	8	100
1988	2	67	1	0	0	0	3	100
1989	0	0	0	9	1	100	1	100
1990	1	50	0	0	1	50	2	100
1991	0	0	0	18	2	100	2	100
1992	0	0	4	0	1	20	5	100
1993	0	0	5	7	1	16	6	100
1994	2	66	3	0	0	0	5	100
1995	2	50	2	13	0	0	4	100
Total	22	34	22	34	21	32	65	100

Source: St. Eleni in Crystal Palace, SW19 (1996)

Table 4: Greek/Greek-Cypriot Intermarriages with Members of Other Ethnic Minority Groups in Great Britain.



Source : St John's Greek Orthodox Church, Wightman Road, N8

Bibliography

Alibhai-Brown, Y & Montague, A (1992) The Colour of Love: Mixed Race Relationships, Virago;

Anthias, F (1983) "Sexual Divisions and Ethnic Adaptation: The case of Greek-Cypriot Women" in Phizacklea, A (ed) One Way Ticket, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul;

Anthias, F (1992) Ethnicity, Class, Gender and Migration, Avebury;

Anthias, F (1997 Forthcoming) Social Exclusion and Identity among British born Cypriots, Bangladeshi and Pakistanis;

Anthias, F & Yuval-Davis, N (1983) "Contextualising Feminism: Gender, Ethnic and Class Divisions" in Feminist Review 15;

Anthias, F & Yuval-Davis, N (1989) Women-Nation-State (eds), MacMillan;

Anthias, F & Yuval-Davis, N (1992) Racialized Boundaries, Routledge;

Back, L (1996) New Ethnicities and Urban Culture: Racisms and Multiculturalism in young lives, UCL Press Limited;

Bagley, C (1972) "Interracial Marriage in Britain-Some Statistics" in New Community, 1:318-26;

Barron, M L (1951) "Research on Intermarriage: A Survey of Accomplishments and Prospects" in American Journal of Sociology, 57:249-55;

Barth, F (1960) Ethnic Groups and Boundaries, Allen & Unwin, London;

Benson, S (1981) Ambiguous Ethnicity: Interracial Families in London, Cambridge University Press;

Berrington, A (1994) "Marriage and Family Formation among the White and Ethnic Minority Populations in Britain" in Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol 17, no 3, July;

Bescaney, P H (1965) "On Reporting Rates of Intermarriage" in American Journal of Sociology, 70:717-21;

Brah, A (1978) "South Asian Teenagers in Southall: Their Perceptions of Marriage, Family and Ethnic Identity" in New Community, 6:197-206;

-
- Brah, A (1993) "Difference, Diversity and Differentiation" in Donald, J and Rattansi, A (eds) Race, Culture and Difference, Sage, London;
- Burma, J H (1963) "Interethnic Marriage in Los Angeles, 1948-1959" in Social Forces, 42:156-65;
- Campbell, (1964) Honour, Family and Patronage, Oxford University Press;
- Cohen, E (1969) "Mixed Marriage in an Israeli Town" in Jewish Journal of Sociology, 11:41-50;
- Coleman (1994) "Trends in fertility and intermarriage among immigrant populations in Western Europe as measures of integration" in Journal of Biosocial Science, 26:107-136;
- Coleman, D (1985) "Ethnic Intermarriage in Great Britain" in Population Trends, 40;
- Collins, P H (1990) Black Feminist Thought; knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment, HarperCollins Academic;
- Constantinides, P (1977) "The Greek Cypriots: Factors in the Maintenance of Ethnic Identity" in Watson, J (ed) Between two Cultures, Basil Blackwell, Oxford;
- Cornell, S (1996) "The Variable Ties that Bind: Content and Circumstance in Ethnic Processes" in Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol 19, no 2, April;
- Davis, J (1977) People of the Mediterranean, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd;
- Freeman, L (1955) "Homogamy in Interethnic Mate Selection" in Sociology and Social Research, 39:369-77;
- George, V & Millerson, G (1966) "The Cypriot Community in London" in Race, 8:277-292;
- Glazer, N and Moynihan, D P (1975) "Introduction" in Glazer, N and Moynihan (eds) Ethnicity, Theory and Experience, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London;
- Golden, J (1954) "Patterns of Negro-White Intermarriage" in American Sociological Review, 19:144-7;
- Hall, S (1990) "Cultural Identity and Diaspora" in Rutherford, J (ed) Identity, Community, Culture, Difference, Lawrence and Wishart, London;
- Hall, S (1992) "The Question of Cultural Identity" in Hall, S, Held, D and McGrew, T (eds) Modernity and its Futures, Polity Press, Cambridge;
- Jones, P R (1982) "Research Report: Ethnic Intermarriage in Britain" in Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol 5 number 2 April;

-
- Josephides, S (1988) "Honour, Family, and Work: Greek Cypriot Women before and after Migration" in Westwood and Bhachu (eds.) *Enterprising Women*, Routledge;
- Kennedy, R J R (1952) "Single or Triple Melting-Pot? Intermarriage in New Haven, 1870-1950" in *American Journal of Sociology*, 58:56-9;
- King, R and Bridal, J (1980) "The Changing Distribution of Cypriots in London", University of Leicester (Publisher unknown);
- Ladbury, S (1984) "Choice, Chance or no Alternative? Turkish Cypriots in Business in London" in Ward and Jenkins (eds.) *Ethnic Communities in Business*, Cambridge University Press;
- Lee, R E (1994) *Mixed and Matched: Interreligious courtship's and marriages in Northern Ireland*, University Press of America;
- Loizos, P (1975) *The Greek Gift*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford;
- McClintock, A (1995) *Imperial Leather, Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, Routledge New York & London;
- Mercer, K (1990) "Welcome to the Jungle: Identity and Diversity in Postmodern Politics" in Rutherford (ed) *Identity, Community, Culture, Difference*, Lawrence & Wishart;
- Monahan, T P (1970) "Are Interracial Marriages Really Less Stable?" in *Social Forces*, 48, p461-73;
- Merton, R K (1941) "Intermarriage and the Social Structure: Fact and Theory" in *Psychiatry* 4:361-74;
- Modood, T (1992) *Not Easy Being British*, Runnymede Trust and Trentham Books;
- Muhammad, A (1979) *The Myth of Return: Pakistanis in Britain*, Heineman, London;
- Nye and Berardo (1973) *The Family*, MacMillan;
- Oakley, A (1981) "Interviewing Women: A contradiction in Terms" in *Doing Feminist Research*, Routledge, London;
- Oakley, R (1970) "The Cypriots in Britain" in *Race Today*, 2:99-103;
- Park, R E. (1928), "Mentality of racial hybrids" in *American Journal of Sociology* 36: 534-551;
- Parker, D (1995) *Through Different Eyes: The Cultural Identities of Young Chinese People in Britain*, Avebury;
- Peristiany, J C (1965) "Honour and Shame in a Cypriot Highland Village" in Peristiany (ed) *Honour and Shame*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson;

Phoenix, A & Owen, C (1996) "From Miscegenation to hybridity: Mixed relationships and mixed-parentage in profile" in Bernstein & Brannen (eds) Children, Research and Policy, Taylor & Francis;

Root, M P P (1992) "Within, Between, and Beyond Race" in Root, M P P (ed) Racially Mixed People in America, Sage Publications;

Rutherford, J (1990) "A Place Called Home: Identity and the Cultural Politics of Difference" in Rutherford, J (ed) Identity, Community, Culture, Difference, Lawrence and Wishart, London;

Rutherford, J (ed) Identity, Community, Culture, difference, Lawrence and Wishart, London;

Shachar, R (1993) "The attitudes of Israeli youth towards inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic marriage: 1975 and 1990" in Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol 16;

Schaefer, R T (1980) "Racial Endogamy in Great Britain: A Cross-National Perspective" in Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol 3 Number 2 April;

Shinagawa, L H & Pang, G Y (1988) "Intraethnic, Interethnic, and Interracial Marriages Among Asian Americans in California, 1980" in Berkeley Journal of Sociology, Vol 33:95-113;

Social Focus on Ethnic Minorities (1996), Office for National Statistics;

Stonequist, E (1937), The Marginal Man: A Study in Personality and Culture Conflict, New York, Russell and Russell;

Watson, J (1977) Between Two Cultures: Migrants and Minorities in Britain (ed), Basil Blackwell, Oxford;

Weisberg, Krosnick and Bowen (1989) An Introduction to Survey Research and Data Analysis, Scott, Foresman;

Wilson, A (1978) Finding a Voice, Virago;

Wilson, Anne (1987) Mixed Race Children : A Study of Identity, Allen & Unwin, London;

Wilson, Anne (1984) "'Mixed Race' children in British Society: Some Theoretical Discussions" in British Journal of Sociology, Vol 35, March.