

FACING THE CHALLENGES

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Abstract

This paper looks at the changing role of women in Cyprus and how this will affect traditional family structures. The paper does not claim, or intend to be a quantitative comparative study, but there are specific and relevant references to Britain. In the space of two generations women there have seen their lives, prospects and perhaps most importantly their expectations and perceptions undergo a profound change. This revolution is both positive and necessary but it has not always delivered the outcomes that many women either desired or expected. In many instances there has been a high price. Therefore it is argued that although social changes that promote the interests of women are to be welcomed, the dislocation of established values may affect the stability of the existing society. This should be acknowledged and the experiences of women in other parts of Europe looked at more closely.

Introduction

The Republic of Cyprus is constantly preoccupied, and sometimes obsessed, by both its divided status and the perceived indifference, or even collusion, of the outside world.¹ The slightest reference to the "Cyprus problem" made by any international government figure is seized by the press and heralded as a significant breakthrough. This practice is compounded by the increased number of pronouncements generated by proposed EU accession. A result of this prolonged introspection has been the sustaining of traditional institutions, most notably the family, and perhaps a resultant reduction in emancipatory social change.

Although largely indifferent to the history or the continuation of the Cyprus problem, hundreds and thousands of tourists visit Cyprus every year, and for many it is the most recent in a series of visits. The reason why so many holidaymakers return to Cyprus is not attributable to the climate, the scenery or realistically priced alcohol. For many it is the perceived tradition of hospitality which is the major attraction. The extended family readily embraces the stranger, but perhaps even more important is the social stability that these overtly functional families provide. The visitor feels safe, there is not the need to keep children under constant surveillance or close the windows at night. British tourists of a certain age are delighted to discover a society

resembling, in popular memory at least, their own childhood where burglar alarms and dire warnings against strangers did not exist.

It is unlikely that Cyprus will be able to continue to fulfill these particular expectations. Violence, prostitution and drugs are becoming increasingly familiar in urban areas, where the influx of foreign workers, residents and money has exerted a rapid and dramatic change. Cyprus is listed with Switzerland, Monte Carlo and Dubai as a major recipient of the billions corruptly siphoned from post communist Russia, and a small society cannot absorb these particular changes without undergoing considerable social dislocation. Therefore Cypriot Society is changing rapidly, and the destruction of old and cherished values, including the centrality of family, has begun. Throughout history the family has often stifled and restricted the ambitions of women, but it has also provided support. The Cypriot family has depended heavily on its female members, and therefore even in conditions of apparent subordination, women have been well placed to influence solid or economic decision making,² but this has inevitably been both covert and prescribed.

A change in society and political practice which allows women long overdue recognition, and the opportunity for self fulfilment in a chosen role, is welcome, but there is a price. The loosening of family ties often results in disintegration. The social cost of this can be high, and it is frequently paid by women, particularly those who have made a concerted effort to be independent and break out of established structures.

This question is examined in a way that is broadly qualitative, relying on participant observation and in full consciousness of the role of the outsider in the value-generating process. This evidence is not structured to support a particular theory or ideology or to demonstrate dedication to a particular perspective on the nature of the family or society. Those women in Cyprus who are heavily politically involved in the changes that are taking place are not looked at in detail. Without wishing to ignore or underestimate the achievements and very real sacrifices, both professional and personal that these women make, they have a sense of purpose and focus and are working within an accepted ideological framework. They are fully aware of the self definitions, affiliations, and social discourses which contextualise problems. Most women faced with social change do not fall into this category and it is they who constitute the focus of this study.

It is based largely upon a series of discussions conducted at regular intervals over a period of two years with a group of Greek Cypriot women from the district of Polis Chrysochous. It is an area which has developed very rapidly, and the sudden influx of tourism has affected both outlook and employment. These women whose average age is mid thirties have not experienced higher education but all assume that their children will. In some instances this is an ambition that has already been fulfilled. All

these women work either full or part time in the tourist industry and the majority also help in the fields when extra labour is needed.

The Social Effects of Tourism

Cyprus relies heavily on tourism. It earns the island nearly £1 billion every year, is the biggest single employer, and accounts for some 20% of G.N.P. It also has a profound effect on the island's society, including the employment of women. There is little new in the concept of working outside the home. Cypriot women have, traditionally, as in most agrarian societies, made a significant contribution to work on the land,³ but women only worked away from the family because of acute financial necessity, or when it was deemed that they were no longer an object of sexual desire who might bring shame to the family.⁴ Whether or not they are objects of sexual desire the women who constitute the focus of this survey have certainly discovered self awareness through their new employment opportunities, and in some instances acute business skills. The women who work in restaurants, shops, or bars need to maximise profit during the tourist season and this invariably involves long and unsocial hours. During these times close supervision of, particularly teenage, children might not be possible, and the propensity to alleviate parental guilt by giving children money, not uncommon throughout Europe is becoming very prevalent in Cyprus.

Tourism seems to deeply affect the attitudes of the young, and their subsequent relations with their families. Attractions such as disco's and nightclubs set up to attract the young tourist inevitably attract the young Greek Cypriots who are part of the multinational culture of youth, which governs conduct and dress and is now increasingly enforced by the electronic media. For the young this impact is easily and eagerly absorbed, but the values it embodies are not conducive to the continued authority of the family. Away from the tourist hot spots there are remote areas where young Cypriot males thankfully still lack the threatening aspect of some of their peers in Western Europe or America, but in terms of unadulterated boorishness the disaffected and relatively deprived Cypriot youths can have few rivals.⁵ This is understandable, economic reward and social status is not to be found in working the land. The affluence of young tourists may be temporary or illusory, but it is unsettling. The drive towards immediate gratification is not conducive to the status and authority of the family within the traditional village.

Certain aspects of tourism have done much to reinforce the Cypriot male ego, and further complicate changing social patterns. The play and film *Shirley Valentine* presents a sympathetic picture of a neglected middle aged woman whose relative invisibility and lack of sexuality in her own culture contrasts sharply with her status as an object of focused desire, albeit short term, in the Mediterranean. Very few women failed to empathise, but the reality is different. The sexual availability of foreign

tourists of various nationalities and ages reinforces the notion that women who are sexually assertive must also be promiscuous and therefore not to be valued.⁶ This has further confused the role of many Cypriot women whose attitude towards the female tourists is often a rich mixture of resentment, disdain and envy. Vassos Argyrou⁷ has made some highly astute observations about traditional Cypriot society, and in doing so exposes another socially divisive paradox, and this once again is between women. Argyrou points out that women of the urban educated elite frequently assert, often with considerable asperity, that Cyprus is European in everything except morality. These women whose "capital" is education and competence, qualities that can be quantified, are exasperated or enraged by a social determinant that equates a woman's worth with her sexuality. The longer this standard persists, the longer their own achievements are under evaluated. Conversely, women who live in rural areas, are not educated and have not benefited from the employment opportunities of tourism are effectively denied the means to adapt to, or adopt, the urban educated ethic. Therefore young working class village women often join with their elders in condemning the new morality and the women who embody it, simply because they are denied access. If uneducated women fully accepted this new morality on the terms of their educated urban sisters, they would be effectively squandering their own traditionally based resources which are all that they have, a situation which is not conducive to rapid change.

Changing Marriage Patterns

An area in which these values are very evidently subject to a great deal of change is the increasing propensity for Cypriots to marry non nationals. This is partly the result of tourism but has been greatly increased by the number of foreign women, usually from the former Soviet Bloc or Eastern Europe who come to Cyprus in search of work. As even a cursory inspection of the press will reveal, many of these women enter prostitution under the thinly disguised description as "artiste", and in a further variation of the "women beware women" syndrome they are seen as a threat by many Cypriot women with, it must be admitted, some cause. Unlike the majority of tourists who regard sexual adventure as part of a package deal which ends with the holiday, these women are in search of security and therefore permanence. It is ironic that as Cypriot women become more assertive, men can now find female compliance either in the many "cabaret" bars, which is where the "artistes" are located, or on a more permanent basis in a longer term relationship.

It is difficult to gauge the extent of inter marriage, because the data does not record individual marriages according to the nationality of both partners. However, the data does show marriages by type and nationality for males and females separately, and does suggest an increase in mixed marriages. For example, in a year when more Cypriot males than Cypriot females got married, the "excess" Cypriot

males must have married non-Cypriot women. [See Appendix 1.] In 1996 13% of Cypriot males had non Cypriot brides. These are minimum estimates of the number of mixed marriages because while the "excess" males must have been involved in mixed marriages, mixed marriages were not confined to this excess. This increase in mixed marriages also coincides with a drop in church weddings. Between 1975 and 1996 divorces increased by about 500 and by 1996 14% of divorces were of mixed marriages. [see Appendix 2.] These figures do not include the growing number of Cypriots who co-habit with non-Cypriots. At the moment the law is not even-handed in its treatment of foreign spouses. Currently foreign men married to Cypriot women have to wait for five years before they can apply for citizenship, while foreign women who marry Cypriot men can do so after one year. Presumably, the difference in treatment reflects either a deliberate attempt to discourage Cypriot women from marrying foreigners, or the belief that the assimilation of foreign women into Cypriot Society is a more rapid and less controversial process than assimilation of foreign males. Neither option is guaranteed to please a committed feminist! The House of Representatives is currently set to approve a recommendation that the qualifying period for non-Cypriot male spouses be reduced from five years to two.⁸ While this will obviously reduce the discrimination against mixed marriages in which the male is non-Cypriot, it will not do so completely. Whatever the motive for the retention of a differential qualifying period, Cypriot women who marry foreigners will still be discriminated against.

As mentioned earlier, anecdotal evidence would suggest that even in the rural areas many young men are overcoming, or ignoring, parental opposition and entering into long term relationships, or marriage, with women from the former Eastern block. Much of this family opposition is based on the loss of the opportunity to acquire suitable connections or possessions, and these alliances further diminish parental power and undermines the traditional family.

Increased Opportunities for Women

Despite these steadily changing marriage patterns, which inevitably bring changes of both practice and expectation, the majority of Greek Cypriots from all sectors of society are unanimous that the traditional family must, and shall, endure. There is remarkable optimism that the family will survive these social changes just as it has survived in the past. But in the past the threat came from without; the threat which Cypriot society now faces is more insidious because it is internal. A higher divorce rate may, arguably result in greater personal happiness or achievement, but it causes social disruption and often impoverishment – usually to the female, although it is increasingly women who instigate divorce.

Many aspects of change are welcomed, and, even if they are resisted, change is inevitable. The Greek Cypriot family to maintain and integrate its traditions, while

incorporating the conveniences and opportunities of a post-industrial society, is a precarious balance, which will prove increasingly hard to sustain. Women cannot, as their counterparts in Western Europe are discovering, pursue their own careers and interests and continue to maintain a full commitment to the traditional family. It is also highly undesirable that this expectation that all women should fulfil traditional roles be allowed to continue.

There has always been status in educational advancement, and although the son usually has priority in further or higher education, particularly in the rural areas, many Cypriot women now proceed to higher education and take their place in the job market. There has been a 20% increase in female participation in tertiary education since 1970 and much of this involved study abroad, a serious financial commitment. The establishment of the University of Cyprus in 1992 and the flourishing of the private tertiary colleges further increased the number of female students, as study in Cyprus is not only cheaper, it also allows more social control. Women are not expected to become fiercely independent after gaining their qualifications, which can even be perceived as a "value added" in the marriage market. Inevitably higher education emphasises changes in perception, and the possibility of alternative lifestyles. Although the number of job opportunities throughout Cyprus are less than the number of highly qualified graduates, an increasing number of women enter the professions or assume managerial positions [Appendix 3]. This could also prove to further destabilise the existing social structure by provoking a male backlash. There is potentially a big problem if assumed male supremacy reinforced by centuries, is suddenly no longer restrained or diverted by the enforcement of traditional values, or neutralised by education or meaningful employment. There is a danger that as society evolves, and employment opportunities and prospects are changed by entry into the European Union, young men who are not educated to meet this challenge may well feel further disenfranchised. The problems that this can cause are, unfortunately, already familiar in Western Europe where an increasing number of young male adults feel increasingly threatened by female assertiveness both socially and in the work place.

Because of the more entrenched position of young men in a male dominated culture, the situation could deteriorate in Cyprus, and the result could subject women to greater social incoherence and strain. The militarisation of Cyprus has already established a pattern of exclusively male activities that covertly reinforces male domination. The twenty-six months of compulsory army training, and frequent weekends spent in military service, combined with a national passion for hunting small game are all activities that effectively exclude female participation.

But at present the increase of women in managerial positions fits in well with the balance that Cypriot society has managed to maintain. Parents have the gratification

of seeing their daughters achieving academically, and also making a suitable marriage. Although women are having their children later, long anticipated grandchildren are not long deferred as they so often are in Western Europe. This is due to the relatively young age of marriage, but also possibly because the family structure ensures that the problems of finding suitable childcare are not as acute in Cyprus as in many European countries, and the society as a whole is more conducive to child rearing.

The result is that in the space of less than one generation a sizeable group of professional women have emerged who seem, at this juncture, to have attained the coveted "have it all" status of combining career and family, while still maintaining a creditable social life. This was the glittering illusion put forward by the author Shirley Conran in the 1970's which ensnared, and undermined, so many women. It is here that there is another irony. For many women the traditional family network is still strong. Their mothers had little choice and consequently are usually engaged in activities that can accommodate childcare, or other help for the young professional couple. This provides an interesting contrast with the experience of the newly expanded number of graduate wives in post war Britain. Although largely middle class, these women did not have access to domestic help, and were geographically divided from their families, and this was the major factor in preventing them from working when they had children. Paradoxically, working class women at this time often could work, because they remained near their extended families and had help with childcare.⁹ Cypriot women are not subject to this social divide as all families remain close knit. Furthermore, dual career partnerships are not sufficiently advanced in Cyprus to create the problems of whose job dictates the location of the home, and even if it does the island is small enough to prevent this becoming a major problem. Another advantage for the Cypriot working woman is hours of employment do not extend through a whole day, and even during the winter months the afternoon is largely free. This obviously does not apply to the many women previously mentioned who work long unsocial hours in the service of tourism, nor does it take account of possible changing working patterns when women will choose to stay at the office to advance their careers. An increasing number of professional women who do not have, or choose not to involve, immediate family in their childcare arrangements employ a foreign worker, usually from Sri Lanka, to look after their children and do the housework. The proliferation of these, sometimes exploited, workers, and the effect that they exert on the increasingly fragile social balance of Cyprus is extensive and complex and beyond the confines of this paper. However, the perceived inferior status of these foreign workers does not always bring out the best in the Cypriot character, including that of the children. Proposed entry to the EU, complaints by, or on behalf of, Asian tourists or business people, and the treatment of "boat people" incarcerated in Cyprus during 1998, has led to some public discussion - but although publicly deplored, the situation continues.

These are some of the rapid changes taking place but so far their consequences have not become fully apparent, and there has been little discussion of them. As mentioned earlier, divorce is increasing. Many Cypriot women seem to conclude that marriage is not necessarily for life, and even in the rural areas are escaping from a relationship which may involve physical abuse or the routine infidelities. It should be noted that in the area where this survey was conducted the cabaret bars do not appear to be subject to the vagaries of tourism. The clientele is local, and their identities hard to conceal. For some women divorce may represent rejection of the confines of a contract entered into too early, and too conveniently. This trend is recognised, but there is little in-depth speculation about how this will affect social structures, and whether, at present, women in rural areas actually improve their situation by leaving their partners. Women who leave a marriage, and perhaps the protection of their family, but have no other obvious status are unlikely to be treated with much consideration or respect, particularly in remote areas reduced material status signals diminished status and this exacerbates the problem of poverty which so often besets women from all societies who choose to exercise their right to leave a marriage.

The Growth of Materialism

To many observers Cyprus is essentially and perhaps even fatally, an inward looking society. There seems to be an underlying assumption that Cyprus is still quite literally the centre of the world and that its problems merit continuous world attention. There is also a prevalent assumption that despite the shifting and eroding values of the outside world, Cypriot family values will remain secure. There seems to be little examination of either of these concepts. The Cypriot family seems to be exposed to external threats in the face of the effects of mass tourism, mass media and internationally changing social patterns which Cyprus cannot isolate itself against. At the same time the threat is also internal: values ostensibly propagated externally are openly received. Not least is the emphasis on material consumption, and Cyprus seems to be a highly materialistic society. Much of this derives not only from the troubles of the past but mostly from the uncertainty of the future.

Although many societies lean towards conspicuous consumption, materialism does appear to be rife in Cyprus and this could be because the "Cyprus Problem" remains not only unresolved, but occasionally, comes dangerously close to eruption. The effect of this might well be to grasp prosperity, secure immediate gratification and have a scant desire to think further than this. Such an attitude inevitably weakens the society from which these sometimes extravagant desires emanate, and transmits a value system which is not particularly conducive to ensuring the best life for its citizens. It also serves both to divert and ensnare those women who equate their often substantial, and certainly conspicuous, material wealth with equality and self-fulfilment.

This is obviously not to imply that women should maintain repressive or austere traditional roles, and not seek those material comforts and labour-saving devices that have delivered many women from the repetitive drudgery of domestic work. Nor does it mean that women should not exercise choice in extravagant domestic architecture or interior design, or court luxury or ostentation should they so desire. The point is, because they have arrived at this position relatively late and relatively quickly, Cypriot women have an advantage that they choose to ignore, that is learning from other experiences. Many women in the West have abandoned traditional family values, and this includes the rejection of a comfortable lifestyle, if it means compromise with a partner or a situation they find unacceptable. Without rejecting the notion of some self-indulgence or luxury, these women seem to believe that real fulfilment is not to be found in the confines of the proverbial "gilded cage". Many Cypriot women who have a material status would not consider such choices an option, but this will not always be the case. It is tragic that the energies and aspirations of so many women are diverted and disarmed when there are so many changes and challenges around them. More educational opportunities for mature students would help, but this is unlikely, certainly in the short term, in a society which regards education as a commodity confined to the young. After centuries of accepting socially enforced values women no longer have to sacrifice their ambitions, desires and aspirations to the stern and unyielding monolith of the traditional family. That much is clear and should be beyond dispute, but the alternatives and the resultant problems cannot be ignored. The fact that social stability still holds, cannot be taken as a certain indication that it will continue to do so. Social change has been rapid, and with each change the fabric of traditional family life is further weakened. Without making any value judgements this should be recognised, and potential problems and dislocations considered and addressed, using the skills and energies with which women have always approached their problems throughout the centuries. These changes include a higher divorce rate, "reconstituted" families and the increase in one-parent families. As has been demonstrated elsewhere, these changes, particularly if they are approached thoughtlessly or insensitively, have a particular impact on children ensuring that the negative and destructive aspects of change are handed to the next generation.

Added to this, all social change accelerates the gap between youth and age. Old values disintegrate or are readily discarded, and other fashions, aspirations and life styles are sought and grasped. Many of them have only a passing reference to the customs, traditions and values of the family. Tourism, travel, education, mass and electronic media have inevitably changed social patterns, and this includes courtship, marriage and sexual behaviour. Marriage settlements which can easily, and not without justification, be dismissed as archaic and patriarchal, nevertheless play a vital role in cementing families through shared financial interest. This previously provided stability but as women want more from life it can be a source of bitterness.

This is particularly true in the rural areas, where as mentioned earlier, many men have the advantages of a wife whose compliance is assured by the heavy ties of family commitment, and of easy access to foreign women whose compliance is assured by the need for money in the case of cabaret girls, or the desire for sexual adventure in the case of many tourists.

Women are increasingly finding this intolerable and this may well account for some of the increase in the rate of divorce. But even among the urban and educated, many men are still unwilling to tolerate a woman who expects equality, and a great number of women are willing to settle for increased personal expenditure or domestic peace based on continual compromise. A great number of highly educated women would never consider the possibility that their career might ever take precedence over that of their husband, or that domestic duties should be equally shared. It is doubtful whether this attitude will be maintained by the next generation, and if women are to attain their true potential it must change. When it does change, the incidence of marital breakdown will be accelerated by changed circumstances and increased opportunities.

The old, admittedly sometimes repressive family structures are being steadily eroded, and this is inevitable. Despite the continuing belief in, and nostalgia for, the extended family, there is now a generation which, while still accepting its support, increasingly and perhaps unwittingly rejects its structures. We cannot ignore those critics who see families as exploitive, violent, and psychologically damaging, but this may not be caused by patriarchy or the exploitation of women. We are increasingly aware of the shortcomings of many family structures, but it is an institution that most people wish to preserve, or even aspire to. As society becomes more secular and pluralist, the demand for other alternative living arrangements increase. The question of where, or if, society draws the line has generated much debate, but little dialogue. The rights, particularly of homosexual couples are now frequently debated within the EU and its commitment to human rights.

Cyprus, Women and the EU

It is a widely held belief that membership of Europe will provide the Republic of Cyprus with increased national security. More astute observers believe that membership of the EU is vital, not only for the provision of immediate security, but also by forcing the government to give serious attention to issues such as minority rights, which will affect the family. EU legislation will, so the argument goes, slowly establish a climate in which the Cyprus problem and its attendant social tensions can be considered objectively and thereby resolved. This will change social attitudes, and bring about a real and lasting emancipation of women and minority groups.

Increased EU legislation brings its own problems. To some observers in Britain

the EU is a remote bureaucratic agency which increasingly assumes social functions that should belong to the family. The irony being that as families disintegrate and atrophy they are often unwilling or incapable of exercising responsibility for the vulnerable and there is therefore increasing need for state intervention.

EU funded courses are available at community college level. These have helped women in Britain to re-train, and therefore re-evaluate their lives, by providing training and childcare are to be applauded. Their influence is however, sometimes short-lived when women have to face the reality of finding a suitable job and organising childcare. The fact is that for many women who live and work within the EU the "reconciliation" between their dual roles has not been achieved and as mentioned previous, this is the greatest concern of working women in Britain. Legislation which further provides for the needs of women and their children is to be welcomed, but women must also continue to seek to influence and implement the rules by which they want to live their lives. Legislation for, and even provision of, necessary services does not solve the problems that the decline of the traditional family has thrust upon society. Cypriot women should not, and will not, be deterred from taking the road to opportunity or self-fulfilment. An increasing number of educated and articulate women have realised that they will not find fulfilment in the Board Room, or through high academic honours, although fully supporting those who do. What all women need is opportunity and a supportive environment to make decisions that are informed, and mistakes that are redeemable leading to self respect and an enduring sense of self worth. Women in Cyprus will not be deterred from seizing opportunity, achievement, and fulfilment, but a consideration of the obstacles and pitfalls already negotiated, or at least recognised, in the rest of Europe would be of inestimable value. Cyprus has historically specific social practices, and is a close knit society. This makes the cultural differences between women all the more alarming. Gender based collective identities can create an effective feminist discourse, and contest socio-cultural practice. Strict adherence to these definitions can also exclude the rural, the uneducated and the insecure or vulnerable. A pragmatic use of feminism which embraces social context and the changing social identities, and escapes the stereotypical and the ideological, best serves a society undergoing rapid change.

Notes

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APPENDIX I

Table 1: CYPRIOT MARRIAGES BY TYPE AND NATIONALITY OF GROOM, 1980-1996

NATIONALITY	1980	1985	1990	1993	1994	1995	1996
TOTAL	3908	5659	5607	6078	6200	6669	5761
Cypriot	3268	4868	4520	4436	4048	4213	3213
Greek	175	160	140	135	169	121	140
British	93	125	322	613	895	1071	1028
Israeli	98	77	148	373	516	669	770
American	36	55	74	63	66	91	77
Lebanese	78	126	154	139	125	123	133
Other	160	248	249	319	381	381	400
ECCLESIASTICAL	3472	5092	4623	4401	4040	4073	3000
Cypriot	3190	4753	43115	4120	3670	3814	2738
Greek	160	156	136	126	157	110	110
British	52	54	63	41	68	26	22
Israeli	2	2	1	1	2	1	1
American	1	7	10	10	9	12	8
Lebanese	16	27	24	14	13	12	12
Other	51	93	74	89	121	98	109
CIVIL	436	567	984	1677	2160	2596	2761
Cypriot	78	115	205	316	378	399	475
Greek	15	4	4	9	12	11	30
British	41	71	259	572	827	1045	1006
Israeli	96	75	147	372	514	668	769
American	35	48	64	53	57	79	69
Lebanese	62	99	130	125	112	111	121
Other	109	155	175	230	260	283	291

Source: Ministry of Finance, Department of Statistics, Nicosia

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Table 2: CYPRIOT MARRIAGES BY TYPE AND NATIONALITY OF BRIDE, 1980-1996

NATIONALITY	1980	1985	1990	1993	1994	1995	1996
TOTAL	3908	5659	5607	6078	6200	6669	5761
Cypriot	3380	4822	4302	4171	3728	3790	2786
Greek	48	67	67	72	102	63	61
British	98	248	447	666	937	1163	1051
Israeli	99	65	126	364	519	641	752
American	40	66	76	68	51	70	51
Lebanese	61	89	109	99	99	114	104
Other	182	302	480	638	764	828	956
ECCLESIASTICAL	3472	5092	4623	4401	4040	4073	3000
Cypriot	3314	4729	4204	4016	3570	3618	2596
Greek	39	64	62	69	86	53	42
British	46	145	152	71	86	85	54
Israeli	2	2	0	2	1	0	0
American	6	16	25	17	18	26	12
Lebanese	8	18	16	14	15	9	12
Other	57	118	164	212	264	282	284
CIVIL	436	567	984	1677	2160	2596	2761
Cypriot	66	93	98	155	158	172	190
Greek	9	3	5	3	16	10	19
British	52	103	295	595	851	1078	997
Israeli	97	63	126	362	518	641	752
American	34	50	51	51	33	44	39
Lebanese	53	71	93	85	84	105	92
Other	125	184	316	426	500	546	672

Source: Ministry of Finance, Department of Statistics, Nicosia, 1998.

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EXCESS OF CYPRIOT GROOMS OVER CYPRIOT BRIDES, 1980-1996

NATIONALITY	1980	1985	1990	1993	1994	1995	1996
EXCESS	-112	46	218	265	320	423	427
Grooms	3268	4868	4520	4436	4048	4213	3213
Brides	3380	4822	4302	4171	3728	3790	2786

Source: Calculated from data in Appendix I

APPENDIX 2

Table I: CYPRIOT DIVORCES BY NATIONALITY, 1975-1996

NATIONALITY	1975	1980	1985	1990	1993	1994	1995	1996
HUSBANDS	121	164	258	348	504	555	757	725
Cypriot	114	155	221	304	453	504	701	666
Greek	3	6	4	11	1	17	8	11
British	1	1	7	6	14	14	12	12
Other	3	2	26	21	24	20	36	35
WIVES	121	164	258	348	504	555	757	725
Cypriot	119	151	217	310	451	504	681	661
Greek	2	5	4	1	7	10	8	7
British	0	3	16	13	19	17	25	15
Other	5	5	21	24	27	24	43	42

Table 2: CYPRIOT DIVORCES BY NATIONALITY OF HUSBAND AND WIFE, 1996

NATIONALITY OF HUSBAND	NATIONALITY OF WIFE					
	TOTAL	Cypriot	Greek	British	American	Other
Cypriot	666	612	7	13	3	31
Greek	12	12	0	0	0	0
British	12	10	0	2	0	0
Lebanese	6	5	0	0	0	1
Other	29	22	0	0	1	6
TOTAL	725	661	7	15	4	38

Source: Ministry of Finance, Department of Statistics and Research, Nicosia, 1998

APPENDIX3

WOMEN EMPLOYED AS MANAGERS, LEGAL & SENIOR ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS

	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
1960	0.7%	0.7%	0%
1976	1.5%	1.4%	0.1%
1988	2.5%	2.3%	0.2%
1992	3.2%	2.9%	0.3%

Census of Population 1992, Dept. of Statistics & Research, Nicosia 1995, pp348,362

PERSONS EMPLOYED AS MANAGERS, LEGAL & SENIOR ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS

	TOTAL OF EMPLOYEES	EMPLOYED AS MANAGERS, LEGAL & SENIOR ADMIN. OFFICERS		
		Number	4.7% of all males employed in Cyprus are managers, etc. Only 0.8% of all females employed fall into that category	From the total of employees in Cyprus 312 are managers
Male	157,591 (62%)	7,422 (91%)	4.7%	2.9%
Female	96,668 (38%)	777 (9%)	0.8%	0.3%
TOTAL	254,259 (100%)	8,199 (100%)		3.2%