

Greek Cypriot Attitudes Toward Turkish Cypriots and Turkish Immigrants

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ABSTRACT. The authors examined the attitudes of 106 Greek Cypriots toward Turkish Cypriots and Turkish immigrants on Cyprus. The authors examined Greek Cypriot attitudes, willingness to cohabit with Turkish Cypriots and Turkish immigrants, and the reasons behind their attitudes in terms of their social-identity perceptions, victimization experiences, and human-rights concerns. A series of repeated measures analyses of variance showed that Greek Cypriots were more willing to cohabit with and had less negative attitudes toward Turkish Cypriots than they were with and toward Turkish immigrants. Women felt more victimized by Turkish Cypriots and Turkish immigrants than did men. Perceived differences in social identity predicted unwillingness to cohabit with Turkish Cypriots. Feelings of victimization predicted negative attitudes toward Turkish Cypriots. Differences in social identity and victimization experiences predicted unwillingness to cohabit with Turkish immigrants. Differences in social identity predicted negative attitudes toward Turkish immigrants. The authors discussed the findings in terms of support for realistic group conflict theories of attitudes and their implications for the coexistence of these ethnic groups in Cyprus and of other ethnic groups in multicultural societies.

Key words: attitudes, cross-cultural conflict, ethnic identification

GREEK CYPRIOT ATTITUDES toward Turkish Cypriots and Turkish immigrants deserve study because of the sociocultural differences between these ethnic groups and because of their long history of both coexistence and conflict. After Cyprus gained its independence from Great Britain in 1960, armed conflict began between the ethnic groups (Republic of Cyprus Press and Information Office, 1997). The conflict finally culminated in the island's being divided into Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities and in the migration of a substantial segment of the island population to their new respective ethnic sections.

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The conflict and migration increased the bitterness between the groups and raised the question of whether coexistence between the ethnic communities might ever be possible again.

In the present study, we examined Greek Cypriot attitudes toward and willingness to coexist with Turkish Cypriots and Turkish immigrants. We also examined (a) some possible reasons behind the attitudes, (b) gender status, and (c) differences in Greek Cypriot refugees' and nonrefugees' attitudes toward these ethnic groups. We found that the three major variables that contributed to variations among Greek Cypriots' attitudes toward these Turkish subgroups were the Greek Cypriots' gender, their immigration status, and which Turkish subgroup (Cypriot vs. Turkish immigrant) was the object of evaluation. The dependent variables were willingness to cohabit, attitudes, perceived national identity, experiences of victimization, and perceived human-rights violations.

Group Conflict Theories of Attitudes

Realistic group conflict theories of prejudice help researchers to explain people's negative attitudes that result from intergroup and ethnic rivalry. Such theories propose that negative attitudes and prejudices toward out-groups result from perceived threats to the in-group's existence, beliefs, or way of life (Bobo, 1983; Levine & Campbell, 1972). These threats could result from negative contacts and conflicts with the out-group members. An extension of such theories, the integrated threat model of prejudice, indicates that distal factors such as negative intergroup contacts and conflicts, as well as strong identification with the in-group, can affect attitudes directly and indirectly through the mediation of proximal factors such as perceived threat from the out-group and experiences of intergroup anxiety. Considerable research supports such threat-based and integrated models of prejudice (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Grant, 1992, 1993).

In line with realistic group conflict and integrated threat theories of prejudice, we examined in the present study three predisposing factors as possibly related to the attitudes of Greek Cypriots toward Turkish Cypriots and immigrants who came from Turkey to Cyprus. First, we examined social-identity perception as a basis for the negative attitudes of the Greek Cypriots. This consideration was based on our assumption that the division between (a) Greek Cypriots and (b) Turkish Cypriots and Turkish immigrants is fostered by linguistic, ethnic, cultural, and religious differences. The circumstance that in-group and out-group distinctions were maintained on Cyprus not only informally but also by external political pressures and military forces ensures that group identifications would continue to foster negative attitudes toward out-groups. Second, we examined victimization experiences as a basis for the negative attitudes of the Greek Cypriots. This consideration was based on our assumption that the perceived aggression of Turks during the 1974 war created the Greek Cypriots' negative attitudes toward Turkish Cypriots and Turkish immigrants. Finally, we considered the possibility

that attitudes toward these Turkish groups were the result of Greek Cypriots' perceptions of injustice committed against them. Greek Cypriots have seen Turkey as an occupying force that has violated Greek Cypriot human rights since the war, and this perception could be a reason for the development of negative attitudes toward the perceived violators.

Social Identity

In-group–out-group differentiation between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots existed on the island long before the war in 1974. Social-identity theory indicates the possibility that the social world tends to be divided into favored in-group and disfavored out-groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). *Social identity* is a person's knowledge that he or she belongs to a particular social category or group (Stets & Burkes, 2000). A *social group* is a set of individuals who hold a common social identification or view themselves as members of the same social category. Two important processes involved in social-identity formation are self-categorization and social comparison. *Self-categorization* results in an accentuation of the perceived similarities between oneself and other in-group members and an accentuation of the perceived differences between oneself and out-group members. These accentuations occur for all the attitudes, beliefs, values, affective reactions, behavioral norms, styles of speech, and other properties that are believed to be relevant to intergroup categorization. A consequence of *social comparison* is the selective application of the accentuation effect primarily to those properties that will result in self-enhancing outcomes. Self-esteem is enhanced by evaluating the in-group and the out-group on dimensions that lead the in-group to judge themselves positively and the out-group negatively.

People vary in the extent to which they have a positive social identity (Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990). Individuals who are high in collective self-esteem are particularly likely to protect their social or collective identity in the face of group or collective threat. Although some theorists of prejudice (e.g., Stets & Burkes, 2000) have suggested that prejudice and discrimination against groups are motivated by personal self-esteem needs, Crocker and Luhtanen suggested that prejudice may also represent a desire to enhance social identity or collective self-esteem. Collective self-esteem and personal self-esteem appear to show parallel effects.

Through such processes as the aforementioned ones, some researchers think that social and cultural differences result in the creation of ethnocentrism, a nearly universal phenomenon (Kalin & Berry, 1996; Kidder & Steward, 1975). In its extreme form, the differentiation of people into in-group and out-groups within a nation can erupt into open intergroup violence and aggression (Rabbie, 1989). Joseph (1985) claimed that any division between in-groups and out-groups in the case of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots is natural and inevitable because of

major differences between those cultures. Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots kept their nationalistic views, seeing themselves as Greek and Turkish, respectively, even after Cypriots declared the Republic of Cyprus in 1960 (Volkan, 1979). The circumstance that Cyprus contained a mixture of two different cultural groups eventually led to the complete separation of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.

Although Turkish Cypriots and Turkish immigrants on the island of Cyprus share the same religion, ethnic origins, and language, there are considerable differences between them (Rustemli, Mertan, & Ciftci, 2000). Turkish Cypriots generally come from higher socioeconomic groups and have been exposed to Greek Orthodox culture and British influence. These differences have resulted in two distinct ethnic groups: Turkish Cypriots and Turkish immigrants. Members of each group have perceived sociocultural differences between the two.

Victimization

Victimization as an explanation of negative attitudes between the two groups is based on our assumption that the 1974 conflict led to the development of Greek Cypriots' hostility toward Turks and Turkish Cypriots. Groebel and Hinde (1989) described four categories of aggression: instrumental or specific aggression, hostile or teasing aggression, defensive or reactive aggression, and games aggression. Previous aggression (a) between Greeks and Turks and (b) between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots resulted in the recent hostility among these ethnic groups (Doob, 1986). Because of these considerations, researchers could argue that the war of 1974 and its aftermath led to Greek Cypriot defensive aggression and consequently hostile attitudes toward Turkish Cypriots and Turkish immigrants.

Becoming a refugee because of war can also exacerbate a person's experiences of victimization. Recent Greek Cypriot refugees could have formed negative attitudes toward Turkish Cypriots and Turkish immigrants because the war forced the Greek Cypriots out of their hometowns and properties. Although Turkish Cypriots were not the invaders in the war, they moved into Greek Cypriot properties within Cyprus after the war. In a study of Bosnian refugees, living in exile accounted for the greatest amount of variance in depressive symptoms (Miller et al., 2002). Porter and Haslam (2001) conducted a meta-analysis of differences in mental health between refugees and nonrefugees from the former Yugoslavia. Refugees experienced an ongoing increase of losses, life pressures, and adaptational pressures during exile and resettlement. Plante, Simicic, Andersen, and Manuel (2002) found that among Bosnian refugees and displaced people, individuals who reported poorer health ratings also reported more difficulty in their attempts to adapt to a new society and find a new residence. Anger in posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) could also be the generator of the Greek Cypriot hostility toward Turkish Cypriots and Turkish immigrants. Novaco and

Chemtob (2002) found that among Vietnam veterans, anger in PTSD was linked to the perception of threat and the perception of their survival needs. In line with realistic group conflict theory, researchers would expect Greek Cypriot refugees to have more negative attitudes toward Turkish ethnic groups than would non-refugees because of those refugees' stressful experiences.

Human Rights

Greek Cypriots' attitudes toward Turkish Cypriots and Turkish immigrants may also have developed as a response to perceived violations of Greek Cypriot human rights. Greek Cypriots perceived their human rights as being violated during the 1974 war and have continued to perceive them as being violated to the present day. Turkey denies Greek Cypriots the right to return to their homes in northern Cyprus. Greek Cypriot refugees have lost their rights to freedom of movement and to ownership of their property in their former residences. Turkey has offered them no compensation for the interference with those rights (Kypros-Net, 1995).

On July 10, 1976, the European Commission of Human Rights of the Council of Europe found Turkey to be responsible for the eviction of the Greek Cypriots from their homes, for its refusal to allow their return to their homes, and for the looting and deprivation of their possessions (Kypros-Net, 1995). More recently, the European Court, in its judgment in the case of *Cyprus v. Turkey* on May 10, 2001, found that Turkey committed 14 violations of the European Convention on Human Rights (Danielidou, 2003).

Greek Cypriots could have negative attitudes toward Turkish Cypriots and Turkish immigrants because of such perceived violations of Greek Cypriots' human rights. Indeed, before the war in 1974, in some villages in Cyprus, the two ethnic groups had friendly, even intimate relations with each other, although intermarriages were rare. The war in 1974 forced the two cultures that had previously intermingled to separate (Joseph, 1985). In Danielidou's (2003) pilot study, Greek Cypriot participants cited injustice from Turkey as a reason for their unwillingness to cohabit with Turkish immigrants. It is reasonable to assume that Greek Cypriots would develop negative attitudes against the perceived violators of their rights.

On the other hand, protestations of human-rights violations may be manifestations of standing up for oneself, hence a form of self-expression and assertiveness, rather than of anxiety and perceptions of threat. If such protestations are not an expression of anxiety, then according to realistic group conflict and integrated threat theories of prejudice, they may not be associated with negative intergroup attitudes. In support of this assumption, Bobocel, Song Hing, Davey, Stanley, and Zanna (1998) found genuine concerns for justice to influence attitudes toward affirmative action, but those researchers did not find such concerns to be associated with prejudice.

The Present Study

In the present study, we examined Greek Cypriot attitudes toward Turkish Cypriots and Turkish immigrants because of the historical and sociocultural differences that have existed between these groups. Moreover, we examined some possible reasons behind the attitudes. In our analysis, we found that three major variables contributed to variations among Greek Cypriots' attitudes toward Turkish subgroups. These were (a) the Greek Cypriot participant's gender, (b) his or her immigration status, and (c) which Turkish subgroup (Turkish Cypriot vs. Turkish immigrant) was the object of evaluation. The dependent variables were (a) willingness to cohabit, (b) attitudes, (c) perceived national identity, (d) experiences of victimization, and (e) perceived human-rights violations.

We made the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Greek Cypriots would be more willing to cohabit with Turkish Cypriots than with Turkish immigrants, would have more negative attitudes toward Turkish immigrants, would find more social-identity differences between themselves and Turkish immigrants, would perceive more victimization from Turkish immigrants than from Turkish Cypriots, and would perceive more human-rights violations from Turkish immigrants than from Turkish Cypriots.

Hypothesis 2: Perceived social-identity differences, experiences of victimization, and perceived violations of human rights would predict unwillingness to cohabit with and negative attitudes toward the Turkish groups.

Hypothesis 3: Greek Cypriot refugees would have more negative attitudes than would Greek Cypriot nonrefugees toward these ethnic groups.

Furthermore, we felt that it was important to examine gender differences in attitudes because men and women often have different experiences of war, although we made no hypotheses with regard to gender.

Method

Participants

Participants were 106 Greek Cypriots (50 men, 56 women) from Limassol, Cyprus. Greek Cypriots form the main ethnic group on the island of Cyprus. All participants were over the age of 46 years. The mean age of participants was 56.33 years ($SD = 9.17$ years). The mean age of male participants was 57.20 years ($SD = 9.73$ years). The mean age of female participants was 55.55 years ($SD = 8.65$ years). The largest sectors of the sample were married (86.3%), employed full time (60.4%), had a middle-class household income that was equivalent to \$20,000–\$30,000 (23.7%), and had a bachelor's degree (21.7%) or some high school (19.8%). Of the total sample, 48.1% were refugees from areas of Cyprus that are now occupied by Turkey, and 51.9% were nonrefugees.

In our statistical analysis, the participants formed four distinct groups. One group included 26 female Greek Cypriot refugees, the second group included 25 male Greek Cypriot refugees, the third included 30 female Greek Cypriot non-refugees, and the fourth included 25 male Greek Cypriot nonrefugees.

Measures

Each participant completed three sets of measures. We counterbalanced the administration of the measures of attitudes toward Turkish Cypriots and Turkish immigrants. Most of the measures obtained high internal reliabilities in the present study.

Measures of attitudes toward Turkish Cypriots. The first set of measures contained five sections on the participant's attitudes toward Turkish Cypriots. Participants rated each question in the five sections on a 6-point Likert-type scale (ranging from +1 = *strongly disagree*, to +2 = *disagree*, to +3 = *slightly disagree*, to +4 = *slightly agree*, to +5 = *agree*, to +6 = *strongly agree*). Each section in the first set of measures included a space for additional comments.

The first section began with a general premise: "If the Cyprus problem is solved and Greek and Turkish-Cypriots cohabited the island." The first section measured attitude toward cohabitation because it is a key political issue on Cyprus. It consisted of one item addressing the willingness of Greek Cypriots to cohabit with Turkish Cypriots. Following the opening premise, the item stated, "Will you be willing to live in the same city with Turkish-Cypriots?"

The second section began with the same general premise as the first: "If the Cyprus problem is solved and Greek and Turkish-Cypriots cohabited the island." The second section consisted of 10 items measuring more pervasive attitudes toward Turkish Cypriots. Examples of the items are, "I could be friends with a Turkish-Cypriot" and "I would like to see Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot children attending the same school." Cronbach's alpha for this attitude measure in the present study was .89.

The third, fourth, and fifth sections measured the theory-based reasons behind attitudes toward Turkish Cypriots. The third section consisted of four items measuring social-identity perceptions. Examples of the items are, "I believe that cultural differences will be an obstacle to the peaceful cohabitation of Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots" and "I believe that differences in education levels will be an obstacle to the peaceful cohabitation of Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots." Cronbach's alpha for this measure was .88.

The fourth section contained three items measuring victimization experiences. Examples of the items are, "I feel that I need to protect my family and self from Turkish-Cypriot manipulation" and "I feel that I need to protect my family and self from Turkish-Cypriot aggression." We prorated the victimization scores

(to total a maximum of 24) to be consistent with the other two theory measures. Cronbach's alpha for this measure was .86.

The fifth section contained four items measuring perceptions of human-rights violations. Examples of the items are, "I believe that Turkish-Cypriots are illegally occupying Greek-Cypriot land" and "I believe that Turkish-Cypriots living in the occupied part of the island are violating Greek-Cypriot rights." Cronbach's alpha for this measure was .58.

Measures of attitudes toward Turkish immigrants. The second set of measures also contained five sections and was identical to the first set, with the exception that the questions referred to Turkish immigrants. One item pertained to willingness to cohabit with Turkish immigrants. Cronbach's alphas for the other measures of attitudes, social identity, victimization, and human rights were .96, .88, .93, and .95, respectively.

Demographic questions. The third set of measures had the participant give demographic information and consisted of seven questions regarding the participant's gender, age, relationship status, employment status, family income, education, and refugee status. After having an expert linguist translate all measures into the Greek language, we administered them to participants in Greek.

Procedure

We conducted the present study in Limassol, Cyprus. We drew a set of postal codes randomly to select the residential areas that the researcher would visit, to ensure the randomness of the nonrefugee participants. We then recruited participants by visiting residences that we picked at random in the different areas in Limassol. In addition, we also drew randomly a set of refugee residence areas (apartment blocks that were built by the government to accommodate refugees). Once the refugee residence areas were selected, the researcher visited residences that we picked randomly in those areas. We informed residents about the study and the restrictions on who may participate (age limit). We chose the age of 46 years as a minimum, so that all the participants would have experienced the war as *adults* (people over the age of 18 years). We obtained informed consent from all participants. We informed them about the confidentiality of individual results and about their right to withdraw from the study at any time. If they agreed to participate, we gave them consent forms to sign. After they agreed to take part, we handed a questionnaire to each participant. We gave instructions both verbally and on the questionnaire and allotted a 30-min period to complete it. After that period, the researcher returned, collected the questionnaire, and gave the debriefing form. We debriefed all participants and gave them souvenirs from Canada for their participation.

Design and Analysis

We analyzed the questionnaire data by a series of repeated measures analyses of variance (ANOVAs), the two target groups (Turkish Cypriots and Turkish immigrants) making up the repeated variable. In addition, we included two quasi-independent variables—refugee status and gender—in the ANOVA for the aforementioned reasons. The dependent variables were willingness to cohabit with Turkish Cypriots and Turkish immigrants; attitudes toward the two groups; and the three reasons behind those attitudes, that is, perceptions of social-identity differences, victimization experiences, and human-rights violations. We chose the repeated measures design so that all participants would answer questions regarding both target groups to decrease error variance and to increase the power of the design.

We used multiple regression analyses to examine which of the perceived reasons (social identity, victimization, human-rights violations) best predicted willingness to cohabit with and attitudes toward the two target groups.

Results

Repeated Measures ANOVAs

Table 1 presents descriptive statistics for the two target groups and the refugee status and gender subgroups on the measures of attitudes and perceptions.

We conducted a series of $2 \times 2 \times 2$ (Target Group \times Refugee Status \times Gender) repeated measures ANOVAs to examine Greek Cypriots' attitudes toward Turkish Cypriots and Turkish immigrants. The repeated measures independent variable comprised the two target groups, Turkish Cypriots and Turkish immigrants. The first repeated measures ANOVA concerned Greek Cypriots' willingness to cohabit with Turkish Cypriots and Turkish immigrants. A significant main effect of target group, $F(1, 96) = 251.81, p < .001, \eta^2 = .72$, showed that Greek Cypriots were more willing to cohabit with Turkish Cypriots than with Turkish immigrants. We found no main effects of gender or refugee status. Interactions of Group \times Gender, Group \times Refugee Status, Gender \times Refugee Status, and Group \times Gender \times Refugee Status were not significant.

The second repeated measures ANOVA concerned differences in Greek Cypriots' attitudes toward the two target groups. A significant main effect of target group, $F(1, 97) = 233.72, p < .001, \eta^2 = .71$, showed that Greek Cypriots had more negative attitudes toward Turkish immigrants than toward Turkish Cypriots. We found no significant main effects for or interactions of gender or refugee status.

The third repeated measures ANOVA concerned Greek Cypriots' perceptions of social-identity differences from the two target groups. A significant main effect of target group, $F(1, 95) = 88.81, p < .001, \eta^2 = .48$, showed that Greek Cypriots

TABLE 1. Descriptive Statistics for Measures of Attitudes and Perceptions for the Variables in the Analyses of Variance

Variable	Turkish Cypriots		Turkish immigrants	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
<i>Cohabitation</i>				
Refugees	4.85	1.40	2.11	1.75
Nonrefugees	5.26	1.00	1.87	1.51
Men	5.24	1.10	1.98	1.71
Women	4.93	1.30	1.98	1.56
Overall	5.07	1.22	1.98	1.62
<i>Attitudes</i>				
Refugees	41.15	11.35	21.51	12.54
Nonrefugees	44.81	7.64	23.59	14.55
Men	45.17	9.49	22.61	14.65
Women	41.38	9.57	22.64	12.85
Overall	43.11	9.67	22.62	13.63
<i>Social identity</i>				
Refugees	12.00	5.42	18.83	5.19
Nonrefugees	11.70	5.49	17.32	5.83
Men	11.53	5.60	18.29	5.64
Women	12.09	5.34	17.80	5.55
Overall	11.84	5.44	18.02	5.57
<i>Victimization</i>				
Refugees	15.40	5.80	20.70	4.70
Nonrefugees	13.19	5.59	19.87	5.98
Men	12.96	5.49	19.26	6.40
Women	15.36	5.82	21.13	4.22
Overall	14.24	5.77	20.26	5.40
<i>Human rights</i>				
Refugees	19.15	4.00	22.91	3.52
Nonrefugees	17.54	3.96	23.26	2.91
Men	18.43	3.95	22.78	4.20
Women	18.16	4.14	23.36	2.01
Overall	18.29	4.04	23.10	3.20

Note. The rows labeled "Overall" present the whole sample's attitudes and perceptions of the two target groups.

perceived more differences in social identity from Turkish immigrants than from Turkish Cypriots. We found no main effects for gender or refugee status. None of the interactions was significant.

The fourth repeated measures ANOVA concerned Greek Cypriot perceptions of victimization from the two target groups. A significant main effect of target group, $F(1, 95) = 88.02, p < .001, \eta^2 = .48$, showed that Greek Cypriots felt more victimization from Turkish immigrants than from Turkish Cypriots. A main effect for gender was also found, $F(1, 95) = 5.16, p < .05, \eta^2 = .05$, with women ($M = 18.23, SD = 5.02$) feeling more victimized than did men ($M = 16.20, SD = 5.95$). We found no main effect for refugee status. None of the interactions was significant.

The fifth repeated measures ANOVA concerned Greek Cypriots' perceptions of violations of their human rights. A significant main effect of target group, $F(1, 97) = 86.09, p < .001, \eta^2 = .47$, showed that Greek Cypriots felt more violations of human rights from Turkish immigrants than from Turkish Cypriots. We found no main effects for gender or refugee status. The interaction of Groups \times Refugee Status was significant, $F(1, 97) = 4.14, p < .05, \eta^2 = .04$. We used Scheffé post hoc contrasts to explore the significant interaction effects. They revealed that both refugees and nonrefugees felt more violations of human rights from Turkish immigrants than from Turkish Cypriots. Refugees felt more violations of their human rights from Turkish immigrants than did nonrefugees from Turkish Cypriots. In addition, nonrefugees felt more violations of their human rights from Turkish immigrants than refugees felt from Turkish Cypriots. None of the other interactions was significant.

Correlational Analyses

Table 2 presents correlations among the measures. All significant correlations among the measures using two-tailed tests were as follows. Less willingness to cohabit with Turkish Cypriots was significantly correlated with negative attitudes, perceived differences in social identity, and more perception of victimization from this group. More negative attitudes toward Turkish Cypriots were correlated with perceived differences in social identity and more victimization experienced from this group. We obtained similar correlational results on the measures for Turkish immigrants.

The three theoretical measures or rated reasons were moderately correlated with each other. Perceived differences from Turkish Cypriots in social identity were correlated with perceived victimization experiences and perceived human-rights violations from them. Perceived victimization experiences were correlated with perceived human-rights violations. We obtained similar correlational results for perceptions of Turkish immigrants.

TABLE 2. Correlations Between Cohabitation, Attitudes, Perceived Social Identity, Victimization, and Human Rights Violations

Measure	Cohabitation	Attitudes	Social identity	Victimization	Human rights
Cohabitation	—	.65***	-.36***	-.35***	.08
Attitudes	.59***	—	-.58***	-.43***	.13
Social identity	-.26**	-.27**	—	.53***	.31**
Victimization	-.21*	-.33**	.45***	—	.45***
Human rights	.02	-.06	.32**	.26**	—

Note. Correlations for Turkish immigrants are above the diagonal of dashes. Correlations for Turkish Cypriots are below.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Multiple Regression Analyses

In four multiple regression analyses, we entered the variables representing the reasons behind attitudes (social-identity perception and victimization experiences) as predictors of willingness to cohabit with or of attitudes toward Turkish Cypriots or Turkish immigrants. We did so because those variables had shown significant correlations with these two measures. The first multiple regression analyzed Greek Cypriots' willingness to cohabit with Turkish Cypriots. The overall regression equation was significant, $F(2, 99) = 4.40$, $p < .05$, explaining only 8% of the total variance. Only perceived differences in social identity influenced Greek Cypriots' unwillingness to cohabit with Turkish Cypriots, with a nearly significant $\beta = -.20$, $p = .07$. The second multiple regression analyzed Greek Cypriot attitudes toward Turkish Cypriots. The overall regression equation was significant, $F(2, 99) = 8.81$, $p < .001$, explaining 15% of the total variance. Only perception of victimization, $\beta = -.30$, $p < .01$, influenced Greek Cypriots' negative attitudes toward Turkish Cypriots. The next multiple regression concerned Greek Cypriots' willingness to cohabit with Turkish immigrants. The overall regression equation was significant, $F(2, 97) = 9.23$, $p < .001$, explaining 16% of the total variance. Both perceptions of differences in social identity, $\beta = -.24$, $p < .05$, and experiences of victimization, nearly significant $\beta = -.21$, $p = .06$, influenced unwillingness to cohabit with Turkish immigrants. The last multiple regression analyzed Greek Cypriot attitudes toward Turkish immigrants. The overall regression equation was significant, $F(2, 98) = 27.32$, $p < .001$, explaining nearly 36% of the total variance. Only perceived differences in social identity, $\beta = -.49$, $p < .001$, influenced negative attitudes toward Turkish immigrants.

Discussion

The present findings support our hypotheses mostly. Greek Cypriots appeared willing to cohabit with Turkish Cypriots and did not have strong negative attitudes toward them (Hypothesis 1). However, their sentiments toward Turkish immigrants were not the same. Greek Cypriots appeared unwilling to cohabit with Turkish immigrants and had strong negative attitudes toward them (Hypothesis 1). In terms of cultural, victimization, and human-rights issues, attributed negative qualities were stronger for Turkish immigrants. The attitudes toward Turkish immigrants were negative across all issues and seemed to override possible effects of refugee status and gender.

The three reasons behind attitudes tended to be related. Perceived cultural differences were linked to perceived victimization experiences and human-rights violations for both target groups. Negative attitudes and unwillingness to cohabit with both out-groups related to perceived differences in social identity and victimization experiences (Hypothesis 2). Overall, our findings are consistent with realistic group conflict theories and findings (Bobo, 1983; Levine & Campbell, 1972) and with their extension in the integrated threat model of prejudice (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Grant, 1992, 1993). These theories suggest that negative intergroup contacts and conflicts and strong in-group identifications affect attitudes either directly or indirectly through the mediation of perceived threat from the out-group. In the present study, negative out-group attitudes were associated with perceived threat to the in-group's existence, beliefs, or way of life. This threat appears to have been caused by a history of negative contacts and conflicts with Turkish Cypriots and especially Turks and by perceived cultural differences.

However, perceived human-rights violations did not predict cohabitation willingness or more general attitudes toward the out-groups. One explanation for this finding may be that perceptions or expressions of human-rights violations do not reflect threat and anxiety to the degree that perceptions of differences in social identity or aggression from out-groups do. Perhaps our measure of perceived human-rights violations reflected a more assertive, self-righteous, or at least intellectualized position that tends not to be associated with anxiety. If so, then realistic group conflict and integrated threat theories would not predict an association between perceived human-rights violations and negative attitudes or prejudice. This is an interesting and potentially important finding. It suggests that protestations of human-rights violations or promotions of human-rights issues do not automatically indicate an antipathy against or refusal to cooperate or coexist with the accused group.

Joseph (1985) claimed that divisions between the ethnic groups in Cyprus are unavoidable because of major cultural differences. Also, Volkan (1979) asserted that Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots desired to keep first and most important their own separate ethnic identities—rather than their Cypriot identity—and that that circumstance caused friction. In contrast, for example, various ethnic

groups in Canada tend to see themselves as Canadians first and value their multiculturalism and integration (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Esses & Gardner, 1996). The present findings only partly support these claims. Perceived differences in social identity were indeed associated with unwillingness to cohabit with and negative attitudes toward the Turkish groups. However, Greek Cypriots seemed to differentiate a great deal between Turkish Cypriots and the Turks that immigrated to Cyprus after the war. Greek Cypriots saw less differences between themselves and Turkish Cypriots and had more positive attitudes toward them. The comments written by the participants in the present study also suggested that Greek Cypriots considered Turkish Cypriots to be more equal members of the Republic of Cyprus than were the Turkish immigrants. While both Turkish groups were culturally different from Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots had a common Cypriot identity, which seems to have led to more positive attitudes toward them.

According to Volkan (1979), living in mixed villages before the war led to more nationalism in both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, which ultimately led to negative attitudes between the two groups. In the present sample, the surprisingly mild attitudes toward Turkish Cypriots do not support Volkan's viewpoint. Research on contacts between ethnic groups also tends to contradict that view (Kalin, 1996). A person's attitudes toward other ethnic groups tend to be more favorable to the extent that the other ethnic groups are populous enough in the person's geographic region. The lack of a history of contact and mixing shows up in the attitudes of Greek Cypriots toward the Turkish immigrants. Greek Cypriots mainly considered the Turks to be the aggressors and the external enemy. Greek Cypriots were not ready for any coexistence with Turkish immigrants and had consistently negative attitudes toward them. Now, 46 years after the Republic of Cyprus was declared and 32 years after the war, Greek Cypriots still hold nationalistic views and consider Turkish immigrants as the out-group. With a possible solution to the Cyprus problem approaching through the reunification of the two halves of Cyprus, which are inhabited by the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot ethnic groups separately, the different attitudes of the Greek Cypriots to these two ethnic groups will matter a great deal in the potential resolution of the conflicts and should be considered.

Among the limitations of the present study is the fact that we did not measure directly the participant's felt threat, which is a proposed mediating factor in the integrated threat theory of prejudice. However, it is very clear from the present data on perceived victimization and human-rights violations that the experience of threat was in our participants.

Another limitation of the present study is that the sampling occurred in one district only. Our participants tended to have been well educated and of the middle class. Greek Cypriots living in other areas may provide different results. Researchers should also consider that when we collected the data, no major developments regarding the Cyprus problem were occurring. However, since our collection of data, important political developments that may eventually affect the

attitudes of each group toward the other—including United Nations (UN) proposals for unification—have occurred.

Future researchers could survey the attitudes of populations living next to the delineation line or even of Greek Cypriot enclaves living in the occupied section. The present study concerned the attitudes of the main ethnic group in Cyprus. Although minority groups often share and reciprocate the attitudes of the majority or other ethnic groups (Kalin & Berry, 1996), it would also be useful for researchers to examine Turkish Cypriot attitudes toward Greek Cypriots and Turkish immigrants. Such research could offer further information about the future of cohabitation and also show the other side of the coin: the other group's attitudes. For example, in a recent referendum, the majority of Turkish Cypriots favored the UN plan for reunification.

Although the present study concerned the adults (over the age of 46 years) who were able to experience the 1974 war as adults, future researchers should also examine the attitudes of the Greek Cypriots who were born after 1974 and therefore had no experience of either living with Turkish Cypriots or with the war. Greek Cypriots born after 1974 might consider Turkish Cypriots as "foreigners" as much as they do the Turkish immigrants. It is important to find out what the new generation thinks, because they will determine the future of Cyprus. For example, recently in the referendum regarding reunification of the two parts of Cyprus, it was mainly the younger Greek Cypriots who rejected the UN plan. It would be interesting to see whether propaganda in schools, the media, and the society have affected younger people's views of the ethnic out-groups.

The present questionnaire simply instructed participants to answer as "if the Cyprus problem is solved," not giving any details on what kind of solution would be involved, but giving participants the chance to speculate about the solution. The absence of proposed solutions in the present study may have influenced the participants toward being somewhat flexible in their views. Future researchers should evaluate attitudes that are based on proposed solutions.

In sum, the present findings indicated the possibility that cultural differences are not the primary obstacles against coexistence between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Greek Cypriots have a history of contact and coexistence with Turkish Cypriots and appear willing to put aside differences and cohabit with them. On the other hand, their attitudes toward Turkish immigrants are very different. The present findings showed that previous war and victimization experiences are not easily forgotten or discarded. Greek Cypriots do not appear to be ready to resolve their differences with Turkish immigrants. The present results indicated the possibility that perceptions of interference from groups that were external to indigenous populations and cultures might have been a factor. It is difficult for people to accommodate other groups whom the first people see as external invaders and with whom there is no shared identity.

The present findings on the attitudes of this main ethnic group (Greek Cypriots) to other ethnic groups on Cyprus are relevant to multicultural nations in

which several major cultural and religious groups reside. The present findings indicate the possibility that the potential for coexistence is quite good for different ethnic groups, even if they differ considerably in culture and religion, if they have a history of cooperation and coexistence and do not see one another as an external invader imposing its will on the indigenous populations. The different ethnic groups in multicultural societies may have a better chance for coexistence if they do not perceive negative outside interference in their affairs.

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