VOLUME 11
NUMBER 2

THE
CYPRUS
REVIEW

A Journal of Social Econom,c and Polihcal Issues

Advisory
Editorial
Board

VOLUME 11
NUMBER 2

THE
CYPRUS
REVIEW

A Journal ot Social Econom,c *and* Poht,cal Issues

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

The Cyprus Review is an international bi-annual refereed journal which publishes articles on a range of areas in the social sciences including primarily Anthropology, Business Administration, Economics, History, International Relations, Politics, Psychology, Public Administration and Sociology, and secondarily, Geography, Demography, Law and Social Welfare, pertinent to Cyprus. As such it aims to provide a forum for discussion on salient issues relating to the latter. The journal was first published in 1989 and has since received the support of many scholars internationally.

Submission Procedure:

Manuscripts should be sent to the Editors, *The Cyprus Review,* Research and Development Center, Intercollege, P.O.Box 24005, 1700 Nicosia, Cyprus, with a brief biographical note, detailing: current affiliations: research interests and publications.

Formatting Requirements:

(i) Articles should range between 4,000-7,000 words.

(ii) Manuscripts should be typed on one side of A4 double-spaced; submitted in four hard copies together with a 3.5 inch disk compatible with Microsoft Word saved as rich text format. Pages should be numbered consecutively.

As manuscripts may be sent out anonymously for editorial evaluation, the author's name should appear on a separate covering page. The author's full academic address and a brief biographical paragraph detailing current affiliation and areas of research interest and publications should also be included.

Manuscripts and disks will **not** be returned.

(iii) An abstract of no more than 150 words should be included on a separate page.

(iv) Headings should appear as follows:

Title: centred, capitalised, bold e.g.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE-MAKING IN CYPRUS

Subheadings: I. Centred, title case, bold.

II. Left-align, title case, bold, italics.

III.Left-align, title case, italics.

(v) Quotations must correspond to the original source in wording, spelling and punctuation. Any alternations to the original should be noted (e.g. use of ellipses to indicate omitted information; editorial brackets to indicate author's additions to quotations). Quotation marks (" ") are to be used to denote direct quotes and inverted commas (' ') to denote a quote within a quotation.

(vi) Notes should be used to provide additional comments and discussion or for reference purposes (see vii below) and should be numbered consecutively in the text and typed on a separate sheet of paper at the end of the article. Acknowledgements and references to grants should appear within the endnotes.

(vii) References: As the *The Cyprus Review* is a multi-disciplinary journal, either of the following formats are acceptable for references to source material in the text:

    (a) surname, date and page number format OR

    (b) footnote references.

Full references should adhere to the following format:

Books, monographs:

James, A. (1990) *Peacekeeping in International Politics.* London, Macmillan.

Multi-author volumes:

Foley, C. and Scobie, W.I. (1975) *The Struggle for Cyprus.* Starpord, CA, Hoover Institution Press.

Articles and chapters in books:

Jacovides, **A.J.** (1977) The Cyprus Problem and the United Nations' in Attalides, M. (ed), *Cyprus Reviewed.* Nicosia, Jus Cypri Association.

Journal articles:

McDonald, R. (1986) 'Cyprus: The Gulf Widens', *The World Today,* Vol. 40, No. 11, p **185.**   .

(viii) Dates should appear as follows: 3 October 1931; **1** 80s; twentieth century. One to ten should appear as written and above ten in numbers (11, 12 etc.).

(ix) Tables and figures are to be included in the text and to be numbered consecutively with titles.

(x) **Book review** headings should appear as follows: Title, author, publisher, place, date, number of pages, e.g. *Cyprian Edge,* by Nayia Roussou, Livadiotis Ltd (Nicosia, 1997) 78 pp. Reviewer's name to appear at the end of the review.

(xi) First proofs may be read and corrected by contributors if they provide the Editors with an address through which they can be reached without delay and can guarantee return of the corrected proofs within seven days of receiving them.

(xii) Each author will receive two complimentary copies of the issue in which their article appears in addition to five offprints.

(xiii) Articles submitted to the journal should be unpublished material and must not be reproduced for one year following publication in *The Cyprus Review.*
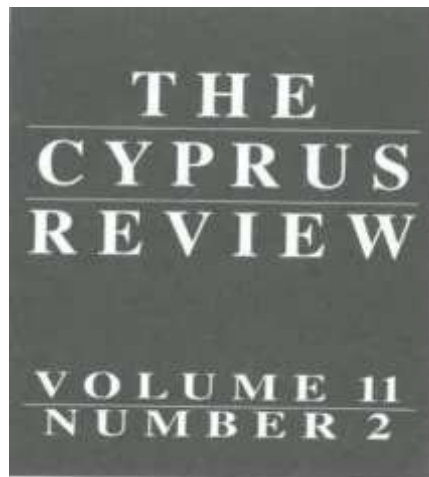
THE CYPRUS REVIEW

VOLUME 11 NUMBER 2

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CONTRIBUTORS

Juliette Dickstein is Assistant Professor of Foreign Languages at Intercollege. She received her PhD from Harvard University in 1997 in Romance Languages and Literatures. She has published articles on post-WWII France, and has recently completed a book-length manuscript entitled "Repercussions of the Second World War on Post-war French Jewish Writing".

Michael Hajimichael holds a PhD degree from Birmingham Department of Sociology and Cultural Studies, an MA in Cross Cultural Literature from Essex, and a BA in Government and Sociology from Essex. Publications to date, *The Sting in the Serpents Tail: Equal Opportunities and Housing Associations,* Runnymeade Trust/Birmingham University. Simultaneously, he has developed a career as a music producer, recording artist, independent label owner, and radio presenter and freelance music journalist.

Kate Hughes who is a graduate of the University of Hull lectures in Cultural Studies at the Kent Institute of Art & Design at Canterbury. Her teaching is mainly with mature students who are predominantly women. She is a regular contributor to the Times Higher Educational Supplement where she writes about issues in Cypriot tertiary education.

Lina Nearchou finished high school in Cyprus and continued her studies in Germany where she obtained a Master's degree in English and Spanish Language and Literature. She later obtained a Zusatzzertifikat in German and a Master's in Business Administration. She taught German at the University of Trier, Germany before coming back to Cyprus where she is currently teaching English and Communication courses at Intercollege.

Kostas St. Pavlowitch is deputy editor of the *Cyprus Mail.* He graduated in modern history from the University of Oxford and holds a DEA (Diploma d' etudes approfondies) in Soviet and East European Studies from the Institute de sciences politiques de Paris. He is currently working on the unification of Yugoslavia in 1918.

Anthos I. Shekeris holds a BA in Business and Human Resource Management from Vesalius College - Brussels, an MA in European Politics, Cultures and Societies from the Vrije Universiteit Brussels and an MA in Organisational Analysis and Behaviour from Lancaster University, UK. Currently he works as a Human Resource Management Consultant and Coordinator for EU Programmes at the Consultancy Unit of the Research and Development Centre - Intercollege.

Gisela Welz was appointed Professor and Chair of Cultural Anthropology and European Ethnology at Goethe University Frankfurt/Main, Germany in 1998. She was trained as a cultural anthropologist and European ethnologist at Frankfurt University (MA 1984, PhD 1990) and at Tuebingen University (Habilitation in Empirical Cultural Studies 1996), and held teaching positions in Frankfurt (1985-89) and Tuebingen (1989-96). She worked as a Visiting Scholar at New York University 1992/93 and was a Visiting Professor at the University of California Los Angeles in 1996. Research interests include urban anthropology, cultural representations (museums, tourism, intercultural communication) and the ethnography of Cyprus.

Articles

VOLUME 11
NUMBER 2
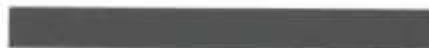
BEYOND TRADITION: ANTHROPOLOGY, SOCIAL CHANGE, AND TOURISM IN CYPRUS

Gisela Welz

Abstract

Cyprus continues to draw the interest of political scientists and historians as a particularly engaging, if not always hope-inspiring, case of both intra-society and international conflict. Conversely, the other social sciences have not focussed on Cyprus with the same intensity, and indeed, have not figured as prominently in the discourse on Cypriot society. There are many indications that this situation might be changing presently,[1] and a plurality of voices in the social sciences is making itself heard, both within Cyprus[2] and in a wider international context, especially in the English-speak- ing world.

Introduction

Even though anthropological studies on Cyprus are far from numerous, it seems worthwhile to briefly review what anthropology has contributed to an understanding of Cypriot society. As a modernising Mediterranean society, Cyprus has been of interest to social anthropologists primarily as an example of how social change transformed the traditional culture of local village communities after the second World War. Indeed, it was the ethnography of a Pitsilia village conducted in the 1950s by John Peristiany - who would later become director of the Social Science Research Centre in Nicosia - that provided the foundation for an area specialisation on the Mediterranean among British social anthropologists and American cultural anthropologists. His 1965 article "Honour and shame in a Cypriot highland village" is widely credited with what would later be called the "invention of the Mediterranean" in anthropology (see Goddard/Llobera/Shore 1994). He asserted that honour and shame serve as value orientations guiding social life in the small-scale societies of the circum-Mediterranean, where it is not the state and its institutions, but the evaluation of individual actions by village public opinion that provides the basis of social integration, rather than institutions and the state. Building on his work, anthropolog-

11

ical Mediterraneanists would later define honour as the publicly negotiated reputation of males that is ascribed as a result of successful strategies of dominance in com- petition with other social actors, with public discourse as the local arena of honour requiring calculated presentations of male autonomy and aggression.

More recent studies have also addressed, but considerably modified the divide between tradition and modernity that underlies the anthropological interest in Cyprus. Against the backdrop of a growing number of studies not only on rural com- munities, but also on urban settings,[3] three ethnographies can illustrate this change in perspective especially well. The study of a Morphou district village by Peter Loizos, published as "The Greek Gift" in 1975, inquired into how post-Independence politics affect traditional social relations on the local level, as villagers align themselves according to modern divisions of social class and political ideology. Loizos portrays the Greek-Cypriot inhabitants of Argaki as social actors who are very capable in meeting the challenges of a changing society,[4] a quality of cultural competence that also emerges in the study conducted by Kyriacos Markides in the Mesaoria village of Lysi in the early seventies. This community study combined a social research approach with some ethnographic methodology. Markides and his co-authors (1978), however, follow conventional notions of social change, with modern values replacing traditional ones in a linear transition process that can be traced neatly by comparing the attitudes of the younger generation with that of the older people. Positioning itself in opposition to the findings of Markides, a more recent ethnography by Vassos Argyrou asserts that modernity is "neither a destination to be reached nor an object to be appropriated" (1996:157). Argyrou's study reveals both "modernity", in the sense of Western attitudes and practices embraced by the Cypriot urban middle class, and the affirmation of "tradition" that expresses working class resistance against bourgeois values to be foils that mask the fact that both modernists and traditionalists merely enact the symbolic domination of their society by the West.[5] Argyrou succeeds in displacing anthropology from its cherished role of protecting traditional culture against the threat of modernisation, yet seems to accept tradition and modernity as pivotal points in the discussion of social change in Cypriot society.

These ethnographies on Greek-Cypriot village communities after World War II have to be seen within the context of a larger framework of anthropological work in the Mediterranean (see also Argyrou 1999). Especially in the sixties and seventies, both British social anthropology and American cultural anthropology tended to view Mediterranean societies as places where pre-modern ways of life were still alive and could therefore be observed directly by the anthropologist. As many of their studies selected small and marginal communities as field sites, findings tended to substan- tiate their assumption that in Mediterranean Europe, tradition determines practices and discourses, while in the Western European societies of "modernity's core", prac-

tices and discourses are determining the course of modernisation. These studies erected a sharp divide between the cultures of northern and southern Europe by separating "moderns" from those societies who are "not yet modern". This asymmetrical dichotomy put forward by anthropologists first and foremost seems to have served the ends of disciplinary politics and academic strategising. When fieldwork in extra-European societies became increasingly difficult to implement, not least because Western experts were less welcome than before in non-Western postcolonial settings, European regions acquired considerable attractiveness for social and cultural anthropology as new fieldwork sites that also seemed to require fewer financial and temporal investments of fieldworkers. Mediterraneanists took refuge to a rhetoric of making their not all that distant field appear "other", that is more exotic and alien, thereby legitimating their choice by emphasising its cultural difference vis-à-vis other parts of Europe.

However, much of what they revealed of the inner workings of small-scale social universes has been and continues to appear plausible as a representation of local cultures in the Mediterranean. In recent years, anthropology has increasingly worked towards breaking down the divide between modernity and tradition by reflexively critiquing the ways in which ethnographic writing contributed to a construction of Mediterranean societies as traditional and, by implication, backward, and insufficiently "rational". The above-mentioned studies by Loizos and Argyrou are part of that movement, infusing the anthropology of Greece and Cyprus with a critical energy, as are the writings of American cultural anthropologist Michael Herzfeld (see for instance, Herzfeld 1992). However, public discourse in Western Europe is persistently reproducing images of the archaic and "other" Mediterranean, images that in the context of tourism marketing of Mediterranean destination areas acquire an added dimension of selling these cultures as supposedly untouched by the ravages of civilisation. There is evidence that today's decision makers and opinion leaders in Mediterranean societies themselves are not immune against interpretations of contemporary social life that suggest that the historical experience of poverty and of exploitation by foreign rulers produced social coping strategies that were cemented culturally through the centuries. According to such interpretations, contemporary Mediterranean societies may have arrived in modernity technologically and infrastructurally, but they are at the same time socially and culturally still entangled in older patterns that obstruct the development of a productive and sustainable economy. How such interpretations acquire plausibility becomes much clearer when applying them to some ethnographic observations. A study on tourism in the Paphos district of the Republic of Cyprus[6] will serve as a case-in-point of how practices of contemporary social actors can easily be aligned by both scholarly and common-sense interpretations with notions of backwardness and traditionality.

The economic culture of tourism is a good example to engage anthropological

debates on the nature of tradition and modernity. As a modernising agent, tourism is credited with deeply and irreversibly transforming both the social order and the cultural values of destination areas. Tourism engages anthropology's longstanding concern with the threat that modernisation poses to traditional cultures. Many ethnographic studies of tourism thus serve to re-affirm the divide between tradition and modernity that has helped create the discipline of anthropology as much as anthropology has contributed to its construction and perpetuation. Locating "authentic culture" only in domains untouched by the touristic machinery, such studies often exclude local people engaged in the tourism economy from their focus.

Conversely, in the small-scale ethnographic inquiry that I am presenting here, the cultural practices and cultural knowledges that local actors develop become topical. They emerge as cultural brokers who mediate between their own society and the transient visitors. The interest in my study was with the social practices of small entrepreneurs in the local tourism economy, focussing on the interprenetration of tourist development and individual entrepreneurial decisions, of personal biographies and family histories. After the Turkish invasion of 1974, the Republic of Cyprus has had an unparalleled economic recovery and secured for itself a small but growing portion of tourism in the Mediterranean. The social, economic, and environmental consequences are as problematic as in most other circum-Mediterranean tourist destination areas. Most enterprises that were part of the study[7] are family-run, often with two generations and siblings working full-time. Restaurants and car rental agencies, small tour operators and apartment hotels, diving schools and souvenir shops are among the typical tourist businesses.The advantage of unpaid family labour over hired employees is minimised to the degree that severely underpaid, often illegal immigrant labour has become very widely available in Cyprus. Family members also often contribute financial resources, land, or buildings; predictably, decisions to be taken about new activities or investments cause conflicts. Antagonisms between brothers are expected and seem to follow a cultural logic of sibling rivalry; competition for resources is clearly intensified when one or two of them plan to get married and establish their own nuclear families.

The local economy of a tourist destination area is an "environment of risk" (Anthony Giddens); because the direction of tourism's growth and its local effects can hardly be anticipated by local actors. They become increasingly dependent on global developments they know little of and have no way of accurately calculating their outcomes. The corporate board decisions of transnational corporations are penetrating local life worlds. Needless to say, these are conditions that Cyprus shares with other tourist destination areas. However, in this case, the politically tense situation between the Republic of Cyprus and the Turkish-controlled northern part of the island considerably adds to the insecurity that characterises all local tourism economies. Yet, the small entrepreneurs are much less afraid of an actual outbreak of armed conflict than

that they fear the media in the home countries of the tourists headlining yet another rumour of military threat, thus causing tens of thousands of tourists to cancel their bookings for vacation in Cyprus. In such a situation, family businesses represent a strategy to minimise risk because the family usually is involved in a number of economic activities, not all of them touristic. Pluriactive households typically include agriculture with a seasonally varying intensity, one or more touristic activities plus employment in the public sector.

Competition between businesses is extremely tough. Those entrepreneurs whose business is a success find themselves copied by others. Those who enter into the tourist economy consider it safer to reproduce what has proven profitable in the past than to try and develop something innovative or even to scout out a still undeveloped segment of the market. The consequence is that more and more businesses compete mercilessly for an ever smaller market. Those who were first to establish a new type of business fall victim to those who come later; those who manage to push their predecessors out are triumphant. Many new businesses founder after the first year or can only go on because the pluriactive family is able to economically absorb the loss for a while.

Now, are these behaviours and attitudes traditional or modern? In fact, much of what this brief report reveals of the strategies that local actors develop in order to come to terms with new challenges resonates strongly with what the anthropology of Southern Europe has been insisting is the traditional ethos of Mediterranean societies. For instance, the observation that some families are bitterly antagonistic instead of cooperating for their own good seems to make plausible any explanation involving older familistic patterns. Familism as an anthropological trope is heavily suggestive of images of rural small towns torn by strife between rival families which in turn prevents the rationalisation and depersonalisation of social relations, politics, and the economy - considered a trademark of modernity. Here also fits the anthropological diagnosis of the peasant world view of limited good, defined as the assumption that the total number of economic resources available in a given situation cannot be increased. As this is taken to mean that the total sum of profit attainable in a local community always stays the same, the individual and his family can only make a gain by changing the mode of distribution in their favour. This serves well to explain the practice of newcomers to the local tourism economy to copy the economic strategies of their successful predecessors, and to force them out of business instead of attempting to multiply the total number of resources by inventing new types of business options. As another pattern that is assumed to embody the truly Mediterranean ethos, the honour and shame complex appears to lend credibility and legitimacy to the sometimes even criminal acts of economically motivated competition between local tourism entrepreneurs by its very ideal of aggressive masculinity.

15

An interpretive stance that tries to find evidence of traditional behaviour among those local actors engaged in navigating a modernising world looks for persistence rather than for change. Persistence as an explanatory model implies that innovation and modernisation penetrating a society from the outside will be responded to by falling back on historical experience and by activating traditional attitudes and long-stand- ing types of social action. But some caution is in order here, as Michael Herzfeld has repeatedly emphasised: "Entrepreneurship, a virtue in the Protestant West, becomes mere grasping or deviousness when perceived in exotic others (...). The distance between 'rugged individualism' and 'agonistic self-interest' arguably has more to do with whether one is attributing the quality in question to a collective self or an exotic other than with any fundamental difference in moral orientation." (1992:9) It therefore seems fair to assume that an interpretation of social practice that privileges tradi- tionality may not tell the whole story. By staying with the framework of persistence, only those strategies of local actors come into view that indeed can successfully prop up this notion of traditional orientations . Other strategies then are not immediately visible.

Returning to the admittedly limited ethnographic example of small entrepreneurs in the local tourism economy of a Cypriot community, what about practices and orien- tations that do not comply with easy explanations of traditionality? There are quite a few. For instance, the economic strategy of pluriactive households is able to respond to a volatile market and to noncalculable risks by not staking everything on one option, but instead diversifying into a variety of unrelated fields. It can certainly be viewed as being in line with notions of the flexible social actor so much talked about in post-industrial societies. As already mentioned, tourism implies incalculable risks for the businesspeople involved, and successful strategies of contingency manage- ment have to be seen as key qualification for surviving in such a setting.

Certainly quite a few of the entrepreneurs included in the study exhibit this modern key qualification. It is important to realise that most entrepreneurs are self-taught in their field. Their training is highly diverse as are professions held before entering tourism, but the qualification has hardly ever anything to do with their present occu- pation in tourism. However, many of the small entrepreneurs have spent years of their lives in foreign countries as labour migrants or for professional and academic training, in many cases in Western Europe, the United States or the overseas English-speaking countries of the Commonwealth. Often they are multilingual and also highly proficient in terms of cultural knowledge on the societies the tourists come from, something that clearly helps in the tourist business: They are very suc- cessful in decoding indicators not just of nationalities, but of different lifestyles and consumer cultures as well. The biographical experience of migration constitutes a cultural capital. Intercultural competence in their case implies multilinguality, the fac- ulty to communicate well across cultural and social barriers, as well as experiential

knowledge of the home countries of the tourists.

The worldview and the lifestyle of these return migrants has undergone changes; they differ from those of their peers who stayed behind in Cyprus, and they also perceive themselves as having a different outlook than their compatriots. The migration experience combined with the challenge of positioning oneself in the context of changing Cypriot society seems to have generated a new cultural type. These are individuals who are dissenters when it comes to many conventional values of Cypriot society. While an analytical perspective easily identifies these individuals as embodying a post-traditional cultural option, some of them would reject the label "modern" for a self-definition, at least not in its conventional meaning as Western and progress-oriented. Conversely, they identify as traditionalists. Most of them also produce and market "tradition" as a commodity within the framework of the tourism economy. They themselves define what is traditional, or typical for the region, and sometimes do so in a playful, certainly in a creative manner. This is most readily visible in the restaurant business where "traditional" cuisine often is the result of innovative strategies. The claims of these entrepreneurs to traditionality are insistently voiced, but not narrowly defined as restricted by geographical boundaries or historical continuities. Rather, they reflexively relate the experience of transnational migration to the construction of a Cypriot culture at the crossroads of multiple influences. Not simply reproducing tradition, but actively traditionalising, these strategies are not about continuity so much as they are about invention.[8]

In sum, these small entrepreneurs in the tourism economy who have come back to Cyprus as return migrants seem to be quite capable in dealing with the unexpected, and they are good communicators in intercultural situations. Also, they are proponents of a new set of values and attitudes. Most importantly, they have adopted a reflexive stance vis-a-vis tradition. For them, tradition is neither something handed down from their parents and grandparents to be accepted unquestioningly nor an orientation to reject and abandon in favour of "modernity" or "the West". Rather, they are actively involved in shaping and inventing what they call tradition. For the social actors in this case study, being modern means to be self-reflexive about tradition. However, these cultural strategies are novel but hardly uncontested. Rather, there are many other options of identifying oneself as modern in a rapidly changing society such as the Republic of Cyprus, with the adoption of advanced technologies and the striving for material prosperity being embraced by a sizeable portion of the population. Whether the culture of reflexivity and intercultural brokerage that one can observe with the comparatively small group of return migrants will be only a transitory event, or whether it will prove to be durable, is still an open issue.

Modernisation does not progress in a regular and linear fashion, but on the contrary, it kicked off a highly irregular, disjunctive and uneven dynamic that cannot be

17

observed by ethnologists like a parade going by (see Geertz 1995). As a conse-
quence, the culturally constructed dichotomy of tradition and modernity from which
the anthropological and ethnological disciplines emerged and which in turn has been
maintained by them is no longer stable. And this destabilising affects both sides of
the divide. Today, "modern" has become a problematic category of ascription and
self-description, both for modern societies and for those scholarly disciplines that are
engaged in constructing societal self images. But also traditionality is not what it used
to be. Not because modernisation has obliterated tradition, but because the scholarly
concept of tradition and the empirical reality of what is being called tradition are drifting
ever further apart. Where before historical depth and the unbroken con- tinuity of
traditional patterns of thought and action were assumed, now it is increas- ingly
understood - also by the carriers and keepers of tradition - as a construction
originating from present needs of people living today, not a mindless reproduction of
past habits, but instead a response to contemporary challenges, a response, howev-
er, that refers back to the past and by its rhetoric of historicity gains both plausibility
and legitimacy. Processes of reflexive modernisation (see Beck/Giddens/Lash 1994,
Beck 1992) are therefore necessarily matched by their complement, reflexive tradi-
tionalisation.

Because Cypriot society today is an interface of highly diverse and often contradic-
tory interests, influences, and confluences, it could well become a new focus for
research. However, not - like in an earlier anthropological perspective - as a place
where residues and relics of pre-modern times can be detected, but as a contempo-
rary laboratory where a multiplicity of possible ways of acting and thinking modern is
being invented, experimented with, debated, and theorised. In this, the role of the
social sciences will be critical.

Notes

1.   For a forceful critique of the monopoly of political science in social science repre- sentations, see Calotychos 1998. More recently, a conference hosted by Floya Anthias at the University of Greenwich gave impetus to introducing Cyprus to the mainstream of theoretical concerns in the social sciences - and vice versa (Cypriot Society into the New Millennium. Globalisation and Social Change, December 4th and 5th, 1999)

2. For examples of collaborative scholarly projects that surmount the division of the two academic communities on the island, see Akis/Peristianis/Warner 1996, Azgin/Papadakis 1998.

3. See for instance, Attalides 1981, Papadakis 1993a and 1993b for examples of studies of Nicosia. See also Mavratsas 1995 for a comparison between Greek-Cypriot, Greek, and Greek-American modernisation patterns.

4. The second ethnography by Loizos 1981, focusses on the losses incurred in the displacement of Greek-Cypriot Argaki residents by the 1974 Turkish invasion.

5. The ethnography makes its case by focussing on changing marriage strategies and wedding practices. Marriage and property transfers also provide a focus for another ethnography on the modernisation of a community in the Paphos district. See Sant-Cassia 1982.

6. Research was conducted in Polis Chrysochous and other communities in the Paphos district in 1997 with a grant from the Heisenberg Program of the German Research Council. See also Welz 1998 and forthcoming.

7. The field study is only the first step in a more extensive research program that I hope to be able to execute over the course of the coming years. A total of twenty five small enterprises were included in the study, fifteen were selected for in-depth interviews with individual entrepreneurs. These interviews had a biographic focus. In Polis Chrysochous, a street-by-street survey of all business enterprises was con-ducted, mapping and categorising individual businesses.

8. In a sense, these self-proclaimed traditionalists defy and subvert the quality of authenticity attributed to traditional culture. They depart from a notion of tradition as a fixed ensemble of customs and artifacts that is handed down unchanged from generation to generation and closely aligned with ethnic and national identity. Official versions of Greek-Cypriot tradition as a particularly pure relic of the Hellenic heritage

permeate much of the rhetoric of touristic productions - such as folk art museums and historic conservation sites, presentations of folk dance, traditional crafts, and music. Conversely, the traditions that these entrepreneurs invent are more pluralistic and often hybrid. See also Beck/Welz 1997a and 1997b.

Bibliography

Akis, Sevgin/Peristianis, Nicos/Warner, Jonathan (1996) 'Residents' attitudes to tourism development: the case of Cyprus'. In *Tourism Management* Vol. 17, No. 7, pp. 481-494.

Argyrou, Vassos (1999) 'Sameness and the Ethnological Will to Meaning'. In *Current Anthropology* Vol. 40, S29-S41.

Argyrou, Vassos (1996) *Tradition and Modernity in the Mediterranean. The Wedding as Symbolic Struggle.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Attalides, Michael (1981) *Social Change and Urbanization in Cyprus. A Study of Nicosia.* Publications of the Social Research Centre, Nicosia.

Azgin, Bekir/Papadakis, Yiannis (1998) 'Folklore'. In *Siidosteuropa-Handbuch Bd. 8: Zypern* Eds. Grothusen, Klaus-Detlev/Steffani, Winfried/Zervakis, Peter Gt:ittingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 703-720.

Beck, Ulrich/Giddens, Anthony/Lash, Scott (1994) *Reflexive Modernization:Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order.* Stanford, Stanford University Press.

Beck, Ulrich (1992) *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity.* London, Sage.

Beck, Stefan/Welz, Gisela (1997a) 'Kreative Traditionalisierung. Anmerkungen zu neueren Reprasentationsstrategien im Tourismus'. In *Heimat Thuringen* 4, pp. 31-40.

Beck, Stefan/Welz, Gisela (1997b) 'Naturalisierung von Kultur - Kulturalisierung von Natur. Zur Logik asthetischer Produktion am Beispiel einer agro-touristischen Region Zyperns'. In *Tourismus Journal* 1. Jg. Heft 3/4, pp. 431-448.

Calotychos, Vangelis (1998) 'Interdisciplinary Perspectives: Differences at the Heart of Cypriot Identity and its Study'. In *Cyprus and Its People. Nation, Identity, and Experience in an Unimaginable Community, 1955-1997* (ed), Calotychos, Vangelis. Boulder, CO, Westview Press, pp. 1-32.

Clifford, James (1986) 'On Ethnographic Allegory'. In Clifford, J. and Marcus, G.E. (eds), *Writing Culture. The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography.* Berkeley/Los Angeles, The University of California Press, pp. 98-121.

Geertz, Clifford (1995) *After the Fact. Two Countries, Four Decades, One Anthropologist.* Cambridge MA/London, Harvard University Press.

Giddens, Anthony (1990) *The Consequences of Modernity.* Stanford, Stanford University Press.

Goddard, Victoria A./Llobera, Joseph R./Shore, Cris (1994) (eds), *The Anthropology of Europe. Identities and Boundaries in Conflict.* Oxford/Washington D.C., Berg.

Herzfeld, Michael (1992) *The Social Production of Indifference. Exploring the Symbolic Roots of Western Bureaucracy.* Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press.

Loizos, Peter (1981) *The Heart Grown Bitter: A chronicle of Cypriot war refugees.* Cambridge/London, Cambridge University Press.

Loizos, Peter (1975) *The Greek Gift: Politics in a Cypriot Village.* Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

Markides, Kyriacos C./Nikita, Eleni S./Rangou, Elengo N. (1978) *Lysi. Social Change in a Cypriot village.* Nicosia, Publications of the Social Science Research Centre.

Mavratsas, Caesar Va. (1995) 'Greece, Cyprus and Greek America: Comparative Issues in Rationalisation, Embourgeouisement, and the Modernisation of Consciousness'. In *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* Vol. 10/11, pp. 139-169.

Papadakis, Yiannis (1993a) *Perceptions of history and collective identity. A Study of contemporary Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Nationalism.* Ph.D. Thesis, University of Cambridge.

Papadakis, Yiannis (1993b) 'The Politics of Memory and Forgetting in Cyprus'. In *Journal of Mediterranean Studies,* Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 139-154.

Peristiany, John G. (1965) 'Honour and shame in a Cypriot highland village'. In *Honour and shame.* London, Weinfeld & Nicholson.

Sant Cassia, Paul (1982) 'Property in Greek Cypriot marriage strategies 1920- 1980'. In *Man: The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 17, 4, pp. 643-663.

Welz, Gisela (1998) 'Moving Targets. Feldforschung unter Mobilitatsdruck'. In *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 2, pp. 177-194.

Welz, Gisela (forthcoming) 'Multiple Modernities and Reflexive Traditionalisation: A Mediterranean Case Study'. In *Ethnologia Europaea.*

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

Anthos Shekeris

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 society[20] 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 indi- cator 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. Howeve,r 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 predeter- mined as 76% of the islands agricultural resources were lost.[28] The loss of approxi- mately two-thirds of its resources and 37% of the land which was the most produc- tive 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 responsi- ble 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 anoth-

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 sector[49] 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 surveys[53] 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 manufacturing[58] 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 occupations[73] 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 occu- pations.[79]

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 **bv sex**	1976	1980	1989
(1) Share of women In non-agricultural occupations (%)	30,2	32,4	37,3
Occupations dominated by women			
(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
***Occupations dominated by* men**			
(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

<u>**Source:**</u>   *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 pay- ment 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 ser- vices, 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
Eccnomics (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, Nicosia[103]

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 indi- cation 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

1. Beechey, Veronica (1988) 'Rethinking the Definition of Work; Gender and Work.' (eds), Jenson, J. and Hagen, Elizabeth. *Feminization of the Labour Force.* Cambridge, Polity Press, p. 45.

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, 0. (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.LO./ 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.

41

55. House, W.J., Kyriakides D. and Stylianou, 0., 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, 0., 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, 0., 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, 0., 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, 0., 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 con-centration 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, 0., 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, 0., p. 268.

78. Ibid.

79. Ibid.

80. Ibid., p. 269.

81. House, W.J., Kyriakides, D. and Stylianou, 0., 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.LO./ 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, 0., p. 270.

85. House, W.J., Kyriakides, D. and Stylianou, 0., p. 270.

86. Ibid.

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

88. House, W.J., Kyriakides, D. and Stylianou, 0., 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 capabili- ties. It indicates whether people lead a long and healthy life, are educated and knowl- edgeable and enjoy a decent standard of living. The HDI examines the average con- dition of all people in a country: distributional inequalities for various groups of soci- ety 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.

Bibliography

Beechey, V. (1988) 'Rethinking the Definition of Work; Gender and Work.' (eds), Jenson, J. and Hagen, E. *Feminization of the Labour Force.* Cambridge, Polity Press.

Chappa, I. (1992) 'Demographic Change in Retrospect.' (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.

Christodoulou, D. (1992) *Inside the Cyprus Miracle: The Labours of an Embattled Mini-Economy.* Minnesota, University of Minnesota.

——, (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.

Cliridou, C. (Member of Parliament). (1996) 'The changing role and position of women in Cypriot society.' *Phileleftheros.* Sunday, 12 May, p. 14.

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.

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.

—, House, W.J. and Matsis, S. (1992) *Population and Human Resources Development in Cyprus: Research and Policy Issues.* Nicosia, Department of Statistics and Research, Ministry of Finance.

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

England, P. and Farkas, G. (1986) 'Gender, Jobs and Wages.' *Households, Employment and Gender.* (ed), Hawthorne, New York, Aldine.

Epstein, C. F. (1988) *Deceptive Distinctions: Sex, Gender and the Social Order.* New Haven, Yale University Press.

Hawthorne.(1986) *Households, Employment and Gender.* New York, Aldine.

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.

—, Kyriakides, D. and Stylianou, 0. (1992) 'The Female Labour Force.' (eds), Dem·etriades, E.I., House, W.J. and Matsis, S. *Population and Human Resources Development in Cyprus: Research and Policy Issues.* Nicosia, Department of Statistics and Research, Ministry of Finance.

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

Jenson, J. and Hagen, E. (eds), (1988) *Feminization of the Labour Force.* Cambridge, Polity Press.

Josephides, S. (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.

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/A/3 - Equal Opportunities Unit.

Kranidiotis, Y. *Cyprus and the European Community.* (1993) A Conference of the **Cyprus Research Center, Nicosia** and the **Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London,** 20-21 September.

Nieva, V.F. and Gutek, B.A. (1981) *Women and Work.* New York, Praeger Publishers.

Norris, P. (1987) *Politics and Social Equality.* Harvester.

Panayiotou, G. (1990) 'Agricultural Labour and Technological Change in Cyprus.' Tully, D. (ed), *Labour and Rainfed Agriculture in West Asia and North Africa.* Netherlands, **ICARDA,** pp. 135-161.

Pavalko, R. M. (1988) *Sociology of Occupations and Professions.* (2 ed), Illinois, F. E. Peacock Publishers.

Phileleftheros. (1999) *Women a majority in the Swedish Government.* Friday 17th September.

Planning Bureau. (1989) *Five Year Development Plan 1989-1993.* Nicosia, Central Planning Commission, Government of Cyprus.

—, (1994) *Strategic Development Plan 1984-1998.* Nicosia, Central Planning Commission, Government of Cyprus.

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

—, (1995) *Cyprus National Report to the Fourth World Conference on Women: Beijing September 1995.* Nicosia, National Machinery for the Advancement of Women.

—, (1994) *The Republic of Cyprus: An Overview.* Nicosia, Press and Information Office, Republic of Cyprus.

Tully, D. (ed), (1990) *Labour and Rainfed Agriculture in West Asia and North Africa.* Netherlands, !CARDA.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (1995) *Human Development Report 1995.* New York, Oxford University Press Inc.

World Bank. (1988) *World Bank Development Report 1989.* New York, Oxford University Press.

(1995) '13,000 housewives Pensioned.' *Phileleftheros.* Tuesday 24th October, p. 4.

WOMEN ENTREPRENEURS IN CYPRUS

Lina Nearchou

Abstract

This article is concerned with women entrepreneurs in Cyprus, an area still lacking serious in-depth research. It attempts to give some answers to questions like: Who are these women? What led them to the decision of launching their own enterprises or how do they take over the traditional family business? What type of business do they prefer to compete in? What have they most gained out of it? What are the problems they encountered in undertaking entrepreneurial activities? In order to assess all these questions, the socio-economic environment that affects them will be examined.

Introduction

The importance of female entrepreneurship naturally derives from a careful study of the socio-economic development of our late twentieth century society, sometimes described as 'the age of entrepreneurship'. The world over, more and more women (gradually more than men) have been launching their own ventures contributing to their countries' economies. As the private initiative is the cornerstone of the market economy and has inevitable broader social ramifications, it becomes vital to understand who these daring women in this sector are.

Although entrepreneurship has been defined in various ways in the literature, we could safely assume entrepreneurship to be the planning, organising, forming, and operating of a new business or even the turning around of an enterprise by identifying an opportunity, assuming risk, combining the resources of land, capital, and labour in the production of a good or service. Supportive government action and strong personal values and traits are additionally required.[1]

Sources of Data

The theoretical framework derives from secondary data. Moreover, conducting primary research has proved necessary since there hasn't been any research conducted specifically on women entrepreneurs in Cyprus. Some limited research has

been conducted in related areas, such as the position of women in Cypriot society or the Cypriot manageress, but not on women entrepreneurs. The tools used for the collection of primary data were:

a) qualitative in-depth interviews and
b) a questionnaire.

The Sample

Population coverage: Questionnaires were sent to members of the Cyprus Federation of Business and Professional Women (CFBPW) and the Association of Young Businesspersons (AYBP). The survey did not cover all the population of the CFBPW as not all of the members were involved in entrepreneurial activities[2] The survey did not cover all the population of the AYBP either, as women are not the sole members of the association. Moreover, questionnaires were sent to other women entrepreneurs who were randomly selected out of the "yellow pages" (telephone directory - commercial section). The population participating in the survey consisted of women entrepreneurs aged 27-58 residing in the free urban areas of Cyprus. The final *sample size* was 42 respondents.

Qualitative in-depth interviews were conducted with twenty women entrepreneurs chosen out of the same associations as for the questionnaire. The collection of primary data took place from June to October 1997.

Issues Researched

1. Women entrepreneurs tend to share the same *influencing factors* in their deci- sion to launch a venture:

a) *antecedent factors:* These are factors preceding the decision to launch a venture such as, childhood conditions, educational level, age and past working experience, attitude toward 'feminist' matters, desire to control their own destiny, working hours;
b) *triggering factors:* These are the actual reasons that inspired or caused entrepreneurs to consider launching a venture, such as necessity, faith and enthusiasm in a product or service and
c) *enabling factors:* These are the factors that finally gave entrepreneurs the means to start up a business, factors such as opportunity and securing financial resources.

2. The type of business in which the majority of women entrepreneurs chose to launch their small venture is in the tertiary sector (e.g. services and retail). Small business units often tend to start up as sole proprietorships or partnerships. Here,

we will try to identify:
   a) the venture launching approach,
   b) the business sector, and
   c) the legal status of women-owned companies.

   3. The problems women entrepreneurs encounter tend to be:
   a) obstacles in starting-up the business (partly related to both genders and partly to women only)
   b) dealing with the household and child rearing, and
   c) perceptions in the business setting.

The Socio-economic Setting on the Island

Gender Roles and Social Inequality in Cyprus Society

Cyprus society seems to be in a transitional stage from a traditional rural society to an urban society.[3] Some social values and institutions have already been questioned in the breadwinner/housewife nuclear family. An example here would be the institution of marriage.[4]

Another interesting example of the shifting from the traditional rural to the modern urban society is the change from single to double-income families (with a smaller number of children). It is interesting to note that the new trend (since 1990) is to employ foreign workers, the largest group of whom is domestic servants[5] Among other things, their duties involve taking care of the house, the children, and the elderly; responsibilities previously considered as female in the traditional family.

Politics

Unfortunately, women's participation on the political stage is almost non-existent. In the present Board of Ministers, there is no female gender representative. Out of the 56 Members of Parliament (MPs) only three of the MPs are women. Female representation in foreign services is also low[6] Cypriot women politicians are not trusted enough by Cypriot voters, apparently either by men or women (who form the majority of constituents).[7]

Education

Cyprus enjoys one of the ten top positions in the world in regard to its high proportion of university graduates.[8] Full literacy has, however, not yet been reached. The illiteracy rate (for the ages 15 and over) for women is five times (10%) higher than that of men (2%).[9]

This inequality in education could be a symptom of the way Cypriots helped their children settle down. In the case of male children, this meant covering their educational expenses or the finding of employment. In the case of female children, it meant the providing of a dowry.[10]

It is interesting to note here that boys and girls are not encouraged to receive the same education. In the early 70s[11], three out of four Cypriot students registered in tertiary institutions abroad were male. The gap between male and female higher education seems to be closing two decades later. In the academic year 1993/4, the percentage was 56% for male and 44% for female students in institutions abroad. This could be attributed to the importance parents (and society) lay nowadays upon a woman's education and the implications it has for the strengthening of the woman's position in society.

The fields of study between male and female students differ. Even in high school, girls are usually encouraged to study Education or Humanities, for example, whereas boys are usually encouraged to study Engineering.[12]

As early as in kindergartens, children learn.the difference between the masculine and the feminine socially expected behaviour.[13] Boys are usually praised when they perform well, whereas girls when they 'behave'.[14] How could these women be expected to make such a daring decision as to launch their own venture and successfully manage it?

Labour

Traditionally, the Cypriot woman has worked side by side with her husband in the fields. This was, however, highly unappreciated work as it was unpaid. The shift from this unappreciated, unpaid work to paid employment outside the house has strengthened woman's position in society as the husband ceased to be the sole financial authority.

Women's participation in the labour force in 1995 was as high as 39.4%[15] that is almost the average as in the EU countries. In 1976, the numbers of working women did not exceed 30%.[16] Two important reasons for the constantly rising woman's quest for employment were, on the one hand, the growth and development of the economy (the 'miracle') and the creation of new opportunities (especially in the service sector) and, on the other hand, ttie increasing number of educated and qualified women.

Despite years of legislative efforts, women still face discrimination in the work force. First and foremost, women are more threatened by unemployment than men.[17] In the case of limited employment opportunities, it becomes more difficult for women

to preserve their posts, as men are usually preferred. It is the woman who will most probably stay at home looking after the children, the house, or the elderly while the husband seeks employment.

Sex discrimination is also evident in the wage differences between male and female employment. Even in modern Western societies, as for example in the UK, women earn around 75% of men's gross weekly earnings[18] despite the fact that their tasks, skills, and knowledge might be similar. In 1990, Cypriot women were lucky enough to earn 65% of men's salaries. Ten years earlier, they earned only 55%![19] Furthermore, women usually hold positions that are lower than those of men in organisational hierarchy and require low specialisation[20] This also explains why more men are in the high-income category, whereas more women are in the low-income category.[21] The only consolation is that there is a slow but steady increase in the number of women in the high-income category.

The Economy

Despite the tremendous losses Cyprus suffered in 1974, it succeeded (within a few decades) in being transformed from a poor, underdeveloped, illiterate, agri-cultural post-colonial society to a state included in the 25 wealthiest economies in the world,[22] now aspiring to become a full member of the European Union. Cyprus has a small free market economy. Its cornerstone is the private sector, particularly small businesses that employ up to ten people.

Business units in Cyprus are in their majority (95%) small businesses, usually in the tertiary sector, which employs 62% of the country's labour force[23] It becomes evident in the analysis of our data later on that by far the largest number of women entrepreneurs choose to launch their venture and compete in the tertiary sector.

Throughout most of the post-Independence period Cyprus had a record of suc-cessful economic performance, reflected in rapid growth, full employment and stabil-ity. Although a collapse of the country's economy might have been expected, as the impact of the Turkish invasion and partial occupation was extremely severe, the country's economy managed not only to survive, but to recover in a fast and impres-sive manner with an average GDP real growth of over 6% in the period 1977-1984.[24] This performance was based on both external (e.g. the Lebanese crisis of 1975) and internal factors (e.g. the entrepreneurial capabilities of the Cypriots).

Despite the revitalisation, the years after the 'miracle' recorded a decrease in GDP[25] (it dropped to 1.9% in 1996),[26] a rise in public deficit (from 3% in 1995 to 3.4% in 1996) and unemployment figures (from 2.6% in 1996 to 3.5% for the second quarter of 1997).[27] The economy is faced with problems of modernisation and har-

monisation with the EU. Cyprus is in desperate need to upgrade the state's mechanism, to create more favourable conditions for the private sector and become more competitive. Productivity in Cyprus is only 40% of the average productivity in other EU countries.[28]

Analysis of the Questionnaire

A summary of the most important and most interesting data is presented here.

Section One: Influencing Factors for Launching a Business

Antecedent Factors

Childhood Conditions: It is evident that the majority of the Cypriot women entrepreneurs who took part in this survey were brought up in a very comfortable socio-economic setting[29] where the model of self-employment seems to be very strong. Following is an analytical representation of the data.

In the literature, entrepreneurs tend to come from poor families and struggle to meet ends or have an average childhood at the most. Surprisingly enough despite the disastrous consequences of 1974, 29% of the respondents felt their childhood was 'silver spoon', almost half of them (49%) that it was very comfortable, 18% that it was average and only 4% that it was difficult. This means that for 96% of the respondents in the sample, childhood conditions were average or better.

Almost six out of ten (59%) of the cases examined were children of self-employed fathers, 29% of both self-employed parents, 6% of self-employed mothers, and only 6% of not self-employed parents. This accounts for 94% of the cases of self-employment in the family. Apparently, it is easier for women who experienced the financial insecurity of their parents' self-employment to accept the risk entrepreneurship involves rather than for women who experienced the financial security of the monthly (or weekly) paycheque.

Education: The parents, often educated individuals, urged their children to continue their studies in tertiary level education institutions, thus provided their children with opportunities for a 'better future'.
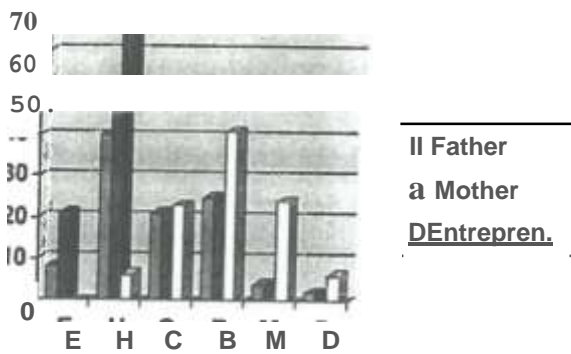
E: Elementary School H: High School C: Some College Courses
B: Bachelor's degree M: Master's Degree D: Doctorate

A small percentage (6%) of the respondents possess only a high school leaving certificate. Twenty-three per cent have attended some college courses. The results agree with the data in the literature when they indicate the majority of the respondents (41%) having earned a bachelor's degree. Almost one out of four women in our sample possess a master's degree and 6% have earned a doctorate (this is usually the case of medical doctors).

Obviously, there is a striking difference in the education their fathers and mothers received which is probably to be traced back to the previous generations' perception about a woman's role in society, her dowry, and her education. Fifty-two per cent of their fathers were able to continue their studies in tertiary level institutions (more often than not abroad), whereas only 13% of their mothers were just as lucky.

As regards the majors entrepreneurial women pursued, only 28% of the respondents have a degree related to Business Administration, Economics, or Finance. There seems to be a big diversity of areas of studies in the remaining 72%. It is difficult to determine why. Perhaps, one explanation could be that since there was some 'guarantee' of financial security deriving from the strong family bonds women felt free to study whichever subject they liked.

As expected, their performance at the highest level of their education was above average for almost two thirds (63%) of the respondents, average for 31%, and below average for only 6%. The family's socio-economic level and its impact on children coming from 'privileged' environments could be taken into consideration. First, it might have offered better educational opportunities, and second, the majority of our respondents did not have to worry about their fees and living expenses while

studying. Only 13% of the respondents had to put themselves through college basically on their own. Another 18% contributed to their expenses. The majority (69%) did not have to take any employment whatsoever.

Age and Past Working Experience: Cypriot women entrepreneurs seem to make the decision to launch their own venture earlier than the general tendency described in the literature, which is between 30 and 40. Almost two out of three (63%) of the respondents start-up their own business between 20-30, 30% between 31-40 and some 7% between 41-50.

As for their work experience previous to the starting-up of their own business, almost one out of four (23%) had no previous employer, 35% one, 18% two, 12% three, and another 12% four. It is interesting to note here that 88% of the respondents had help and support from their families in order to launch their venture.

Attitude toward 'feminist' matters: The results indicate, as expected, that Cypriot women have been influenced by 'feminist' ideas. Not too many years ago, it would have probably been unheard of, in a small place like Cyprus where everyone knew almost everyone else, to be for example in favour of ending an unsuccessful marriage (91%).

Desire to control their own destiny: The reason that seems to be by far the most influential one in their decision to start-up their business is, as expected, the desire to control their own destiny (64%). Other reasons were: to make money (18%), by chance (10%), to improve their social status (4%), and hating the frustration of working for someone else (4%).

Number of working hours: The results agree with the ones in the literature that entrepreneurs do spend long hours at work. Twenty per cent spend over 60 hours per week at work, 18% 51-60 hours/week, 45% 41-50 hours/week, and only 17% up to 40 hours. By far the largest proportion of the respondents devote more time than the usual 40-hour week and energy to their enterprise. What is interesting here is that the 17% who spend less than 40 hours per week at work are usually 'older' women with their business probably in the maturity stage of the life cycle.

Triggering Factors

Necessity: Necessity is not one of the basic reasons why women entrepreneurs tend to start-up their business in Cyprus. The financial status of 54% of the respondents before starting-up their business was above average, 27% average, and only 19% poor. This is probably the reason why only 13% of the respondents answered that they launched their venture because of necessity.

Faith and enthusiasm in the product or service: What women entrepreneurs con-sider most fulfilling in having their own business is in order of priority: self-actualisa-tion (43%), faith and enthusiasm in the product or service (35%), meeting financial needs (11%), challenge (8%), and social status (3%).

Enabling Factors

Opportunity: The results here agree with those in the literature that opportunities in the market place were one of the most decisive factors in the decision of venture launching for 75% of the respondent in the sample.

Securing financial resources: Only 25% of the respondents seemed to have had problems with acquiring the required initial capital in order to start-up their business. This is not strange as the majority of our participants in the sample come from wealthy families. It is not evident whether one of the major obstacles in launching a venture is the securing of financial resources or not. The question here would rather be how many more 'less lucky' women (not taking part in this survey) could actually succeed in securing the necessary initial capital in order to be able to start-up their business?

Section Two: Types of Businesses

The tendency for Cypriot women entrepreneurs is to choose the start-up as their venture launching approach. Their business units are more often than not in the ter-tiary sector, usually in the form of a limited company in retailing.

Venture Launching Approach

Seventy-five per cent of the respondents chose the start-up approach for their venture while 25% took over a family business. Even in the start-up approach, however, the husband is often involved. There were no records of a buy-out or fran-chising. Apparently, these approaches can be considered to be more risky and require larger amounts of capital. ·

Business Sectors

The sectors women chose to compete in are: retailing 46%, services 21%, whole-saling 19%, and manufacturing 14%. A combination of the sectors is also possible. Manufacturing is not a very popular entrepreneurial activity because of the large amounts of initial capital required. Interestingly enough, women entrepreneurs who operate in the sector of manufacturing are women who continue the traditional fam-ily business.

Legal Status

Women entrepreneurs do not tend to start-up a business using the sole propri-
etorship or partnership legal status, which is the usual case in the literature. More
frequently, they use the limited company legal status instead. Seventy-five per cent
of women-owned ventures are limited companies, 19% partnerships and only 6% are
sole proprietorships (usually doctors of medicine). Even in the cases of limited com-
panies, both spouses actively run a considerable number of them. There is often a
third shareholder as well, usually holding only one share. The reasons involved here
could be better ways of securing financial resources and taxation.

Section Three: Problems

Obstacles in starting-up the business

Social stereotypes about a woman's position in society, her duties, and responsi-
bilities 'haunt' women entrepreneurs. These stereotypes might take the form of sex
discrimination (17%) or securing financial resources (25%). The major obstacle
women entrepreneurs have to overcome, however, is the double bind, the work/fam-
ily pressure (58%).

Dealing with the Household and Child Rearing

Seventy-five per cent of the entrepreneurial women in our sample find the solution
to the problem of housework by hiring a housemaid, usually a foreign domestic
servant. Twenty-one per cent have help from their husbands, and 4% have help from
their parents.

It is disappointing to see that the husband's active role decreases when it comes
to child rearing to only 16%. On the contrary, the grandparents' role (usually her par-
ents') increases to 29%, whereas 14% have no help at all. The remaining 41% again
rely on help from the domestic servant. The transition from extended to nuclear fam-
ilies, the increase in number of working mothers (also grandmothers), as well as low
salaries for foreign workers are some of the factors involved in the increasing phe-
nomenon of foreign domestic servants in Cypriot households.
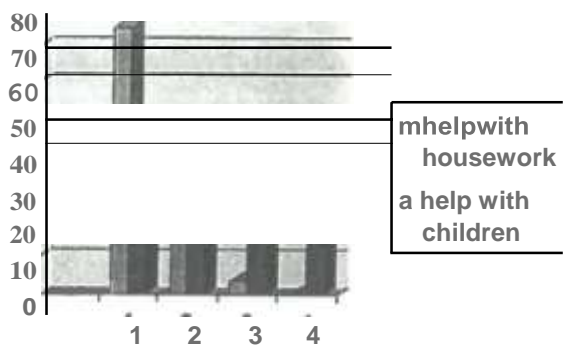
1: housemaid 2: husband 3: parents 4: no help

Perceptions in the Business Setting

The majority of women in the sample (73%) perceive that women have to work harder than men do to prove themselves, to earn respect and appreciation, in their business environment. Only 27% feel they work equally hard. The tendency here is for younger women to be in the second category and for the older to be in the first. This could be interpreted as a change in the attitude of younger male Cypriot businessmen or that younger women fail to perceive the discrimination between sexes in the business setting.

The results indicating the majority of women entrepreneurs in the sample perceiving they have to work harder than their male counterparts might reflect their awareness of how men perceive them. They expect them, for example, to prove themselves repeatedly in order to be considered equal. However, 91% of our respondents still feel they have equal chances as their male counterparts. This is probably how they feel 'inside' - truly equal. It might also reflect their trust in the market that relies on performance ultimately.

Analysis of the Qualitative In-depth Interviews

The general impression I retained from the interviews is that women entrepreneurs manage to combine being dynamic and feminine at the same time. They look very confident, determined and inspire respect in their work environment. Their appearance is smart and professional at the same time.

All of them agreed that it is more difficult for women to be businesswomen rather than for men to be businessmen even in the case of not having any children. They spoke in the spirit of Charlotte Whitton (mayor of Ottawa) when she said:

'Whatever women do they must do twice as good as men to be thought half as good. Luckily, this is not difficult'.

Although they would have been expected to have a lot (or at least something) to complain about men and their dominant attitude, it is surprising how they deliberately underestimate it by not paying attention to it. There have been times when they felt unequal treatment, but they refuse to let that interfere with their plans. They fight back, instead, and go on their way. Some of them resist the differentiation: *us* (women) and *them* (men). They, especially younger women, prefer looking at people as individuals, thus avoiding falling into stereotyping.

Nevertheless, they cannot fail to notice the presence (even if not always or not by all men) of the so-called 'male attitude' and social inequality between the two sexes. Some of them mentioned, for example, that men often don't expect women to come up with solutions to their problems or that when there is a serious matter, employees want to talk to the boss, a man! It is obvious that respect has to be earned when a person is a woman. Despite all this, women are not at all pessimistic. They feel that women should try their best as businesspersons (not as women) and that with patience, persistence, and perseverance, the mentality will change one day.

As the majority of women have experienced this male mentality getting in their way, one would have expected a higher degree of solidarity among them. There is, however, a considerable number of women entrepreneurs who prefer their own individual fight and this is the reason why they have never registered in any kind of women's organisation. The preference is towards organisations that are related to their profession, for example Association of Private Institutes, Association of Driving Instructors etc. They feel they obtain more help from profession-related associations rather than from women's organisations.

When asked how other women in the business setting (employees, suppliers, and competitors) view them, they answered with respect, although sometimes with some 'rivalry'. This is of course nothing unusual; they hurry to add, as rivalry can be found among men or among men and women as well. As a whole, they feel women are more sensitive, honest, and just and have higher human values and better communication skills than men.

When asked who they would rather have as partner or competitor a woman or a man, they took a neutral stand by answering that they did not really mind. Some commented that men expect you to work harder than women do. This might suggest that women have more faith in women's abilities whereas men need more reassurance on that or that women are more understanding. What is important, however, is to remember that both men and women have their weaknesses; no one

is perfect and both are 'allowed' to make mistakes.

Despite CFBPW's and other women organisations' efforts, women feel all these groups are hardly more than a façade. They do not do as much as should be done in order to help or even inform women. They feel there is too much hollow talk and too little action. More needs to be done at the practical level. This is easier said than done as the CFBPW, for example, lacks the financing to open up an office and hire full-time personnel to offer such services. The little that is being done is done in whatever spare time some of its members might have.

Conclusions

This research has indicated that there is a connection between some of the antecedent, triggering, and enabling factors and a woman's decision to launch her venture. For example, the role model of self-employment, education, desire to control their own destiny, commitment, enthusiasm in the product or service, opportunity, and securing financial resources.

The average Cypriot woman entrepreneur tends to have been brought up in very comfortable financial conditions where at least one of her parents was self-employed. The same financial conditions put her through her studies, and more often than not helped her obtain a Bachelor's degree. Undisturbed by financial burden, she manages to complete her studies with grades above the average.

She continues to have moral and financial support both from her parents and her husband while launching her venture, a limited company, usually in the tertiary sector. Usually, this happens before she turns 30 and after she has worked for no or one employer.

The problem of child rearing is usually taken care of with a domestic servant's, the parent's, and sometimes the husband's help. Help with the household and child rearing is a necessity as a woman entrepreneur usually spends 50-60 hours at work per week.

Nevertheless, the burden of the responsibility for child rearing and the household still fall on the woman's shoulders. These responsibilities might on the one hand prevent her career prospects and on the other hand her role in the family. Other issues Cypriot women entrepreneurs are concerned with are difficulties in obtaining financing, especially while trying to set up a business, and the social injustice they feel as representatives of a 'lesser' sex, as long as sex discrimination still exists.

Notes

1. Mcconnel, C.R. and Brue, S.L. (1990) *Economics: Principles, Problems and Policies.* Singapore, McGraw-Hill Publishing Co.

Barrow, C. (1993) *The Essence of Small Business Management.* New Jersey, Prentice Hall Inc. Griffin, Ricky W. (1996) *Management.* Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company.

EI-Namaki (October, 1985) 'Could Women Be Equally Entrepreneurial?' *RVB Research Papers,* Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 22-29.

2. A considerable number were involved in managerial duties in the civil service or companies other than their own.

3. Milona, L. (1982) *The Cypriot Woman.* Nicosia, Psycho-Sociological Research Group.

4. According to Ms L. Theodorou, Director of the Department of Social Welfare, although Cyprus has the highest rate of married couples in Europe, 10 for every 100 inhabitants, it is remarkable how the rate of divorces increased from 4.2% in 1980, to 15% in 1995. Φιλελεύθερος, 21 February 1997.

Presumably, the increase of the divorce rate in Cyprus is the result of woman's financial independence. Two other factors could be involved here. First, the initiation of western cultures through the mass media, tourism, the large numbers of foreign students in tertiary level education institutions abroad and the 'shrinking of the globe' due to technological advancement. Second, the radical changes caused by the events following the 1974 tragedy might have played a catalytic role of the family institution.

5. Labour Statistics (1994).

6. There are five female ambassadors representing Cyprus abroad.

7. The reasons why constituents do not yet place their trust in women in the field of politics are not the subject of this study. We could assume, however, that they might believe that the still 'inexperienced' female politicians would not be in the position to handle issues, such as the national security problem, as 'firmly' as their male counterparts would. Women could be considered to be 'inexperienced' because not so many years ago decision making was clearly a privilege enjoyed only by bread-winner husbands.

8. Zampelas, Michael H. (April, 1995) 'Meet Cyprus and its People', *Spotlight on Cyprus,* Coopers & Lybrand.

9. Statistics of Education, 1994/5.

10. Mavratsas, K. (1994) 'Από την Οικονομική Εντατκοπίηση στον Οικονομιό Εφησυχασμό και του Υπερκαταναλωτισμό. Προκαταρτικές Παρατηρήσεις στην Εξέλιξη της Ελληνοκυπριακής Οικοωομικής Κουλτούρας μετά το 1974', *Ανατομία μιας Μεταμόρφωσης*. Επιμέλια Περιστιάνης, Ν. και Τσαγγαράς, Γ., Nicosia, Intercollege Press.

11. This would apply to a large number of entrepreneurs today.

12. Statistics of Education, 1994/5.

13. Sidiropoulou, D. s. (1994) Ισότητα των Δύο Φήλων. Θεωρία και Πράξη στον Επαγγελματικό Προσανατολισμό', *Νέα Παιδεία*, Vol. 71.

14. Fontana, David (1995) Ψυχολογία υια Εκπαιδευτικούς, Athens, Savallas.

15. Φιλελεύθερος, 6 April 1997. The number of women in the labour force in the EU countries was about 40% according to *Women in the European Community,* 1992 statistics.

16. It is difficult to compare women's participation in the labour force before and after the invasion as the first results for the Greek Cypriots were registered in 1976. Before that, figures indicated both Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

17. *Women in the European Community* (1992) Statistical Office of the European Communities, Office for Official Publications of the European Community.

18. Vinnicombe, S. and Colwill, N.L. (1995) *The Essence of Women in Management.* New Jersey, Prentice Hall Inc.

19. Φιλελεύθερος, 31August 1997.

20. Οι Γυναίκες Διευθύντριες στην Κύπρο (1997) Intercollege, Research & Development Center, Sidiropoulou, op.cit.

21. Φιλελεύθερος, 24 April 1997.

22. 'Review of Cyprus Developments' (3 October 1994) in *Cyprus Bulletin,* Vol. XXXII, No. 17.

23. Labour Statistics, 1994.

24. Charalambous, Andreas (1994) 'Σύγκριση της Οικονομίας στις Κατεχόμενες Περιοχές με την Οικοωομία στις Ελεύθερες Περιοχές in *Ανατομία μιας Μεταμόρφωσης.* Επιμέλεια Περιστιάνης Ν. και Τσαγγαράς, Γ., Nicosia, Intercollege, Press.

25. Some of the factors which influenced the country's economy negatively in the post-1992 period (consequently women entrepreneurs' prospects as well) are the consequences of the Gulf War as well as the abatement in the western European countries (Charalambous, 1994). Furthermore the 1996 events in Derynia (two Greek-Cypriots were brutally murdered along the butter zone) and the government's decision to purchase the S-300 missiles as part of its military defence created the impression of political instability. In addition, 'meningitis' broke out on the island in the summer of 1996 damaging Cyprus' image as an ideal holiday resort.

26. Οικονομίας Φιλελεύθερος, 17 August 1997.

27. Οικονομίας Φιλελεύθερος, 31 August 1997.

28. Οικονομίας Φιλελεύθερος, 13 July 1997.

29. The economic setting was not defined with numbers, primarily because of the age difference among the respondents. A specific amount of income might have been considered to be 'silver spoon' in the 40s but perhaps not in the 50s or 60s. The respondents were left free to decide on their financial status, as they perceived it.

FACING THE CHALLENGES

Kate Hughes

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

65

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 of 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 Argyrou[7] 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 then 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 facility 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.

71

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 conlude 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 iden- tities hard to conceal. For some women divorce may represent rejection of the con- fines of a contract entered into too early, and too conveniently. This trend is recog- nised, but there is little in-depth speculation about how this will affect social struc- tures, 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 look- ing 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 atten- tion. 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 again- st. At the same time the threat is also internal: values ostensibly propagated exter- nally 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 weak- ens 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 learn- ing 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 aspi- rations 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 accep- ting 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 prob- lems 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

1. Kyle, Keith (1977) *Cyprus: In Search of Peace,* Minority Rights Group, International.

2. Hughes, Kate (1997) Women & War: The Greek Cypriot Experience, *Women: A cultural review,* Vol. 8, pp.81-88.

3. Markides, C (1979) *Lysi: Social Change in a Cypriot Village,* Nicosia Research Centre.

4. Stavrou, Stavros (1997) Cypriot Women at Work, *The Cyprus Review,* Vol. 9, pp. 57-81.

5. Roussou, Nayia (1996) Factors of Humanitarism and Mass Culture and Aggression in Children and Young People, *The Cyprus Review,* Vol. 8, pp. 38-79.

6. Zinovieff (1995) *Hunters and Hunted. Kamaki and the Ambiguities of Sexual Predators in a Greek Town.* In Peter Loizos & Eythymious Papataxiarchous, *Contested Identities: Gender and Kinship in Modern Greece,* Princeton University Press.

7. Argyrou, Vassos (1996) *Tradition and Modernity in the Mediterranean; the Wedding as Symbolic Struggle,* Cambridge University Press.

8. *Cyprus Mail* (1998) November 13.

9. Wilson, Elizabeth (1980) *Only Halfway to Paradise: Women in Postwar Britain 1945-1968,* Tavistock.

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**	**440]**	**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	I	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

77

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 ofFinance, Department ofStatistics, Nicosia, 1998.

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

APPENDIX2

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	I	i7	8	*ii*
British	I	I	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	I	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**	**IS**	**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 fal into that catee:orv	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%

"PORTRAIT OF A JEW": ETHNIC IDENTITY AND NATIONAL BELONGING INCYPRUS

Juliette Dickstein

Abstract

"Portrait of a Jew": Ethnic Identity and National Belonging in Cyprus is a critical examination of Jewish presence in Cyprus and a case study of Abigail and Daniel Miller who have been in Cyprus since the 1930s, and who have lived since 1974 in a military camp in the Buffer Zone. The paper discusses the "Cyprus Problem", but mainly focuses on how the Millers negotiate living between two communities, and on how their Jewish identity is articulated between the cracks of protracted conflict. The paper is a glance at the relationship between Jewish diasporic identity and post-colonial national identity in Cyprus.

Introduction

In the Eastern Mediterranean island of Cyprus, questions of national belonging and conceptions of ethnic identity – Greek and Turkish – have violently besieged the island since well before independence from British rule in 1960. Before 1960, however, there was no striving for a Cypriot nation.[1] There was, on the part of most Greek Cypriots, a "national" raison d' tre, *enosis,* union with Greece, "the Hellenic ideal of the coming together of all territory that was culturally Greek" (Kyle 5). In reaction to the "Greek cry for *enosis,"* some of the more militant Turkish Cypriots looked towards the Turkish motherland, and supported the idea of *taksim,* the division of the island into two separate national bodies (Kyle 7). The question of national consciousness whether Cypriot, Greek, or Turkish has, throughout the century, polarised different inhabitants of the island, especially the political left and right. In general, those on the far left tended to support an independent Cyprus – independent from either Greece or Turkey – while those on the right have been more in favour of either *enosis* or *taksim.*

Further clarifications are in order. The definition of nation outlined in this paper describes a community of people with a shared idea of who they are, where they came from, and what they would like to become. "A nation is a community of people,

whose members are bound together by a sense of solidarity, a common culture, a national consciousness" (Seton-Watson 1). By ethnic identity, I mean a "basic human category", and not a sub-group or minority (Connor 43).[2]

National struggle in Cyprus transformed the island into a sovereign state (and not a component of the Greek state) in August 1960; Cyprus became a Republic with two official languages - Greek and Turkish - a national flag, a Greek President and a Turkish Vice-President, each of whom "had an absolute veto over decisions relating to foreign affairs, defence or internal security (...)" (Kyle 8).[3] After the establishment of independence and the signing of the constitution, the relationship between Greek and Turkish Cypriots resulted in intense clashes, violent encounters which precipi- tated the arrival of United Nations Peacekeeping Forces (UNFICYP) in March of 1964,[4] and which turned into a full-blown military conflict among Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus.

Cyprus has been divided into two "entities" since the summer of 1974 after the Greek junta staged its (failed) military coup to overthrow the government of Archbishop Makarios, and Turkey, under the Treaty of Guarantee, sent troops to Cyprus.[5] The consequences of 1974 and subsequent division of the island have taken a toll on both communities in terms of lost land and businesses, refugees, missing persons, and so on. Efforts by the UN and other international mediators to bring both communities together, and to find a viable diplomatic solution have con- tinuously ended in a deadlock. This "deadlock" has become internationally known as the "Cyprus Problem". At stake is the issue of ethnic identity and its relationship to the question of national sovereignty. Greek and Turkish Cypriots each want to be heard by the international community; they also want their different territorial claims to be respected and recognised.

A Short Overview of Jewish Presence in Cyprus

In the cracks of this protracted conflict exists another peoples' story, that of the Jews of Cyprus. The Jewish presence in Cyprus can be traced back to the destruc- tion of the Second Temple in 70AD, when a large population of Jews, expelled from Palestine by the Romans, were living in the city of Salamis. Following a wave of vio- lence that was spreading across the region (Egypt, Cyrene, Cyprus), the Jews staged an insurrection against the Romans in 115-116AD. The city of Salamis was completely destroyed, and the Romans forced the Jews out of Cyprus. Jews were officially allowed to live in Cyprus after 1160, during the Byzantine Empire, and there were Jews present in Cyprus during the Venetian rule of the island (1489-1571). It was not until the 16th century, however, when Cyprus was under the Ottoman Empire, that a strong community of Jews was again present on the island. Because there had been Jews in the higher ranks of the Ottoman Empire, the Sultan invited

them to settle in Cyprus in order to help consolidate Ottoman power. In fact, Cyprus was considered a place of refuge for the displaced Jews of the 16th century, most of whom had been expelled from Spain following the Inquisition.

When the British took over the island in 1878, the "Jewish question" again came up. During the Berlin Conference of 13 July 1878, Benjamin Disraeli, the British prime minister, recommended that Cyprus be a haven for the Jews of the Diaspora. Ten years later, Theodor Herzl, the architect of modern Zionism, had proposed that Cyprus, because of its proximity to the "Promised Land", be transformed into a homeland for the Jews. At the turn of the century, Jews, escaping persecution and poverty in Eastern Europe, began immigrating to Cyprus where, with the help of the Rothschild family, they set up collective farms and established the commercial citrus industry (which is booming today).

In 1946, Jewish refugees from the Holocaust who were trying to make their way to Palestine were re-routed by the British and put into detention camps on the island. Because of strict immigration laws and quotas, many of these refugees tried to enter Palestine illegally. They were imprisoned in squalid conditions under armed guards and behind barbed wire. The internment camps lasted from May 1946 to January 1949 - after the creation of the state of Israel. The British did allow a certain number passage to Palestine every month.

The small community of Jews that continues to live on the island are mostly the children and grandchildren of Eastern European immigrants.[6] Holidays are spent either at home or at Israeli Embassy functions. The only functioning synagogue on the island is located inside the Israeli Embassy.

This essay is less of a socio-historical investigation of the Jews of Cyprus than a critical examination of the figure of the "rootless", "displaced" Jew who, today, lives in a land wrought with ethnic and national conflict. My point of departure is Abigail and Daniel Miller[7] who have been in Cyprus since the 1930s, who are from Austria-Hungary and Siberia, respectively, and who have lived, since 1974, in a military camp in the buffer zone. Questions will be addressed in light of "the Cyprus Problem", and also against the backdrop of Albert Memmi's *Portrait d'un juif* ("Portrait of a Jew") [1962]. It is my contention that Memmi's figure of the Jew as an outsider who lives "apart from the national community," (imperfectly) describes the situation of the Millers who live on the fringes of two national bodies, which, since decolonisation, have been struggling to articulate and legitimise their different experiences and aspirations. My discussion of the Millers provides a preliminary glance at the relationship between Jewish diasporic identity and post-colonial national identity in Cyprus. A subsequent study could provide a more in-depth analysis of Jewish displacement and national struggle and the political situation in Cyprus, which not only has dis-

placed so many Greek and Turkish Cypriots, but which has also brought the problem of national homelands to the fore.

The Millers

Trained as an agronomist in Palestine, Daniel Miller created the Cyprus-Palestine Plantation in Fassouri, Cyprus in 1933. In Cyprus, land was good and cheap, and Miller easily developed vast and rich plantations. At one point, he had over a thousand Cypriots (Turkish and Greek) working for him on the 600 donum plan- tation.[8] He grafted grapefruits and lemons, tangerines and bitter oranges, and brought sultanas from Crete. Miller's produce was shipped to England and sold to various local and foreign markets.

In 1939 Miller went to the United States to attend an agricultural conference that was sponsored by Caterpillar Tractors. On the boat across he met Abigail Hirsch, who was fleeing Romania. The Second World War was imminent, and Abigail and her sister were on their way to a relative's home in Chicago. Three months later Abigail and Daniel were married in Chicago; they soon moved back to Cyprus, to Daniel's plantation in Fassouri, a small village located seven miles west of the port city of Limassol.

After the fall of Crete in May 1941, the Millers were evacuated by the British to Palestine. During the course of the war Abigail remained in Tel Aviv, with her family who had managed to emigrate thanks to the British Colonial powers. Daniel, howev-er, was eager to get back to his plantation, and received special permission to return to Cyprus. After the war, when Abigail and their young son came back to Cyprus, the Millers played an important role in aiding the tens of thousands of Holocaust refugees who now found themselves interned in British detention camps. Abigail remembers supplying sheets, and Daniel recalls providing the refugees with food, fruit, and clothing. In 1948, Daniel wanted to go to Israel to fight in the Arab-Israeli War. He didn't manage *to* leave until 1953, after the Millers had sold their plantation. Daniel started a new plantation in Israel, but life in the young nation-state was difficult. Israel was populated with newly-arrived immigrants, most of whom were Holocaust survivors. Food and basic necessities were scarce. In 1956, they returned to Cyprus and bought more land in the north and in Larnaca.

When war broke out in 1974, the Millers, who were at this time residents of Nicosia, remained in the bomb shelter of the new house they had just built. They had been living in their house for only five years before the fighting began. Having already experienced exile and immigration, they decided to stay. Abigail's experience as a Jew living in Europe during the rise of Nazi Germany made this decision easy for them. Moreover, not only had the Millers experienced displacement when the British

evacuated them to Palestine during the Second World War, but also, as Abigail explains, they had lost so many homes over the course of the years; they were not prepared to lose another one. "I had lost four houses. A house in Austria, a house in Romania, a house in Yugoslavia, and a house in Israel. I didn't want to lose another house." Although the Millers were able to remain in their home, the Turks confiscated all their property in the north which was now under their control.

That their home in Cyprus found itself in the middle of the crossfire was less significant than the trauma of displacement. Luckily, because of previous generous acts towards their workers on the plantation in Fassouri, the Millers were protected by Turkish Cypriot soldiers who formed a ring around their house. Today their "neighbourhood" is a Turkish Cypriot Military Camp which borders the UN-patrolled demilitarised zone. Their house is surrounded by abandoned buildings - only a few are occupied by the military. The area is so peaceful that it is hard to imagine that this exact site was where so much violence had taken place. Yet, the edifices of their "neighbours'" homes are marked with bullet holes the size of golf balls, and their own home bears the scars of the summer of 1974: lace curtains are ripped from the passage of bullets, and shrapnel decorates kitchen cabinets and living room doors. Abigail has chosen to keep these remnants as mementos of 1974.

The Millers move freely from one side of the island to the other.[9] They carry two "national" identity cards; one claims that they are permanent residents of the Republic of Cyprus, and the other affirms that they live in the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus". The Millers even have two separate telephone lines in their house. Their electricity and water come from the Greek side but their bills go to the Turkish side. If they use the airport on the Turkish side, however, they will no longer be able to enter the Greek Side. The Millers feel privileged to live where they do. "This is the first time I've been allowed to live somewhere because I am Jewish", Abigail states. "This is the first time I feel like I am welcome - for the time being."

Abigail and Daniel have come to accept their living situation as normal, many would not. Not only is their neighbourhood an enclave surrounded by barbed wire, but also, when they leave their home, they must pass through a military checkpoint and hand in their identity cards.[10] To go from their home in the military zone to the Greek side (which is less than three minutes by car), they must pass through three checkpoints. "I feel nothing handing in my ID card", Abigail says. "I am so used to it. The border police [on both sides] all think we're crazy, but I once overheard a Greek policeman say that we are 'kaloi anthropoi,' good people."

The Millers have never experienced anti-Semitism in Cyprus, yet, according to Abigail, they have been viewed only in terms of their Jewish identity, and never have been considered to be any other "nationality". Abigail explains that she feels an inex-

plicable warmth from the Turkish Cypriots, but that she feels more and more Greek in her outlook. "The Greeks have a soft approach, and I have a soft approach. But I cannot be one of them if I am not the same religion."

This liminal position suits Abigail. "I have never been anything. I've always had an American passport,[11] yet I didn't grow up in America.[12] When I lived in Austria I was not Austrian, when I lived in Romania, I was not Romanian, when I lived in Hungary, I was not Hungarian. I was nothing. I am used to being on my own. I don't know any other way." Nothing. Used to being on her own. Jewish. Not only does Abigail meta-physically see herself as a Jew who does not belong to any national community, but also, she and Daniel physically live between two "states". Indeed, they live in both but in neither.

Jewish Identity, Liminal Subjectivity: Theoretical Concerns

Albert Memmi, the French-Tunisian novelist and essayist, would argue that there is no other way. That the Jews of the Diaspora are necessarily living on their own and are perforce outside the national community of their "adopted" country; the Jew is "he who does not have the same religion as those around him" (Memmi 229), and who cannot relate nor identify with the national symbols and traditions that surround him. "Whether I like it or not, the history of the country where I live appears to me as if it were an assumed history", he writes in his autobiographical study on Jewish identity, *Portrait d'un juif* ("Portrait of a Jew"). "How can I feel represented by Joan of Arc", he continues describing his relationship to France, "do I hear, as she does, those patriotic and Christian voices?" (234).[13]

Memmi's observations were made on the heels of the Second World War, when he was a student in France. Any hope the young scholar had that France, the first European country to grant citizenship to Jews in 1791, represented *the* cosmopoli-tan and universalistic dream, were shattered by the horrors of the Holocaust and Vichy France's own anti-Jewish policies and practices; approximately 75,000 French and foreign-born Jews were deported from French soil to concentration and death camps.[14]

In the 1950s, Memmi returned to his native Tunisia and saw the national aspi-rations of his compatriots. He realised that the "mythic melting pot", the universalis-tic and secular world of French and Tunisian, Italian and Maltese, Muslim and Christian, coloniser and colonial subject was about to become dismantled. "My com-patriots were aspiring to become a nation: in a world essentially composed of nations, or of oppressed minorities, what could be more just?" (12). When the con-stitution of the young nation-state declared Islam to be the official religion, Memmi was not shocked. When the Suez crisis erupted in 1956, the Tunisian newspaper for

which Memmi not only worked, but also helped found, ran the following title on its front page: "Quiconque repand le sang de l' Egypte repand notre sang" ("Whoever spills Egyptian blood, also spills our blood"). Memmi felt for the first time that Jewish destiny was evolving separately from that of the national consciousness of the post-colonial Arab world.

Memmi expresses his desire to integrate himself within the French and Tunisian societies, but he was made to feel as if Jews were different and did not and could not belong. In his writing, he therefore appropriates the identity of the stateless and cosmopolitan Jew as a kind of defensive stance against the atrocious historical events he witnessed as a young man. Accused of refusing to belong to any national community, the Jew, according to Memmi, is the one who is rejected from society: "Is it really my refusal, or that of others which I experience and which makes me suffer? [....] I haven't refused anything, alas it is the nation which has refused me, which has left me outside" (233-234).

These observations and experiences which reinforced the Diaspora Jew's cultural, historical, and religious difference from his or her adopted country caused Memmi to exercise a certain caution when expressing his own subject position.

> I have never been able to say "we" while thinking of those historical lines of which my fellow citizens are proud. I have never heard another Jew say "we" without batting an eyelid, without vaguely suspecting him of thoughtlessness, connivance, or of forcing his tongue (236).

Memmi's articulation of the Diaspora's Jew's inability to say "we" describes, to a certain extent, the subject position expressed by Abigail Miller ("I cannot be one of them if I am not the same religion"), who lives physically and psychologically separated from the two dominant national communities of Cyprus. Indeed, the Millers are a minority presence on the island, and do not share certain civic responsibilities (voting, army, and so on) with either Greek or Turkish Cypriots. Although they have experienced in a personal way the impact of the political events that have touched Cyprus, they are, to a certain extent distant from the realities of the "Cyprus Problem". Indeed, their identity as (Jewish) foreigners, which is so clearly different from both the Greek Orthodox and the Turkish Muslim traditions, situates them outside the binary opposition of Greek/Turkish; they are not only considered to be foreigners, but also external to any political conflict. However, because of their history on the island, their contribution to Cypriot society, their equal and unbiased treatment of the Cypriots who worked for them for so many years, and the fact that they have never presented any threat to either ethnic community, the Millers are respected by both communities; they are also granted a certain "privileged" status. Moreover, unlike Memmi's personal and historical description of Jewish experience, the Millers

do not feel rejected from Cypriot society- Greek or Turkish.

Throughout history, Jews have been expelled from European and Asian countries and cities, and/or forced (or "encouraged") to live in ghettos. The term ghetto dates back to early sixteenth century Venice which had commanded the Jews to "re-group in a general neighbourhood that was called the "Ghetto nuovo" (Sobol 34). Towards the end of the sixteenth century the Jews of Italy were forced to live in segregated quarters which were called ghettos after the first "Ghetto" of Venice.[15] During the Second World War, the Germans erected ghettos in most Eastern European countries they occupied. It became "the means of imprisoning the Jews before sending them towards extermination" (Sobol 34).[16]

In his *Histoire du Judaisme* ("History of Judaism"), Andre Chouraqui explains that the ghettos of the sixteenth century were a sheltered refuge from the hardships of daily Jewish life which gave hope and freedom to the Jewish residents. During times of peace and prosperity, they were centres of biblical and Talmudic culture which provided a serious Jewish education to children.

Concluding Remarks

The military camp where the Millers now live can be likened to a ghetto because it is segregated from both the Turkish Cypriot and the Greek Cypriot communities. The Millers also must present their identification cards to the military police guarding the entrance to their "neighbourhood" in order to leave or enter. For all intents and purposes, they must receive "permission" to move about. The Millers, however, identity and belonging that have concerned European, Asian, and African Jews until the end of the Second World War are "normalised" and converted into routine, daily activities by Abigail and Daniel Miller. Not only have they normalised identity checks that have determined Jewish lives over the centuries, but the Millers have appropriated, and perhaps even affirmed the experiences of exile, displacement, and to a certain extent internment. Their situation in Cyprus presents a positive version of the ghettoised existence of European Jews during Renaissance Europe and during the Second World War.

The Millers are quite comfortable and at peace living where they do; they no longer notice the barbed wire that surrounds them, indeed encloses them, nor the heavy military presence that controls their movements. Although they are quite active, they spend most of their time in the sanctuary of their home where Daniel devotes weekends to rest and to the study of the Talmud, the books of Jewish civil and religious law. Their "ghetto" is their haven; they do not seem to be too troubled by the fact that one day they could be prevented from crossing over to the Greek side

where they shop, attend to business and financial matters, and visit doctors and friends.

In a land where internal and external conflicts still rage, where questions of religious and national identity are paramount, this elderly Jewish couple - exiles of anti-Semitism in Europe - enjoy the freedom of movement and expression that no Greek or Turkish Cypriot is able to exploit at the present moment. By continually crossing the border, they remind both communities of the fissure that separates them and of their less than perfect statuses as unifying and unified sovereign "nation states".

Notes

1. Journalist Andrew Borowiec writes in his forthcoming book on Cyprus: "In Cyprus, there was no attempt at enforcing any concept of Cypriot nationhood - as no one claimed that there was such a thing as a Cypriot nation (...)." Vangelis Calotychos, in his introduction to *Cyprus and Its People,* discusses the notion of "Cypriotism" that "foregrounds citizenship of a Cypriot state over ethnic demands of the respective motherland or metropolitan nations" (16). He argues that one of the most obvious expressions of Cypriotism manifests itself in the context of the political far left (17).

2. In this sense, the notion of ethnic identity can be compared to that of national identity. "[T]he idea of the 'nation'", states Max Weber is apt to include the notions of common descent and of an essential, though frequently indefinite, homogeneity. The nation has these notions in common with the sentiment of solidarity of ethnic communities, which is also nourished from various sources" (Weber 22-23). An important difference, however, is that ethnic consciousness does not necessarily mean that the group in question is working together to secure for itself a "territorial-political unit", a nation-state (Connor 39), or that ethnic awareness can be unequivocally equated with national consciousness. "An ethnic group may be readily discerned by an anthropologist or other outside observer, but until the members are themselves aware of the group's uniqueness, it is merely an ethnic group and not a nation" (Conner 45).

3. The constitution, consociational in nature, gave ethnic balance "higher priority

than majority rule" (Kyle 8). The Turkish Cypriots never wanted to be considered a "minority", but rather, a separate community of equal "co-founders" of the Republic.

4. The "Green Line", a neutral zone that exists between the Greek and Turkish areas in Nicosia, was established in 1964, when the British intervened (from their sovereign bases on the island) to prevent intercommunal violence from escalating.

5. "Under the Treaty of Guarantee with Britain, Greece and Turkey, the Republic of Cyprus undertakes to uphold her own independence and her own constitution; not *to* participate in any political or economic union with any state whatsoever; and *to* prohibit any domestic action likely to promote union with another state or partition. In return Britain, Greece, and Turkey recognise and guarantee not only the independence, integrity, and security of Cyprus but also 'the state of affairs' established by the Basic Articles of the Constitution" (Kyle 8). Since August 1974, thirty-eight per cent of the island is under Turkish occupation and a heavy military presence. In 1983, the Turkish Cypriots proclaimed the attachment of their community to a territorial-political unit, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, which is recognised only by Ankara.

6. There is also a small community of Lebanese Jews who emigrated during the outbreak of civil war in the 1970s.

7. The name "Miller" is a pseudonym chosen by this author.

8. 4 donums=1 acre.

9. Although tourists who stay on the Turkish side of the island are not allowed to cross the border ("because, according to the Cyprus Governments' rules they will have entered the country illegally", [Kyle 15]), foreign residents who have been living in the North prior to 1974 are able to pass freely from one side to another.

10. Abigail explains that their neighbourhood gradually became a military enclave, and that gradually they became used to living with the restrictions that were being placed on their movements to and from their own house.

11. Abigail was actually born in Brooklyn, New York, but her family moved back to Europe soon thereafter.

12. The Millers lost a lot of property and money after 1974, and Abigail went to the States in 1975 to work and to help the family re-situate itself. The family shuttled back and forth between Cyprus and New York for over ten years.

13. Memmi is originally from Tunisia (a French protectorate since 1883, which became independent in 1956). He left before the Second World War to go to France in order to study at the university. Memmi has written extensively on the condition of the post-colonial subject: *Portrait du colonise* (1957), and also on questions of Jewish identity.

14. The occupying Germans and the collaborationist Vichy regime bear responsibility.

15. See Joshua Sobol's *Ghetto* (Lyon, La Manufacture, 1986).

16. The word "ghetto" used in this essay refers to the sixteenth-century understanding of the term: a place where Jews were either forced or encouraged to live, and that was sheltered and separated from the rest of the national community. My sense of "Jewish nationality" - as something distinct from Israeli nationality - is that the Jews, as a people (albeit multicultural) and a religion, comprise a community that indeed shares a cultural history and identity, and most certainly a connection to the land of Israel - whether Israeli, American, Ethiopian, secular, or anti-Zionist.

Bibliography

Arbel, Benjamin (1979) 'The Jews in Cyprus: New Evidence from the Venetian Period,' *Jewish Social Studies.* Stanford, Winter 1979, pp.23-40.

Calotychos, Vangelis (ed), (1998) *Cyprus and Its People: Nation, Identity, and Experience in an Unimaginable Community, 1955-1997.* Boulder, Westview Press. Chouraqui, Andre (1995) *Histoire du Judaisme.* Paris, PUF.

Connor, Walker (1994) 'A Nation is a Nation, is a State, is an Ethnic Group, is a ...,' *Nationalism.* (Eds), Hutchinson, John and Smith, Anthony D. London, Oxford UP.

Heltzer, M. (1989) *Epigraphic Evidence Concerning a Jewish Settlement in Kition (Larnaca, Cyprus) in 4C BCE.* Haifa, *Au/a Orienta/is* Vol. 7.

Hill, Sir George (1940) *A History of Cyprus* Vol. I. Cambridge, The University Press.

Kyle, Keith (1984) *Cyprus.* London, Minority Rights Group.

Jennings, Ronald C. (1993) *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World, 1571-1640.* New York, New York UP.

Laub, Morris (1985) *Last Barrier to Freedom: Internment of Jewish Holocaust Survivors in Cyprus, 1946-1949.* Berkeley, Judah L. Magnes Museum.

Memmi, Albert (1962) *Portrait d'un juif.* Paris, Gallimard.

Panteli, Stavros (1984) *A New History of Cyprus: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day.* London, East-West Publication.

Seton-Watson, Hugh (1977) *Nations* & *States: An enquiry into the origins of nations and the politics of nationalism.* London, Methuen.

Sobol, Joshua (1986) *Ghetto.* Lyon, La Manufacture.

Weber, Max (1994) 'The Nation,' *Nationalism.* (Eds), Hutchinson, John and Smith, Anthony D. London, Oxford UP.

Commentary

VOLUME 11
NUMBER 2

Opening the Doors:
Racial Discrimination in Cyprus

Dr Michael Hajimichael

The eventuality of Cyprus joining Europe appears and evaporates in one relent-less breath. Leaving aside the usual cacophony over the 'Cyprus problem' (whose Cyprus and whose problem?) It seems something is not going fundamentally right. In all fairness, to date politicians, diplomats and entrepreneurs have focused on the economic and political gains of Cyprus joining the European fold. And I can recall presenting a couple of concerts some five years ago at Famagusta Gate under the slogan 'All Different -All Equal'. Again in all fairness, the politicians from the whole political spectrum seem to be sharing the statement.

"Racism does not exist" (here) a government minister recently stated in a TV reportage that showed dozens of Sri Lankans 'looking happy' on a Sunday lunch time in the Nicosia Municipal Gardens. The impact of sound, image and discourse wash-es everything aside with one mighty liberal swoop. It is pointless when public fig-ureheads make such wishy-washy claims when reality presents an unwanted genealogy of the obvious. No underpaid overworked servants here. No people have been waiting for over 10 years in order to attain some kind of legal status. During this time of course, the said people are not allowed to work legally. Even into the last decade Cypriots who had resided abroad and returned to Cyprus were not given a standard ID card. The scenario is reminiscent of the diplomatic triple talk that exis-ted in Britain after 1974. Back then a refugee was not a refugee but a displaced per-son and hence had no claim to legal status in Britain. Simultaneously 'we' marched, as part of a collective ritual behaviour, in defiance of the Turkish invasion and occu-pation of Cyprus and one of the demands was that all refugees should be returned to their homes. But if successive British (and many other European) governments did not even recognise refugee status then what could 'we' expect for the refugees themselves. The symmetry between Cyprus and Britain is surprising and predic-table.

A few weeks later a different reportage on the same news broadcast had similar images coupled with a rather disturbing script. The newsreader's voice had all the tones of an impending crisis. 'The Sri Lankan' this time we were told had syphilis and on his recent return to Cyprus had been diagnosed with AIDS. Meantime the

97

images reeled out in front of 'our' collective eyes and were absorbed by 'our' collective ears. The same innocent faces, relaxing in the Municipal Gardens were shown again and by implication every Sri Lankan was being slandered. I wonder if the government minister saw that one? Flashing back to London in the 1930's, when the first Cypriot emigrants left their rural villages for the sprawling colonial metropolis in search of work and a few pennies more the stereotypes are uncannily similar. *TV* was not around; radio was in the process of becoming a new 'mass communications medium'. The main source of information came from newspapers, colonial and police reports, in both London and Cyprus. Having researched this period for my thesis I came across several useful files at the Public Records Office in London. C. E. Campion was a London Divisional Detective Inspector who wrote in a confidential letter:

"Most of their spare time is spent in cafes run by their compatriots of which there are six in Soho and four in Tottenham Court Road district. These cafes are open all day and night, and Cypriots can be seen in them at all hours.

There is no doubt Mr. Mead is right in his a/legation that venereal disease is rife amongst these Cypriots, and strange to say they seem to have found fascination for white women, and they can be seen in these cafes in the company of white women, mostly of the prostitute type."[1]

In both examples the specific becomes a generalisation and in the process whole communities of people are stigmatised as problematic and anomalous. By implication the solution, both then and now, in Britain and Cyprus is a crude form of unwanted repatriation. This is also manifest today in common sense forms of racism. We are surrounded by these in our every day exchanges. Some of 'us' engage in these hysterical collective rituals with statements like 'they are all to blame' 'send the foreigners back home' and 'it was different here before they moved in'. The crux however relates to Europe in the popular sense of the word and to Cyprus in specific as a potential odd ball in this equation.

In the first popular instance European means many different things to as many different people. Europe means 'no borders'. No discrimination and racism. Far from being an idealist utopia where all are treated equally, most of Europe is still riddled with differential treatment of its own citizens. Many of these people campaign, organise, oppose and challenge practices and ideas that deny equality. Cyprus, however, is somethat behind on matters of equal opportunity, equal rights and anti-racism. There are several organisations that campaign, most of them operate 'on behalf' of various communities, with very little direct representation. Drawing a parallel with the Cypriot community in England, it did not seem at all strange for people to put forward basic demands for community and advice centres. In fact whole cam-

paigns were waged for these kinds of facilities between 1960-1980 in London boroughs such as Camden, Hackney, Islington and Haringey. In Cyprus, however, in the year 2000 people have the Municipal Gardens in Nicosia on a Sunday. Have you ever wondered why the venue and the day? Sunday is perhaps the only day these workers have off. And the Municipal Gardens do not operate a discriminating door policy. The Gardens are open for all. Unlike numerous clubs, restaurants and bars that do apply discriminating entrance exams. It is perhaps reminiscent of a form of apartheid. I wonder if the news broadcast that was mentioned before would ever dream of covering such issues. And what would happen if a Sri Lankan European citizen decides to go to such a venue in the near future?
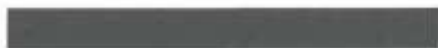
Note

*1. 'Immigration of Aliens to UK....' (CO 67/260/7) letter by C.E. Campion dated 27/11/1935)

Book REVIEW

VOLUME 11
NUMBER 2

The Cyprus Conspiracy, America, Espionage and the Turkish Invasion

It's not often that a piece of historical research attracts quite as much public atten-tion as *The Cyprus Conspiracy* has done. One large bookshop in Cyprus has it heading its top-ten sales, while its authors Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig are interviewed on television, and its findings have had papers - in Britain as well as in Cyprus - publishing news stories ahead of reviews.

Publishers I.B. Tauris have admittedly been working hard at ensuring maximum impact. Publication was timed last year to coincide with the 25th anniversary of the 1974 invasion and embargoed proofs and press releases were sent out to the media well ahead of time.

The authors, meanwhile, are journalists, not academics, Brendan O'Malley is for-eign editor of the *Times Educational Supplement,* and Ian Craig is political editor of the *Manchester Evening News.* That background certainly contributes to the book's success, though also to some of its shortcomings.

What it does mean is that *The Cyprus Conspiracy* is a gripping read, both for the uninitiated and for those in the know. The chapters are short, with an excellent bal-ance of analysis, context and narrative, and an innate understanding of how to keep the reader hooked, whether through fascinating titbits of information or through the galloping pace of unfolding sequence.

So what are the 'revelations' that have attracted so much attention? For British readers it was undoubtedly the discovery that their country came to within a whisker of war with Turkey in the summer of 1974, in what then foreign secretary James Callaghan told the authors was "the most frightening moment of my career". Reaction in Cyprus has focused more on the way the book strips bare the extent of the involvement of American Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, whose manip-ulations, the authors argue, deftly steered the crisis towards its final outcome. Indeed, O'Malley and Craig claim it was Kissinger's veto of a British military deterrent

that left the way clear for Turkey to invade Cyprus after the July 15 coup in Nicosia, allowing a 'solution' that better suited American strategic interests.

Building up to those fateful summer days of 1974, *The Cyprus Conspiracy* seeks to place events on the island within a much broader Cold War context. Playing down the 'ethnic hatreds' argument cited in his defence by Kissinger (though they undoubtedly provided the backdrop and the spark for events), the book lays out the vital strategic importance of Cyprus to western planners, be it the British chiefs of staff using it as a base for their dwindling Middle Eastern power, or the American spies using its electronic facilities to monitor Soviet nuclear missile tests at the height of the arms race.

Again and again the book underlines the crucial importance of British military facilities in Cyprus, initially to Britain itself, but increasingly to the United States through a 1974 agreement on the exchange of intelligence. O'Malley and Craig point out how, of the 103 pages of the 1960 agreements that established the independent Republic, more than half were devoted, not to constitutional provisions, but to the maintenance of British military and intelligence facilities. In fact, the authors are par- ticularly effective in demonstrating just how vital those facilities were for NATO during the cold war, explaining their role in the monitoring of Soviet nuclear activity, provid- ing an early warning system at a time when inter-ballistic missiles were feared capa- ble of wiping out America's nuclear strike force within half an hour of their launch.

American policy on Cyprus was therefore motivated by two primary consider- ations: maintenance of British military facilities on the island, and keeping the south- ern flank of NATO from exploding into all-out Greco-Turkish war over Cyprus. With such considerations in mind, it is perhaps little surprise that the rights and wrongs of the dispute and the interests of the people on the ground were of secondary importance at best.

The constant flare-up of inter-communal fighting throughout the 1960s and the threats of Turkish invasion that they regularly provoked were hardly the most reassuring environment for those facilities; nor was Makarios' involvement in the non-aligned movement and his flirtation with Moscow in an ultimately vain attempt to play off the superpowers. Of additional concern to the Americans was the perceived unreliability of the British presence on the island. With Britain in economic crisis, defence reviews repeatedly raised the possibility of a pullout from Cyprus, a prospect averted every time by considerable US pressure. Indeed, the Treaty of Establishment specified that any change in the sovereignty of the bases could only be in favour of the Republic, thereby preventing any handover to NATO or the United States if Britain decided it could no longer afford the commitment. Moreover, even in British hands, the Americans could not take the Cyprus facilities for granted.

 When in 1973 the Yorn Kippur war in the Middle East threatened to escalate into global confrontation, Britain, fearing Arab reaction, denied the Americans use of the bases, either for military or intelligence purposes. It was against this backdrop, the authors argue, that the Americans were "left scouting around for an insurance policy" against the loss of the bases. Using evidence gathered in a Congressional post-mortem on America's role in the coup and the invasion, O'Malley and Craig claim that, by-passing normal diplomatic channels, CIA agents in Athens reporting directly to Kissinger "tacitly encouraged" the Greek Junta to lead a coup against their common bogeyman Makarios, convincing the colonels that Turkish sabre-rattling need not be taken seriously. Once the coup had taken place, they argue, "the Americans seemed to be doing everything they could to help the Turks make up their mind that intervention was the only way they could get satisfaction." Though risky, it was a solution that seemed ideal to the US, at the same time getting rid of Makarios and safeguarding military facilities, whether in the Turkish occupied north or in a Junta controlled south. The result would have been a partition that solved the Cyprus problem once and for all and allowed the Americans to continue their work unhindered by the violent instability that had dominated the 1960s.

 So when the British scrambled to head off a Turkish invasion, drawing up plans to interpose a deterrent naval task force between Cyprus and the Turkish mainland, and pleading for American support in the matter, they were firmly slapped down by Washington. For the US, such an intervention and a British plan to restore Makarios would simply have maintained the status quo that they were working so hard to change.

 Interviews with Callaghan's political adviser at the time, Tom McNally, give a revealing insight into those plans: "It was made quite clear that Henry Kissinger was not going to get the Americans involved and did not think it was a good idea for Britain to get involved either," he tells the authors. Without US backing, the British were left exposed. Attempts at bluffing the Turks, McNally adds, had little effect "because they were clear the Americans were not involved at all in the exercise... We moved ships around... (but) they never looked very frightened."

 Kissinger, portrayed as the villain of the piece, is given a chance to reply to the allegations in an interview at the end of the book, but, referring the authors to his memoirs, denies any meddling in events. Thus he "cannot recall" receiving any British request for joint action, and denies ever having colluded with Turkey over the invasion.

 Even if Kissinger is to be believed and did not encourage the Turks, he clearly did nothing to deter them, and the book highlights the stark contrast between America's all-out efforts to prevent the crisis from spilling into Greco-Turkish war and the total

lack of diplomatic reaction to either the coup or the subsequent invasion.

There is no doubt that *The Cyprus Conspiracy* is a fascinating book; but does it convince? Is the 'conspiracy' theory sustainable? Much of the evidence is circumstantial, and some of it is politically motivated (the authors draw heavily on the findings of Congress's post-mortem inquiry into America's role in the crisis, an inquiry that raised almost identical questions to those posed by O'Malley and Craig).

The details on Britain's attempts to defuse the crisis are new and do inject a dramatic twist into events, while the interpretation of American policy in 1974 *does* make sense and is backed up by the available evidence - evidence that I suspect will be confirmed when the archives on the period are opened to the public. However, where the book convinces less is on the long-term Western 'conspiracy' to partition Cyprus.

In fact, less than half of the book is *devoted* to 1974, the rest covering the period from the start of the Eoka struggle against British colonial rule, through indepen- dence and the intercommunal strike of the 1960s. Too often, the authors appear to gather evidence to match their theory, pieces to fit the 'jigsaw', as they call it on more than one occasion. They present the events of 1974 as the culmination of "an aston- ishing international plot, developed from a blueprint evolved first under British rule, (and) then by US President Johnson's officials." There is no doubt the partition idea did come up on many occasions and that specific ideas, even maps, were drawn up by officials. Indeed, many Western planners did increasingly see partition as the 'solution' most conducive to their interests in Cyprus. But it's a very broad sweep to claim that there was a Machiavellian long-term plan, which finally bore fruit in 1974.

In 1964, for instance, O'Malley and Craig show how former US Secretary of State Dean Acheson drew up partition plans of which "key elements were echoed in the crisis of 1964". But the Acheson plan was ditched, and though considerable atten- tion is given to its elaboration and its similarity to what took place in 1974, no expla- nation is given to why the plan was not followed through, beyond a laconic phrase about "the dangerous turn of events in Vietnam".

Likewise, the coverage of the Eoka struggle is sketchy, concentrating excessive- ly on the long-term strategic nature of British policy, whereas in fact British policy was *very* short-term and haphazard, bitterly divided by often conflicting interests (foreign office, colonial office, chiefs of staff, Cyprus government, Westminster party politi- cal...).

The authors also on occasion succumb to the temptation of 'juicing up' elements of the story. It certainly makes a better read, but it detracts from the credibility of the

whole. For example, they write that in the 1950 Enosis plebiscite organised by the Church, "Greek Cypriots were reportedly threatened with excommunication if they did not sign up to the cause". They cite no evidence for this assertion, which smacks of sensationalist hearsay. Surely the fact that the island's only two political organisations, the Ethnarchy and the communist party Akel, backed a 'yes' vote, and that the ballot was public, are reason enough to account for an overwhelming proportion of the 95.7 per cent score in favour of union with Greece.

Similarly, when discussing Makarios' reluctant acceptance of the Zurich independence agreements, they give excessive credence - quoting intelligence writer Nigel West - to claims that the Archbishop was blackmailed into signing up by British security service threats to reveal his "rather unusual homosexual proclivities". It's only at the end of a long paragraph on the sexual allegations that they mention in a brief sentence the "less colourful" (but far more likely) theory that Greek diplomats put considerable pressure on the Cyprus delegation.

For all these shortcomings, however, *The Cyprus Conspiracy* remains a very important book, firmly placing the 1974 debacle in the context of American Cold War imperatives, and uncovering the nuances in Britain's role during the crisis, often dismissed as that of an idle bystander. If the price to pay for bringing such work to a greater public is the prevalence of journalistic cliches (Cyprus "bristles" with weapons and spies too often for my liking), then so be it, for the work deserves as wide a readership as possible.

"In the end," Callaghan's advisor McNally recalls, "the essential military interests of the West remained intact - the intelligence [facilities] and the Turkish membership of the Alliance - and any other scenario put those in jeopardy. When all the dust settled, it looked a damn sight more stable for the Americans than some fool British military expedition, knocking the Turks about."

Kosta St. Pavlowitch