

EUROPEAN TRENDS: THE CYPRIOT FEMALE LABOUR FORCE AND OCCUPATIONAL SEX SEGREGATION

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Abstract

This article attempts to present a snapshot of the Cypriot labour force between 1974 and the early 1990s. It also aims to show that despite differences between Cyprus and the EU regarding women's issues, Cyprus seems to have made certain 'advancements' in this field though suffering shortcomings particularly with respect to occupational segregation. The article also stresses that whilst Greek Cypriots challenge a rather traditional society as regards rights and status, they are at the same time actively involved in the struggle against the illegal occupation of part of the island since 1974.

Introduction

The Theory: Segregation of the Female Labour Force

Over recent years Europe has been plagued with high levels of unemployment and to a very large extent a halting economic recovery. In spite of this, both the structure and the size of its labour force has been changing in rather fundamental ways. As Beechey clarifies a rather crucial change in the labour force has been its feminisation.¹ Since the Second World War women in many European countries have increased their presence in the paid labour force tremendously.² This has led to women's employment becoming an issue today not only because a large number of women have become part of the economically active population but with the growth of feminism over the past few years the independence of women and their prominent positions not only with respect to the social field (economic, political and intellectual) but also in the occupational field has been advanced. Women are not only employed in prestigious jobs but are to be found in crucial sectors of the economy.³ Lastly, women have moved away from their very traditional role of biological reproduction and housework to independent and autonomous positions in the labour market. This

has indeed"... brought upon a series of changes affecting the whole social spectrum"⁴... and can be claimed that the feminisation of the labour force is "... one of the most important social developments of the late twentieth century and one that will leave its imprint on the ongoing construction of Europe."⁵

In spite of the 'feminisation' of the labour market occupational equality has by no means been achieved.⁶ What definitely occurred was that perceived female occupations exhibited a greater growth in demand than those occupations labelled as male. This however, as England and Farkas clarify, can be viewed as a maturation of the economy the latter being characterised with a decline of employment in agriculture and manufacturing but coupled with an increase in the service industries and service occupations.⁷ This though, as England and Farkas point out, does not fully explain the increase of female labour. In fact what has to be underlined is that this increase also requires a further in-depth economic element. The 'help wanted' in the tertiary sector went together with the fact that "... the opportunity-cost of working exclusively in the home increased."⁸ Indeed what had occurred was that wage rates available to women increased, and so the benefits of staying home decreased.⁹

Moreover, the increase in women's employment cannot only be viewed from the perspective of the percentage of women employed. The occupations women actually practice, the specific branches of economic activity women choose to work (or in fact are available to them), the (in-)equality of opportunities women have with regards to the occupational field, and the reduced salaries they accept, create a totally new perspective to the issue of women's employment once these are set vis-a-vis with the "... the advantageous, in general, position of men in employment."¹⁰ Although statistics reflecting the sometimes astounding improvements which have occurred with respect to the participation of women in the labour market the overall picture is somewhat unsatisfactory.

It has been empirically shown time and again that women, in general, tend to work "... in lower paying occupations and industries which provide relatively low levels of firm-specific training."¹¹ In addition to this the rewards women receive are often limited and "... their allocation based on factors other than commonly accepted legitimate criteria."¹² Occupational sex segregation tends to pertain to this latter aspect for it actually refers to the concentration of men and women in different occupations, jobs, and places of work.¹³ Indeed sex segregation often takes the form of social classifications as jobs themselves are often defined as either male or female"... even though the two sexes occupy much the same physical space."¹⁴ Moreover, not only is occupational-level sex segregation evident but as Epstein clarifies "the extent to which the workplace is commonly segregated by sex is striking."¹⁵ It is often physical, males and females being separated by walls or even buildings whereas other times it occurs simply because of the work women do. Furthermore, similar jobs but

different titles are often assigned to male and females whilst in general women's jobs often reflect a differential status to male jobs; most often implying a lower status.¹⁶ Therefore sex segregation becomes imperative when considering the female labour force of any country. According to the United Nations empirical evidence illustrates that in general:

men's economic activity rates are higher than women's in all countries for which data is available[.] [and] relative to men, women are generally more underrepresented in administration and management than in professional and technical occupations. By contrast, they are generally over represented in clerical and sales and services occupations.¹⁷

However it must be clearly pointed out that "... social attitudes towards occupational roles of men and women vary ..."¹⁸ Moreover, occupational sex segregation of the labour force tends to be a universal phenomenon although differences do indeed exist and are often denoted by the boundaries which exist between societies.¹⁹

Therefore, taking into consideration that occupational segregation is found all over the world an attempt will be made to give an illustration, and as far as possible a comparison with Europe, as to the evolution of the female labour force in Cyprus and the degree of occupational sex segregation for the period 1974 and early 1990s. What is characteristic of a small independent island like Cyprus is that in this competitive world it cannot afford in any way to under-employ large numbers of its scarce and potential labour force (i.e. women). Thus, Cyprus has to take advantage of its labour force by utilising it as fully and as efficiently as possible.

It is, however, crucial to keep in mind that throughout the study all statistics after 1974 reflect surveys made by the legitimate government of Cyprus in the unoccupied areas of the Republic. This, with regards to the study has at least a two-fold essence. Primarily, the economy of Cyprus can be regarded as extremely young due to the devastation and transformation after 1974 and therefore its achievements can indeed be put into perspective. Second, the women of Cyprus are also victims of the 1974 invasion and so they not only face a struggle against a rather traditional society²⁰ in asserting their own rights and status but are actively involved in the struggle against the illegal occupation of their country.²¹

Moreover, what has to be pointed out is that "... frequently survey data cannot be compared between countries or over time."²² In the case of Cyprus this can be regarded as quite true as different measures were found with respect to European measures. Only United Nations statistics could, to some extent, give a global indicator and yet again due to the size of Cyprus in some data it was left out. In addition to this, what has to be highlighted is that Cyprus has been undergoing rapid devel-

opment and therefore, as will be shown by the statistics, it is, in some respects, impossible to predict what the picture will be in the future. However, in the case of occupational sex segregation conclusions can be drawn as the following study illustrates.

The Implications on the Female labour Force of Economic Transformation: Cyprus 1974-1989

The years following independence in Cyprus, between 1960 and early 1974, were characteristic of sustained economic growth despite political instability. By 1974 an escalation in the inter-communal fighting between the two communities, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, and a failed coup d'etat, provided the pretext for invasion of the island by Turkey. The latter invasion left the island with 37% of its territory occupied by Turkey and a shattered economy.²³ In spite of this very big setback, the economy of the island managed, within a relatively short time, to recover. This recovery is indicated by the impressive rate of real growth which averaged about 8,5% over the period 1976-81.²⁴ Furthermore, since 1988 Cyprus has been officially ranked with the high-income economies of the world.²⁵ Behind this, to some extent 'miraculous' recovery, was a series of Emergency Economic Action Plans implemented by the government of Cyprus together with the "... spirit of social solidarity and with a will to survive [the people of Cyprus] rebuilt their lives, their political institutions and their economy."²⁶

The agricultural sector until 1974 had in fact been the dominant economic activity accounting for 16% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and 45% of gainful employment.²⁷ Therefore a transformation of the economy after 1974 was predetermined as 76% of the islands agricultural resources were lost.²⁸ The loss of approximately two-thirds of its resources and 37% of the land which was the most productive and developed part of Cyprus "... necessitated that government policy arrest the economic slide and lay the foundations for economic recovery and the creation of employment opportunities".²⁹ More than 30% of the island's GDP was invested in order to replace lost, as well as expand, productive capacity, and reconstruct the lost social and economic infrastructure. By as early as 1978 the 30% unemployment rate observed in the wake of the invasion had dropped to conditions of full employment. Manufacturing and construction were to become the dominant sectors of employment as the government adopted labour intensive policy.³⁰ By the end of the '70s however, domestic exports showed a poor performance although the economy achieved a higher average rate of growth than expected. What was in fact responsible for this growth was the performance of tourism. Since then the tourist industry and services have become the dominant activities in the economy of Cyprus.³¹ To a large extent the economy of Cyprus had, between 1976 and 1981, undergone another

er rigorous transformation. Although today the primary and secondary sectors are significant the service sector over the past two decades has acquired an ever growing importance. The Fourth Emergency Action Plan outlined these major changes and was indicative of the new transformation. It clearly portrayed the unplanned sectoral pattern of growth illustrating that manufacturing had fallen well below target growth whereas tourism "... and its excellent performance had a positive impact on the level of activity in the rest of the services sectors."³² Invariably this latter economic transformation, the shift from primary sector to tertiary sector, has also radically altered the sectoral structure of employment of the island.

European Trends: Cyprus, Change and Feminisation of the Labour Force

Primarily however, before actually describing the altered sectoral structure of employment of the island the element of size must be taken into consideration with respect to the human resources of the island. The actual population of Cyprus is relatively smaller "... than the population of most European capital cities and only around that of Oslo, Norway" but can be seen as being even smaller than the population of Palermo, Sicily.³³ In addition to this, females exceed males; men in 1994 made up 49,9% of the population and women 50,1%.³⁴ The population is also characterised by ageing and a drop in fertility. Although the ageing of the population does not compare to European populations who have a median age of approximately 38 years it must be pointed out that the population of Cyprus has not reached an advanced stage of ageing.³⁵ Moreover, the fertility rate for 1993 was estimated as 2,3 continuing to be just above replacement level.³⁶

Therefore, the small size of the population leads to the logical conclusion that the economically active population of the island is also very small in contrast to its European counterparts. In fact, in 1989 it amounted to 273, 200,³⁷ 48,1% of the total population, even registering an increase of 2,8% since 1980. This latter growth is attributed largely to an increase in the percentage of women entering the labour market; from 33,4% in 1980 to 37,2% in 1989.³⁸ It has however, to be stressed that females in Cyprus have always been involved in work. Prior to the twentieth century a lot of women worked within the household without receiving wages.³⁹ As early as 1901 the female share of all occupations was 21,8% and by 1960 women actually made up 30,2% of the economically active population.⁴⁰ This is somewhat surprising considering "... the idea [for that period was] that the economic domain [was] totally the responsibility of the man, because of the nature of the household arrangements based on a tradition of peasant farming...."⁴¹ These traditional values were however very strong and with such distinctly defined gender roles the domestic role of women did indeed influence the female patterns of employment.⁴² Christodoulou clarifies this claiming that almost half the female labour force in the early 1960s and up until the early 1970s in agriculture - the dominant sector of the economy - was made up of

unpaid members of the family.⁴³ Despite this, even in 1960 although women were in 'feminine' jobs they had begun to enter professional jobs making up one third of the share. What can be seen is that in the total share of doctors, dentists, pharmacists, accountants, and jurists women made up nearly half these professions.⁴⁴

The invasion in 1974 however, as mentioned, curbed to a large extent the primary sector and together with this a large majority of women who worked as unpaid labour.⁴⁵ Through government policy the secondary sector after 1974 grew in importance until 1981 whereby the tertiary sector took over. The growth rates of employment in non-agricultural sectors by sex (and mostly paid labour) show that between 1976-81 46,2% of females entered the labour force in contrast to 27,3% of males; the ratio Females/Males being 1,69%. In spite of this large increase the same ratio for the period 1985-89 is 2,13%.⁴⁶ This latter ratio can be attributed to the considerable shift in the employment structure which has *moved* parallel with the economy. Indeed:

... the most spectacular development has been the growth of the female labour force participation in urban areas (...) reflecting the rise of the non-agricultural sectors, particularly of services.⁴⁷

Therefore the female labour force participation rates in the urban areas grew faster and greater because the tertiary sector which accounted for 55% of the GDP in 1980, grew by 1989 to 64,8%.⁴⁸ The gains of the tertiary sector marked the decrease of both the primary sector and the secondary sector and it is this specific change in production which led to marked changes in the structure of employment. In general the tertiary sector⁴⁹ had undoubtedly become "...the undisputed backbone of the Cyprus economy[...] [with] almost nine out of every ten jobs that were created [...] [being] in [...] [this] sector".⁵⁰ This rapid development and the enlargement of the secondary and tertiary sectors which occurred during the late '70s and early '80s in Cyprus invariably led to the appearance of both overall as well as specific labour shortages. It has to be pointed out that the government of Cyprus anticipated in the late '70s that labour supply was "... likely to act as a major bottleneck on continued growth and development unless more women [were] induced to join the labour force."⁵¹ Moreover, statistics in 1984 had revealed that:

labour participation of males in Cyprus [was] virtually universal - 94% in the working ages 20-64 compared to 48% for females. Thus an increase in the labour force should mostly be sought from the population of females.⁵²

Therefore, following the guidelines of various surveys⁵³ the Government of Cyprus sought to plan its efforts in order to fully and efficiently utilise its human resources and in particular lift "... all restraining factors which might hinder the process of activating certain groups of the population, especially women" in order to sustain

economic growth.⁵⁴ Foreign workers were therefore 'imported' to fill the gaps in certain occupations and sectors and, following its surveys, the Government began to 'tap' its inactive female labour force.⁵⁵

This labour shortage precipitated a big jump in the participation rate of women in non-agricultural employment. Over thirteen years, between 1976-1989 female employment in non-agriculture more than doubled. Statistics show that whereas during this period the growth rates of employment in the non-agricultural sectors for males increased by 56,1% for females the increase was a substantive 114,2 %.⁵⁶ This increase in female employment was, by 1989, distributed amongst the following sectors:⁵⁷

- i. 37% had occurred in trade and tourism,
- ii. 22-23% in manufacturing⁵⁸ and community, personal and other services,
- iii. whilst finance insurance and real estate accounted for another 11%.⁵⁹

The increasing role of the tertiary sector had led to a large increase in clerical, sales and service workers.⁶⁰ What is characteristic of these fields is that in western European countries, along with Cyprus, they are regarded as traditional sectors of female employment.⁶¹ Thus, during this period, 1980-89, it was these very female occupations which exhibited a greater growth in demand than the occupations labelled as male. It has to be stressed that what is referred to as a maturation of the economy by England and Farkas occurred in Cyprus too in a similar intensity as the rest of the western European countries.⁶²

As specified though, the explanation why women tend to enter the labour force requires a further in-depth economic element. The 'help wanted' in the tertiary sector in Cyprus, as illustrated by the labour shortages, was not enough. Primarily employees turned to women because they represented a cheaper source of labour than men. However, incentives soon had to be given for it was observed that inactive women began to request reasonable and equal remuneration, day-nursery facilities, and in general quoted the restraints of a severely segregated labour force.⁶³ Slowly an increase in the wage earnings of women occurred primarily due to the rather small improvement in the distribution of female employment but mainly because the earnings of women rose much faster than those of men. The basic underlying reason for this is the fact that female employment was needed. Therefore, in order to draw women into the labour force employers offered female employees better pay. Between 1975-80 salaries in general were seen as rising three-fold as manufacturing activity managed "... an astonishing jump of 87% in real wages in a time span of just five years."⁶⁴ This pay-off, for hiring women, was due to the fact that women were higher educated and more committed to their work therefore increasing earnings and productivity.⁶⁵ By 1989 the average pay of women had reached two

thirds of that of men in contrast to 55% in 1976.⁶⁶ In addition to this what induced women to move slowly into the labour force was a gradual alteration "... in the internal structure and distribution of roles in the family, coupled with the decline in cottage activities ..."⁶⁷ Of great importance however, was also the demand for higher standards of living which greatly increased the acceptance of wage-earning for the wife also.⁶⁸

Despite the rather impressive change of the sectoral structure of employment a rather subtle change occurred in the actual occupational structure of the island. The most obvious changes which occurred were the decreased role of agriculture, a tendency of Cypriots to acquire high educational qualifications, and the overall important aspect of the emergence of services.⁶⁹ Occupational sex segregation still persisted and persists the problem apparently stemming from the actual occupational structure of employment.⁷⁰

Occupational Structure of Employment: The Crux of the Problem

In spite of the increased share of females in the labour force, from 36,9% in 1976 to 38,9%⁷¹ in 1989, women were to be found in a rather limited range of occupational fields.⁷² It has to be emphasised that in 1979 only 18 2-digit ISCO occupations⁷³ accounted for 85% of all non-agricultural employment for Cypriot women whilst for male employment these extended to 27 occupations.⁷⁴ Although in 1989, for Cyprus, the share of female workers in the labour force is higher (38,9%)⁷⁵ than most countries of the European Community such as Greece 35,0%, Italy 34,1%, Netherlands 37,%, Luxembourg 35,5% and even Belgium 36,8%⁷⁶ overall very limited changes actually occurred in the occupational distribution of both men and women.⁷⁷ As seen in *Table 1.1* professional, administrative as well as managerial jobs for men "... grew marginally in relative importance at the expense of clerical and service workers."⁷⁸ Also, as observed, the structure of female employment underwent a very subtle change. However, what can be highlighted is that for females the change can be regarded as somewhat more significant because clerical as well as sales jobs expanded at the expense of the 'traditional' production occupations. In addition to this, by 1989 what can be noted is that the representation of females greatly increased in all occupations with the largest gains in clerical, sales and service occupations.⁷⁹

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Table 1.1: Employment in the Non-Agricultural Sectors, by Sex and Occupation, 1976 and 1989

ISCO (code 1968)	Occupation groups	Males (No.)	% of all male employment	Females (No.)	% of all female employment	% of females in occupation
1976						
0/1	Professional, technical, a.r.w.	8310	10,2	4663	13,2	35,9
2	Administrative and managerial workers	2328	2,9	159	0,5	6,4
3	Clerical a.r.w.	9970	12,2	7582	21,5	43,2
4	Sales workers	9667	11,9	4088	11,6	29,7
5	Service workers	11834	14,5	6430	18,3	35,2
6	Agricultural workers	292	0,4	14	0,0	4,6
7/8/9	Production a.r.w.	39139	47,9	12305	34,9	23,9
Total		81540	100,0	35241	100,0	30,2
1989						
0/1	Professional, technical, a.r.w.	15006	11,8	10371	13,7	40,9
2	Administrative and managerial workers	4269	3,3	485	0,6	10,2
3	Clerical a.r.w.	14547	11,4	19540	25,9	57,3
4	Sales workers	15264	12,0	10189	13,5	40,0
5	Service workers	16663	13,1	13825	18,3	45,3
6	Agricultural workers	675	0,5	75	0,1	0,1
7/8/9	Production a.r.w.	61115	47,9	21051	27,9	25,6
Total		126864	100,0	75536	100,0	37,3

Note: Employment data refer to the reference week of each Registration.
a.r.w. = and related workers

Source: Registration of Establishments, 1976, 1981, and 1989.⁸⁰

Clerical jobs between 1976 and 1989 show an increase of 158% filling 57% of the total clerical jobs. An advance in their share of sales and service can also be established and a somewhat relative increase in professional and technical occupations; from 35,9% in 1976 to 40,9% in 1989. What has to be pointed out though, is that they are still concentrated in occupations such as paramedics and teachers. Despite this, in administrative and managerial occupations women evidently have not achieved relative gains.⁸¹

It can therefore be claimed that female workers in Cyprus between 1976-89 faced considerable and well defined occupational sex segregation.⁸² The degree of occupational sex segregation for the years 1976, 1980, and 1989 can be established from *Table 1.2* below:

Table 1.2: Females in Non-Agricultural occupations dominated by men and dominated by women (percentages and ratios)⁸³

Occupational dominance by sex	1976	1980	1989
(1) Share of women In non-agricultural occupations (%)	30,2	32,4	37,3
<i>Occupations dominated by women</i>			
(2) Women's Share(%)	52,5	55,6	65,2
(3) % of all women - expected	49,9	52,1	46,2
(4) % of all women - observed	86,7	87,7	80,9
(5) Ratio of observed to expected	1,74	1,68	1,75
<i>Occupations dominated by men</i>			
(6) Women's share (%)	8,0	8,1	13,2
(7) % of all women - expected	50,0	47,9	53,8
(8) % of all women - observed	13,3	12,3	19,1
(9) Ratio of observed to expected	0,27	0,26	0,36

Source: Calculated from the Registration of establishments for 1976, 1981, 1985, and 1989.⁸⁴

It can be observed from *Table 1.2* above, that in 1976 although men were well represented in the occupations dominated by women (52,5% women's share) women did not fare so well. The actual women's share in occupations dominated by men is only 8,0%. Rows (3) and (7) illustrate the hypothetical shares of women had they actually made up their overall average representation in every occupation however, their observed shares are seen in (4) and (8). Therefore it is evident that in 1976 86,7% of women were located in occupations whereby 30,2% of the workers were women. It has to be clarified that if in each of these occupations women had a share of 30,2% half the non-farm female employment would have been absorbed. Also, 13,3% of women were observed in occupations dominated by men pointing to the same direction if the share of women had been 30,2%.⁸⁵ In addition to this the ratio of observed to expected in both rows (5) and (9) gives a global measure of under as well as over-representation in the 2 groups of occupations. Women, in 1976, were found to be working in female-dominated occupations where women working were 74% more than 'expected' whereas "... their representation in male dominated occu-

pations was only 27% of 'expected'.⁸⁶ However, despite this what can be seen from (1) is that there is an upward trend in the participation of women in these non-agricultural occupations; 30,2% in 1976 to 37,3% in 1989 which actually conforms with the general trend in Europe.⁸⁷

What can be concluded is that occupational sex segregation existed remaining largely unchanged since 1976.⁸⁸ However, it is worthy to note that women have, albeit since 1976, managed to infiltrate in male dominated fields. By 1989 physical scientists, architects and engineers, surveyors, life scientists, medical workers, statisticians, economists, accountants, and lawyers were indicative of an increase in female participation rates of at least four times than that of 1976. Women in these latter occupations made up only 1,8% of all female non-agricultural employment in 1976 whereas males 4,4% of all male non-agricultural employment. By 1989 this had risen to 3,9% for females and 6,2% for men. Therefore women made up 34% and men 66% of these occupations "... a percentage which far exceeded women's original share."⁸⁹

A Discussion: 1989 and the Future

The general picture that can be drawn, with respect to Cyprus in 1989, is that occupational sex segregation ("horizontal segregation") was the rule as in the Twelve member States of the European Economic Community.⁹⁰ Although the feminisation of the labour market did occur in the 1980s in the European Community along with Cyprus this did not have an important impact on the mechanisms of segregation. Women in general, but in higher percentages in Cyprus, tend to be found concentrated in a few sectors.⁹¹ Moreover, as one moves to the managerial positions the amount of women decrease dramatically both in the private and public sector. In 1992 only 4 females were participating in the government at the highest levels in contrast to 128 males; from 1980-85 women were non-existent. Moreover, since 1960 only two women have held the position of minister. One in 1960, later on becoming Attorney General, and then Minister of Education and Culture. Furthermore out of 56 MPs only three women were to be found in 1994 parliament.⁹² This is the lowest with respect to the European Community for the share of seats held by women is only 5% in contrast to Greece with 6% and even the United Kingdom with 7%, Finland with 35%.⁹³ The current restructuring of the Swedish government has given way to 11 female ministers and 9 male ministers.⁹⁴ For the private sector the share of women for employers and own account workers increased from 8,8% in 1981 to 14,2% in 1989.⁹⁵ For the private sector for administrative and managerial workers females increased from 8,5% to 10,4%.

Despite these factors it can be claimed that the state itself, in general, has, since the early '80s, asserted itself with regards to the position and status of women. The

Government of Cyprus acknowledges the importance of women both in the economic and social spheres and strives to provide legislation in particular with respect to Family Law and Work Relations. The Five Year Development Plan 1989-1993 clarifies that:

although considerable progress has been made in relation to the status of women in Cypriot society, the traditional perceptions of her role as a wife and mother, the inadequacy of childcare facilities and the discrimination against her obstruct her substantive and equal participation in all fields. [...] There continues to exist discrimination against women in the fields of employment and family law. Rural women face particularly serious problems.⁹⁶

In general, the legislation of the Republic does not in any way discriminate against women as the family law has been undergoing rigorous revision since the identification of the problem in 1989.⁹⁷ This drive towards equality of the sexes has been further enhanced with the setting up of the National Machinery for the Advancement of Women in 1988 for the promotion of Women's rights. It is attached to the Ministry of Justice and Public Order giving it direct access to the Council of Ministers and is funded by the government.⁹⁸ Indeed the overall legal status of Cypriot women in the labour market indicates".." that they enjoy the same legal protection as men and, in addition, they benefit from some special protective legislation."⁹⁹ In addition to this, the importance and concern of the government with regards to the position and status of women can be viewed from its Strategic Development Plan 1994-1998 as it is clarified that:

regarding women's issues, the permanent [ex-]Central Agency for Women's Issues [today's National Machinery for the Advancement of Women] will be reorganised, the efforts for the practical implementation of the principle of equal pay for equal work will be intensified, the operation of nurseries, kindergartens and day-care centres for the children of working mothers will be further promoted, training programmes for women will be expanded and housewives and farmers' wives will be assisted, through the instituting of the social pension.¹⁰⁰

In October 1995 the Minister of Labour and Social Insurance announced that since May 1995 thirteen thousand (13,000) housewives who are sixty-eight years of age and do not receive any other pension are allowed pension in Cyprus. Also the payment period of maternity allowance was extended from twelve to sixteen weeks.¹⁰¹

However, despite the legal protection the state offers the traditional role figure of the women still persists primarily as stated in the private sector. In government services, semi-government companies (Electricity Board, Cyprus Telecommunications), banks and the tourist sector equal pay and minimisation of discrimination in both recruitment and promotion have to a some extent been neutralised. Nevertheless in the private sector equal pay and minimisation of discrimination have not, to a large

extent, been achieved and women are still found concentrated in the lower echelons of companies and are also paid less.¹⁰²

It has to be underlined that the process of equality and the neutralisation of discrimination are determined by the segregation of the labour market. This latter trend of segregation will seemingly go on with a very gradual positive improvement for women. In fact, the segregation of the sexes is well defined from the very streams of education both at secondary and tertiary level. *Table 1.3* and *Table 1.4* below illustrate this:

Table 1.3: Male and Female Pupils in secondary Education in Second Cycle Stream in SchoolYear1990/1991

Stream	Males(%)	Females(%)
General	12,7	10,2
Technical and Vocational	27,7	5,7
Classical (Lem 51)	3,3	11,9
Science (Lem 52)	18,6	11,4
Economics (Lem 53)	23,1	28,1
Commercial and Secretarial (Lem 54)	13,1	24,5
Foreign Languages (Lem 55)	1,5	8,2
Total	100,0	100,0

Note: LEM = Lyceum of Optional Studies

Source: Statistics of Education 1990 / 91, Nicosia¹⁰³

As shown above in *Table 1.3* female pupils still tend to be the majority in female fields such as foreign languages, commercial and secretarial studies, and classical studies. Furthermore, the male 'bastion' of technical and vocational studies is an indication of the ongoing differences. In science subjects though as well as in economics females are closing up the difference with males.

For third level education, as shown in *Table 1.4*, the picture more or less continues to illustrate a rather ongoing segregated labour force although gaps are evidently closing. Again women dominate the more 'feminine' fields such as education, and fine arts humanities whereas in local tertiary education for 1992 "... only females attended Teacher Training for Nurseries and Secretarial courses, whilst only males attended Marine Engineering and Forestry."¹⁰⁴ Engineering-technology still seems to be dominated by males whereas medical and paramedical has 'fallen' to women. Females and males continue to increase together in the field of commercial and busi-

ness administration thus creating a possible precedent as more people in particular women enter this field of occupation. What is also rather interesting is the increase of women in the field of service trades, overcoming the male domination of this field. Overall however, what has to be highlighted is the increase of females moving into third level studies. It can be claimed that this increase of women observed, from 721 in 1980 to 2116 in 1992 (already in 1985: 1362 males and 1225 females), can be heralded as a new era for women. As more graduate with third level degrees the challenge posed to males will probably increase as already shown by the laws passed and the establishment of the National Machinery for the Advancement of Women. In addition to this, what has to be stressed is the direction Cyprus as a whole is moving towards. Since its application to the European Union in 1990 and the positive *avis* in 1993 the Cyprus government has shifted gears towards harmonisation with Europe in all fields. Therefore, the examples as well as the standards set by the European countries and in particular the Scandinavian countries will undoubtedly have an impact and effect positively the general position, rights and status of Cypriot women.

Table 1.4: Number of Third level Graduates by Field of Study 1980-1992

Fields of Study	1980		1992	
Education	20	30	111	463
Fine Arts	22	20	55	110
Humanities Programs	50	107	20	63
Religion & Technology	19	1	10	0
Social Sciences	152	100	136	92
Commercial & Business Administration	92	96	576	548
Law	84	48	48	44
Natural Sciences	29	26	39	32
Mathematics & Computer Science	25	21	200	109
Medical & Paramedical	126	123	103	148
Engineering-Technology	380	59	467	42
Architectural & Town Planning	27	12	32	19
Agriculture, Forestry & Fishery	35	4	22	7
Home Economics	2	7	1	19
Transport & Communication	55	4	29	6
Trade Craft & Industrial Programs	56	10	17	32
Service Trades	77	38	229	303
Other Programs	20	15	94	79
	1,271	721	2,189	2,116

Source: Statistics of Education 1980, 1992 Department of Statistics and Research.¹⁰⁵

As such what can be concluded is that although occupational sex segregation existed in 1989 will consequently but slowly change. The United Nations Development-Programme for 1995 ranks Cyprus for its human development index (HDI)¹⁰⁶ as being 23 (out of 174) amongst the countries with high human development. For the gender empowerment measure (GEM)¹⁰⁷ Cyprus is ranked as 48 with 0.385 (the highest being Sweden with 0.757) above countries such as Greece (0.343) and Malta (0.334). Although this "... index is not meant to be a prescriptive index, with the intent of setting cultural norms"¹⁰⁸ it can be used to compare countries. It must however, be claimed that a lot of progress remains to be made in gender equality not only in Cyprus but "... in almost every country."¹⁰⁹ Indeed, it is plausible to state that all over the world women have not yet been allowed into the corridors of both economic and political power. However, what is rather striking and somewhat astounding with respect to the case of Cyprus, is that the women of this small island which was devastated by the invasion in 1974 and of which 37% of its territory is still under occupation strive and struggle not only to promote their own rights and status but also actively protest against the continued occupation of their country.¹¹⁰ Undoubtedly these developments will leave their imprints on the ongoing construction of Cyprus.

Notes

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2. Pavalko, Ronald M. (1988) 'Women and Work.' *Sociology of Occupations and Professions*. (2 ed), Illinois, F. E. Peacock Publishers, p. 216.
3. Kassimati, K. Thanopoulou, M., Tsartas. P. (1993) *Women's Employment in the Tourist Sector: Study of the Greek Labour Market and Identification of Future Prospects*. Athens, European Commission, DG V/N3 - Equal Opportunities Unit, p. 21.
4. Ibid., P: 21.
5. Commission of the European Communities. (1992) *The Position of Women on the Labour Market: Trends and Developments in the Twelve Member States of the European Community 1983-1990*. Women of Europe Supplements No. 36, Brussels, Commission of the European Communities, p. 1.
6. Ibid.
7. England, Paula and Farkas, G. (1986) 'Gender, Jobs and Wages.' *Households, Employment and Gender*. (ed), Hawthorne, New York, Aldine, p. 148.
8. Ibid., pp. 149-150.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., p. 24.
11. England, Paula and Farkas, G., p. 152.
12. Nieva, Veronica F. and Gutek, Barbara A. (1981) *Women and Work*. New York, Praeger Publishers, pp. 113-114.
13. Epstein, Cynthia Fuchs. (1988) 'The Structure of Work and the Economic Pyramid.' *Deceptive Distinctions: Sex, Gender and the Social Order*. New Haven, Yale University Press, p. 136.
14. Ibid.

15. Epstein, Cynthia Fuchs (1988), p. 136.
16. Ibid.
17. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (1995) *Human Development Report 1995*. New York, Oxford University Press Inc., p. 49.
18. Kassimati, K., Thanopoulou, M., Tsartas, P., p. 25.
19. **Ibid., p. 26.**
20. See Norris, Pippa. (1987) *Politics and Social Equality*. Harvester, p. 133, for the classification of countries along the liberal-traditional continuum.
21. Republic of Cyprus. (1995) *Cyprus National Report to the fourth World Conference on Women: Beijing September 1995*. Nicosia, National Machinery for the Advancement of Women, p. 62.
22. Norris, p. 132.
23. Kranidiotis, Yiannis. (1993) *Cyprus and the European Community*. A Conference of the **Cyprus Research Center, Nicosia** and the **Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London**, 20-21 September 1993, p. 4.
24. The Republic of Cyprus. (1994) *The Republic of Cyprus: An Overview*. Nicosia, Press and Information Office, Republic of Cyprus, p. 36
25. World Bank. (1988) *World Bank Development Report 1989*. New York, Oxford University Press, p.252.
26. Christodoulou, D. (1993) A. Conceptual Framework for a Political Economy of Twentieth-Century Cyprus. A Conference of the **Cyprus Research Centre, Nicosia** and the **Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London**, 20-21 September, p. 30.
27. The Republic of Cyprus (1994), p. 34.
28. Christodoulou, Demetrios. (1992) *Inside the Cyprus Miracle: The Labours of an Embattled Mini-Economy*. Minnesota, University of Minnesota, p. xiv.
29. Ibid., p. 35.

- 30. Christodoulou (1992), p. 36.
- 31. Christodoulou (1993), p. 7.
- 32. The Republic of Cyprus (1994), p. 36.
- 33. Christodoulou (1992), p. 7.
- 34. It must be pointed out that females have exceeded males since the early turn of the twentieth century moreover the population since this period has also been characteristic of ageing as well as fertility drops.

See Chappa, Ioanna (1992) 'Demographic Change in Retrospect.' in Demetriades, E.I., House, W.J., and Matsis S., (eds), *Population and Human Resources Development in Cyprus: Research and Policy Issues*. Nicosia, Department of Statistics and Research, Ministry of Finance, pp. 26-45.

35. Ibid., p. 41

36. Planning Bureau. (1994) *Five Year Development Plan 1989-1993*. Nicosia, Central Planning Commission, p. 41.

37. The small size of the economically active population can be seen by a contrast with the 238,353 employees of Volkswagen (1984), Christodoulou (1992), p. xxii.

38. Industrial Training Authority of Cyprus (ITA). (1995) *The Skill Development System In Cyprus. In Collaboration with the International Labour Office Geneva (ILO)* ITA, Nicosia, pp. 37-38.

39. Josephides, Sasha. (1988) 'Honour, family, and work: Greek Cypriot women before and after migration.' *Enterprising Women: Ethnicity, economy, and gender relations*. (ed), Westwood, Sallie and Bhachu, Parminder. London, Routledge, p. 37.

40. Christodoulou (1992), p. 23.

41. Josephides, Sasha (1988), p. 37.

42. Republic of Cyprus (1995), p. 7.

43. Christodoulou (1992), p. 23.

44. Ibid.

45. It must be pointed out that even in 1980 women were still very important as a supply to the agricultural sector making 54% of the labour force in this sector (relatively old women on average) whereas 86% of them were unpaid family workers. In Panayiotou, George, *Agricultural Labour and Technological Change in Cyprus*. Tully, D. (1990) (ed), *Labour and Rainfed Agriculture in West Asia and North Africa*. Netherlands, ICARDA, pp. 135-161.

46. House, W.J., Kyriakides, D. and Stylianou, O. (1992) 'The Female Labour Force.' (eds), Demetriades, E.I., House, W.J. and Matsis, S., (eds), *Population and Human Resources Development in Cyprus: Research and Policy Issues*. Nicosia, Department of Statistics and Research, Ministry of Finance, p. 266.

47. Ibid., p. 265.

48. The Republic of Cyprus (1994), p. 46.

49. The growth of the tertiary sector occurred in the eighties for all the countries of the European Economic Community "... and these new jobs have benefited women to a great extent."

In Commission of the European Communities (1992), p. 15.

50. Demetriades, E.I., House W.J. and Matsis, S. (1992) 'The Labour Market.' In Demetriades, E.I., House W.J. and Matsis, S., (eds), *Population and Human Resources Development in Cyprus: Research and Policy Issues*. Nicosia, Department of Statistics and Research, Ministry of Finance, pp. 158-160.

51. House, W.J. (1981) *Discrimination and Segregation of Women Workers in Cyprus*. (I.L.O./ U.N.F.P.A., Population, Employment Planning and Labour Force Mobility Study, CYP/77/PO1, Report No. 17 Nicosia, Department of Statistics and Research, Ministry of Finance, p. 1

52. Demetriades, E.I. (1984) *Tapping the Female Labour Reserve in Cyprus and Government Perspectives on Utilization of Research for Women's and Population Issues in Cyprus*. Research Papers and Reports: Series II: No. 2, Nicosia, Department of Statistics and Research, Ministry of Finance, p. 2.

53. See research papers and reports ILO/UNFPA: Inactive Women Survey, Employment Status of Women Survey, Multi-Round Demographic Survey. Published by the Department of Statistics and Research, Ministry of Finance, Republic of Cyprus.

54. Demetriades, E.I. (1984), p.5.

55. House, W.J., Kyriakides D. and Stylianou, O., p. 265.

56. Republic of Cyprus. *Registration of Establishment: 1976, 1981, 1985 and 1989*. Nicosia, Department of Statistics and Research, Ministry of Finance, 1976, 1981, 1985, 1989.

In House, W.J., Kyriakides, D. and Stylianou, O., p. 272.

57. As in Europe (1989) the branches of the service sector affected by the influx of women were lending institutions, insurance, corporate services, teaching, health, trade, restaurants and hotels.

Commission of the European Communities (1992), p. 12.

58. In Europe too female employment hung on better than male employment in industry.

Ibid.

59. House, W.J., Kyriakides, D. and Stylianou, O., p. 266.

60. Ibid., p. 160.

61. Commission of the European Communities (1992), p. 12.

62. England and Farkas, p.148.

63. Demetriades, E.I. (1984), pp. 2-5.

64. Demetriades, E.I., House, W.J. and Matsis, S., p. 167.

65. House, W.J., Kyriakides, D. and Stylianou, O., pp. 271-272.

66. Ibid., p. 273.

67. Panayiotou, G., p. 152.

68. Ibid.

69. Demetriades, E.I., House, W.J. and Matsis, S., p. 160.

70. House, W.J., Kyriakides, D. and Stylianou, O., p. 272.

71. Demetriades, E.I., House W.J. and Matsis, S., p. 160.

72. 'There is no correlation between women's share in total employment and the concentration of their activities.' Commission of the European Communities (1992), p. 19.

73. The 18 occupations were: paramedics (ISCO 07), teachers (13), stenographers (32), book-keepers (33), clerical workers (39), shop assistants (45), cooks (53), maids (54), charworkers (55), launderers (56), hairdressers (57), spinners and weavers (75), food processors (77), tailors (790), shoemakers (80), basket-weavers (94), hand-packers (97), and labourers (99).
House, W.J., Kyriakides, D. and Stylianou, O., p. 258.

74. Ibid.

75. Demetriades, E.I., House, W.J. and Matsis, S., p. 163.

76. Commission of the European Communities (1992), p. 14.

77. House, W.J., Kyriakides D. and Stylianou, O., p. 268.

78. Ibid.

79. Ibid.

80. Ibid., p. 269.

81. House, W.J., Kyriakides, D. and Stylianou, O., p. 268.

82. Ibid.

83. In order to demonstrate this the author takes a global indicator which presents the degree of over- and under-representation of women within the occupational structure at the level of 2 digit ISCO categories. 'Female' occupations are those whereby women's share is greater than their overall share of employment in the non-agricultural sectors, and 'male' occupations as those where women's share is less than their overall share. This procedure follows the methodology of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (1980) in its report on 'The Economic Role of Women in the ECE Region.'
In House, W.J., (1981) I.L.O./ U.N.F.P.A., Population, Employment Planning and Labour Force Mobility Study, CYP/77/PO1, Report No. 17, p. 10.

84. House, W.J., Kyriakides, D. and Stylianou, O., p. 270.

85. House, W.J., Kyriakides, D. and Stylianou, O., p. 270.
86. Ibid.
87. Commission of the European Communities (1992), p. 12.
88. House, W.J., Kyriakides, D. and Stylianou, O., p. 271.
89. Ibid.
90. Commission of the European Communities (1992), p. 18.
91. Ibid., p. 22.
92. Cliridou, C. (Member of Parliament). 'The changing role and position of women in Cypriot society.' *Phileleftheros*. (Sunday, 12 May, 1996.), p. 14.
93. UNDP, p. 60.
- 94. Phileleftheros Women a majority in the Swedish Government. Friday 17th September, 1999.**
95. Republic of Cyprus (1995), p. 24.
96. Planning Bureau (1989), p. 237.
97. House, Kyriakides and Stylianou, pp. 258-262.
98. For further information see the Republic of Cyprus (1994), pp. 17-19.
99. Ibid., p. 262. (See legislation measures Appendix 1).
100. Planning Bureau (1994) *Strategic Development Plan 1984-1998*. Nicosia, Central Planning Commission, Government of Cyprus, p. 74.
101. '13,000 housewives Pensioned.' *Phileleftheros*. Tuesday 24th October 1995, p. 4.
102. Cliridou, C.
103. Republic of Cyprus (1995), p. 41.

104. Ibid., p. 42.

105. Republic of Cyprus (1995), p. 41.

106. HDI measures the average achievement of a country in basic human capabilities. It indicates whether people lead a long and healthy life, are educated and knowledgeable and enjoy a decent standard of living. The HDI examines the average condition of all people in a country: distributional inequalities for various groups of society have to be calculated separately.
UNDP, p. 73.

107. The GEM examines whether women and men are able to actively participate in economic and political life and take part in decision-making. The GEM is concerned with the use of basic capabilities to take advantage of the opportunities of life.

Ibid.

108. Ibid., p. 83.

109. Ibid., p. 86.

110. Republic of Cyprus (1995), p. 62.

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