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SUBMISSION PROCEDURE

Manuscripts should be submitted on the journal's website www.cyprusreview.org. Should you encounter any difficulties, do not hesitate to contact the Editorial Team of *The Cyprus Review* at <cy_review@unic.ac.cy>.

FORMATTING REQUIREMENTS

- Articles should range between 8,000-10,000 words.
- Documents should be submitted in **A4 format, 1.5-spaced lines, in a 12-pt type-face, Times New Roman font.**
- Pages should be **numbered** consecutively.
- An abstract of no more than **150 words** should be included together with a **maximum of ten (10) keywords** to define the article's content. The abstract and keywords should be placed at the beginning of the first page just after the article's title and before the main text.
- **Policy Papers:** Policy Papers on subjects relating to Cyprus should range between 4,000 and 7,000 words in length.
- **Book Reviews** are normally 2,000 words maximum in length. The **reviewer's name** should appear at the end of the review. Guidance notes are available for book reviewers. Headings should appear as follows:

Title

Author

Publisher

(Place, Date), number of pages [pp.]

ISBN:

SEPARATE FILES

- As manuscripts are 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 short bio of no more than 50 words** detailing current affiliation, areas of research interest and publications should also be included in the said cover page.
 - **Images, Tables, Figures, and Photos**
- *The Cyprus Review* has adopted a **strict BnW/no-more-than-three policy** regarding images and/or photos accompanying submitted articles. More than three (3) items can be accepted at the editorial team's discretion, **if (and only if)** they are deemed absolutely necessary for the sake of scientific completeness.
- In any case, the images should be submitted in **high resolution and black & white format.** The editorial team **retains the right** to place the images, photos, tables etc. in

a **separate annex, following** the end of the **article's main body**. References to such images etc. within the article should be made in a **footnote** citing the item's title and the word Annex, e.g. ¹ Photo 1 'Vision of Cyprus' Annex.

- Images, tables, figures, graphs, and photographs should be **numbered consecutively** with **titles**, and submitted in **separate file(s)**. A **copyright credit should be added, if mandatory, under a permissions agreement**.

GENERAL STYLE AND FORMAT

- *The Cyprus Review* uses **British spelling**, '-ise'/'-our' endings (e.g. 'organise' and 'organisation', 'labour' and 'honour'), and strongly supports the **Oxford comma**.
- Possessives of words (nouns and proper names) ending in -s (such as Cyprus, politics, Descartes etc.) should be formed by the addition of an apostrophe (') at the end of the word, e.g. Cyprus', politics', Descartes'.
- We would ask authors to use the following **formula in the headings (full capitals, as in CAPITALS, in headings are to be absolutely avoided)**.
- **Headings and subheadings** should appear as follows:

1. Part One

A. First Subheading

1. Second Subheading

(a) Third subheading

(i) Fourth subheading

- All **nouns, verbs and adjectives** on the **first three levels** should **begin** with **capital letters**.
- The word '**state**' should begin with a **capital 'S'** when it denotes a polity, e.g. the international community of States; **but** the state of play.
- **Acronyms** should be **capitalised** in full.
- **Basic legal material** (e.g. the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, United Nations Charter) and their **short titles or abbreviations** should begin with **capital** letters (TFEU, UN Charter). The same rule applies to the **titles of books, chapters, articles** etc. cited in the footnotes and in the references section.
- Sources written **in languages other than English** (for instance French or German) follow their own rules regarding the **use of capital letters**. In such cases, it is preferable to follow the **rules** applicable in the **source's original language**. For instance:

Christopher Staker, 'Public International Law and the Lex Situs Rule in Proprietary Conflicts and Foreign Expropriations' (1987) 58(1) *British Yearbook of International Law* 151.

Antony Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Maarten Bos, 'Public International Law and Private International Law: Two Well Distinct Identities' ('Droit international public et droit international privé: deux identités bien distincte') in Jerzy Makarczyk (ed.), *Theory of International Law at the Threshold of the 21st Century: Essays in Honour of Krzysztof Skubiszewski* (The Hague/Boston MA: Kluwer Law International 1996) 89 (in French).

Georg Jellinek, *The Legal Nature of State Conventions: A Contribution to the Legal Construction of International Law* (*Die rechtliche Natur der Staatenverträge: Ein Beitrag zur juristischen Construction des Völkerrechts*) (Wien: Hölder 1880) (in German).

- Use **italics** for the following:
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Attorney General of the Republic v. Mustafa Ibrahim & Ors
Military and Paramilitary Activities in and Against Nicaragua
Distomo case
 - The titles of published books, e.g. Professor Emilianides' *Constitutional Law in Cyprus*
 - The titles of periodicals, journals, and review e.g. *British Yearbook of International Law*, *American Journal of Legal History*, *The Cyprus Review*
 - **Short foreign phrases**, names or individual words, e.g. *Areios Pagos*, *Cour de Cassation*, *sui generis*.
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 - Words or phrases which the author wishes to **emphasise**. Emphasis added by the author in a quoted passage should be explained in the corresponding footnote as follows:

'[...] gender equality in *every* aspect of economic and social life is a *basic* obligation for *every* state which ensures equal treatment for *all* citizens irrespective of their gender'.¹
 - ¹ Konstantinos Dimarellis, Christina Ioannou, 'Equal Treatment of Women and Men in Employment: An Analysis of the Cypriot and the Greek Legal Frameworks' (2018) 30(1) *The Cyprus Review* 259, 273 (emphasis added).
 - In a likewise manner, when the author wishes to **omit an emphasis** in a quoted passage, this should be explained in the corresponding footnote adding (emphasis omitted).
 - Emphasising by use of **Bold** is to **be absolutely avoided**. Exceptions may apply strictly for quoted passages where the original text already contains certain

emphasised passages in italics and the author wishes to add more emphasis in another part. The corresponding footnote should then contain the explanation: (italic emphasis in the original, bold emphasis added).

PUNCTUATION, FOOTNOTE INDICATORS, NUMBERS, AND ABBREVIATIONS

- **Quotations** must correspond to the original source in wording, spelling, and punctuation.
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- **Single quotation marks (‘ ’)** are to be used to denote direct quotes and **double quotation marks (“ ”)** to denote a quote within a quotation.
- The **closing full stop** should be **outside** the closing quotation mark (‘ _____’.)
- **Footnotes** should be placed **after the closing quotation mark** (‘ _____’1), unless a specific reference to a term within the quoted passage is made.
- In general, **footnote numbers should be placed after the punctuation marks.** Footnote indicators should follow full stops, commas, semi-colons, quotations marks, and brackets or parentheses (_____1 _____,1 _____;1 etc.).
- **Footnotes** should be used to provide additional comments and discussion or for reference purposes, and should be numbered **consecutively** in the text.
- **Acknowledgements, references to grants etc.** should appear within the footnotes.
- **Passages of more than three lines** should be printed as a **separate paragraph, indented, without quotation marks (11-pt, Times New Roman, Indent: Left 2,00 cm, Right 2,00 cm)**
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- **Em-dashes [—]** should be used as punctuation devices, introducing parenthetical phrases, **without a space in either side.**
- It is preferable **not to use hyphens**, when such a choice is **grammatically** available (e.g. coordination, transnational, intergenerational etc.).
- **Single parentheses ()** should be used for all comments, remarks, and explanations either in the main text or in the footnotes.
- **Brackets []** should be used in the following cases:
 - For the **publication year of reports/reviews lacking a volume number**, e.g. *A. Christodoulides v. The Republic* [1967] 3 CLR 356; Paul Craig, ‘Theory, “Pure Theory” and Values in Public Law’ [2005] *Public Law* 440.
 - For **modifications and explanatory remarks** within quoted passages.

- **Other parenthetic indicators and quotation marks**, such as **braces { }** or **Guillemets « »**, are to be **absolutely avoided**, even if preferred in the original language of a given source (e.g. French, Greek, or German).
- **Numbers one to ten** should appear in their **written form**, whilst numbers **above ten** should appear in **Arabic numerals**, e.g. one, nine, 11, 20, 100, 10,000).
- The **period sign (.)** should be used as a **decimal separator/radix** (e.g. 2.02 cm), while **comma (,)** as a **groups of thousand's separator**, e.g. 100,000,000.
- **Dates** should follow the **day month year format**, as in 1 January 2000.
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- The abbreviated form of the word **'number'**, i.e. **No**, should not be followed by a period.
- The word **'editors'** should be abbreviated as **eds** (without a period); the word **'editor'** should be abbreviated as **ed.** with a period.
- The word **'edition'** (i.e. 1st edition, 2nd edition etc.) should be abbreviated as **edn** (**without a fool stop**, while the word **'translator'** as **tr.** (followed by a full stop).
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- The moderate use of the Latin indicator **Cf. / cf.** (compare) is encouraged.
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- **Acronyms and law report abbreviations** should **not** be followed by **full stops**, e.g. UN, EU, NATO, CLR, EWCA Civ, WLR.
- It is preferable to **avoid abbreviating the title of journals, reviews, yearbooks, and other periodicals**. Titles should be written **in full and italicised** accordingly, e.g. *Journal of European Legal Studies* instead of JELS. However the **word 'and'** can be **replaced** with the ampersand sign (**&**), if and if only the ampersand is used in the official name of the respective journal, e.g. *The Law & Practice of International Courts and Tribunals*, *Law & Contemporary Problems*, *International & Comparative Law Quarterly*, *Science & Education*.

- The same rules apply to **publishing houses and university presses** (avoidance of acronyms, use of ampersand when adopted by the publisher), e.g. Harvard University Press, Taylor & Francis.
- In judgments and secondary sources with **more than three parties or authors** the abbreviation ‘& Ors’ or ‘et al.’ can be used respectively.
- When **introducing an abbreviation or short title of an entity’s or a source’s name**, the abbreviation should be stated **after the first mention of the entity or the source**.
- **Abbreviations of entities’ names** can appear **either in the main text or in a footnote**.
- **Sources** should be **abbreviated in the first footnote** citing them. Afterwards, the short title or abbreviation can be used in both the main text and the footnotes.
- **Avoid forming the possessive of a noun, when it is followed by an abbreviated or short form in parentheses**, e.g. the Third Post-Program Monitoring Discussions Staff Report of the International Monetary Fund (henceforth IMF) on Cyprus.

REFERENCES IN FOOTNOTES

- As a general rule, if a secondary source is authored, edited etc. by **more than three scholars [in which case the formula Name, Name & Name is applicable]**, it is advisable to write **just the first name** of the author/editor etc., as it appears in the original source, and add **et al.**
- If the source’s **original language is not English**, both the **title** and possible **quotes** should be **translated** into English.
- When a book, book chapter, or article is written in a **language other than English**, its **original title** should be stated in **eclipses ()**, **following the translated version**, using the **alphabet** (Latin or other) utilised by its **original** language. At the end, the **name of the language should be indicated** within **eclipses, i.e. (in)**.

Christina Ioannou, Demetris P. Sotiropoulos, Achilles K. Emilianides, *Cyprus in a New Era: Geostrategic Parameters, Economy, Foreign Policy* (*Η Κύπρος στη Νέα Εποχή: Γεωστρατηγικές Παράμετροι, Οικονομία, Εξωτερική Πολιτική*) (Nicosia: Hippasus, 2014) (in Greek).

Achilles C. Emilianides, ‘State and Church in Cyprus’ (‘Staat und Kirche in Zypern’) in Gerhard Robbers (ed.), *Staat und Kirche in der Europäischen Union* (*State and Church in the European Union*) (2nd edn, Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2005) 231 (in German).

Georges Ténékidès, ‘The International Condition of the Republic of Cyprus’ (‘La condition internationale de la République de Chypre’) (1960) 6 *Annuaire Français de Droit International* 133 (in French).

- When a book has **more than one edition**, the **number of the cited edition** should be mentioned, **before** the rest of the **publication details**. The **translator** of the book, if existing, should be **mentioned before** the said details too. If the book has **several editions and different publishers** etc. (especially older books or classic works), the **date of first publication** should be mentioned. For instance:

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (first published 1651, London: Penguin 1985).

Charles de Visscher, *Theory and Reality in Public International Law* (Percy Ellwood Corbett tr., 1st edn, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957).

Achilles Emilianides, *Family and Succession Law in Cyprus* (2nd edn, The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 2019).

- **Books**

[Author], [*Title*], [Vol. if from a series] [Volume’s number] [if applicable: *Volume’s title*] ([edn/tr.], [Place of Publication]: [Publisher, if not applicable omit], [Date]) [exact page if a direct quote or paraphrase].

When the **place of publication** is in the **United States**, it is advisable to state **both the city and the abbreviated version of the respective State’s name**, e.g. Boston MA, Cambridge MA, Chicago IL. The abbreviated version of the State’s name should follow the **USPS rules**, available at <https://pe.usps.com/text/pub28/28apb.htm>.

Furthermore **places of publication** which are **not major cities** may be accompanied by a **country indication**, e.g. Basingstoke UK or Harmondsworth UK.

Antônio Augusto Cançado Trindade, *The Access of Individuals to International Justice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

Jean-Marie Henckaerts, Louise Doswald-Beck, *Customary International Humanitarian Law*, Vol. 1 *Rules* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Polyvios G. Polyviou, *The Case of Ibrahim, the Doctrine of Necessity and the Republic of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 2015).

- **Edited Books**

[Editor (ed./eds)], [*Title*], [Volume, if from a series] ([edition], [Place of Publication]: [Publisher], [Date]).

Achilles C. Emilianides (ed.), *Religious Freedom in the European Union* (Leuven: Peeters, 2011).

Emilios Solomou, Hubert Faustman (eds), *Colonial Cyprus 1878-1960: Selected Reading* (Nicosia: University of Nicosia Press, 2010).

- **Journal & Yearbook Articles**

[Author], [‘Article Title’], (date) [Volume number](issue number) [*Full Title*] [first page of article], [page number if a direct quote or paraphrase].

Christina Ioannou, ‘The Problem of Collective Action: A Critical Examination of Olson’s Solution of “Selective Benefits”’ (2012) 2(3) *International Journal of Business & Social Research* 151.

Alain Pellet, ‘The British Sovereign Areas’ [2012] *Cyprus Yearbook of International Law* 57.

Jacques Ballaloud, ‘The Operation of the United Nations in Cyprus’ (‘L’operation des Nations Unies à Chypre’) (1976) 80 *Revue Générale de Droit International Public* 130, 161 (in French).

- **Chapters in Books**

[Author], [‘Chapter Title’] in [Editor (ed./eds)], [*Book Title*] ([Date]) [first page of chapter in book], [page number if direct quote or paraphrase].

Angelos Syrigos, ‘Cyprus and the EU: Sovereign State, Negotiations and Objections from an International Law Point of View’ in Andreas Theophanous, Nicos Peristianis & Andreas Ioannou (eds), *Cyprus and the European Union* (Nicosia: Intercollege Press, 1999) 91.

Nikos Skoutaris, ‘Legal Aspects of Membership’ in James Ker-Lindsay, Hubert Faustmann & Fiona Mullen (eds), *An Island in Europe: The EU and the Transformation of Cyprus* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011) 42, 60.

- **Unpublished Theses**

[Author], [Thesis title] ([Date, if available]) (LLM/PhD Thesis, [Name of the University], [Date]) or

[Author], [Thesis title] ([Date, if available]) (LLM/PhD Thesis, [Name of the University], [Date]), available at [insert full URL] (last accessed day month year).

Javan Herberg, ‘Injunctive Relief for Wrongful Termination of Employment’ (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1989).

- **Internet Sources**

[Author (individual author/s if named, organisation if authors unnamed)], [*Title*], [date of publication (in parenthesis if year only)], available at [insert full URL] (last accessed day month year), at [page number if a direct quote or paraphrase].

UN Global Compact, UN Environment Programme, *Business and Climate Change Adaptation: Toward Resilient Companies and Communities* (2012), available at http://www.unglobalcompact.org/docs/issues_doc/Environment/climate/Business_and_Climate_Change_Adaptation.pdf (last accessed 1 December 2019), at 3.

- **Blogs**

[Author], '[Title]' ([*Name of the Blog etc.*], [Date of Publication in day month year format or just year if further details are unavailable]), available at [insert full URL] (last accessed day month year)

Dimitrios Kourtis, 'The Rohingya Genocide Case: Who is Entitled to Claim Reparations?' (*OpinioJuris*, 21 November 2019), available at <https://opiniojuris.org/2019/11/21/the-rohingya-genocide-case-who-is-entitled-to-claim-reparations/> (last accessed 1 December 2019)

- **News Papers**

[Author], '[Title]' [*Name of the Paper*] ([Place of Publication], [Date of Publication]) [page number]

Jane Croft, 'Supreme Court Warns on Quality' *Financial Times* (London, 1 July 2010) 3.

- **Cross-references**

Cross-references within the same work should be made as follows:

[Author – only surname], [number of the footnote where the work was first cited in the form of (no)] [page number]

If two different works of the same author are cited in the same footnote, it is advisable to use a short title.

¹⁴ Manley O. Hudson, 'The Proposed International Criminal Court' (1938) 32 *American Journal of International Law* 549.

...

²⁸ Hudson (no 14) 550.

OR

¹⁴ Manley O. Hudson, 'The Proposed International Criminal Court' (1938) 32 *American Journal of International Law* 549; id., 'Membership in the League of Nations' (1918) 24 *American Journal of International Law* 436.

⁴⁰ Hudson, 'The Proposed ...' (no 14) 550.

....

⁴⁵ Hudson. 'Membership ...' (no 14) 438.

REFERENCES (BIBLIOGRAPHY) SECTION

- For the **references (bibliography) section**, the same rules apply, provided that the surname of the authors, editors etc., precedes the name and other particulars. Names of the authors, editors etc. should be initialised. Diphthongs (St, Ch etc.) should be

preserved. The total number of an article's or book chapter's pages should be mentioned too. For instance:

In the footnotes

Lefkios Neophytou, Stavroula Valiandes & Christina Hadjisoteriou, 'Interculturally Differentiated Instruction Reflections from Cyprus Classrooms' (2018) 30(1) *The Cyprus Review* 397.

In the References

Neophytou L., St. Valiandes & Ch. Hadjisoteriou, 'Interculturally Differentiated Instruction Reflections from Cyprus Classrooms' (2018) 30(1) *The Cyprus Review* 397-408.

For the **citation of legal authorities**, *The Cyprus Review* strongly endorses the use of the **OSCOLA Reference Guide** (4th edn, 2012), available at:

https://www.law.ox.ac.uk/sites/files/oxlaw/oscola_4th_edn_hart_2012.pdf.



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Indexing: The contents of *The Cyprus Review* are indexed in the following publications: Bulletin Signalétiques en Sciences, Humanities et Sociales; International Bibliography of the Social Sciences; PAIS-Public Affairs Information Service; Sociological Abstracts; Social Planning, Policy and Development Abstracts and Reviews; Peace Research Abstracts Journal; ICSSR Journal of Abstracts and Reviews; Sociology and Social Anthropology; International Bibliography of Periodical Literature; International Bibliography of Book Reviews; International Political Science Abstracts; EMBASE, Compendex, Geobase and Scopus and other derivative products such as Mosby Yearbooks. In addition, *The Cyprus Review* is available internationally via terminals accessing the Dialog, BRS and Data-Star databases. *The Cyprus Review* is disseminated via EBSCO, in their international research database service and subscription network of academic journals. It is assigned to EBSCO's EconLit database with full text. The journal's material is also distributed via ProQuest's products and services worldwide and is listed in the DEST Register of Refereed Journals.

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**LETTER
FROM THE
EDITOR-
IN-CHIEF**

Dear Readers,

The current volume has been the product of a long and challenging process that tested both our resilience and adaptability. The onset of the pandemic in Europe found us a few months after the publication of our last issue and while curating the materials for our 2020 Volume. What was meant to be a contribution to the ongoing dialogue on the revitalisation of Cyprological research in core areas of social sciences, became –within only a couple of weeks– an arduous and demanding journey to preserve a sense of normality, and continue the work we had started within the new context of this unprecedented state of exception.

In the past seven months, both collective and individual freedoms were severely curtailed due to the pressing necessity of safeguarding public health and human lives. In the end, the effects of the pandemic paved the way for the establishment of a new (non-)normality in our everyday lives and our work environments. The ambiance of this exceptionality caused various disruptions and delays that we had to overcome. *The Cyprus Review*, as a scientific journal with an established leading role in the area of Cyprological studies, responded to the challenge and we were finally able to go ahead with the publication of this first issue of our thirty-second volume, featuring a wide range of contributions in topical areas of research.

The issue begins with an article authored by Christina Hajisoteriou on migration policies and education responses in Cyprus, concluding with particularly interesting suggestions regarding the improvement of such responses. This is followed by Stavroula Soukara's contribution discussing the role of investigative interviewing on witness testimony, while providing a thorough doctrinal analysis of the Cypriot criminal system and respective policing practices. The article of Petros Petrikkos and Alexandros Zachariades offers an insightful critique of the approach of the Cypriot Government towards Turkey and reconsiders the Administration's strategic choices to counterbalance Turkey through a polythematic and proactive agenda. Finally, Christos Ioannou, Petros Lois, and Georgios Makrygiannakis explore the course of the risk levels of acquired listed companies in Cyprus for the period 1999-2020, providing a thorough analysis on the relations between financial developments and bankruptcy risks.

Our Fall issue also includes a Special Section on *Gender in Cyprus: Equality, Rights, and Beyond*. Special thanks are due to my Publications Editor Dimitris Kourtis, who also acted as Special Section Editor. The Section features articles by Maria Angeli, Magdalene Antreou, Christiana Cleridou, Ioannis Giokaris and Maria Eleni Pouliasi, Maria Photiou, Marilena Zackheos, and Andreas Hadjigeorgiou. This is followed by our Book Review section. Finally our latest Call for Papers can be found, which is entitled *COVID-19 in Doctrinal Context: Analysing, Theorising, and Surpassing the Pandemic Crisis*. Through this call we intend to further the scientific debate about the foundational questions raised by the current pandemic, the threats, challenges, and possibly opportunities created, as well as the doctrinal assessment of the systemic responses provided vis-à-vis this latest predicament.

Christina Ioannou
Editor-in-Chief

ARTICLES

Migration Policies and Education Responses to Migration in Cyprus: From Intercultural Policy Discourses to ‘Trivialised’ Multicultural Practices

CHRISTINA HAJISOTERIOU¹

Abstract

Traditionally, Cypriot education has been inextricably linked to the nation-building project, mainly because of the still unresolved political problem. However, as Cyprus has over the last three decades gradually transformed from a net source of emigration to a recipient of immigration, the need to develop educational policies responding to migration became imperative. In this context, this article analyses the socio-political environment within which the Cypriot education policy, in response to migration, has emerged by examining the flow of policies from the macro-level of the State to the meso-level of the school and the micro-level of the classroom. The aim of this article is to contribute to the debate regarding the improvement of pertinent policies in the field by pointing to suggestions for all the levels of the policy cycle including policy development, adoption and implementation.

Keywords: migrant education, intercultural education, Cyprus, education policy, migration policies

Introduction

The development of the Cypriot educational system, in terms of content and structure, has historical and political origins. Traditionally, Cypriot education has been inextricably linked to the nation-building project; however, over the last three decades Cyprus has gradually transformed from a net source of emigration to a recipient of immigration leading to education reform (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2016²). Initially, the restrictive character of Cypriot immigration policies has allowed for discriminatory ideologies and discourses to prevail in the Cypriot society. Immigrants were considered as guest-workers and, by extension, they were not granted

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² Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2016). *The Globalisation of Intercultural Education: The Politics of Macro-Micro Integration*. London: Palgrave-MacMillan.

welfare or educational rights. Nonetheless, Cyprus' accession to the European Union (EU) in 2004 has provided the impetus for immigrants to settle on a more permanent status in the Cypriot society and access educational and welfare provision. This, in turn, raises the question of how educational responses to migration have been developed in such a case. For this reason, in this article, we examine and discuss how the Cypriot historical and socio-political context and the changing demographics of Cyprus have informed its educational system, within which education responses to migration have emerged.

Arguably, immigration discourses imbuing the Cypriot context have influenced the development and implementation of Cypriot policy responses to learning in the field of education. In this context, this article aims to examine the socio-political environment within which the Cypriot educational policy in response to migration has emerged. In this way, we take into consideration 'how the content of policy emerges from the economic, social and political factors that give rise to an issue' (Bell & Stevenson, 2006³: 13). Although the area of educational responses to migration has been researched, there is a shortage of published studies in Cyprus addressing the macro-micro integration project by examining the flow of policies from the macro-level of the State to the meso-level of the school and the micro-level of the classroom. In this article we aim to bridge this gap by drawing on the outcomes of former research carried out over the last 20 years in Cyprus (see for example Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2016⁴; 2017⁵; 2018a⁶; 2018b⁷). Through this article, we aim to contribute to the debate regarding the improvement of pertinent policies in the field, by pointing to suggestions for all the levels of the policy cycle including its development, adoption and implementation. In order to set our discussion in a conceptual framework, we firstly set out to theoretically and comparatively 'unpack' the concepts of multiculturalism and interculturalism as the most pertinent educational responses to migration in Europe, as well as in Cyprus.

³ Bell, L. & Stevenson, H. (2006). *Education Policy Processes, Themes and Impact*. London: Routledge.

⁴ Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2016). *The Globalisation of Intercultural Education: The Politics of Macro-Micro Integration*. London: Palgrave-MacMillan.

⁵ Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2017). Adopting and implementing globalised policies of intercultural education: The example of Cyprus. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 17(5), 721-737.

⁶ Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018a). Developing and implementing policies of intercultural education in Cyprus in the context of globalisation. *Cyprus Review*, 30(1), 353-367.

⁷ Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018b). *Europeanisation and Intercultural Education: From the Supranational to the School Level*. Zefyri: Diadrasi Publications. [In Greek]

Education Responses to Migration: Conceptually ‘Unpacking’ Multiculturalism Versus Interculturalism

Education responses to migration are not fixed, stable or uncontested across time, place and political contexts. International literature reveals an intense debate between interculturalism and multiculturalism or otherwise a dichotomy between cultural essentialism and cultural hybridity (Kymlica, 2015⁸). In more detail, what cultural essentialism argues is that different communities have separate, self-contained and unified cultural identities (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2018b⁹). In this sense, each community demonstrates a single homogenous and time-enduring culture (passing from generation to generation) that remains intact of the interaction with other communities or with the economic and socio-political context. Cultural essentialism, and thus multiculturalism, adopts an enrichment perspective by claiming that the existence of diverse, fixed and community-bound cultures promotes the enrichment of society (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2016¹⁰). On the other hand, cultural hybridity suggest the dynamic character of cultures, which are an unstable mixture of not only sameness, but also otherness. Cultural boundaries alter and overlap to create a third space, within which natives and immigrants develop multiple or hybrid identities. Bhabha (1995)¹¹ explains that identities are ‘mixed’ and multidimensional as they derive from the interrelationship between diasporic or ethnic affiliations and political identities.

In terms of objectives, interculturalism envisages empathy, interaction, and cultural exchange that may lead to cultural hybridity, while multiculturalism has a rather normative character focusing on reciprocity, cultural essentialism, and civic integration. Multiculturalism has mainly employed an agenda based upon equality and human rights principles, while social justice remained as a normative conception in the background (Zapata-Barrero, 2017¹²). On the other hand, social justice

⁸ Kymlica, W. (2015). The essentialist critique of multiculturalism: Theories, policies, ethos. In V. Uberoi & T. Modood (Eds.) *Multiculturalism Rethought: Interpretations, Dilemmas and New Directions*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 209-249.

⁹ Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018b). *Europeanisation and Intercultural Education: From the Supranational to the School Level*. Zefyri: Diadrasi Publications. [In Greek]

¹⁰ Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2016). *The Globalisation of Intercultural Education: The Politics of Macro-Micro Integration*. London: Palgrave-MacMillan.

¹¹ Bhabha, H. K. (1995). Signs taken for wonders. In: B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths & H. Tiffin (Eds.) *The Identity*. London: Sage Publications, 144-165.

¹² Zapata-Barrero, R. (2017). Interculturalism in the post-multicultural debate: A defence. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 5(14). DOI: 10.1186/s40878-017-0057-z

underpins interculturalism and therefore intercultural responses to migration. For example, Mansfield (2013)¹³ considers that social justice provides for the responsibility of society to ensure the well-being of all the citizens of the State, and this may only be achieved if public education offers equality of opportunity to all students. García, López, Vélez, Rico and Jiménez (2016)¹⁴ define social justice as the redistribution of learning resources, the recognition of diversity, the combating of inequalities, and the equal representation of all students in school and social life.

Having set the conceptual framework, in the following sections, we now move on to the examination of the socio-political context of Cyprus leading to the transformation of the migration policies, which in turn, influences the development of the education response to migration. Thereafter, we look at the macro- to meso-, and micro-levels in order to examine policy development and implementation with regards to responses to migrant education, while conceptually linking our argumentation to this framework.

Transformation of Migration Policies: The Socio-Political Context

Arguably, since Cyprus gained its independence in 1960, the historical and socio-political context of Cyprus has dramatically affected the socio-economic situation of the island, leading to the transformation of migration policies of the State. In the sections below, we examine how Cyprus has transformed from an emigration to an immigration country and the ways in which its migration policies have influenced Cyprus education responses to migration, and vice versa.

From Emigration to Immigration

Since 1960, after 82 years of British rule, Cyprus has been an independent, sovereign republic with a presidential government system. However, as the island was divided in 1974, since then the Greek-Cypriot government (*de jure* government of the whole island) has controlled only the Southern part of Cyprus. Cyprus has traditionally had a multicultural and multilingual character, not only because of the two major communities, Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots, but also because of its constitutionally-recognised religious minorities, namely Armenians, Maronites

¹³ Mansfield, K.C. (2013). "I Love These Girls-I Was These Girls": Women Leading for Social Justice in a Single-Sex Public School. *Journal of School Leadership*, 23(4), 640-663.

¹⁴ García, A.J., López, V.S., Vélez, T.G., Rico, A.M., & Jiménez, L.J. (2016). Social justice: A qualitative and quantitative study of representations of social justice in children of primary education. *SHS Web of Conferences*, 26, 1-5.

and Latins. Since 1964, the separation of the two major communities of the population began. In 1974, after the Turkish invasion to the island, Greek Cypriots (and the other minorities) were forced to flee to the South, while Turkish Cypriots were relocated in the North. As a result of the Cyprus problem, education has been attached to the nation-building project aiming to prove political sovereignty.

The post-Colonial independence period (1960-1974) has been marked by the centrality of agriculture in economic activity. Ironically, the division of the island provided, by default, the preconditions for rapid economic development of its Southern part (Hajisoteriou, 2009¹⁵); dislocated Greek-Cypriots, who were mostly peasants, formed a 'large propertyless urban proletariat' (Anthias, 1987: 195), which would alter the employment patterns and economic organisation (Panayiotopoulos, 1995¹⁶). The reformulation of the employment patterns, along with other international factors, contributed to what has been called the 'economic miracle' (Panayiotopoulos, 1995: 30). This 'miracle' was the main reason for radical change of policy in 1990 which allowed migrant workers from third world countries in Cyprus. It is thus not strange that it is only by the end of the 1990s, that the State firstly considered the development of official education responses to migration.

Since the 1990s, various types of people have been coming to Cyprus from third world countries including workers in the area of hotel catering, hospitality, housing, political refugees (i.e. from the Israel/Palestine region after the Gulf war), and asylum seekers (i.e. from Syria nowadays). A significant proportion of people from other countries coming to Cyprus are irregular, undocumented, or clandestine migrant workers that are mainly occupied in 'undeclared work' in the so-called 'black economy'. Undocumented workers mostly work under difficult conditions in economic sectors such as construction, agriculture, manufacturing, and the entertainment business. In Cyprus, irregular or undocumented migrants are mostly 'overstayers', meaning that they are workers who entered the country in legal terms but nonetheless remained after their visa conditions have expired (Trimikliniotis, 2011¹⁷). Socio-political debates on the numbers of migrant workers in Cyprus focus on the fact that most of these workers are Muslims. There is thus a socio-political

¹⁵ Hajisoteriou, C. (2009). Europeanising Cypriot intercultural education: a policy process of simulation? *International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences*. 4(4), 1-14.

¹⁶ Panayiotopoulos, P. I. (1995). Cyprus: The developmental state in crisis. *Capital and Class*, 57, 13-54.

¹⁷ Trimikliniotis, N. (2011). *Labour Integration of Migrant Workers in Cyprus: A Critical Appraisal*. http://works.bepress.com/nicos_trimikliniotis/32

concern - that often militates against interculturalism – arguing that the increased number of people from third world countries challenges national identity to a much greater extent in Cyprus than that of other bigger countries with larger populations.

Immigration Under Restrictions

Due to the ‘economic miracle’, the Cypriot government was called upon to abandon its pre-1990 restrictive migration policies, which only allowed highly skilled positions to be occupied by non-Cypriots whenever Cypriots lacked the relevant qualifications (Trimikliniotis & Fulas-Souroulla, 2006¹⁸). This led to the allowance of migrant labour, nonetheless, only in a highly regulated way. Immigration policies controlled the employment and length of stay of immigrants on a ‘short-term, temporary, employer-tied, restricted-to-specific-sectors basis’ (Trimikliniotis & Fulas-Souroulla, 2006: 4).

Notably, during this time, Cypriot public discourses classified immigrants as ‘foreigners’ or ‘aliens’ (ibid: 5). Arguably, the deliberate choice of the terminology suggested their treatment as temporary-permit guest workers (Hajisoteriou, 2012¹⁹). This assumption led to the Cypriot State’s failure to acknowledge the need for the development of a successful and inclusive migrant education policy (Hajisoteriou, 2010²⁰). This, in turn, resulted in the non-existence of any welfare and settlement services for immigrants and fragmented coordination between employment, welfare and educational policies on immigration. Additionally, the policy of imposing short-stay requirements on immigrants had undesirable social consequences. It became a ‘policy of exclusion’ as it did not provide immigrants with the time, space and tools for their social inclusion (Trimikliniotis & Pantelides, 2003²¹: 129).

Moving a step forward, a negative connotation has since been drawn between the increase in numbers of migrant labour and the rise in unemployment; the fall of wages for Greek-Cypriot workers; increased crime rates; and the dilution of the

¹⁸ Trimikliniotis, N. & Fulas-Souroulla, M. (2006). *Mapping of Policies Affecting Female Migrants and Policy Analysis: the Case of Cyprus. Working Paper No 11, WP-1. Integration of Female Immigrants in Labour Market and Society. Policy Assessment and Policy Recommendations*. A Specific Targeted Research Project of the 6th Framework Programme of the European Commission.

¹⁹ Hajisoteriou, C. (2012). Intercultural education? An analysis of Cypriot educational policy. *Educational Research*, 54(4), 451-467.

²⁰ Hajisoteriou, C. (2010). Europeanising intercultural education: politics and policy-making in Cyprus. *European Educational Research Journal*, 9(4), 471-483.

²¹ Trimikliniotis, N. & Pantelides, P. (2003). Mapping discriminatory landscapes in Cyprus: Ethnic discrimination in the labour market. *The Cyprus Review*, 15(1), 121-146.

national culture by their foreign cultures (Avraamidou et al., 2019). Cypriot literature challenges the credibility of the above connotations drawn by the media and public discourse (i.e. Gregoriou, 2010²²; Avraamidou et al., 2019). The media seem to cause ‘moral panic’ by stereotyping immigrants as responsible for the introduction of ‘new’ forms of crime in Cypriot society (i.e. mugging) (Trimikliniotis, 2001b: 11)²³ despite the fact that such phenomena already existed in Cypriot society. Lastly, immigrants are depicted as ‘damaging to the national cause’ at a time when Cyprus is semi-occupied by foreign troops (Trimikliniotis & Fulas-Souroulla, 2006²⁴: 34). Trimikliniotis and Demetriou (2014)²⁵ condemn the perpetuation of nationalist discourses of ethnic continuation that leads to intolerance and discrimination. Arguably, the socio-political context of Cyprus has thus become hostile to the development of inclusive social and educational responses to migration, while stereotyping and prejudice practices have hindered their successful implementation, as we will discuss in later parts of this article.

Liberalisation of Immigration Policies

More recently, Cyprus’ accession to the EU in 2004 led to the liberalisation of the Cypriot labour market in order to meet EU standards. Cypriot literature discusses Europeanisation as a ‘Janus-like phenomenon,’ implying that it has two ‘heads’ like the mythical giant Janus; beyond the rise of non-European xenophobia, where Europeanisation has also humanistic and democratic elements (Trimikliniotis, 2001a). On the one hand, the EU States of Southern Europe, such as Cyprus, are called upon to become the ‘frontier’ of a ‘Fortress Europe’ by eliminating the inflow of ‘outsiders’ into EU (Trimikliniotis, 2001a)²⁶ fostering xenophobia. Trimikliniotis (2001a: 61) asserts that Cyprus’ Europeanisation under these terms will ‘act as an

²² Gregoriou, Z. (2010). *Policy Analysis Report: Cyprus*. <http://www.gemic.eu/wp-content/uploads/2009/04/cyprus-wp3.pdf>

²³ Trimikliniotis, N. (2001b). *Ta Provlimata apo ti Fitisi ton Pontion sti Dimotiki Ekpedefsi: Prokatarktiki Erevna ke Ekthesi* (Problems Due to Pontians Enrolment in Primary Education: Preliminary Research and Report). Nicosia: Research Project Funded by the Cypriot Association of Sociologists.

²⁴ Avraamidou, M., Kadianaki, I., Ioannou, M. & Panagiotou, E. (2019). Representations of Europe at times of massive migration movements: A qualitative analysis of Greek-Cypriot newspapers during the 2015 refugee crisis. *Journal of the European Institute for Communication and Culture*, 26(1), 105-119.

²⁵ Trimikliniotis, N., & Demetriou, C. (2014). Cyprus. In: R. Gropas & A. Triantafyllidou (eds.) *European Immigration: A Sourcebook*. Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 67-81.

²⁶ Trimikliniotis, N. (2001a). The location of Cyprus in the southern European context: Europeanisation or modernisation? *The Cyprus Review*, 13(2), 47-73.

additional layer of nationalism as European unionism, creating a boundary in this “new” identity and politico-cultural space *vis-à-vis* the non-European other’.

On the other hand, Europeanisation may play a substantial role in the development of the minority and immigrant rights, while also moving citizenship debates beyond the idea of the nation-State, and thus influencing the development of education responses to migration towards this direction. Trimikliniotis (2001a) points to the beneficial situation brought about by Greek-Cypriots’ exposure to European anti-discrimination movements. It is also interesting that Cyprus was obliged to amend its *Aliens and Immigration Law* to meet the EU directives on long-term stay and family reunification (Directives 2003/109/EC and 2003/86/EC). The EU prompted Cyprus to introduce the conditions that would enable immigrants’ inclusion not only in the economic, but also in the social and education spheres.

What we argue is that the EU called its members not only to define immigrants’ rights but also to transform the political commitment to immigrants’ inclusion into legal obligations (Hajisoteriou, 2012²⁷; Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2016²⁸). Issues of inclusion have thus become a challenge not only to European societies, but also to European education systems. As education is a prerequisite of immigrants’ cultural, social and economic development, Cyprus has been called upon to sustain immigrants’ inclusion through education.

Education Responses to Migration

Previous literature, and also our former research, argues that Cyprus’ accession to the EU is one of the most influential socio-political and economic factors that has mobilised the development of Cyprus’ education responses to migration (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2016²⁹; 2018³⁰). As such Cypriot education policies aiming to address migration should be examined in the context of Cyprus’ membership to the EU (both prior and after accession). Nonetheless, at the same time, adverse national socio-political and historical factors, as discussed above, and also material and

²⁷ Hajisoteriou, C. (2012). Intercultural education set forward: Operational strategies and procedures of Cypriot classrooms. *Intercultural Education*, 23(1), 133-146.

²⁸ Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2016). *The Globalisation of Intercultural Education. The Politics of Macro-Micro Integration*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

²⁹ Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2016). *The Globalisation of Intercultural Education. The Politics of Macro-Micro Integration*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

³⁰ Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018). Developing and implementing policies of intercultural education in Cyprus in the context of globalisation. *Cyprus Review*, 30(1), 353-367.

scalar conditions characterising the Cyprus education system have also influenced the Cypriot educational agenda in response to migration not only at the macro-level of policy development, but also at the levels of adoption and implementation. Thus in the following sections we examine education responses to migration across these levels of analysis arguing that while policy rhetoric seems to be rather promising in adhering to interculturalism, policy adoption and implementation appear to still be 'illusory' and 'assimilative' leading to migrants' cultural and linguistic assimilation - despite the scarce examples of positive action.

The Macro-Level of the State: The 'Promising' Rhetoric of Intercultural Education Policies

Education debates on inclusion firstly appeared in the Cyprus education agenda after UNESCO's appraisal study on the Cyprus education system in 1997 cautioning the marginalisation and exclusion of some groups of students. Moving a step forward, immigration issues first became intertwined in the educational agenda of the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) of Cyprus in 1999 (Hajisoteriou, 2010³¹). What we argue is that in researching the macro-level of the State, what previous research has concluded is that in order to respond to the calls of the Council of Europe and the EU, Cyprus Ministry of Education and Culture has mobilised an educational reform to harmonise its policy with European standards (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2016³²; 2018³³). To begin with, the impetus for Cyprus' intercultural-oriented policy was the ratification of Act 28(III) by the Cypriot parliament, which accredited the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM) by the Council of Europe (Council of Europe, 1995³⁴). The FCNM is the only legally binding document that focuses exclusively on the protection of minorities. The convention suggests that States should '[r]efrain from policies {...} aimed at assimilation of persons belonging to national minorities' (Council of Europe, 1995, Article 5). In response to the parliamentary ratification of FCNM, the MoEC paid particular attention to the parliamentary provisions for compliance to

³¹ Hajisoteriou, C. (2010). Europeanising intercultural education: Politics and policy making in Cyprus. *European Educational Research Journal*, 9(4), 471-483.

³² Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2016). *The Globalisation of Intercultural Education. The Politics of Macro-Micro Integration*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

³³ Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018). Developing and implementing policies of intercultural education in Cyprus in the context of globalisation. *Cyprus Review*, 30(1), 353-367.

³⁴ Council of Europe (1995). Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Word/157.doc>

European conventions, as it is noted in one of its circulars: ‘On the basis of the international conventions that were ratified by our country and have been accredited by the Acts of the Parliament of Representatives and because of the customary practice in the member States of the European Union, we cannot deny education to any student.’ (MoEC, 1999³⁵: 1).

Moreover, the three reports conducted by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) on Cyprus (ECRI, 1999³⁶; 2001³⁷; 2006³⁸) had been the most important incentives mobilising such change - given that at the time, Cyprus had been at the final stages of accession to the EU and wanted to showcase its European character across all sectors of public policy, and thus education (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2013³⁹). The three reported the perpetuation of the stereotypical portrayal of immigrant and the ‘growing tendency towards the perception of the immigrant and the foreigner as a potential threat to the Cypriot standard of living’ (ECRI, 2001: 4). ECRI inspectors focused on the fostering of respect for diversity. They urged the MoEC to include human-rights education as a compulsory subject in the curricula for all children. Their suggestions focused on the following issues (ECRI, 2001⁴⁰; 2006⁴¹):

- training of teachers in human-rights subjects;
- training of teachers to teach in multicultural environments and to provide Greek as a second language;

³⁵ Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) (1999). Criteria for the Provision of Time for Support Teaching. Nicosia: MoEC.

³⁶ ECRI - European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (1999). *Annual Report on ECRI's Activities Covering a Period from 1 January to 31 December 1999*. http://www.coe.int/t/e/human_rights/ecri/5-archives/1-ECRI's_work/2_Annual_reports/Annual%20Report%201999.asp

³⁷ ECRI - European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (2001). *Second Report on Cyprus*. <http://www.hri.ca/fortherecord2001/euro2001/vol2/cyprusechri.htm>

³⁸ ECRI - European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (2006). *Third Report on Cyprus*. http://www.coe.int/t/e/human_rights/ecri/1-ECRI/2-Country-by-country_approach/Cyprus/Cyprus_CBC_3.asp#TopOfPage

³⁹ Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2013). The politics of intercultural education in Cyprus. Policy-making and challenges. *Education Inquiry (Special Issue 'Ethnic Diversity and Schooling')*, 4(1), 103-123.

⁴⁰ ECRI - European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (2001). *Second Report on Cyprus*. <http://www.hri.ca/fortherecord2001/euro2001/vol2/cyprusechri.htm>

⁴¹ ECRI - European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (2006). *Third Report on Cyprus*. http://www.coe.int/t/e/human_rights/ecri/1-ECRI/2-Country-by-country_approach/Cyprus/Cyprus_CBC_3.asp#TopOfPage

- teaching in languages other than Greek, but parallel to Greek as the official language of instruction.

The second ECRI report encouraged Cypriot authorities to develop an educational framework that aimed at combating discrimination (ECRI, 2001). Hence the MoEC had to prove its capacity to design a multicultural policy in response to the ECRI's (2001) recommendations discussed in the second report. In addition, Cyprus' accession to the EU marked Cypriot education. Equal access to educational provision and education to raise awareness within Greek-Cypriot society were included in the negotiations for Cyprus' accession to the EU (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2016⁴²). Cypriot educational policy ought to respond to the island's two-fold role as required by the EU: on the one hand, the role of the guardian of minority and immigrant rights; and on the other hand, the role of the Eastern frontier of the EU *vis-à-vis* the non-EU world. Arguably, further research should be conducted on the development and implementation of such a policy.

On that account, the MoEC had to prove its capacity to design an intercultural policy (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2018⁴³). To this end, during the school year 2003-2004, the MoEC launched the programme Zones of Educational Priority (ZEP) on a pilot basis. The policy of the ZEP constitutes a strategic choice of the MoEC in order to fight functional illiteracy, school failure and school marginalisation in schools with high concentrations of immigrant pupils. Additionally, in 2004 the MoEC began a campaign to address issues related to intercultural education. The slogan 'Democratic Education in the Euro-Cyprian Society' was adopted to describe the efforts to steer the national education system towards an intercultural orientation according to Europeanised discourses (CER, 2004⁴⁴).

In this context, since 2008 the State and particularly the MoEC replaced the previously used terms of 'multicultural education' and 'integration' with the policy rhet-

⁴² Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2016). *The Globalisation of Intercultural Education. The Politics of Macro-Micro Integration*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

⁴³ Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018). Developing and implementing policies of intercultural education in Cyprus in the context of globalisation. *Cyprus Review*, 30(1), 353-367.

⁴⁴ CER - Committee for Educational Reform (2004) *Dimokratiki ke Anthropini Pedia stin Evrokipriaki Politia. Prooptikes Anasigkrotisis ke Eksighronismou. Manifesto Ekpedeftikis Metarrithmisis. Sinopsis Filosofias ke Protaseon* (Democratic and Humanistic Education in the Euro-Cyprian Polity. Prospects for Modernisation. Manifesto of Educational Reform. Overview of Philosophy and Recommendations), Nicosia: Ministry of Education and Culture.

oric of ‘intercultural education’ and ‘inclusion’. Papamichael (2008)⁴⁵ concludes that the MoEC deployed the discourse of intercultural education as the establishment of a school which provides equal educational opportunities for access, participation and success for all students. According to the new curriculum goals, the MoEC envisioned the creation of a ‘humane’ and ‘democratic’ school which includes and does not exclude, by respecting diversity and cultural, linguistic and religious pluralism (MoEC, 2010⁴⁶). Despite such efforts, Gregoriou (2010)⁴⁷ argues that the MoEC still adhered to monocultural notions of education, as it conceptualised cultural difference as an exclusive characteristic of immigrant pupils; ‘the migrant student and not the multicultural class, the cultural difference of the “other” and not ethnicity and ethnic borders became the focus of educational policy’ (ibid: 39).

This reform also entailed the amendment of the national curriculum to become aligned to critical education and interculturalism (Hajisoteriou, Neophytou & Angelides, 2013⁴⁸). Since the school year 2011-2012, the new curriculum has been put into practice. Discourses of intercultural education appear in this new curriculum. It is interesting that the aims of the new curriculum include *inter alia*: (a) the adoption of an intercultural ideology that connects Cypriot tradition with the knowledge of other cultures; (b) the development of citizens’ such attitudes as democracy, tolerance, friendship and cooperation; and (c) the emphasis on the European dimension in education (MoEC, 2010). It is noteworthy that despite setting these goals, the curriculum does not provide any further explanation or commentary on them. However, previous research has pointed out that the inadequate definition of intercultural education in the curriculum has created a gap between policy rhetoric and practice (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2014⁴⁹). Such an observation has adverse implications on language policy planning and implementation in the Cypriot context that we discuss later on. Furthermore, as part of curriculum reform, the project Multiperspectivity and Intercultural Dialogue in Education (MIDE) was introduced

⁴⁵ Papamichael, E. (2008). Greek-Cypriot teachers’ understandings of intercultural education in an increasingly diverse society. *The Cyprus Review*, 20(2), 51-78.

⁴⁶ MoEC – (Cyprus) Ministry of Education and Culture (2010). *Curricula for Pre-Primary, Primary and High-School Education. Vol. A and B*. Nicosia: MoEC. [In Greek]

⁴⁷ Gregoriou, Z. (2010). *Policy Analysis Report: Cyprus*. <http://www.gemic.eu/wp-content/uploads/2009/04/cyprus-wp3.pdf>

⁴⁸ Hajisoteriou, C., Neophytou, L. & Angelides, P. (2012). Intercultural dimensions in the (new) curriculum of Cyprus: The way forward. *Curriculum Journal*, 23(3), 387-405.

⁴⁹ Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2014). Education policy for social justice in Cyprus: The role of stakeholders’ values. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 9(2), 157-170.

so as to envisage the reformed history education and social studies. MIDE entailed the development of teachers' education and methodological approaches focusing on multiperspectivity, and production of supplementary educational material on teaching aspects of Cypriot history.

Since the school year 2015-2016, ZEP was replaced by another programme named Actions for School and Social Integration (DRASE). Schools are included in the DRASE programme based on criteria similar to those mentioned above for the ZEP initiative. Within the framework of DRASE, the participant schools are given the opportunity (through funding and other resources) to implement a variety of actions aimed at:

- supporting vulnerable groups of the student population;
- preventing and tackling problems of youth delinquency, school failure and early school leaving;
- strengthening counseling and guidance;
- supporting non-Greek-speaking families in preliminary learning of the Greek language and improving their social skills;
- supporting students with low social skills to ensure their inclusion into the wider community;
- directly supporting students (and their families) facing problems of social exclusion;
- supporting students at high risk of remaining functionally illiterate and graduating from school without the necessary skills required by the modern knowledge society. (MoEC, 2016⁵⁰).

In 2016, there was also another significant turn in MoEC's policy towards the paradigm of anti-racist education. The MoEC developed the 'Behaviour Code against Racism' and the 'Racist-Incident Management and Logging Guide' (MoEC), (MoEC, 2016a⁵¹; 2016b⁵²). In the aforementioned policy documents, a racist incident is defined as any incident that: is perceived as racist by the victim or other

⁵⁰ MoEC – Ministry of Education and Culture (2016). Multifaceted support of schools from September through the programme DRA.S.E (May 20, 2016). Nicosia: Ministry of Education and Culture. <http://enimerosi.moec.gov.cy/archeia/1/ypp4137a>

⁵¹ MoEC (2016a). *Behaviour Code against Racism*. Nicosia: Ministry of Education and Culture. [In Greek]

⁵² MoEC (2016b). *Racist-Incident Management and Logging Guide*. Nicosia: Ministry of Education and Culture. [In Greek]

person; cultivates hostility against all those who share the same trait; and seriously harms wider communities. What is specifically stated in this documentation is that both the code and guide do not aim to classify people in the categories of ‘racists’ and ‘non-racists’ but seek to support teachers in the identification of racist incidents, taking action to prevent and respond to them, and help develop an anti-racist culture in their schools.

However, it is important to examine MoEC’s turn towards anti-racist education *vis-à-vis* international literature and global trends. Since the 1990s, the paradigm of anti-racist education has been heavily criticised by theorists and researchers of intercultural education (i.e. Mansfield & Kehoe, 1994; Gillborn, 2000). Gillborn (2000),⁵³ who consider anti-racism to be an ill-defined concept. For some it is the organised individual protest to ‘white’ supremacy and its assumptions, while for others is the systematic approach that encompasses both the theoretical understanding of racism and practical opposition through systemic emancipatory practice. For example, Mansfield and Kehoe’s (1994)⁵⁴ critical examination of anti-racist education is representative of such critique: It is the case that all education is political, where anti-racist education is viewed as being too political. Anti-racist education tends to be reductive – victims of discrimination are usually referred to as ‘black’, whereas perpetrators are ‘white’ – and narrowly conceived to refer only to institutional racism. Finally, many of the reported anti-racist interventions show negligible and even negative results’ (ibid: 418). Even if this is the case, MoEC’s anti-racist approach seems to be rather ‘naïve’ and ‘superficial’ as it does not even take into consideration the mere goals of anti-racist education such as ‘discuss past and present racism, stereotyping, and discrimination in society; learn the economic structural and historical roots of inequality; find examples of institutional racism in the school and confront them (confronting might include informing the administration or protesting); analyse unequal social and power relations; know the realities of racism and know the human consequences of racism; and try to alter the unequal social realities that are justified by racist ideology which can be changed by legislative or other action’ (Stanley 1992⁵⁵: 8). What we thus argue is that the MoEC

⁵³ Gillborn, D. (2000). Anti-racism: From policy to practice. In: B. Moon, S. Brown & Ben-Peretz, M. (eds.) *Routledge International Companion to Education*. London: Routledge, 476-488.

⁵⁴ Mansfield, E. & Kehoe, J. (1994). A critical examination of anti-racist education. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 19(4), 418-430.

⁵⁵ Stanley, T. (1992). White supremacy and school segregation in Victoria: Historical perspectives and contemporary implications. *Policy Explorations*, 6, 3-10.

should examine, by means of research, the outcomes of its developed interventions, while also taking into consideration the global theoretic and practical 'scenery' of intercultural education deriving from international research and literature.

Last but not least, we should also examine MoEC's turn towards intercultural education *vis-à-vis*: (a) the yet-to-be-resolved conflict situation that still characterises the Cyprus context, and (b) the role of the Church in the Cyprus education. With regards to the first issue, the volume *Education in a Multicultural Cyprus* edited by Psaltis, Anastasiou, Faustman et al. (2017⁵⁶) provides various examples of how formal (i.e. official curricula), non-formal, and informal education (i.e. the hidden curriculum) have contributed to the creation and perpetuation of the Cyprus conflict, while further reinforcing prejudices, inter-ethnic stereotypes, and misperceptions. However, as the authors' note, education in Cyprus should contribute to conflict transformation, empathy and peaceful coexistence amongst the diverse Cypriot communities. As they suggest, MoEC should examine how this has been possible in other multi-ethnic societies undergoing conflict and build policies of intercultural education that respond to these goals.

Concerning examining intercultural policy formation *vis-à-vis* the issue of the Church's interference in Cyprus education, we should refer to the predominant role of the Orthodox religion in the curricula of public education until nowadays (Emilianides, 2011⁵⁷). It is worth noting that during the Turkish- and British-rule period in Cyprus, the Cypriot Orthodox Church used education as the 'vehicle' for the intellectual expansion of Hellenocentricity in Cyprus, in order to contribute to the raising of national consciousness and to the maintenance of the Greek Orthodox character of the island (Philippou, 2007⁵⁸). Despite the fact that Cyprus has ratified the first protocol of the European Convention on human rights according to which the State shall respect the right of parents to ensure such education and teaching in conformity with their own religious and philosophical convictions, Emilianides, (2011) cautions on the doctrinal character of religious education provided in Cyprus public schools; and he notes, 'according to the curriculum pupils should be assisted to understand the presence of God throughout history and the apocalypse

⁵⁶ Psaltis, I. Anastasiou, N., Faustman, H. et al. (eds.) (2017). *Education in a Multicultural Cyprus*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.

⁵⁷ Emilianides, A. (2011). Religion in Public Education in Cyprus. In G. Robbers (ed) *Religion in Public Education*. Trier: European Consortium for State and Church Research, 87-98.

⁵⁸ Philippou, S. (2007). On the borders of Europe: Citizenship education and identity in Cyprus. *Journal of Social Science Education*. DOI: 10.4119/UNIBI/jsse-v6-i1-1041

of God as an answer to the fundamental questions of human existence; they should experience the figure and teachings of Jesus Christ and experience the Christian way of love towards all people, regardless of colour, religion and race'. However, as Zembylas, Loukaidis and Antoniou (2018⁵⁹) suggest, MoEC should examine in what ways it may reframe the curricula and practices of religious education in Cyprus as one of the tools to challenge normative ways of politicisation and securitisation by reframing pedagogical practices to address issues of peace, conflict, politics and religion in productive ways.

The Meso-Level of the School: The Illusory Adoption of Intercultural Education Policies

Nevertheless, what previous research conducted in the Cyprus context has shown is that the developed intercultural policies appeared to adhere to 'simulated' efforts of Europeanisation (i.e. Gregoriou, 2010⁶⁰; Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2013⁶¹; Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2018⁶²). Although the MoEC 'markedly' included the intercultural dimension of education in its national policy and curriculum discourse, it did not provide schools with necessary resources to implement such policies. The unavailability of sufficient funds, appropriate infrastructures, and adequately trained personnel, operated as material constraints that turned schools into 'simulated' intercultural spaces (Hajisoteriou, 2010⁶³; Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2013b⁶⁴). Moreover, the MoEC left the formulation and implementation of concrete intercultural initiatives to the discretion of the schools and their personnel.

Stemming from our discussion above, what appears is that the extremely centralised character of the Cypriot educational system does not allow the develop-

⁵⁹ Zembylas, M., Loukaidis, L. & Antoniou, M. (2018). The politicisation and securitisation of religious education in Greek-Cypriot schools, *European Educational Research Journal*, 18(3). DOI: 10.1177/1474904118788990

⁶⁰ Gregoriou, Z. (2010). *Policy Analysis Report: Cyprus*. <http://www.gemic.eu/wp-content/uploads/2009/04/cyprus-wp3.pdf>

⁶¹ Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2013). The politics of intercultural education in Cyprus. Policy-making and challenges. *Education Inquiry (Special Issue 'Ethnic Diversity and Schooling')*, 4(1), 103-123.

⁶² Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018). Developing and implementing policies of intercultural education in Cyprus in the context of globalisation. *Cyprus Review*, 30(1), 353-367.

⁶³ Hajisoteriou, C. (2010). Europeanising intercultural education: politics and policy-making in Cyprus. *European Educational Research Journal*, 9(4), 471-483.

⁶⁴ Hajisoteriou, C. (2013). Duty calls for interculturalism: how do teachers perceive the reform of intercultural education in Cyprus?. *Teacher Development*, 17(1), 107-126.

ment of school-based curricula, leading schools to interpret the ministry's stance as the complete absence of intercultural policy (Hajisoteriou, 2010; Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2016⁶⁵). It is thus no surprise that research shows the lack of clearly-defined, adequate, and successful operational strategies that could potentially support the implementation of intercultural policies in Cypriot schools, which often adopt superficial and folklore practices (Papamichael, 2008⁶⁶; Hajisoteriou, 2010; Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2018). This observation brings us to the conclusion that it is inappropriate to 'uncritically' model policies that seem to be successful in developed, adequately-funded, highly professionalised, and well-regulated education systems to those that fall short in these dimensions.

Beyond material reasons, political and cultural factors also lie behind the *symbolic* adoption of Europeanised policies of intercultural education in Cyprus (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2016⁶⁷). As we have already argued, due to the Cypriot political problem, migrants are portrayed by the society as 'damaging to the national cause'. As education strictly patrols the boundaries of citizenry and belongingness, subordinated groups including immigrants have been purposively remained under-recognised and excluded. In this sense, previous research asserts the MoEC, in serving the State's nation-building objectives, has deliberately omitted to develop effective initiatives leading towards successful implementation in order to maintain immigrants' assimilation in the dominant 'native' culture (i.e. Hajisoteriou, 2010⁶⁸; Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2018⁶⁹).

As a result, change seems to have occurred exclusively at the level of national policy rhetoric, but not at the level of practice. This lack of change at the practice level is evidence of the endurance of nationalistic teaching discourses, the absence of textbook reform (i.e. textbooks for history and religious education remain the same despite of the 2010 curriculum reform), and language teaching aiming to the

⁶⁵ Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2016). *The Globalisation of Intercultural Education. The Politics of Macro-Micro Integration*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

⁶⁶ Papamichael, E. (2008). Greek-Cypriot teachers' understandings of intercultural education in an increasingly diverse society. *The Cyprus Review*, 20(2), 51-78.

⁶⁷ Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2016). *The Globalisation of Intercultural Education. The Politics of Macro-Micro Integration*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

⁶⁸ Hajisoteriou, C. (2010). Europeanising intercultural education: politics and policy-making in Cyprus. *European Educational Research Journal*, 9(4), 471-483.

⁶⁹ Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018). Developing and implementing policies of intercultural education in Cyprus in the context of globalisation. *Cyprus Review*, 30(1), 353-367.

linguistic assimilation of migrants (Theodorou, 2014⁷⁰). In more detail, the political culture fostered access-based policies and practices of intercultural education, safeguarding all children's right to access school communities. Nonetheless, as such policies and practices were exclusive of outcome-oriented definitions of equity, they impeded action on social justice.

Despite Cyprus officially being a trilingual country, at the practice level, intercultural education policies in the South part of Cyprus almost exclusively relate to Greek-language teaching, promoting cultural assimilation along the lines of linguistic assimilation (Theodorou, 2014). Theodorou contends (2014) that the term "other-language speaker" refers to a rhetorical deficit associated with a rhetoric of pathologisation and risk, as shown in the way the language is used to classify bilingual children at different levels of attainment of the language. Simultaneously, it portrays bilingualism as a problem of the children themselves, instead of a component enriching the school and the broader society. Similarly, Gregoriou (2010) suggests that in the Cypriot context intercultural education has merely been understood as teaching Greek to migrants. Arguably, the ideology behind this type of language policy is one that promotes cultural assimilation (Hajisoteriou, 2013). This policy appears to be in contrast to the EU goals regarding cultivating cultural diversity and multilingualism (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2017).

It is worth noting that international research claims for the profound benefits of competent language planning are part of intercultural education policies. For example, as McPake, Tinsley and James (2007⁷¹: 102) observe, 'linguistically diverse societies need to invest in formal educational provision to support and develop people's competences in the various languages to which they have access'. However, in the Cyprus context, Valanidou and Jones (2012)⁷² in their study focusing on teachers' perceptions of language-teaching in multilingual classrooms in Cypriot schools, report a number of challenges impeding language variation. Valanidou and Jones (2012) point out a lack of appropriate pedagogical and curricular guidelines, a lack of resources and training for teaching diverse students in multilingual classrooms, and lastly, a lack of parental support. According to the two researchers,

⁷⁰ Theodorou, E. (2014). Constructing the other: Politics and policies of intercultural education in Cyprus. In: L. Vega (ed.) *Empires, PostColoniality and Interculturality*. Sense Publishers, 251-272.

⁷¹ McPake, J., Tinsley, T., & James, C. (2007). Making provision for community languages: Issues for teacher education in the UK. *Language Learning Journal*, 35(1), 99-112.

⁷² Valanidou, A., & Jones, J. (2012). Teaching Greek in multicultural, primary classrooms: Teachers' perceptions of the challenges in four Greek-Cypriot primary schools. *The Cyprus Review*, 24(1), 119-145.

as teachers have little (or no) knowledge on bilingual education, they ‘need opportunities to develop a dialogue with regards to bilingual pedagogy that would integrate language and content and create learning targets and appropriate resources for bilingual students’ (ibid: 119).

Moving from the phase of adoption to implementation, scalar factors have contributed in the ‘illusory’ adoption on policies of intercultural education at the school level. What our previous research has shown is that head-teachers as well as teachers, who are actually responsible for making new policies to work, often feel alienated to reforms coming from above and do not gradually progress from previous practices (Karousiou, Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2018⁷³; Hajisoteriou, Karousiou & Angelides, 2018⁷⁴). Similar findings are also reported by other research carried out in the Cyprus context (i.e. Zembylas, 2010⁷⁵; Zembylas & Iasonos, 2010⁷⁶). In examining the ways in which school leadership influenced the implementation of intercultural education approaches, we conclude that most of the participant head-teachers felt ‘uncertain’ and ‘insecure’ on how to react to diversity. They thus adopted a combination of assimilationist and cultural-deficit approaches, and transactional leadership styles. As a result of education policies emanating from standardisation in relation to the creation of the ‘knowledge economy’, these head-teachers emphasised the need for homogeneity in order to sustain the, so-called, smooth operation of their schools (Zembylas & Iasonos, 2010). Their leadership styles took the form of a business-as-usual approach, as they did not acknowledge their students’ diverse socio-cultural backgrounds in developing and implementing appropriate school cultures, policies, and practices.

What these studies note is that implementing inclusive and socially-just policies in their schools is a daunting task for many Cypriot head-teachers. By adopting, what Riehl (2000⁷⁷: 59) names as managerial types of leadership, these head-teachers reproduced ‘sometimes unwittingly conditions of hierarchy and oppression, in

⁷³ Karousiou, C., Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018). Teachers’ professional identity in super-diverse school settings: Teachers as agents of intercultural education, *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice*, 25(2), 240-258.

⁷⁴ Hajisoteriou, C., Karousiou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018). Successful components of school improvement in culturally-diverse schools. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, 29(1), 91-112.

⁷⁵ Zembylas, M. (2010). The emotional aspects of leadership for social justice. Implications for leadership preparation programs. *Journal of Educational Administration*, 48(5), 611-625.

⁷⁶ Zembylas, M. & Iasonos, S. (2010). Leadership styles and multicultural education approaches: an exploration of their relationship. *International Journal of Leadership in Education*, 13(2), 163-183.

⁷⁷ Riehl, C. J. (2000). The principal’s role in creating inclusive schools for diverse students: A review

particular by fostering compliant thinking rather than critical reflection'. On the other hand, previous research conducted in Cyprus has also identified some exceptions of Cypriot head-teachers, who adopt critical approaches of intercultural education and are prone to transformational leadership styles (i.e. Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2014⁷⁸; Zembylas & Iasonos, 2017⁷⁹). These head-teachers lent support to social-justice leadership by examining the institutional barriers, structural inequalities, and power dynamics that influenced inclusion (or exclusion) within their culturally-diverse school settings. They run their schools in more collaborative forms by fostering cooperation among their teaching faculty (Hajisoteriou, Karousiou & Angelides, 2018⁸⁰). Additionally, they often network with other professionals, such as educational psychologists to develop school plans and programmes aiming to combat discrimination. They also prioritise highly on their school agendas 'increased student voice', immigrant parental involvement, intercultural professional development of teachers, and school self-evaluation.

The Micro-Level of the Classroom: The 'Trivialised' Implementation of Intercultural Education Policies

What Cyprus research has also shown is that the leap between the intercultural policy paradigm and the ethnocentric character of the Cypriot society further adds to the decoupling between policy rhetoric and implementation (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2018b⁸¹). Previous research over the last decade has also examined the ways practicing front-line teachers view the issue of intercultural education in Cyprus. What we may note from the research that we have conducted in the Cyprus context over the last decade, is that a lot of Cypriot teachers struggle to implement intercultural education initiatives because they lack professional development opportunities tailored to the specific needs that emerge in their schools (i.e. Hajisote-

of normative, empirical literature on the practice of educational administration. *Review of Educational Research*, 70(1), 55-81.

⁷⁸ Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2014). Facing the challenge: School leadership in intercultural schools. *Educational Management, Administration & Leadership*, 66-83.

⁷⁹ Zembylas, M. & Iasonos, S. (2017). Social justice leadership in multicultural schools: the case of an ethnically divided society. *International Journal of Leadership in Education*, 20(1), 1-25.

⁸⁰ Hajisoteriou, C., Karousiou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018). Successful components of school improvement in culturally-diverse schools. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement*, 29(1), 91-112.

⁸¹ Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018b). *Europeanisation and Intercultural Education: From the Supranational to the School Level*. Zefyri: Diadrasi Publications. [In Greek]

riou, 2013⁸²; Karousiou, Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2018⁸³). Furthermore, teachers feel that various structural barriers lead them to practice the teaching-as-usual approach, and only rarely adopting practices of culturally-responsive pedagogy and interculturally-differentiated teachings that are a prerequisite for the successful implementation of intercultural education (Neophytou, Valiandes & Hajisoteriou, 2018⁸⁴). Such barriers include time constraints, large class size, and the overloaded syllabus, which appear to inhibit the Cypriot teachers' efforts to successfully implement the MoEC's rhetoric of intercultural education (Hajisoteriou, 2009⁸⁵).

Additionally, past research (i.e. Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2015⁸⁶; Hajisoteriou, Karousiou & Angelides, 2017⁸⁷; Messiou, 2011⁸⁸; Nicolaou, Nitsiou & Charalambous's, 2007⁸⁹), caution on the lack of initiatives reinforcing the active listening of migrant children's voices as an additional reason behind the gap between policy rhetoric and practice. Such research also cautions on the failure of the Cypriot educational system to implement pertinent policies to address migrant children's marginalisation and exclusion. Despite the reported gradual development of friend-

⁸² Hajisoteriou, C. (2013). Implementing intercultural education in the school classroom: Teaching approaches, strategies and applications. In: P. Angelides, P. & C. Hajisoteriou (Eds.) *Intercultural Dialogue in Education: Theoretical Approaches, Political Perspectives and Pedagogical Practices*. Zefiri: Diadrasi Publications, 253-286. [In Greek]

⁸³ Karousiou, C., Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018). Teachers' professional identity in super-diverse school settings: Teachers as agents of intercultural education. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice*, 25(2), 240-258.

⁸⁴ Neophytou, L., Valiandes, S. & Hajisoteriou, C. (2018). Interculturally differentiated instruction: Reflections from Cyprus classrooms. *Cyprus Review*, 30(1), 397-408.

⁸⁵ Hajisoteriou, C. (2009). Europeanising Cypriot intercultural education: a policy process of simulation? *International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences*. 4(4), 1-14.

⁸⁶ Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2015). Listening to children's voices on intercultural education policy and practice. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 28(1), 112-130.

⁸⁷ Hajisoteriou, C., Karousiou, C. & Angelides, P. (2017). Mapping cultural diversity through children's voices: From confusion to clear understandings. *British Educational Research Journal*, 43(2), 330-349.

⁸⁸ Messiou, K. (2011). Collaborating with children in exploring marginalisation: An approach to inclusive education. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 16(12), 1311-1322.

⁸⁹ Nicolaou, A., Nitsiou, C. & Charalambous, S. (2007). Cypriot high schools as cultural mosaics: Pupils' perspectives and experiences. *International Journal of Diversity in Organizations, Communities and Nations*, 7, 343-351.

ships between Cypriots and immigrants, stereotypical behavior and racist incidents against immigrant students continue to persist in schools (Partasi, 2009⁹⁰; 2011⁹¹).

It is worth noting that the student voice is reported to be of a significant value in terms of enhancing inclusion in Cyprus schools (Messiou, 2008⁹²). It is argued that students hold unique knowledge and perspectives on social justice as they are capable of detecting both segregating practices that enhance marginalisation as well as identifying the factors that inhibit inclusion in their schools. Although many schools struggle with how to support inclusion and interculturalism, only few have decided to go straight to the source and ask students to contribute their opinion on a range of important school issues including sharing their view regarding the ways in which they perceive and identify diversity in schools, thus giving them the opportunity to participate in transformative actions in terms of social emancipation (Hajisoteriou, Karousiou & Angelides, 2017⁹³).

The ‘trivialised’ character of the implementation of intercultural education policies in the Cyprus context is also shown by the lack of authentic and effective collaboration between schools and migrant families (Theodorou, 2018⁹⁴). What previous research has indicated is that there is no evidence of a clear process of development of school policies for promoting immigrant parental involvement (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2016b⁹⁵). Although schools seem to acknowledge the positive outcomes deriving from the development of collaborative networks between teachers and parents, Cypriot teachers who participated in research studies carried out thus far, argue that migrant parental involvement is often not the case because of various barriers inhibiting such collaboration. Teachers referred to issues including migrant parents’ social class and therefore, low socio-economic situation,

⁹⁰ Partasi, E. (2009). Identity and belonging in a culturally diverse classroom in Cyprus. *International Journal of Diversity in Organizations, Communities and Nations*, 9(2), 146-156.

⁹¹ Partasi, E. (2011). Experiencing multiculturalism in Greek-Cypriot primary schools. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 41(3), 371-386.

⁹² Messiou, K. (2008). Understanding children’s constructions of meanings about other children: implications for inclusive education. *Journal of Research in Special Educational Needs*, 8(1), 27-36.

⁹³ Hajisoteriou, C., Karousiou, C. & Angelides, P. (2017). Mapping cultural diversity through children’s voices: From confusion to clear understandings. *British Educational Research Journal*, 43(2), 330-349.

⁹⁴ Theodorou, E. (2008). Just how involved is ‘involved’? Re-thinking parental involvement through exploring teachers’ perceptions of immigrant families’ school involvement in Cyprus. *Ethnography and Education*, 3(3), 253-269.

⁹⁵ Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2016b). Promoting immigrant parental involvement in culturally-diverse schools through a multiple perspectives approach. *International Journal of Pedagogies and Learning*, 11(2), 145-162.

deprived educational background and inability to communicate effectively in the Greek language.

Previous research carried out in Cyprus has indicated the exclusion of migrant parents from school processes and functions because of the delimited conceptualisations of parental involvement as on-site presence and adherence to teacher demands (i.e. Hadjitheodoulou-Loizidou & Symeou, 2007⁹⁶; Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2016b). Theodorou (2008⁹⁷; 2014⁹⁸) explains that Cypriot teachers seem to perceive immigrant parents as ‘disinterested’ and ‘uninvolved’, while justifying parents’ behaviour according to cultural-deficit perspectives that contradict interculturalism and intercultural education.

Conclusion

The main focus of this article was to examine the development and implementation of education responses to migration, while enriching the debate on the macro-micro integration process. To better explain issues regarding macro-micro integration we examined examples stemming from the phases of the development of policies of intercultural education in the Cyprus State, and specifically the MoEC, while transcending to the phases of adoption, and implementation of such policies in the Cyprus schools and classrooms. According to our previous analysis, we conclude with suggestions for improvement, and also for future research focusing on intercultural education in Cyprus.

Arguably, change should occur at the macro-level of the State. To begin with, the newly-endorsed framework of anti-racist education that has been recently introduced as the cornerstone of MoEC’s education policy seems to be inadequate to grasp new debates of interculturalism and intercultural education focusing on social justice. As Cantle (2012)⁹⁹ argues, in an era of globalisation and super-diver-

⁹⁶ Hadjitheodoulou-Loizidou, P. & Symeou, L. (2007). Promoting closer ties and cooperation between the school, the family and the community in the framework of intercultural education. *International Journal about Parents in Education*, 1, 63-72.

⁹⁷ Theodorou, E. (2008). Just how involved is ‘involved’? Re-thinking parental involvement through exploring teachers’ perceptions of immigrant families’ school involvement in Cyprus. *Ethnography and Education*, 3(3), 253-269.

⁹⁸ Theodorou, E. (2014). The invasion of the Trojan horse: relationships between immigrant family and the school – issues, challenges and potentials. In: C. Hajisoteriou & C. Xenophonos (Eds.) Saita Publishing.

⁹⁹ Cantle, T. (2012). *Interculturalism: The New Era of Cohesion and Diversity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan.

sity, the rebranding of intercultural education presupposes that it should be positioned as a future-orientated debate that focuses on all aspects of diversity in an ever-changing environment. Such rebranding calls for socially and educationally transformative educational systems. The MoEC should thus examine the prospect of changing its paradigm from anti-racism to intercultural education with social justice and decolonisation.

Gorski (2009¹⁰⁰: 88) explains that educational responses to migration should refrain from ‘an overly-simplistic approach (can’t we all just get along?)’ - that rather draws upon multiculturalism - to ‘a systemic approach that insists first and foremost on the construction of an equitable and just world’. To Gorski, the deconstruction of power, privilege, and oppression entails the cornerstone of, what he calls, as authentic intercultural education that aims to enable *all* people to play a fully participatory role in society, by substantiating sustainability of social justice for current and future generations. It is thus necessary that the MoEC examines, by means of research, both the meaning of intercultural education per se, as well as the meaning of stereotypes in the Cyprus context, the mechanisms of stereotype formation (i.e. the role of the media), and the influence of stereotypes in the development and quality of interpersonal relationships. The outcomes of such research should inform the development of future educational policies for intercultural education in Cyprus, also with the development of teacher intercultural professional development programmes, and educational modules for students.

Secondly, in the process of developing the operational strategies supporting the implementation of intercultural policies in Cyprus schools and classrooms, the MoEC should carry out sufficient field assessments examining issues such as differentiated teaching, class size and numbers of emergent bilingual students in each class, teacher development, and curriculum reform with regards to intercultural education – and respond accordingly. Thirdly, intercultural teacher professional development appears to be a major obstacle in the successful implementation of intercultural education policies in Cyprus schools and classrooms (Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2018¹⁰¹). Cypriot teachers still appear to be ill-prepared to enhance their students’ hybrid cultural identities and to equip them with the qualities of intercultural knowledge and competence, critical consciousness, interpersonal skills, and

¹⁰⁰ Gorski, P. (2009). Intercultural education as social justice. *Intercultural Education*, 20(2), 87-90.

¹⁰¹ Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018). Developing and implementing policies of intercultural education in Cyprus in the context of globalisation. *Cyprus Review*, 30(1), 353-367.

cultural empathy (Karousiou, Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2018¹⁰²). What we thus argue is that the current technocratic and knowledge-centred format of teacher training fails to support Cypriot teachers to operate in more intercultural, instead of multicultural ways within their classrooms. What we argue is that teacher training programmes aiming to combat racism, xenophobia and discrimination should help teachers to, on the one hand, critically reflect on issues of culture and stereotype through the pedagogies of discomfort and empathy, and, on the other hand, acquire a repository of teaching methodologies ‘appropriate’ for diverse settings that are based on experiential-learning (Zembylas & Papamichael, 2018¹⁰³). Moreover, in order to better respond to socio-cultural diversity, MoEC and State teacher training providers, such as the Cyprus Pedagogical Institute, should acknowledge the importance of parent perceptions and ‘student views as a catalyst for powerful teacher development’ (Messiou & Ainscow, 2015¹⁰⁴: 246).

Last but not least, we propose the development and implementation of school policies and classroom practices that reinforce the active listening of the multiple voices of all school actors (teachers, parents, students, and community stakeholders), the development of collaborative school and classroom cultures, and the endorsements of shared school-based leadership models to support interdisciplinary and intercultural competencies mainly because, ‘by combining all these valuable forms of knowledge, more sustainable practices can be developed and better resolutions to current issues may be achieved’ (Tilbury & Mulà, 2009¹⁰⁵: 7). Future research that will be carried out in Cyprus should focus on examining practical ways to put these suggestions in practice.

¹⁰² Karousiou, C., Hajisoteriou, C. & Angelides, P. (2018). Teachers’ professional identity in super-diverse school settings: Teachers as agents of intercultural education, *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice*, 25(2), 240-258.

¹⁰³ Zembylas, M. & Papamichael, E. (2018). Pedagogies of discomfort and empathy in multicultural teacher education. *Intercultural Education*, 28(1), 1-19.

¹⁰⁴ Messiou, K. & Ainscow, M. (2015). Responding to learner diversity: Student views as a catalyst for powerful teacher development. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 51, 246-255

¹⁰⁵ Tilbury, D. & Mulà, I. (2009). *Review of Education for Sustainable Development Policies from a Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue: Gaps and Opportunities for Future Action*. Paris, UNESCO.

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The Role of Investigative Interviewing on Witness Testimony

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Abstract

Investigation is at the heart of policing. Criminal investigations require the gathering of facts (or evidence) from a number of sources with the ultimate goal to identify the perpetrator of a crime and serve the justice system. This evidence comes from, among other things, crime scenes (i.e. DNA) and from information disclosed by significant others (i.e. witnesses, suspects, victims). It is very often the case that the outcome of an investigation depends heavily on the process and outcome of police interviews with witnesses, as they provide the initial direction of the investigation and the lines of enquiry to be pursued. The investigative interviewing of witnesses is an area which has attracted great attention over the years as the crucial role witnesses play within the criminal justice system has come to light, not always in the most favourably way. Witnesses' misidentifications, which can result in wrongful convictions and subsequent miscarriages of justice, have brought together practitioners and professionals in a quest to develop best practices in witness interviewing and improve eyewitness testimony and identification. Such practices will be examined in this paper, and discussed also in relation to the context in Cyprus.

Keywords: investigative interviewing, witness, misidentification, testimony, cognitive interviewing, PEACE

Introduction

According to Milne and Bull, 'A major factor that determines whether or not a crime is solved is the completeness and accuracy of the witness account.'² Sometimes, if you do not have a witness, you do not have a suspect either. It is the case that quite often, the only evidence that police have to guide an investigation is what witnesses tell them, and so they are often seen as a strong form of evidence by police, judges

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² Rebecca Milne, Ray Bull, *Investigative Interviewing: Psychology and Practice* (John Wiley and Sons Ltd: Chichester UK, 1999, p.1)

and jurors alike. It becomes clear, therefore, that witness testimony plays a key role in criminal investigations and trials. Witness testimony is a written or oral statement given by an individual who has experienced an incident, such as seeing or hearing a crime take place, or has had something happen to them. The testimony can be collected in crime scene interviews, in subsequent interviews, through creating facial composites of perpetrators and via selecting suspects from identity parades³.

Effectively interviewing cooperative witnesses requires a considerable amount of skill; however, in many cases, appropriate training is often limited. Research over the years focusing on eliciting valid and reliable information from witnesses, has proved time and time again that failing to establish rapport, interrupting interviewees, asking mainly closed-ended questions, asking leading and suggestive questions, and providing inadequate retrieval support are all factors that impede the interviewees' ability to provide an accurate and complete account. Hence, improved methods of interviewing will considerably aid legal and / or criminal investigations.

Witnesses are central to solving a crime, which is accepted by all key players across the criminal justice spectrum. It is not surprising that the Murder Investigation Manual, which serves as a guide for all types of major crime in England and Wales explicitly states that: 'the success of any homicide investigation depends largely on the accuracy and detail of the material obtained from witnesses. The importance of treating witnesses with respect and dignity cannot be overstated. The way in which witnesses are treated can have a significant impact on how they cooperate with the investigation and any subsequent prosecution'.⁴

However, not all witnesses' accounts are reliable, sufficient or complete, and inaccurate testimony can lead to the prosecution of innocent individuals. As a result, wrongful convictions also mean the real perpetrator of a crime is not caught and may continue to harm society.

According to the Innocence Project,⁵ a nonprofit legal US organisation committed to exonerating individuals who have been wrongly convicted through the use of DNA testing, eyewitness misidentification is a consistent and outsized contributor

³ Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology, *Improving Witness Testimony*, July 2019, Post Report 607

⁴ ACPO, *Murder Investigation Manual* (Wyboston: Centrex, 2006. P.198)

⁵ The Innocence Project available at <https://www.innocenceproject.org/>

to wrongful convictions. In a 2019 review of 365 wrongful conviction cases where an individual was later exonerated by DNA evidence, almost 70% (230 cases) involved inaccurate witness identifications of the suspect. In almost 40% of the misidentification cases, there were multiple eyewitnesses who misidentified the same innocent person. Also, in 50% of the misidentification cases, eyewitness testimony was the central evidence used against the defendant, without any other corroborating evidence like confessions, or forensic science.

In almost half of the misidentification cases where the real perpetrator was later identified through DNA testing and eventually comprehended, that perpetrator went on to commit additional violent crimes (rape, murder, attempted murder), after an innocent person was serving time in prison for his previous crime. It becomes evident, that the repercussions of wrongful witness identifications do not stop at the conviction of the innocent, but they do lead on to more imminent dangers.

It is not surprising that eyewitness identification testimony can be very persuasive. Back in 1932, Edwin Borchard wrote *Convicting the Innocent*,⁶ where he identified eyewitness errors as an important factor which contributed to the erroneous conviction of innocent people. According to former US Supreme Court Justice William Brennan, ‘There is almost nothing more convincing than a live human being who takes the stand, points a finger at the defendant, and says, That’s the one’⁷ *Such testimony, however, is not always reliable.*

Convicting the Innocent

*The Francisco Carrillo Case*⁸

‘There was no DNA in Franky’s case. There wasn’t even a gun. I mean, it was all just eyewitness testimony,’ Ellen Eggers, Carrillo’s attorney.

In January 1991, 41-year-old Donald Sarpy was standing in the driveway of his home in Lynwood, California, when he was killed in a drive-by shooting. Sarpy’s son and five of his friends witnessed the murder. The sheriff’s department believed almost immediately that it was the work of the Young Crowd gang, as retaliation

⁶ John Brigham, Adina Wassermann, Christian Meissner, *Disputed Eyewitness Identification Evidence: Important Legal and Scientific Issues*, Court Review (Summer 1999)

⁷ New England Innocence Project, *Eyewitness Misidentification*, available at <http://www.newenglandinnocence.org/eyewitness-misidentification>

⁸ The Northern Carolina Innocence Project, *Francisco Carrillo*, available at: <http://ncip.org/francisco-carrillo-jr/>

against N-Hood, an African-American gang in the neighbourhood. Francisco Carrillo, who was 16 at the time, was investigated as the shooter despite the fact that no physical evidence ever linked him to the scene. He also had a solid alibi, Carrillo's own father declaring his son was home, had dinner, and did homework. Prosecutors however insisted that was a lie. Scott Turner, an eyewitness who was shown Carrillo's photograph on the night of Sarpy's murder, later identified Carrillo as the shooter. Turner then told Sarpy's son, Dameon, and the four other friends who were present that Carrillo was the gunman. Six months later, Dameon and the four friends identified Carrillo in a lineup. All six witnesses testified at Carrillo's first trial, which ended in a mistrial when the jury was unable to reach a unanimous verdict. Although Turner recanted his testimony before Carrillo's second trial, the other five eyewitnesses continued to identify Carrillo as the gunman. No other physical evidence linked Carrillo to the crime, but Carrillo would still be convicted of murder and six counts of attempted murder.

A few years later, Sarpy's son, Dameon, admitted that he had not actually been able to see the gunman at the time of the shooting, but identified Carrillo because he was told by Turner that Carrillo was the perpetrator. Ultimately, all six eyewitnesses recanted at a post-trial hearing on a motion for a new trial. Turner also testified that Carrillo had been pointed out to him by the police, leading him to encourage his friends to identify Carrillo. NCIP, Morrison & Foerster and Eggers also convinced the court to return to the scene of the crime to re-enact the shooting as described by the witnesses, which demonstrated that it was physically impossible for the witnesses to have seen the perpetrator's face. On March 14 2011, Los Angeles County Superior Court Judge Paul Bacigalupo overturned Carrillo's conviction based on the eyewitness recantations and two other men having confessed to the shooting. Carrillo was released from custody that day, after having spent over 20 years in prison for a crime he did not commit.

The Ronald Cotton Case

In July 1984, an assailant broke into Jennifer Thompson-Cannino's apartment and sexually assaulted her; later that night, the assailant broke into another apartment and sexually assaulted a second woman. The evidence at trial included a flashlight found in Cotton's home that resembled one used by the assailant, and rubber from Cotton's shoe that was consistent with rubber found at one of the crime scenes. Overwhelmingly, however, the evidence rested on the identification and the flawed eyewitness identification procedures used by police at the time. The victim, Jennif-

er Thompson, helped police sketch artists create a composite picture of her attacker. Later, in a photo lineup, she identified Ronald Cotton, a 22-year-old man who looked strikingly like her sketch and had previous run-ins with the law. Then, she picked Cotton from a live lineup; she identified him with 100 percent certainty he was her attacker.

In January 1985, Cotton was convicted by a jury of one count of rape and one count of burglary. In a second trial, in November 1987, Cotton was convicted of both rapes and two counts of burglary. He was sentenced to life in prison plus 54 years. Cotton was unsuccessful overturning his conviction in several appeals. But in the spring of 1995, his case was given a major break: the Burlington Police Department turned over all evidence, which included the assailant's semen for DNA testing, to the defence. The samples from one victim were tested and showed no match to Cotton. At the defence's request, the results were sent to the State Bureau of Investigation's DNA database where it showed a match with the convict who had earlier confessed to the crime to a fellow inmate in prison. When the DNA test results were reported in May 1995, the district attorney and the defence motioned to dismiss all charges.

On June 30 1995, Cotton was officially cleared of all charges and released from prison. In July 1995, the governor of North Carolina officially pardoned Cotton. Cotton had already served 10,5 years in prison.

'Jennifer's misidentification of Ronald serves as a striking example of what is known technically as unconscious transference. For Jennifer, this chain began when she attempted to translate her memories from that dark, traumatic summer night into concrete, usable information by working with police to assemble a composite sketch. The image of the composite sketch then primed her to select Ronald's mug shot, which resembled the composite; her selection of the photograph, in turn, influenced her perceptions when Ronald appeared before her in person. Although unsure for a fleeting moment, she chose Ronald from the line-up, thereby solidifying her identification of Ronald as her perpetrator. This ID was reinforced by police and in pre-trial proceedings, and the certainty continued to build upon itself; the image of Ronald's face even haunting her in nightmares. By the time she went to court, Jennifer was utterly certain that he was her rapist. Her visions of Ron as her attacker became so firmly set in her brain that, when presented with both Ronald

Cotton and her real attacker, she reaffirmed that Ronald was, undoubtedly, her assailant,⁹ Laura Hastay, Criminal Defence Lawyer.

Factors Affecting Eyewitness Testimony and Identification

‘There had been an automobile accident. Before the court one of the witnesses, who had sworn to tell the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, declared that the entire road was dry and dusty; the other swore that it had rained and the road was muddy. The one said that the automobile was running very slowly; the other, that he had never seen an automobile rushing more rapidly. The first swore that there were only two or three people on the village road; the other, that a large number of men, women, and children were passing by. Both witnesses were highly respectable gentlemen, neither of whom had the slightest interest in changing the facts as he remembered them’, Hugo Munsterberg states.¹⁰

Contrary to what most people may think, human memory does not operate like a video recording where the witness can simply play back what actually happened. Scientific research has shown that memory is a constructive, dynamic, and selective process that can be influenced by many factors.¹¹ Researchers recommend that eyewitness identifications should in a way be treated, as trace evidence that can be distorted, contaminated or degrade over time. Hence, investigators must be careful when obtaining identification evidence in order to maintain its integrity and reliability, whilst at the same time minimising the chances of misidentification which can subsequently lead to miscarriages of justice.

The majority of studies have focused on the conditions under which eyewitness misidentification is likely to occur, including the initial perception of the event (encoding phase), the period in which the memory trace of the event is stored in memory (retention interval), and the subsequent recall of the event or identification of the suspect (retrieval phase). It is important to note that time delays between the first and last stage can vary greatly, and this could seriously hinder the witnesses’ ability to provide accurate and full reports of what has happened. Some informa-

⁹ *Picking Cotton: A Memoir of Injustice and Redemption*, available at: <https://www.pickingcotton-book.com>

¹⁰ Hugo Munsterberg, *On the Witness Stand: Essays on Psychology and Crime* (New York, The McClure Company, 1908, p.15)

¹¹ Andy Griffiths, Rebecca Milne, *The Application of Cognitive Interview Techniques as Part of an Investigation*, in Carol A. Ireland & Martin J. Fisher (Eds.) *Consultancy and Advising in Forensic Practice: Empirical and Practical Guidelines* (John Wiley & Sons, 2010, p.69 – 90)

tion may be requested almost immediately, i.e. when the witness is still at the crime scene, whereas other information may be requested much later, such as where the witness is asked to identify a suspect or during the interview process.¹²

Stage 1: Witnessing the Incident – Encoding Phase

When witnessing an incident, information about the event is entered into memory. Research has consistently shown that the accuracy of this information acquisition is influenced and subsequently hindered by a number of factors, such as: the fear or stress the eyewitness experiences during the event; the age of the witness; the actual physical conditions such as lighting, distance from the crime scene or disguise of the suspect; the duration / time to view the event or the perpetrator; and the presence of a weapon (weapon focus) which distracts the witness' attention.¹³

Stage 2: Waiting Period Before Giving Evidence – Retention Interval

The time period that passes between perception i.e., seeing an incident and the subsequent recollection of that incident is very important. The longer the gap between witnessing an incident and recalling it, the less accurate the recollection of that incident. Witnesses are highly susceptible to suggestions (easily influenced) regarding their memory for the previously viewed event. Memories that have been altered by external influences are considered contaminated and are often less accurate. Contamination by external factors can include discussing the event with another person, such as other witnesses, or seeing inaccurate media representations of the event. This post-event misinformation is commonly seen with children and the elderly who appear to be, by nature, more susceptible to suggestion. 'In the life of justice trains are wrecked and ships are colliding too often, simply because the law does not care to examine the mental colour blindness of the witness's memory. And yet we have not even touched one factor which, more than anything else, devastates memory and plays havoc with our best intended recollections: that is, the power of suggestion', Munsterberg argues.¹⁴

In order to counteract the effect of witnesses contaminating each other's testimony, researchers in the UK have developed the Self Administered Interview (SAI).

¹² Gary L. Wells, Elizabeth Loftus, *Eyewitness Memory for People and Events*, Handbook of Psychology: Part Three. Special Topics in Forensic Psychology (Wiley & Sons, 2003)

¹³ Carolyn Semmler, Neil Brewer, *Eyewitness Memory*, in Jennifer M. Brown & Elizabeth A. Campbell (Eds.) *The Cambridge Handbook of Forensic Psychology* (Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 49-57)

¹⁴ Hugo Munsterberg, *On the Witness Stand: Essays on Psychology and Crime* (New York, The McClure Company, 1908, p.18)

The SAI is a booklet which is given to witnesses before the interview, and contains a list of generic open-ended questions along with a clear set of written instructions about what is expected of a witness. Its use in practice has shown that it can actually improve the accuracy of witness testimony and the number of details correctly remembered after a week, as well as reducing memory contamination from incorrect (external) information or leading questions. Even though its use is not obligatory, the SAI is standard practice in some UK police forces, and has also been included in the College of Policing's interviewing guidance with the recommendation that investigators should consider its use, especially in incidents involving large numbers of witnesses.¹⁵

Stage 3: Giving Evidence During Police Interview – Retrieval Phase

The information regarding what happened at the incident in question is usually elicited through a process of questioning during the interview of the witness. Similarly to the previous two stages, here too one can identify a number of factors that can affect the accuracy with which the memory of a crime / a perpetrator is retrieved (i.e. when describing the incident to the police or when viewing a line-up in order to identify the perpetrator). Investigators can, unwillingly sometimes, influence the witnesses during the interview process, and hence they should be encouraged to mostly use open-ended questions and avoid suggestive or leading ones. Research has shown that poor questioning skills of the interviewer can exacerbate the already malleable/unreliable nature of witness memory and testimony.¹⁶

According to the 2016 Report *Advice on the Structure of Visually Recorded Witness Interviews* by the National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC)¹⁷ in the UK, video-recording of key or significant witness interviews should be considered in cases of: murder, manslaughter, road death, serious physical assault, sexual assault, kidnap, robberies in which firearms are involved, and any criminal attempts or conspiracies in relation to the above listed offences.

¹⁵ Lorraine Hope, Fiona Gabbert, Ronald P. Fisher, *From Laboratory to Street: Capturing Witnesses' Memory Using the Self-Administered Interview*, (2011) 16 (2) *Legal and Criminological Psychology*, p. 211-226

¹⁶ Rebecca Milne, Gary Shaw, Ray Bull, *Investigative Interviewing: the Role of Research*, in David Carson et. al (Eds.) *Applying Psychology to Criminal Justice*, (Wiley, Chichester UK, 2008, p. 65-80)

¹⁷ Association of Chief Police Officers, National Investigative Interviewing Strategic Steering Group. (2013). *Advice on the structure of visually recorded witness interviews (2nd Edition)*, available at: <http://library.college.police.uk/docs/APPREF/ACPO-Witness-Interview-Structure-2013.pdf>

The actual physical environment in which the interview takes place can also have an effect on the details provided by witnesses. Interviews should be conducted as soon as possible after the incident, in a quiet place, with minimum distraction and maximum privacy, because as with any evidence, the accuracy of witness testimony decreases if it is not carefully obtained, managed and handled. Sometimes, an interview in a police station may seem intimidating to a witness and potentially reduce their cooperation and / or the amount of details they can recall.

This is particularly the case for vulnerable witnesses, such as children, individuals with communication or social impairments, and people with a disability / disorder. Hence, investigators should be flexible in regards to the interview location, depending on the demeanour and trauma of the individual witness.

The Lineup Process

Another crucial factor, which falls into this phase and is considered responsible for many of the eyewitness' misidentifications, is the suspect identification parade, or the line up as it is also called. Once the police identify a suspect during their investigations, they can carry out an identity parade. In an identity parade, the witness tries to identify a perpetrator after being shown a suspect and at least seven other similar-looking individuals.

During this procedure, the witnesses select the suspect from the lineup who mostly resembles their memory trace of the perpetrator. Sometimes line-ups are conducted by using a series of pictures which the police present to the witness; photo lineups typically include seven or more photographs. The problem with identity parades / lineups starts when the witnesses assume that the real culprit is indeed amongst the individuals presented to them, which is not always the case. So, when the actual offender is not present, witnesses tend to identify or choose the person who looks very similar to the one they remembered from the event.¹⁸

This, in turn, dictates the need of line-up fairness, where the fillers (the non-suspects included in a line up) should resemble the eyewitness's description of the perpetrator so that the suspect does not stand out. Similarly, when constructing a photo lineup, it is critical that the suspect is not a distinctive member of the photo line up, and his photograph does not in any way stand out from the rest in the collection. Subsequently, one can understand why it is critical that, during the lineup

¹⁸ James Michael Lampinen et al., *Comparing Detailed and Less Detailed Pre-Lineup Instructions* (2019) 34 (02) Applied Cognitive Psychology, p. 409-424

instructions, the witnesses are informed by the police that the perpetrator may not be in the line up and that the investigation will continue regardless of whether an identification is made. This also lifts the emotional burden from many witnesses who feel, in a way, compelled to make an identification in order to help the police solve the crime.

Such pressures, which may come from law enforcement officials, or even family members and friends, may increase the chance of an erroneous identification any time that the perpetrator is not in the line up. Recent research also suggests for a double-blind procedure: that is, having the line up administered by an officer who is unaware of which line up member is the suspect, and the witnesses also not knowing who the suspect(s) are in the specific parade.

Cross-Race Effect

The own race bias, also known as cross-race effect (CRE), seems to be another factor which often leads to wrongful witness identifications. A rather robust phenomenon which seems to be a dominant theme over time in eyewitness research, CRE refers to the fact that people are better at recognising and differentiating between faces that are the same race as they are, and experience greater difficulty discriminating among faces of a race different from their own.¹⁹ According to the Innocence Project, 53% of the misidentification cases, where race is known, involved cross racial misidentifications.

Gender Issues

People often wonder whether the gender of the eyewitness plays any role in their identification accuracy and their overall performance as witnesses to a criminal investigation. Research has shown that men and women may differ in the type of information they recall about an event; for example, women tend to remember better ‘person information’ such as faces and clothing, whereas men focus more on ‘event information’ and can provide better details on things such as types of car or weapon. Hence, there seems to be gender differences, not on the actual abilities of the eyewitness, but rather on which aspects they tend to recall best.²⁰

¹⁹ John Brigham et al. *The influence of race on eyewitness memory*, in R. C. L. Lindsay, D. F. Ross, J. D. Read, and M. P. Toglia (Eds.), *The handbook of eyewitness psychology, Vol. 2. Memory for people* (Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers, 2007), p. 257–281

²⁰ Tess M.S. Neal, *Women as Expert Witnesses: A Review of the Literature*, (2014) 32 (2) *Behavioral Sciences and the Law*, p.164-179

Confidence and Accuracy

Eyewitness confidence is also a topic of interest, which has received a great deal of attention. Let us not forget that jurors are strongly influenced by confident eyewitnesses, and this can in turn have a large impact on legal proceedings. When the witness states ‘I am sure this is what happened’ or ‘I am certain this is the person I saw’, should one simply take their word for it? Does confidence always go hand in hand with accuracy in identification? A substantial amount of recent research has supported this, and it is argued that indeed when pristine procedures are used (fair line ups, correct line up instructions), there seems to be a relationship between confidence and accuracy, where confidence can be highly indicative of accuracy. Timing, however, seems to be an important factor here; confidence seems to be informative at the time the eyewitnesses first make their identification, before they are exposed to various external influences which can compromise their memory.²¹ As Professor Laura Mickes states, “If you look back at all the people who were exonerated based on DNA evidence, where eyewitness identification played a big role in their wrongful conviction, you will see that, and this is amazing, the initial identifications were actually made with low confidence. But over time their confidence can increase for various reasons and by the time they get to the court they say with high confidence, yes, that’s the guy.”²²

In addition, one must take into account that during the interview process, it is often the interviewer’s perception of the accuracy of a witness that counts. Confidence is in fact a complex issue and for some it could be a personality as well as an ability trait. Hence, one should be cautious about overconfident eyewitnesses. The fact that a person is confident with regards to their memory of an event does not necessarily mean that what they remember is 100% accurate. The same goes for witnesses who seem to be more cautious, and state that they are not absolutely certain of what they recall; this also, does not automatically mean that the account they will provide will not be the correct one. Perhaps, a positive eyewitness identification should not always be viewed as a definitive evidence of guilt, but rather as an indication to law enforcement officials of a potentially valuable direction in which to search for more reliable forms of forensic evidence.

²¹ John W. Wixted & Garry Wells, (2017) 18 (1) *The Relationship Between Eyewitness Confidence and Identification Accuracy: A New Synthesis*, Association for Psychological Science, p. 10-65

²² Economic and Social Research Council (ESCR), *Eyewitness Confidence is Key to Safer Convictions*, 31 July 2018

Vulnerable Witnesses

As mentioned earlier in the article, there are certain individuals who fall under the vulnerable groups category. Such individuals are children, adults with a disability or disorder, victims of sexual crimes, as well as those with significant social and communication impairments. Vulnerable witnesses are often more susceptible to memory inaccuracies and they may find standard procedures intimidating, which in turn affects the quantity and quality of their testimony. Identifying these individuals and catering for their needs is therefore of utmost importance, and the law in various countries allows for special measures for these groups.

In the UK, the 2011 Report by the Ministry of Justice, *Achieving Best Evidence in Criminal Proceedings: Guidance on Interviewing Victims and Witnesses, and Guidance on Using Special Measures*, as well as the 2016 Report by the National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC), *Advice on the Structure of Visually Recorded Witness Interviews*, set out a very comprehensive set of rules on how vulnerable witnesses should be approached throughout the stages of an investigation.²³ These, amongst other things, include the following:

Vulnerable witnesses should be interviewed in more comfortable and less intimidating environments than police stations (such as special interview centers) so as to put them at ease and not create a situation in which they feel extremely anxious or worried.

Registered Intermediaries (RI), communication specialists who help vulnerable witnesses give evidence, should also be available in such cases. RIs are trained professionals (usually with a background in psychology, speech and language therapy, or occupational therapy) who have very often assisted in the collection of testimony that may not have been possible without them. It should however be noted that their role is very specific and they mainly assist the witness communicating with the police officers (during interviews), or with lawyers (during court proceedings). They are not to provide emotional support or bias the witness. Instead, they need to remain impartial, and follow the regulations, codes of conduct and procedural guidelines for RIs involved in criminal court cases.

Furthermore, UK's Professor Ray Bull, who has been a key figure in the drafting of both the government's *Memorandum of Good Practice* and of *Achieving*

²³ National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC), *Advice on the Structure of Visually Recorded Witness Interviews* (2016)

Best Evidence on Video Recorded Interviews with Child Witnesses for Criminal Proceedings (ABE), highlights the phased approach adopted by the ABE when interviewing vulnerable witnesses. The key features of this approach is the rapport building phase (directly linked to empathy and showing understanding by the part of the interviewer), the free narrative phase (the witness is asked to provide with his/her words the account of events taking all the time she/he needs, the interviewer exhibits active listening), the questioning phase (questions are asked in a simple way avoiding jargon and complex statements, topic hopping is avoided) and the closure phase (answer any questions of the witness, thank him/her for his/her time and effort). According to ABE guidelines, investigators should tailor their interview to the particular needs of the individual they are about to question, and hence, assessment of the interviewee beforehand is a crucial part of the interview's planning and preparation process.²⁴

Once in the court, there are a number of procedures in place to make the witness feel less intimidated, such as: screening the witness from the accused, giving evidence via video link, video-recorded evidence in chief, examination of the witness through an intermediary, or asking members of the court to remove wigs and gowns.

Interviewing Methods

The PEACE Model of Interviewing

Models of investigative interviewing can provide positive guidance for the universal protocol on investigative interviewing and associated safeguards and can be applied in a wide range of investigative contexts, including during intelligence and military operations,²⁵ Juan Munde, 'The UN Special Rapporteur on Torture.

The PEACE Model was developed in the early 1990s as a collaborative effort between experienced police investigators and psychologists in England and Wales. It was designed to train police officers to interview both witnesses and suspects, and is still the basis of all investigative interviewing work.

²⁴ Ray Bull, Becky Milne, *Recommendations for Collecting Event Memory Evidence*, in J. Pozzulo, E. Pica and C. Sheahan (Eds.) *Memory and Sexual Misconduct: Psychological Research for Criminal Justice* (Routledge, New York, 2020) Manuscript submitted for publication

²⁵ Association for the Prevention of Torture, available at: https://apt.ch/en/news_on_prevention/good-progress-towards-universal-protocol-on-investigative-interviewing-and-associated-safeguards/

Today, it is the most widely used and accepted method of interviewing for victims, witnesses and suspects across the world including, but not limited to, England and Wales, Norway, Australia, New Zealand, and parts of Canada. A mnemonic acronym for planning and preparation, engage and explain, account, closure, and evaluation (PEACE), is a five stage information gathering model, very structured in nature which covers the periods before, during and after an interview.²⁶ Its aim is to obtain accurate and complete accounts from those being interviewed, using the following stages:

Planning and Preparation

Perhaps one of the most important phases of the model, this stage often paves the way for the successful (or not successful) outcome of the interview. This is why the interviewer needs to think beforehand how the interview will contribute to the investigation. It is very important for all parties to understand the purpose of the interview and to clearly define its aims and objectives. Detailed background information should be obtained regarding the specific case and the person to be interviewed (i.e. witness). The interviewer needs to know well in advance the points which she/he needs to prove or clarify, and possible ways of achieving this. Equally important is assessing what evidence is available and from where it can be obtained. Preparing the mechanics of the interview (stationery, exhibits, location etc.) should also be taken into account.

Engage and Explain

For many experts, this is the most crucial and influential phase of the interview, where the key theme is rapport building. Each interviewee needs to be treated as an individual, with their own needs, fears and expectations; it is a known fact that people will start disclosing information when they feel at ease and not threatened in any way. Hence, the secret often lies on whether a trust relationship will be formed between the two parties. Since interviewing entails the interviewer and interviewee interacting closely with each other, it is only natural that the success of the interview depends heavily on mutual trust and cooperation. Research has shown that rapport building approaches increase correct responses without increasing incorrect information. In addition, the investigators need to explain the format and procedures to be followed throughout the interview, as well as outlining the reason(s) the interviewees have been called in to give their statement.

²⁶ Ray Bull, *Investigating the Truth: Selected Works of Ray Bull*, (London: Routledge, 2019)

Account

This is the stage in which the interviewee's recollection of the event(s) in question is obtained, and the aim is to achieve the fullest possible account without interrupting their recounting of events. The investigator can use techniques to encourage the interviewee's attempt to recall (i.e. Cognitive Interviewing), and when necessary they can expand on and clarify the witnesses' account. Research has shown that open ended questions do, indeed, achieve the best quality and greatest amount of information. If required, the interviewer can use other evidence in order to challenge any weaknesses or inconsistencies in the account given as well as exploring possible reasons for such inconsistencies. It is a good idea that the interviewer summarises and recounts what the witness has said at each stage so that both parties have an agreed understanding of what has taken place.

Closure

During this stage it is very important that all involved parties understand what has happened in the interview as well as what will follow in the future. It is imperative to give the interviewee the chance to add on what they have already said or ask any questions they might have regarding the procedure. In addition, the investigator needs to ensure that all preplanned themes have been covered; if not, they can always go back to the account phase and either ask more questions or expand on the responses already being given. The closing phase is as important as any other of the models' phases, and therefore it has to be ensured that nothing is rushed.

Evaluation

At this final stage, the interview and all material that came from it should be evaluated fully. Investigators need to consider whether the aims and objectives of the interview have been achieved. Following that, decisions must be made about whether a further interview is required or whether other lines of inquiry need to be pursued. In addition, it can also be determined how the interviewee's account fits in with the rest of the investigation's available evidence (i.e. other witnesses' statements, crime scene evidence etc.). Last but not least, evaluation helps investigators to improve their interviewing skills, and hence reflect on possible improvements for the future.

It is important to note that the interviewer's own social, communication and personality skills are very important for a successful application (and eventual outcome) of the proposed information gathering model. The following traits are significant in the interviewer: the open-mindedness of the interviewer (not starting from

a pre-determined position, how willing the interviewer is to listen to the witness), the attitude of the interviewer towards the witness (particularly important in the case of informants), and the interviewer's flexibility (the need to be interviewer, confidant and counsellor at the same time, how able the interviewer is to change his/her attitude to suit the witness' behaviour / attitude). The interviewer should also be able to express any ideas and/or pose questions to the witness in an appropriate way, as well as being responsive to the needs of the witness.²⁷

'The detectives know inherently that without rapport you will not get much information and subsequently research has shown their judgment was right. Only when you have established rapport and are talking meaningfully do you then begin to focus on getting an account relevant to the investigation; so you have planned, you have engaged, you then get an account',²⁸ Professor Ray Bull.

According to the UK College of Policing, witnesses should be interviewed in accordance with the PEACE model: 'Interviewers must treat all witnesses with sensitivity, impartiality and respect for their culture and rights, while maintaining an investigative approach.'

The Cognitive Interview

'Standardised and evidence based interview practice means that the police are less likely to see their evidence challenged in court. Judges and juries are better able to reach the correct verdict as a result of more reliable evidence and suspects are less likely to be wrongly accused. Overall it means we can all have greater confidence in the fairness and effectiveness of criminal justice',²⁹ Professor Amina Memon.

Interviewing is the major fact-finding tool law enforcement uses to obtain information, reliably establish the facts, and up to a certain degree, ascertain the veracity of statements. The interviewer seeks to obtain the interviewee's recollection of the events with the aim of being given the fullest possible account. Research in police interviews had, over the years, identified a number of problems relating to the interviewee accounts; often, they contained information, which was incomplete, at times they were hesitant or inconsistent, and the person (i.e. witness) would often

²⁷ David Walsh, Ray Bull, *The Association Between Interview Skills, Questioning and Evidence Disclosure Strategies, and Interview Outcomes* (2015), 21, 661-680, *Psychology, Crime and Law*

²⁸ The Psychologist (BPS), *United Nations may Recommend PEACE Approach*, (2016) 29, p. 896-901

²⁹ Economic and Social Research Council (ESCR), *Protecting Vulnerable Witnesses*, June 2017

say what they thought the interviewer wanted to hear. Thus, there was a pressing need for a reliable investigative interview procedure.

To assist memory recollection as well as enhancing the quality of witnesses' and victims' reports, the Cognitive Interview (CI) was developed by Fisher and Geiselman.³⁰ The theoretical basis for the CI model was extensive memory research on two important principles: first, there are several retrieval paths to memory for an event, and hence, if information is not recovered via one type of retrieval cue/technique, it may be accessible with another technique.

Second, is the encoding specificity principle which states that memory is improved when information available at encoding is also available at retrieval; thus, recall of an event is maximised when the retrieval conditions (such as context) duplicate the conditions that were present when the memory was originally formed.

The CI consists of four individual techniques which are described below:³¹

Context Reinstatement

The mental reinstatement of context consists of asking the witnesses to mentally recreate the event in question, and their physiological, cognitive and emotional state at the time of the crime. The investigator asks interviewees to reconstruct in their minds the context, both physical (features of the surrounding environment) and personal (for example how they felt or what they were thinking at the time) features of the event.

For example: 'I want you to close your eyes and think back to that day. Think about what you saw, what you heard, and how you were feeling. Take your time and when you are ready tell me everything you remember at your own pace.'

Report Everything

The witness is asked to report everything remembered about the incident and all surrounding circumstances. The investigator has to make it clear that no matter how small the details or unimportant they may seem, they need to be reported. For example: 'I need you to tell me everything that you remember, even if it seems unimportant, or if you only remember fractions of it. Every little piece of information could help us'. Hence, everything that comes into the interviewee's mind needs to

³⁰ Edward Geiselman, Ronald Fisher, *Interviewing Victims and Witnesses of Crime*, 1985, National Institute Justice Research Brief

³¹ Ronald Fisher, Edward Geiselman, *Memory-Enhancing Techniques for Investigative Interviewing: The Cognitive Interview*. (Charles C Thomas, Publisher, 1992)

be conveyed, because even the smallest or seemingly irrelevant information can make a difference and become a crucial part of the investigation.

Change Order

The witness is asked to recall the events in a variety of chronological sequences, such as from beginning to end, reverse order, forward or backwards from particular points. They can make a number of retrieval attempts from different starting points in their account. The interviewer could say, for example, 'Let us start from the last thing you remember' or 'I would now like you to tell me again about the event but this time backwards'.

Change Perspective

The witness is now asked to consider the event from a different perspective, from the point of view of someone else who was present at the scene. The investigator asks the witness to put themselves in the shoes of another person who was also present at the incident in question, for example: 'We are going to try another technique which may help your memory, but do not guess at the information, just report what you saw. Go through the event again, but this time in the shoes of {...}, think about where she/he was'.

Enhanced Cognitive Interview (ECI)

The CI has been the subject of extensive research, and is used by many law enforcement organisations worldwide for the interviewing of cooperative interviewees, mainly witnesses and victims. Over time, improvements to the model were made, resulting in the development of the Enhanced Cognitive Interview (ECI)³². The ECI includes procedures to develop rapport, put the interviewee at ease and allow the interviewee to provide an uninterrupted narrative of their experience before various aspects are clarified by the interviewing officer. It involves nine phases, each of them contributing to the success of the whole interview, these are listed below:

Phase 1: Greet and Rapport

At this opening phase of the interview, interviewers should introduce themselves and set an informal tone, where the witness will feel comfortable and at ease. Em-

³² Paulo Rui, Pedro Albuquerque, Ray Bull, *The Enhanced Cognitive Interview: Expressions of Uncertainty, Motivation and its Relation with Report Accuracy*, (2015), 22 (4), *Psychology. Crime and Law*, p.1-31

pathy should be shown (throughout the interview) and rapport building with the interviewee is of utmost importance.

Phase 2: Explain the Aims of the Interview

Focused retrieval and transfer control of the interview to the interviewee. The interviewee has to be reminded that she/he needs to take his/her own time, to concentrate hard and report everything, but avoid any guessing or fabrications.

Phase 3: Initiate a Free Report

Context reinstatement and uninterrupted free report of the witness' account of events. Open ended questions can be used and non verbal behavior can be also observed.

Phase 4: Questioning

The interviewer can now ask questions based on the witness' free account at the previous stage. The report everything principle should be repeated here, and the interviewee should be reminded that it is absolutely fine if they do not remember something or if they are not able to know the answer to a specific question.

It is important to use interviewee/witness compatible questioning, which means that the questions asked should be based on the order that the witness remembered the event and not based on predetermined questions drafted by the interviewer.

Phase 5: Varied and Extensive Retrieval

The reverse order recall as well as the change perspective technique are used here. The interviewer should take the time to explain the reason(s) for using such techniques, as they might, at first, seem, confusing to the witness. In addition, focusing on different senses, i.e. sound or smell, could also help with retrieval, and depending on the individual cases they could be used accordingly.

Phase 6: Investigative Important Questions

This stage was introduced by Rebecca Milne³³ because it was recognised that it may be necessary during the interview to introduce information that is important to the investigation but has not already been mentioned by the interviewee. The reason these questions and/or information are introduced at this later stage, is mainly to

³³ Rebecca Milne, *The Enhanced Cognitive Interview - a Step-by Step Guide*. Unpublished Training Manual

avoid leading the witnesses, as well as allowing them enough time and space (beforehand) to provide whatever information they think they have.

Phase 7: Summary

Near the conclusion of the interview process the investigator should summarise what has been reported by the witness and inform them that they can add or correct where needed.

Phase 8: Closure

It is important to close the interview in a positive mood and leave the witness with an optimistic impression. The interviewer should gradually return to more neutral, rapport building topics, and thank the witness for his/her cooperation and patience. Any questions the witness may have can be addressed here, as well informing them about any future procedures.

Phase 9: Evaluation

It is always useful and constructive for interviewers to revisit the interviews and examine, amongst other things, whether the set scopes have been achieved, and how the information obtained fits in with other relevant evidence on the case. In addition, they can evaluate their performance, see what they did well, if the used techniques worked, what did not work and why, etc. This final stage of ECI also highlights the importance of recording all investigative interviews, as it is the only way one can go back and revisit what the specific witness/suspect/victim has said.

A large number of lab-based studies and a smaller number of studies involving use of the CI in police forces have shown that, compared to standard interviews, the CI does increase the amount of information gathered. It has to be noted, however, that the effectiveness of the CI depends heavily on adherence to procedures and training. In practice, it is more often the case that police officers only use certain parts of the cognitive interview such as establishing rapport, report everything, witness compatible questioning, and context reinstatement. It is certainly a specialised technique which requires skills (acquired through training) and time, and this could be one of the reasons police officers do not always use the method in its full form. Perhaps, the real challenge would be to successfully transfer these skills and techniques into the field.

Conclusion

Currently, most investigative interviews are conducted by practitioners whose guidance comes mainly from hands-on experience, with minimal formal training on the subject. Scholars argue that researchers (such as cognitive and social psychologists) can contribute to the process, mainly by developing new theoretically informed methods of interviewing.³⁴

It is important to note that investigative interviewing techniques, such as the PEACE model and the CI should not be seen as a magic wands or a recipe with a fixed set of questions and instructions, but rather as a toolbox of techniques, some of which will be used in any specific interview. Furthermore, many of these techniques will have to be adapted to meet the demands of the specific interview, as each interviewee is different and so are his/her needs.

Each witness and situation will call for a slightly different approach for conducting an investigative interview, and thus it requires learning and practice to ensure that high standards are achieved and maintained.

Of course collaboration between scientists and practitioners benefits both disciplines and our understanding of investigative interviewing at large, as both bring unique perspectives to the task of interviewing witnesses.

Police and researchers are increasingly working in partnership to produce evidence-based techniques. In most cases practitioners and academics agree on what constitutes best practices, but field studies of police interviews (especially where the officers have not received any training, supervision, or feedback) have shown that most real-life interviews still contain many undesirable practices.³⁵

Hence, one can appreciate the important role of specialised training, as it is an integral part of ensuring effective law enforcement and focused investigation procedures. Sometimes the training to interview witnesses is overlooked and suspect interviewing receives much more attention (training wise), but the last few years this has started to change and the need for productive interviewers is recognised as critical to society in general. Relevant research has indeed revealed that trained

³⁴ Aldert Vrij, Lorraine Hope, Ronald Fisher, Eliciting Reliable Information in Investigative Interviews, (2014) 1 (1) Policy Insights from the Behavioral and Brain Sciences, p. 129-136

³⁵ Peter Molinaro et al., *Train-the-Trainer: Methodology to Learn the Cognitive Interview*, (2019), 16 (1), Journal of Investigative Psychology and Offender Profiling, p. 32-43

interviewers used more desirable practices than their untrained counterparts, and so the outcome of those interviews can only be more productive.

The guidelines and training products in some countries (i.e. the UK)³⁶ make it clear that, for interviewing skills to grow and improve, interviewers need to receive training at the appropriate level, accompanied by regular feedback on real life interviews, and supervisors need to be trained to provide that ongoing feedback. Similar practices and guidelines could be adopted in Cyprus. The training of police officers on investigative interviewing and its application in real life interviews should be followed up and supervised accordingly. The development of a specialised manual, such as a Memorandum of Good Practice on how to conduct investigative interviews (with witnesses, suspects and victims) could set out standard operating procedures (SOP's) to be followed. In the cases of witnesses, this would cover all phases of the investigation, from identifying and contacting the witness, to developing and implementing a witness interview strategy, as well as establishing a set of guidelines on how to approach reluctant, significant or hostile witnesses and how to provide witness support and preparation before and during the trial.

In addition, the recording of police interviews is also a significant issue. It is widely acknowledged that recording the interview on audio or video media has many important advantages for the police. While notes will need to be taken during the interview (ideally by a second interviewer and not the lead interviewer), their purpose is to enable a structured approach to seeking clarification on issues arising from or challenging the interviewee's account during questioning. The interviewer cannot take a complete record and will also have their attention partly on what the suspect continues to say and how they are behaving.

Furthermore, an electronic record provides verbatim evidence of what is said and cannot be disputed. It allows the interviewer to concentrate more on actively listening to the witness' or suspect's account and encouraging disclosure. The recording itself can later be reviewed by officers and may help identify points initially missed in the interview and that need to be followed up.

The recording not only clarifies any dispute, it also provides a level of protection for police officers regarding the conduct of the interview, as it may furnish the evi-

³⁶ Ministry of Justice (UK), *Achieving Best Evidence in Criminal Proceedings: Guidance on Interviewing Victims and Witnesses, and Guidance on Using Special Measures*, March 2011

dence necessary to refute any malicious or unfounded allegations of abuse',³⁷ stated by Michael Boyle, Jean Claude Vullierme.

This is another recommendation that Cyprus could adopt, and even though there are legislation issues (in regards to the recording of the interviews), this is considered best practice in many countries and the benefits do outweigh the limitations. At the moment the testimonies of children are being video recorded, but perhaps, it should also be considered for the cases of adults (significant witnesses and suspects).

Another point equally important to stress is how the identity parades / lineups are taking place. Research has shown that it is not a good idea to place the witness in direct contact with the suspect, as it can cause high levels of stress and anxiety to the witness. Ideally, the witness must view the identification parade from behind a one way mirror to avoid subsequent victimisation by the identified person. Even though there are other forms of identity parade, such as videos or photographs of suspects, it is the identification where suspects are physically present that has proven to demonstrate improved identification.

Finally, police should remember that being a witness is not always an easy task, and sometimes the personal costs can be significant. As Ord, Shaw and Green state,³⁸ 'Witnesses may have to give up a significant amount of their personal time by being interviewed and providing a witness statement. They may later be required to attend a court or tribunal, often in such circumstances in which they may feel they have been given less consideration than the accused. Witnesses may also have to: confront the accused person; give evidence in the presence of the offender's relatives and supporters; face the accused, his/her friends or family after the proceedings are complete; feel responsible for any subsequent punishment of the alleged offender'. Witnesses need to feel supported and protected; their role is indispensable in the justice system and their testimonies often form the cornerstone to many criminal investigations.

³⁷ Michael Boyle, Jean Claude Vullierme, *A Brief Introduction to Investigative Interviewing: a Practitioner's Guide*, Council of Europe (October 2018, p. 17)

³⁸ Tracey Green, Brian Ord, Gary Shaw, *Investigative Interviewing Explained*, (LexisNexis Butterworths: Australia, 2004, p.56)

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Balancing for Profit: The Republic of Cyprus' Grand Strategy in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea

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Abstract

This piece seeks to map and critique the Republic of Cyprus' grand strategy in recent years by focusing on the ways its Foreign Policy Executive has sought to counterbalance Turkey through a polythematic and proactive approach. This approach is based on extensive alliance-building efforts and an attempt to act as a link between the EU and the Middle East. This shift in the island's foreign policy was enabled by Turkey's breakdown of relations with Israel and Egypt and on the prospect of profit emanating from the region's hydrocarbons. The analysis is made through a new concept in the International Relations (IR) theory; balancing for profit. Based on a Neoclassical Realist Foreign Policy and using Stephen Walt's balance of threat theory as a starting point, offshore natural resources are viewed as a structural modifier that has altered the parameters of strategic interaction in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea, enabling the Republic of Cyprus to engage in a proactive foreign policy driven by the prospect of common profit.

Keywords: Neoclassical Realism, hydrocarbons, offshore natural resources, Eastern Mediterranean, Republic of Cyprus, foreign policy, Israel, Greece, structural modifiers

Introduction²

In recent years the Foreign Policy (FP) of the Republic of Cyprus (RoC) has witnessed important changes leading it from a position of historical uneasiness with the West to the position of an EU member state. Simultaneously, the geopolitical

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² It should be noted that segments of this piece have evolved from the MSc dissertation of one of the authors at the London School of Economics and Political Science.

locus in which the RoC is situated, namely the Eastern Mediterranean Sea has witnessed important hydrocarbon discoveries, illustrating the region's potential to become an energy hub. The RoC attempts to take advantage of these discoveries both within and outside its Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) at an international level by constructing deepening relationships with other energy-rich states in the region aimed at providing a counterbalance to Turkey. Through trilaterals with Israel and Egypt, its geostrategic position, energy reserves and the historically close ties with states in the Eastern Mediterranean Cyprus attempts to act as a link between the Middle East and the EU.

This foreign policy shift has not altered the main objectives and axis of Cypriot FP. These are none other than a solution to the Cyprus problem that will include the removal of Turkish military forces from the island and the international non-recognition of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), a breakaway republic established by the Turkish Cypriots in the Turkish-controlled part of the island. What has changed is the way in which the Cypriot Foreign Policy Executive (FPE) seeks to achieve those objectives. Instead of simply focusing on the illegality of the occupation, which is based on UN Security Council Resolutions, the Cypriot FPE has employed a polythematic approach. In specific, Cypriot diplomacy has been actively engaging with other actors on a range of issues and not just the Cyprus problem. This has elevated the island-state's stature, which in turn helps the Cypriot FPE to promote Greek Cypriot positions on the Cyprus problem at the international level. The aim of this piece is to illustrate the aforementioned, and to present, analyse and critique the Cypriot FPE's grand strategy based on secondary material and interviews with senior members of the Cypriot FPE.

Simultaneously, this paper is an exercise in International Relations (IR) theory. It seeks to account for the impact of offshore natural resources in alliance building. Their impact has so far been largely underestimated by Realist IR scholars who view them primarily as a form of 'latent power' that could eventually be transformed into military force.³ Although this is true, natural resources, within an anarchic international system, have the capability to modify the system's structure at a regional level, changing the parameters of strategic interaction within a regional environment. Based on this, natural resources can act as *structural modifiers*. This piece seeks to partly fill this gap within the literature by focusing on the impact of

³ J.J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001).

offshore natural resources like oil or hydrocarbons on a regional level. We specifically seek to illustrate that offshore natural resources can help a small and weak state to *balance* in the face of a rising hegemon.

This runs contrary to the view of Walt and Schweller. Both argued that a weak state should *bandwagon* – align itself with the aggressor – or perish, since no state would seek to form an alliance with it due to its limited capabilities.⁴ Nonetheless, the existence of offshore natural resources within the vicinity of the weak state allow it to *balance for profit*, provided that its FPE take the appropriate measures to generate profit. The fear that a revisionist state could gain these resources leads other states to balance with the weak state whilst increasing the possibility of profiting from these resources. Furthermore, their existence is not only affecting the regional level, but also the unit level by pressuring the weak state – the party whose survival is threatened to the greater extent - to alter its grand strategy and exploit this opportunity. Subsequently, the offshore nature of these resources creates the impetus for military cooperation due to the need for the provision of search and rescue.⁵ Through increased interaction, allies may enhance and deepen their relationship, approximating the effect of a formal military alliance.⁶ The key challenge for the small state is to exploit this opportunity by monetising these resources swiftly in a mutually beneficial way for itself and its partners. Such a development will allow for a deepening relationship and cooperation.

This work uses a Neoclassical Realist (NcR) theoretical framework to construct and illustrate the effect of balance for profit that emanates from the effect of offshore natural resources as a structural modifier. Balancing for profit has as its starting point in Walt's (1987) balance of threat theory and should be understood as a modification of this theory. This piece begins with a section on methodology followed by a literature review. Moving on, the theoretical framework of this piece is presented along with the balance for profit concept that will enable the deciphering of the RoC's grand strategy. Subsequently, the RoC's grand strategy and its alliance building efforts in the Eastern Mediterranean will be presented and critiqued.

⁴ See S.M. Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987) and R. L. Schweller (1994), "Bandwagoning For Profit: Bringing the Revisionist State Back In", *International Security* 19, No. 1, p. 72.

⁵ Search and Rescue (SAR) is the search for and provision of aid to people who are in distress or imminent danger

⁶ The definitions for the terms *alliance*, *grand strategy* and *alignment* follow the definitions offered by Walt discussed in the 'Theoretical Framework' section of this piece.

Methodology

This section outlines the qualitative mixed methods approach guiding this work, starting with its 'soft positivist' epistemology and the process tracing procedure that followed. We then focus on the semi-structured elite interviews undertaken for the assessment of the Cypriot FPE, explaining their goals, their limitations and the ways in which we have overcome these limitations.

'Soft Positivism' posits itself between the hard positivism of theorists who brought models of theory, building and testing from the natural to the social sciences, and the critical and post-positivist theorists who view the social sciences as incapable of providing prescriptive policy formulations to policymakers.⁷ Epistemologically, soft positivism falls within the family of Cartesian dualist philosophies of science. It contends that there is an objective material world that the immaterial mind can understand and grasp through careful experimentation and examination of case studies. Nonetheless, soft positivists contend that the prescriptive powers of their theories are limited to the scope conditions of their examined case studies and are in many cases victim to the subjectiveness of the available material in connection to the selected case study.⁸ They thus opt for a careful selection of case studies and their examination through a *process tracing* method to assess the effectiveness of the chosen causal mechanism i.e. a structural Realist theory.

Process tracing entails generating and analysing data connected to the 'causal mechanisms, or processes, events, actions, expectations and other intervening variables, that link putative cases to observed effects'.⁹ This approach seeks to understand the link between cause and effect by an in-depth case study examination.¹⁰ Its goal is to assess the impact of the causal mechanism on the outcome by first breaking this process into smaller steps and then looking for empirical evidence verifying those steps. Within the NcR framework, it involves the selection of an appropriate Realist baseline as the independent variable. As Ripsman et al. have argued, the first crucial step in NcR theory building begins with the choice of an appropriate

⁷ N.M. Ripsman et al. *Neoclassical Realist Theory of International Politics* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 105-7

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 107.

⁹ A. Bennett and A.L. George, 'Process Tracing In Case Study Research', Last modified 1997, https://www.uzh.ch/cmsssl/suz/dam/jcr:00000000-5103-bee3-0000-000059b16b9d/05.19.bennett_george.pdf:5.

¹⁰ S.V. Evera, *Guide To Methods For Students Of Political Science*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997) p. 64.

Realist baseline that the researcher can clearly identify beforehand, empirically verify and explain a category of international events i.e. alliances.¹¹ In this case, we assume the international system, its structure, and the structural modifiers affecting it, to be our independent variable. By testing this theory and others on the case study in question, one can illustrate its limits as a causal mechanism. In turn, with the utilisation of intervening variables and the re-examination of the nature of the independent variable, a new causal mechanism fit to explain the observable phenomenon in question can be derived.

The material consulted for the selected case study is primarily derived from secondary sources. In many cases, these do not seek to answer the questions posed by this work or by NcR theories in general. To alleviate this limitation as much as possible, we conducted fieldwork in Cyprus for a period of three weeks between June and July 2018, organising four elite interviews with members of the Cypriot FPE. The aim of those interviews was to understand the Cypriot FPE's strategic culture, grand strategy and how the existence of hydrocarbons within Cyprus's EEZ has affected this grand strategy and Cyprus' outlook towards the region. Due to the specific aims of these interviews a semi-structured form was chosen that allowed them to be targeted whilst leaving open the possibility of specific questions, allowing us to further explore certain facets of their responses.

Finally, the main challenges of conducting elite interviews (gaining access, establishing rapport and acquiring trust) were overcome because of our previous employment as research interns in the Cypriot Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), enabling us to gain access and establish rapport.¹² For this, we also utilised participant observation methods, as both participant-observers, as well as complete observers.¹³ Having first-hand experience in research within specialised divisions of the MFA, we were able to reflect on our findings whilst conducting fieldwork, obtaining a better understanding of key foreign policy and diplomatic functions of the state, as well as the actors involved.

¹¹ Ripsman et al, 2016, pp. 114-18.

¹² R. Mikecz, (2012) 'Interviewing Elites', *Qualitative Inquiry*, Vol.18, No. 6, pp. 482-484.

¹³ H. Becker and B. Geer, (1957) "Participant Observation and Interviewing: A Comparison", *Human Organization*, Vol. 16, No. 3, pp. 28-29. See also L.M. Baker, (2006) 'Observation: A Complex Research Method', *Library Trends*, Vol. 55, No.1, p. 177.

Literature Review

There is a gap on the literature on Cypriot grand strategy that we seek to address. Primarily, the issue here is twofold: (a) does Cyprus, as a small state whose military capacity in relation to other bigger states is lacking, is in need of a grand strategy, and (b) do shifts in grand strategy bring more merits or problems for Cypriot foreign policy? We define grand strategy as a state's ability to operate within political, diplomatic, economic, military and non-military means in asserting power and statecraft to pursue their political objectives successfully, with security among its top priorities.¹⁴ In responding to the first question, grand strategy gives direction and contributes to foreign policy and a sense of security formulation. A major problem to Cypriot security is that Cyprus has never released a comprehensive report or other document that outlines its national security strategy. This limitation itself questions the very principle and concept of grand strategy. Nonetheless, do not argue that grand strategy is synonymous to a state's national security strategy, the latter being a plan that explicitly sets out a political agenda on security. Rather, grand strategy on its own is a framework whereby security objectives not constrained by specific decision-making outcomes are met in the long run.¹⁵ Therefore, Cyprus is in need of a grand strategy that acts as a theoretical tool that complements foreign, defence, and security strategy.

In answering the second issue within this body of literature, we turn to external actors that have a strategic presence in the region. Examples of strategical shifts that have affected the balance of power in the Middle East and the Eastern Mediterranean fall under the shortcomings of the US grand strategy. First and foremost, the United States as a hegemon in the Eastern Mediterranean under the Obama administration produced a grand strategy that has allowed the state to reformulate a sense of national identity in world politics, repositioning itself better within the political environment.¹⁶ Obama, for instance, would at times launch operations in

¹⁴ P. M. Kennedy (1991) 'Grand Strategies in War and Peace: Toward a Broader Definition' in Kennedy, P.M. (ed.) *Grand Strategies in War and Peace* (New Haven: Yale University Press) p. 1-10. See also Gray, C.S. (2007) *War, Peace and International Relations: An Introduction to Strategic History* (New York, NY: Routledge) p. 1 and B. R. Posen (1984) *The Sources of Military Doctrine: France, Britain, and Germany between the World Wars* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), p. 13.

¹⁵ A.G. Platias and K. Koliopoulos (2010) *Thucydides on Strategy: Grand Strategies in the Peloponnesian War and their Relevance Today* (London: Hurst Publishers).

¹⁶ G. Löfmann (2019) 'From the Obama Doctrine to America First: The Erosion of the Washington Consensus on Grand Strategy', *International Politics*, doi.org/10.1057/s41311-019-00172-0

Libya and Syria, on the one hand, whereas on the other hand, he would withdraw troops in Iraq – all incidents taking place in 2011.¹⁷

The Trump administration, however, in failing to produce a comprehensive grand strategy, resulted to the weakening of US hegemony in the region.¹⁸ The power vacuum generated, then, highlighted new challenges. For example, it has granted other countries such as Turkey a free hand in the region. This is evident in Turkey's actions in Syria, as well as the way it challenges Cyprus over its very own Exclusive Economic Zone.¹⁹ Simultaneously, the lack of a coherent US grand strategy has pushed Turkey closer to Russia, with the example of Turkey buying the S-400 missile system.²⁰ This shows that Turkey does not respect its NATO commitments, highlighting the decline of US hegemony. Moreover, the United States is not the only country that collaborates with Cyprus in the region. Rival countries such as the Russian Federation and China have drawn closer to Cyprus on economic cooperation.²¹ Taking both reasons into account, we understand Cypriot grand strategy as a tool that complements foreign policy. As such, the RoC utilises grand strategy in order to accomplish its long-term security and foreign policy objectives. External actors in the region also shape and re-direct the way Cyprus responds in addressing its security concerns. The decline of US grand strategy, then, also affects developments in the region.

The literature regarding Cyprus within international affairs is focused at two distinct yet interconnected directions which are pertinent to the topic of this piece. The first is linked to the Cyprus problem and the ongoing attempts to provide a solution to this protracted frozen conflict. Within this literature the most recent trend, which is also the most relevant to this article, is linked with the capacity of Cyprus' hydrocarbon resources to become a catalyst for the solution of the Cyprus problem. The second line of growing literature is linked to the shifting geopolitical

¹⁷ P. D. Feaver, H. Brands, R. F. Lissner, and P. Porter (2019) 'The Establishment and US Grand Strategy', *International Security*, Vol. 43, No. 4, p. 198.

¹⁸ G. Löfmann (2019)

¹⁹ G. M. Winrow (2016) 'The Anatomy of a Possible Pipeline: The Case of Turkey and Leviathan and Gas Politics in the Eastern Mediterranean', *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 5, pp. 441-442.

²⁰ S. J. Frantzman (2020) 'Russia Ships 120 Missiles to Turkey for S-400 System' Available at <https://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Russia-ships-120-missiles-to-Turkey-for-S-400-system-614784>

²¹ R. Pedi and I. Kouskouvelis (2019) Cyprus in the Eastern Mediterranean: A Small State Seeking for Status' in Litsas, S. N. and Tziampiris, A. (eds.) *The New Eastern Mediterranean: Theory, Politics and States in a Volatile Era* (Cham: Springer), p. 160.

environment in the Eastern Mediterranean and the trilateral partnerships and synergies in which Cyprus is involved along with Greece, Israel and Egypt. Although both portions of literature offer nuances and glimpse into Cypriot FP in the last decade, the material dedicated to Cypriot FP and its grand strategy is very limited in nature.

Apart from these two portions of literature, it should be noted that since the country's EU accession much work has been done by James Ker-Lindsay on the apparent shift in Greek Cypriot FP.²² Ker-Lindsay's starting point is Cyprus' Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) membership as the main axis of Cypriot FP prior to EU accession. However, since Cyprus' membership in the EU meant the termination of Cypriot NAM membership, Ker-Lindsay has rightly argued the island-state can act as the EU's 'lighthouse' in this turbulent region, linking the EU and the Middle East.²³ The problem herein lies in the fact that these pieces are currently dated and do not take the hydrocarbon factor into account which, as it will be argued later, has allowed Cyprus to elevate its stature both in the region and within the EU. It was also the hydrocarbons that enabled the Cypriot FPE to pursue Ker-Lindsay's prescribed strategy of Cyprus acting as a link between the EU and the Middle East. In the words of Foreign Minister Christodoulides, 'energy acted as a catalyst, which allowed us to discuss a range of other issues with other states in the region.'²⁴

For several scholars and politicians, these hydrocarbon discoveries within the Cypriot EEZ can also act as a catalyst in the efforts for a solution to the Cyprus problem. Their argument follows the logic of Liberal IR theorists who have long argued that in conditions of international anarchy, cooperation is possible through economic interdependence and global trade.²⁵ Despite this optimism, Keohane and Nye warn that even in conditions of economic interdependence tensions may rise due to the scarcity of resources.²⁶ Nonetheless, a growing number of liberal scholars and politicians have promoted the idea that natural resources can resolve

²² J. Ker-Lindsay, (2008) 'Europe's Eastern Outpost: The Republic Of Cyprus And The Middle East', *The Round Table*, Vol. 97, No. 397. See also J. Ker-Lindsay, (2010) 'Shifting Alliance: The External Orientation of Cyprus Since Independence', *The Cyprus Review*, Vol. 22, No. 2, p. 68, and J. Ker-Lindsay, 'Membership and Foreign Policy', in J. Ker-Lindsay, H. Faustmann, and F. Mullen (eds.) *An Island In Europe: The EU And The Transformation Of Cyprus* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), pp.113-115.

²³ Ker-Lindsay, 2008.

²⁴ Nicos Christodoulides, Interviewed by the authors, Nicosia, June 2018.

²⁵ R.O. Keohane, (1977) *After Hegemony*, Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, p. 6. See also R.O. Keohane and J.S. Nye, *Power And Interdependence* (Boston, MA: Little Brown, 1977).

²⁶ Keohane and Nye, 1977, pp. 9-11.

international conflicts. The rationale is that the need for stable markets, low oil prices and access to natural resources can lead to interstate cooperation over the control and exploitation of these raw materials.²⁷ The UN realising the centrality of resources in many conflicts has incorporated these insights into its conflict resolution strategies.²⁸

Employing this logic on the Cyprus problem, liberal arguments have primarily focused on the possible economic benefits from hydrocarbon exploitation for both Turkey and Cyprus. This, in turn, should motivate them to resolve the conflict.²⁹ Since the cheapest monetisation option for these natural resources would be a pipeline from the Eastern Mediterranean through Turkey to Europe, this should provide the necessary impetus for a solution. Negotiations have persisted over the years but to no avail. What these analysts miss out, something that should have been apparent if they followed the counsel of Moravcsik to 'take preferences seriously', is that the preferences of the negotiating parties and their respective societies are not aligned.³⁰ The mutual insecurity that persists between the two sides, fuelled by an age-long mistrust between Greeks and Turks, heightens the security dilemma. Greek Cypriots would not accept a solution that will keep Turkish troops and intervention rights on the island, while Turkish Cypriots and Turkey are not willing to sign any solution

²⁷ Z. Mikdashi, *The International Politics Of Natural Resources* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1976), p. 118. See also D. Chapman and N. Khanna, (2006) 'The Persian Gulf, Global Oil Resources, and International Security', *Contemporary Economic Policy*, Vol. 24, No. 4, p. 511 and S. Dinar, 'Resource Scarcity and Environmental Degradation: Analyzing International Conflict and Cooperation', in S. Dinar (ed.) *Beyond Resource Wars: Scarcity, Environmental Degradation, and International Cooperation* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2011), pp. 10-11.

²⁸ UNEP, *From Conflict to Peacebuilding: The Role of Natural Resources and the Environment* (Nairobi: United Nations Environmental Programme, 2009), pp. 6-9.

²⁹ A. Antreasyan, (2013) 'Gas Finds in the Eastern Mediterranean', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 3. See also H. Dabouche et al, 'Eastern Mediterranean Gas: What Kind of a Game-Changer', *The Oxford Institute for Energy Studies*, 2012, <https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/NG-71.pdf>, and M. Bryza (2014), 'Israel-Turkey Pipeline Can Fix Eastern Mediterranean', *Bloomberg*, <http://www.bloombergview.com/articles/2014-01-20/israel-turkey-pipeline-can-fix-eastern-mediterranean>.

³⁰ A. Moravcsik (1998), 'Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory Of International Politics: Erratum', *International Organization*, Vol. 51, No. 4, pp. 513-515. On public preferences regarding the Cyprus Problem, see M. Loizou, "Δημοσκοπήση: Η Άποψη Των Πολιτών Για Εξελίξεις Στο Κυπριακό | News", *Sigmalive.Com*, Available at <http://www.sigmalive.com/news/kypriako/385773/dimoskopisi-i-apopsi-ton-politon-gia-ekselikseis-sto-kypriako>, and V.L. Morelli, 'Cyprus: Reunification Proving Elusive' (Washington D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2018).

that does not guarantee such provisions.³¹ In continuity, the persistence of the conflict reinforces the ontological security – the security of their collective identity that places the opposing side as the significant ‘Other’ leading to key normative and material consequences - of both sides in this conflict and the existence of hydrocarbons in this dilemma for the moment seems to heighten rather than ease the tensions.³²

The second portion of literature follows the teachings of the Realist School of thought within IR and is founded upon variations of the balance of power concept. This literature is primarily concerned with the trilateral alignment between Greece, Cyprus and Israel and is not solely dedicated to Cypriot FP and its goals. Aristotle Tziampiris argues that the Greece-Cyprus-Israel alignment has limited military value and uses *soft balancing* to characterise it.³³ Soft balancing concerns the employment of ‘international institutions, economic statecraft and diplomatic arrangements’ to balance against a hegemon by complicating, increasing the costs or delaying a policy enacted by the hegemon.³⁴ Tziampiris argues, based on extensive interviews with Greek and Israeli officials, that Greece does not expect Israeli help in a confrontation with Turkey in the Aegean, while the Israelis should not expect Greek help in a war with Iran.³⁵ ‘Greece and Israel embarked upon extensive bilateral cooperation that fell short of an alliance’, in his words.³⁶ Similarly, Zenonas Tziarras described this as a ‘comfortable quasi-alliance’ because of the minimal military component of this relationship making it less formal and more flexible.³⁷ Emmanuel Karagiannis also employs a balance of power argument to explain the alignment between Greece, Cyprus, Israel and Egypt by offering an overview to the shifting geopolitical environment in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea.³⁸

Although these pieces offer relevant insights to the scope of this work, none of them explicitly deals with the grand strategy of Cypriot FP in recent years. The only

³¹ Ibid.

³² On Ontological Security in IR see J. Mitzen, (2006) ‘Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma’, *European Journal of International Relations* Vol. 12, No. 3.

³³ A. Tziampiris, *The Emergence of Israeli-Greek Cooperation* (New York, NY: Springer International PU, 2014), pp. 164-166.

³⁴ R. A. Pape, (2005) ‘Soft Balancing Against the United States’, *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 1.

³⁵ Tziampiris, 2014, pp. 164-166.

³⁶ Ibid, p. 166.

³⁷ Z. Tziarras, (2016) ‘Israel-Cyprus-Greece: A “Comfortable” Quasi-Alliance’, *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol. 21, No. 3, pp. 383-385.

³⁸ E. Karagiannis, (2016) ‘Shifting Eastern Mediterranean Alliances’, *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 1-3.

piece within the literature that makes such an attempt is a recent contribution to an edited volume by Tziarras. Utilising a NcR approach, Tziarras illustrates the more proactive nature of Cypriot FP in the 2010s which in his view has been enabled primarily by the systemic opportunity arising by the breakdown of relations between Turkey and other regional states like Israel and Egypt since 2010.³⁹ This systemic opportunity was exploited by the Cypriot FPE through the construction of the trilaterals, which, Tziarras rightly characterises as not fully-fledged alliances.⁴⁰ Although he attributes an element of importance to natural resources in his analysis, he does not view them as a systemic element of the international environment, something which this paper seeks to illustrate. The regional imbalances of power provided an important opportunity for the RoC since Israel and Egypt now viewed Turkey as a threat.⁴¹ Nonetheless, the construction of the trilaterals was significantly aided by the hydrocarbon potential of the region which acted as a structural modifier that altered the parameters of strategic interaction to the RoC's favour. Hydrocarbons and the necessity to exploit them prompted the Cypriot FPE into action making it understand the potential arising from the geopolitical opportunity presented by Turkey's aggressive stance in the region as well as the RoC's position as an EU member state.

All of the aforementioned works are part of a growing literature that deals with the reconceptualization/reconceptualisation of the Eastern Mediterranean Sea as a distinct geopolitical space. Although this area is not usually considered as a separate region within Area Studies or IR, in recent years more and more analysts have sought to change that.⁴² In theoretical terms, for example, Adamides and Christou understand the Eastern Mediterranean as a new Regional Security Sub-Complex (RSC).⁴³ The triangle between Cyprus and Israel, which are part of two different RSCs, and Turkey (the insulator state that sits on the periphery of two regions)

³⁹ Z. Tziarras, 'Cyprus' Foreign Policy in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Trilateral Partnerships: A Neoclassical Realist Approach' in Z. Tziarras (ed.) *The New Geopolitics of the Eastern Mediterranean: Trilateral Partnerships and Regional Security*. Re-imagining the Eastern Mediterranean Series: PCC Report, No. 3 (Nicosia: PRIO Cyprus Centre, 2019).

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 61.

⁴¹ Ibid, pp. 57-58.

⁴² C. Adamides and O. Christou, 'Beyond Hegemony: Cyprus, Energy Securitisation and the Emergence of New Regional Security Complexes', in S.N. Litsas and A. Tziampiris (eds.) *The Eastern Mediterranean In Transition: Multipolarity, Politics and Power* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 181-183. See also Tziarras, 2016, 411.

⁴³ Adamides and Christou, 2016, p. 182.

forms a new RSC. It is also a region of constant regional tension that links Europe and the Middle East with the hydrocarbon discoveries, increasing the geostrategic importance of the region. The authors of this work believe that this effort will allow us to gain analytical insight into the developments in this geopolitical space and believe that this piece can add to the debate.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of this work rests upon NcR, which shares three core assumptions with other Realist theories. Firstly, the international system is state-centric, where secondly, the international system is anarchic because there is no global government to enforce its will upon states. This in turn leads to constant insecurity within states. Hence, states, in their effort to survive they need to accumulate material power, primarily military force.⁴⁴ NcR distinguishes itself from Structural realism, which assumes that states can respond to systemic imperatives optimally by mobilising the necessary resources and forming the necessary alliances.⁴⁵ NcR, unlike Structural realism, does not view the state as a 'black box' that acts as a rational unitary actor. As Ripsman et al. point out, Waltz does not take into consideration the economic and societal environment the FPE operates in.⁴⁶ For a state to function in the way Waltz would expect it, a consensus among the FPE and key societal actors should exist regarding the need to counter the perceived threat.⁴⁷ On the contrary, if there is disagreement between the state and key societal actors, the state has less autonomy to counter this threat.⁴⁸

As Waltz acknowledged, his Structural Realist theory is not fit for foreign policy analysis.⁴⁹ NcR seeks to take up Structural realism's inability by providing a foreign policy analysis framework that has Structural realism as its starting point by accepting that a state's foreign policy decisions are a response to systemic stimuli. The exact nature of the response to the pressures of the international system, NcR argue, is not predetermined but filtered through a set of domestic interven-

⁴⁴ Ripsman et al, 2016, pp. 14-15.

⁴⁵ K.N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, (Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill, 1979), p. 95, 118.

⁴⁶ Ripsman et al, 2016, pp. 24-5.

⁴⁷ S. E. Lobell, 'Threat Assessment, the State and Foreign Policy: A Neoclassical Realist Model', in S.E. Lobell (ed.) *Neoclassical Realism, The State and Foreign Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ K.N. Waltz, (1996) 'International Politics Is Not Foreign Policy', *Security Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 54-57.

ing variables. These may include the perception of the international environment by the FPE, state-society relations, strategic culture and the nature of the state's domestic institutions. Consequently, unlike most Structural Realist theories that assume rationality, NcR approaches rationality with scepticism since this 'distorting variable' between the FPE and the international system affects the FPE's ability to act rationally. In turn, the framework recognises that there is no perfect 'transmission belt' between the relative distribution of power and a state's foreign policy decision-making.⁵⁰

Based upon the methodological approach of this work that follows the prescription of Ripsman et al. on the construction of a NcR Theory, this section consists of two parts. The first part outlines Stephen Walt's *Balance of Threat* theory. 'Balance of Threat' acts as the Structural Realist baseline for the theoretical concept proposed in this work – balance for profit- in according to Ripsman et al's NcR theory building process. The second sketches the parameters of the proposed 'balance for profit' concept. Key notice is given to the concept of structural modifiers that modify the effects of the system's structure in the regional space of the Eastern Mediterranean.

The Structural Realist baseline: Balance of Threat

Walt's balance of threat forms our Structural Realist baseline. It fits the preconditions set by Ripsman et al. since it is clearly an identifiable, empirically verifiable theory, as Walt's analysis of Middle Eastern alliances between 1955 and 1979 highlights, and can explain the formation of alliances, a category of international events. Walt argued that states do not necessarily balance against power, which is the distribution of military capabilities, but they balance threat. In this section we illustrate the key assumptions and nuances of Walt's theory.

Walt broke with the prevalent tradition within Realist IR theory by arguing that history does not really support the claim that states necessarily balance against power.⁵¹ He argues that due to the existence of various definitions for the concept itself there is no clear understanding of how it operates and aids alliance construction. Pointing to the works of Morgenthau, Liska and Schroeder, which he singles out as the most important within the literature, Walt illustrates how balance of

⁵⁰ G. Rose, (1998) 'Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy', *World Politics*, Vol. 51, No. 1, p. 147.

⁵¹ Walt, 1987, p. 6-8.

power theorists lack any systematic hypothesis testing.⁵² He also breaks with the traditional definition of an alliance as a pact in the form of a treaty aimed at providing security. Instead, he terms alliances and alignment as:

*'a formal or informal relationship of security cooperation between two or more sovereign states. This definition assumes some level of commitment and an exchange of benefits for both parties; severing the relationship or failing to honour the agreement would presumably cost something, even if it were compensated in other ways.'*⁵³

His rationale is explained by the fact that the US and Israel, for instance, do not have an alliance treaty between them.⁵⁴ Subsequently, Walt understands a state's grand strategy as a theory that seeks to explain how it can cause security for itself. These definitions are followed in this work.

He subsequently outlines his own balance of threat theory. For Walt, states balance against another state that is perceived as an existential threat. He agrees that the aggressor state's overall power, the backbone of balance of power, is vital in determining whether a state is a threat.⁵⁵ Nonetheless, he also points out to the importance of geographic proximity, the aggressor's offensive capabilities, and their offensive intentions. If two states are bordering each other, conflict is more likely to happen since their ability to project power on each other is greater due to the lack of geographical distance. Therefore, alliances are more likely to be constructed against bordering powers. For example, the inability of the European Great Powers to check the US rise, especially, after the end of the American Civil War and before the onset of World War I is owed largely to the inability of European powers to project their power across the Atlantic.⁵⁶ This also showcases the importance of offensive capabilities since the European powers lacked the offensive weaponry to effectively check the US ascendance during this period.⁵⁷ If a state can inflict considerable damage against its adversary and thus threaten their territorial integrity

⁵² H.J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations* (Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 1993). See also G. Liska, *Nations in Alliance* (Baltimore, MA: Johns Hopkins Press, 1962), p. and P.W. Schroeder, (1977) 'Quantitative Studies in The Balance of Power', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 21, No. 1.

⁵³ Walt, 1987, p. 1.

⁵⁴ Ibid, pp. 12-13.

⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 5.

⁵⁶ Ripsman et al. 2016, pp. 41-43.

⁵⁷ Ibid, pp. 41-43.

and sovereignty, then it becomes more threatening.⁵⁸ Therefore, it leads others to balance against it. Finally, if a state is perceived as 'aggressive' by its neighbours then this will lead them to balance against it.⁵⁹

Walt eventually reaches to the conclusion that *balancing*, not *bandwagoning* is the more common behaviour for states within the international system. On the other hand, bandwagoning is restricted to 'weak and isolated states'.⁶⁰ Bandwagoning is supposedly stronger when the 'threat' has shown its ability to 'compel' through military force. Reaching the same conclusion, albeit in a different manner, Randall Schweller argues that small states should and would bandwagon in the face of a growing threat because aligning with a rising hegemon would allow them to share the spoils of victory.⁶¹ Nonetheless, Cyprus' defiance of Turkey, highlighted by the insolvability of the Cyprus problem, renders Walt's assumption problematic. Why does the Cyprus not bandwagon with Turkey? To answer this question, historically one can point out to the strategic culture of Cyprus post-1974. Even so, one should also understand the effect of *structural modifiers*, specifically, offshore natural resources like oil and hydrocarbons, within a regional environment. The existence of these offshore natural resources allows Cyprus to *balance for profit* and withstand Turkish pressures.

Structural Modifiers and Balance for Profit

Although NcR's conception of the international system is closely interconnected with the Waltzian conception of the international system, it is not entirely identical. Scholars have identified several non-structural systemic factors that modify the effect of the system's structure. For Waltz, 'structure' is defined by the relative distribution of capabilities and the ordering principle of the international system – anarchy.⁶² These structural modifiers, which include geographical proximity, the offence-defence balance and the rate of technological diffusion modify the system's structure by alternating the effects of anarchy and the relative power distribution, thus, influencing the external behaviour of units within the international system.⁶³

⁵⁸ Walt, 1987, p. 25.

⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 26.

⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 263.

⁶¹ Schweller, 1994.

⁶² Waltz, 1979, pp. 91-99.

⁶³ For a general discussion on structural modifiers see Ripsman et al., p. 39-43. See also Glenn H. Snyder, 'Process Variable in Neorealist Theory', in B. Frankel (ed.) *Realism: Restatement and Renewal* (London: Frank Cass, 1996), pp. 173-193 and B. Buzan, 'Beyond Neorealism: Interaction Capacity',

Nonetheless, unlike the early work on structural modifiers which viewed their effects as system-wide, this work and its theoretical hypothesis on the effect of natural resources as structural modifiers follows the position of Ripsman et al.'s, which considers them as material in nature and not necessarily system-wide in effect.⁶⁴ To them, these non-structural systemic elements modify the effect of the system's structure on the 'parameters of strategic interactions and the likely external behaviours of individual units'.⁶⁵ However, these constraints and opportunities rarely pertain to the whole system. Physical distance, for instance, which in turn leads to the loss-of-strength gradient and the existence or lack of topographical barriers -making borders indefensible - affects the regional security environment, not the whole system.⁶⁶ Nonetheless, natural resources, an attribute of geography have not been examined as a structural modifier.

Within the Realist canon natural resources have been treated as 'latent' power.⁶⁷ Latent power is the 'raw potential' of a state based on its economic capabilities and manpower that can be subsequently transformed into military power.⁶⁸ Taliaferro is the only Realist who has hinted to the impact of 'raw materials' or natural resources as a structural modifier.⁶⁹ His analysis, however, was focused primarily on the impact of the offense-defence balance. Nonetheless, the existence of natural resources within a regional environment has the capacity to modify the system structure's by altering the pattern and context of strategic interactions between regional actors at the systemic level and to grand strategic adjustment at the unit level.

The existence of natural resources within a regional environment has the capacity to modify the system structure's by altering the pattern and context of strategic

in B. Buzan, C. Jones, and R. Little (eds.) *The Logic Of Anarchy: Neorealism to Structural Realism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993) and S.V. Evera, *Causes of War: Power and the Roots of Conflict* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999) and J.S. Nye, (1988) 'Neorealism and Neoliberalism', *World Politics*, Vol. 40, No. 2.

⁶⁴ Ripsman et al., 2016, pp. 39-43.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 41.

⁶⁶ J.M. Mearsheimer, 2001, p.114-128. See also H. Mouritzen, 'Past Versus Present Geopolitics: Cautiously Opening The Realist Door to the Past', in A. Freyberg-Inan, E. Harrison, and P. James (eds.) *Rethinking Realism In International Relations: Between Tradition and Innovation* (Baltimore, MA: John Hopkins University Press, 2009). and H. Mouritzen and M.R. Olesen, (2010) 'The Interplay of Geopolitics and Historical Lessons in Foreign Policy: Denmark Facing German Post-War Rearmament', *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 45, No. 4.

⁶⁷ J.M. Mearsheimer, 2001, pp. 55-56.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ J.W. Taliaferro, (2010) 'Realism, Power Shifts, and Major War', *Security Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 4, p. 131.

interactions between regional actors at the systemic level and to grand strategic adjustment at the unit level. Depending on the regional environment, offshore natural resources like hydrocarbons can lead to the exacerbation of tensions or to increased cooperation.⁷⁰ In essence, this highlights that the existence of natural resources can alter a state's perceptions and strategic culture *vis-à-vis* another regional actor. This happens for two reasons:

- (1) *The prospect of profit*: Potential allies through the exploitation of these natural resources can construct an alliance that would otherwise be perceived as futile against a rising regional hegemon. Profit may not necessarily result just from access to the resources but most importantly by the way these resources will be monetised, which could also provide strategic gains. For instance, a common pipeline can allow joint profits as well as an increasing leverage for the alliance *vis-à-vis* the hegemon and other actors.
- (2) *Hindering the revisionist state*: The formation of an alliance and the exploitation of the natural resources means that the allies can hinder an aspiring hegemon from exploiting these resources. As we have seen above, these resources are a latent power that could become a military force, and eventually used against them.

This concept could help us understand how the protection and exploitation of a common offshore resource can lead to the creation of strategic partnerships and even alliance-building. Since it is founded upon an understanding that offshore natural resources are a structural modifier affecting the parameters in which interaction is taking place within a regional sub-system, the existence of these resources can shift a state's grand strategy at the unit-level. In turn, it can alter perceptions and norms governing the prevalent strategic culture that will make alignment even more possible.

The limits of this alliance are affected by the extent to which this relationship is profitable for all parties involved. If the strongest powers involved cease to have considerable profit from it, then is quite likely that they will also cease to have a stake in keeping this security relationship. Furthermore, the rate by which this security relationship is deepened can be aided by several other parameters. These include trade deals or representation of the interests of the parties involved in key

⁷⁰ Adamides and Christou, 2015, p. 181.

international forums and organisations like the EU. Additionally, increased contact between people of two states can help further a military and economic partnership.⁷¹

The offshore nature of these resources provides another key facet illustrating why this cooperation is not merely a trade relationship. It has the potential to transform into a military pact. Under international law, to disavow any claims by third parties in a state's declared EEZ, the provision of search and rescue within this EEZ is needed.⁷² Although the effect of international law in alliance building is minimal, it is a useful pretext under which two or more states can begin their military cooperation through joint search and rescue operations, adding a semblance of legality to their actions. As Major Hadjipavlis argues, search and rescue is needed to promote the sentiment of safety and to demonstrate the state's forces presence around offshore drilling sites.⁷³ Additionally, it is the 'softest' type of military cooperation in the broad form of security forces. This could become the first step in a common security relationship with these natural resources as the main reference point.⁷⁴ An example of how this security relationship might be formed is the ongoing cooperation between Cyprus and France in terms of naval training exercises, as well as new projects international vendors have shown interest in over search and rescue, such as project MARI-Sense, where the Ministry of Defence is a partner institution.⁷⁵ Since the allied states need to be able to have a certain level of interoperability to conduct joint operations, investment in common military research and development (R&D) projects is highly likely, especially if one of the parties has an advanced military industry. These developments gradually lead to a deepened security relationship that can be understood as a balance for profit with the aim of exploiting and securing the natural resources in question. The next section elaborates further on how this deepened security relationship is established.

⁷¹ R. Moelker et al, (2007) 'Sympathy, the Cement of Interoperability', *Armed Forces & Society*, Vol. 33, No. 4, pp. 498-499.

⁷² United Nations, *United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea* (New York, NY: United Nations, 1982), p. 56. See also Irimi Papanicolopoulou, (2016) 'The Duty to Rescue at Sea, In Peacetime and in War: A General Overview', *International Review of The Red Cross*, Vol. 98, No. 902.

⁷³ Major (AF) Panagiotis Hadjipavlis interviewed by the authors, Nicosia, June 2018.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ B. Hadjioannou (2020) 'Cyprus, France Hold Joint Search and Rescue Exercise (Photos)' Available at <https://in-cyprus.com/cyprus-france-hold-joint-search-and-rescue-exercise-photos/>. For further information regarding 'MARI-Sense', see also www.marisenseproject.net

The Evolution of Greek Cypriot Grand Strategy: From the Non-Aligned Movement to Balancing for Profit

For someone to grasp Cyprus's strategic culture and grand strategy, they must first come to terms with the importance of the 1974 Turkish invasion. The invasion ended a turbulent period of intercommunal and intracommunal conflict, leaving the island split in two with the Turkish Cypriots forming an internationally unrecognised state in the North, the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' in 1983.⁷⁶ In the invasion's aftermath Cypriot FP gradually transformed because of the clear systemic threat in the face of Turkey and the societal changes caused by the invasion. The ethnic exchange of populations between Cyprus and the Turkish controlled areas led to a purely Greek Cypriot state. National unity was also aided by the incorporation of the anti-government paramilitaries within the political system by 1978, who understood that unification with Greece was unachievable. This led to further political stability. The Greek Cypriot society and state from that point onwards were united behind their perception of a Turkish threat. This 'exogenous shift in power' led to consensus between the FPE and important societal actors.⁷⁷ In addition, the invasion cemented the withdrawal of the Turkish Cypriots from government. This was hugely important for the state's FP decision making process because the only significant hurdle for the FPE, the veto from the Turkish Vice president, was lifted. The Cypriot FPE, personified by the Republic's President, has had since then a largely free hand in conducting its FP approximating that of a rational actor.

Cypriot FP post-1974 has been concerned with the solution of the Cyprus problem. To achieve this with favourable terms to the Greek Cypriot side, Cyprus needs to counterbalance Turkey. As Ambassador Stavrinou noted, the Cyprus problem is a matter of 'national survival' for Cyprus.⁷⁸ This is reiterated by Minister Christodoulides and other government officials who point that the only way in which Cyprus would be able to gain lasting security, would be through a solution of the Cyprus problem that removes any Turkish troops and intervention rights.⁷⁹ The Cypriot National Guard, in accordance to this strategy, operates with the aim of

⁷⁶ Ioannides, C. P., *Realpolitik in the Eastern Mediterranean; from Kissinger and the Cyprus crisis to Carter and the lifting of the Turkish arms embargo* (Pella Publishing, New York, 2001).

⁷⁷ Lobell, 2009, pp. 64-5.

⁷⁸ Ambassador Michalis Stavrinou interviewed by the authors, Nicosia, July 2018.

⁷⁹ Interviews with Minister Christodoulides and Ambassador Stavrinou.

countering the Turkish forces on the island.⁸⁰ It is key to note that the National Guard is always headed by a Greek general, highlighting the interconnection between the Cypriot and Greek militaries.⁸¹ This also serves to point out that a common strategic culture between Greece and Cyprus has emerged in which Turkey forms the significant 'Other'.

Another key aspect of the Cypriot grand strategy is to remain the only internationally recognised entity on the island, a status which is threatened by the declaration of the TRNC. So far, the TRNC has only been recognised by Turkey with the UN Security Council clearly stating that the act was illegal. The NAM was an important tool in achieving this goal and preventing TRNC's secession since most Sunni Muslim and Arab states, the group thought to be the greatest danger for TRNC recognition due to Turkey's predominant Sunni Muslim population, were members of the movement and would side with Cypriot interests.⁸² Although leaving the NAM meant that Cypriot links with those states run the risk of losing their importance it was believed that Cyprus would be able to maintain these relationships whilst the weight of the EU bloc would prevent any state apart from Turkey from recognising the TRNC.⁸³

Moreover, although the aim of this grand strategy, a favourable solution to the Cyprus problem has not changed since 1974, the means and processes by which this would be achieved have drastically shifted because of the country's EU accession in 2004 and most importantly the discovery of hydrocarbons within the Cypriot EEZ. From the 1990s onwards, realising the limited potential of the NAM, the Cypriot FPE began to change course seeking to become a member of the EU.⁸⁴ In Christodoulides' words, 'we became EU members to solve the Cyprus Problem... without realising the potential that this membership offered us'.⁸⁵ Up to that point Cypriot FP was 'monothematic' catering for the Cyprus Problem and Turkey, but this changed and hydrocarbons 'facilitated this shift'.⁸⁶

Hydrocarbons allowed Cyprus to increase its defence cooperation in the region and beyond, reinforcing its position within the EU and the Eastern Mediterranean.

⁸⁰ Interview with Major Hadjipavlis.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ker-Lindsay, 2011.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 69.

⁸⁵ Interview with Minister Christodoulides.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

an Sea. This was achieved through a 'polythematic' FP approach that is not solely rested on the Cyprus Problem, Cyprus is ultimately seeking to become a 'supplier of security not a consumer of security'.⁸⁷ In this capacity the Cypriot FPE by exploiting the contacts with regional players like Israel, Egypt and Lebanon that came to the fore when the need to demarcate the country's EEZ arose, sought not to just interact with those players regarding the Cyprus Problem or hydrocarbons but to engage with them on a wide range of issues ranging from technological cooperation to terrorism. Cyprus offered the opportunity to those players to have a regional partner that was also an EU member-state who could voice their concerns within the bloc. Simultaneously, Cyprus with its newly found role as the link between the EU and the Middle East, has been able to elevate its importance within the organisation.⁸⁸ A case, Minister Christodoulides at the request of his Jordanian counterpart raised on the issue of the protests in the Arab country during the Foreign Affairs Council of the EU in May 2018. Similarly, the Egyptian leadership has thanked Cyprus for representing Egyptian interests within the EU.⁸⁹

However, the most important aspect of this proactive FP approach is linked with the alliance-building attempts of the Cypriot FPE in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea. Ambassador Stavrinou, who was closely associated with the demarcation of the Cypriot EEZ and the strategy to be followed regarding the hydrocarbon exploitation, highlighted that the aim was to 'attract firms within the Cypriot EEZ that would not necessarily make the best offer in financial terms, but the ones that could involve states that could counter Turkish pressures'.⁹⁰ These choices were made with a 'geostrategic criterion'.⁹¹ This point was also raised by Yiorgos Lillikas, former Minister of Commerce and Industry and Minister of Foreign Affairs in President Papadopoulos' cabinet.⁹² In essence, the Cypriot FPE focused on creating security relationships in the region that would allow it to exploit its hydrocarbon potential, particularly after 2012 where the island's economy and banking system took an unprecedented hit and hydrocarbons were seen as a way out of the stalemate. These security relationships would deter Turkey from obstructing the hydrocarbon

⁸⁷ Anonymous Government Official interviewed by the authors, Nicosia, July 2018.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Stockwatch, (2019) 'President Sisi Thanks Cyprus', Available at <https://www.stockwatch.com.cy/en/article/politika/president-sisi-thanks-cyprus>.

⁹⁰ Interview with Ambassador Stavrinou.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Yiorgos Lillikas, interviewed by the authors, Pafos, December 2015.

exploration and exploitation efforts of the Cypriot state. Given Cyprus' limited military and economic power, instead of offering military assistance to construct these relationships, the Cypriot state would offer the prospect of profit. It would, thus, create balances with profit being the initiating and central element of these security relationships.

Commenting upon the aforementioned, Minister Christodoulides argued that the Cypriot FPE is 'completely Realist in its foreign policy' seeking to create partnerships based on common interests.⁹³ He argues that despite its importance, international law is not enough to solve global disputes or lead to strategic alliances. Cyprus acknowledges that it lacks the hard power to stand up to Turkey or the comfort of employing a monothematic, zero-sum game FP.⁹⁴ Instead, by slowly constructing important partnerships with European and regional states Cyprus has increased its defensive cooperation. It has become an ardent supporter of Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) and EU defensive cooperation.⁹⁵ This is clearly showcased by its decision to participate in and promote PESCO projects, which deal with a Joint EU Intelligence school and the creation of new land battlefield missile systems.⁹⁶

The hydrocarbon discoveries pushed Cyprus to demarcate its EEZ, which in turn brought it into contact with Egypt, Lebanon and Israel. This need allowed the Cypriot FPE to establish cordial relationships with Israel and Egypt, two states with which its relationships were not always rosy. Simultaneously, these relationships as well as the state's newly found mission as a link between the EU and the Middle East have allowed Cyprus to play a constructive role in the region that has elevated its stature whilst keeping Turkey at bay for the time being.

Balancing for Profit in Action: The Trilaterals

The aim of the following section is to illustrate the effects of this grand strategic shift from the NAM to a *Realpolitik* influenced by the country's EU membership and the

⁹³ Interview with Minister Christodoulides.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid. See also K. Lavinder, (2019) 'Greece & Cyprus Build New EU Intelligence School', South EU Summit, Available at <https://www.southeusummit.com/europe/greece-cyprus-build-new-eu-intelligence-school-while-other-southern-eu-countries-collaborate-on-drones-missile-systems-and-under-water-defence/>.

⁹⁶ 'Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) Updated List of PESCO Projects - Overview - 19 November 2018', (2018) Available at <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/37028/table-pesco-projects.pdf>.

recent hydrocarbon discoveries. This section will delve into the two most important trilateral partnerships constructed by Cyprus along with its Greek counterpart, and with Israel and Egypt respectively. In accordance to our theoretical framework and its Structural Realist baseline, this work will begin with an examination of how Turkey is seen as a threat by all of the aforementioned parties. Moving forward, we will look at the nature of the trilaterals with Greece, Israel and Egypt as well as the increasing cooperation with France in the defence and energy sector. These developments illustrate the capacity of Cyprus, a small state, to balance for profit in the face of a rising regional hegemon.

Turkey as a Threat

Based on Walt's definition, Turkey is a threat for Cyprus, Greece, Israel and Egypt within the Eastern Mediterranean Sea. Turkey is geographically adjacent to Greece, sharing a land border and many Greek islands which are only a few kilometres away from Turkey's coast. Turkey has troops in the Northern part of Cyprus with its Southern coast being roughly 70 km away from the island.⁹⁷ Although Israel and Egypt are situated more than 800 km away from Turkey, the deployment of Turkish troops in Iraq and Syria during the Syrian Civil War along with the Turkish navy's increasing activity in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea, make Turkey threatening to the position of Israel and Egypt in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea and the Middle East in general.⁹⁸

In aggregate power terms, Turkey has the second largest army in NATO, a population of more than 80 million people and a top 20 economy in GDP terms. Furthermore, it has been investing heavily in its own military industry with the aim of becoming self-sufficient by 2023.⁹⁹ It has been able to produce advanced weapon systems like the Altay Main Battle Tank, the T-129 attacking helicopter and is a co-producer of the fifth generation F-35 fighting jet (Ibid; 272, 276).¹⁰⁰ These developments along with the fact that Turkey has the third largest fleet in NATO and 1,018 military aircraft, signify its offensive capabilities.¹⁰¹ However, the most

⁹⁷ Y. Gursoy, 'Turkey', in H. Meijer and M. Wyss (eds.) *The Handbook of European Defence Policies And Armed Forces* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 161-164.

⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 161-165. See also F.Ö. Yeni, (2013) 'Thinking Beyond TAP: Turkey's Role in the Southern Energy Corridor', *LAI Working Papers*, Vol. 13, No. 32, pp. 9-10.

⁹⁹ Ç. Kurç, (2017) 'Between Defence Autarky and Dependency: The Dynamics of Turkish Defence Industrialization', *Defence Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 3, p. 261.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, pp. 272, 276.

¹⁰¹ Gursoy, 2018, p. 171.

important military development in connection to the Eastern Mediterranean's hydrocarbon potential is the build-up of the Turkish navy under the 'Blue Homeland' dogma with the aim of enhancing its abilities and power projection.¹⁰² The recent military drill under the same name undertaken by the Turkish naval force included naval drills in concurrently in three theatres – the Aegean, the Black Sea and the Eastern Mediterranean. This highlights the aim of Turkish military planners to establish Turkey as the predominant naval force in the region. This aim is interlinked with the region's hydrocarbon potential, which according to Cem Güdeniz, the former head of the Turkish navy, is one of the key pillars of the Turkish grand strategy in the 21st century.¹⁰³

The fourth aspect of a state's definition as a threat – offensive intentions – requires taking a closer look at Turkey's FP and history. Turkey and Greece share a turbulent history, to a large extent the modern Greek Self has been constructed with Turkey as its significant 'Other'.¹⁰⁴ Both Turkey and Greece have established themselves as modern nation states after wars with each other; the Greek War of Independence (1821-1927) and the Turkish War of Independence (1919-1923). The dispute over the Aegean is a recurring matter in the FP of the two states.¹⁰⁵ This antagonism has reached its climax in recent years with the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus and the presence of a 40,000-strong Turkish military contingent on the island. The prevalence the Greek Cypriots gained over the RoC in the aftermath of this invasion as well as the educational and cultural links that exist between Cyprus and Greece have allowed the establishment of a common identity and strategic culture between the two states with Turkey being the perennial aggressor in their thinking. Furthermore, the insistence of Turkey and the Turkish Cypriots to maintain a unilateral intervention right in Cyprus, along with the presence of Turkish troops is perceived as a threat by most Greek Cypriots and the Greek and Cypriot governments.¹⁰⁶ Although for much of the Justice and Development Party's (AKP) time in power, its FP was dictated by the 'zero problems with neighbours' doctrine and its position

¹⁰² Z. Tziarras, (2019) 'Οι «Δυσόμοσι Πόλεμοι» Και Η Άσκηση «Mavi Vatan»: Στρατηγική Κουλτούρα και το Νέο Στάδιο της Τουρκικής Στρατηγικής', *ELLAMEP*, Working Paper No. 103.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ H. Tzimitras and M. Hatay, (2016) 'The Need for Realism: Solving the Cyprus Problem Through Linkage Politics', *Centre on the United States and Europe at Brookings*, Turkey Project Policy Paper No. 9.

¹⁰⁵ Karagiannis, 2016.

¹⁰⁶ Morelli, 2018, pp. 24-26.

on Cyprus resembled that of the Kemalist military establishment.¹⁰⁷ In Davutoğlu's words, even 'if there was no Muslim Turk in Cyprus, Turkey is obliged to preserve a Cyprus Problem' since the island's geopolitical importance requires Turkey to maintain its presence there.¹⁰⁸

Although offensive intentions are apparent for Greece and Cyprus, the case is not so straightforward for Israel and Egypt. Concerning Israel, during the 1990s and the 2000s the two states enjoyed cordial relations.¹⁰⁹ However, after the success of the AKP to consolidate its power *vis-à-vis* the Kemalists within Turkey, the country altered its FP along Islamist and neo-Ottoman lines.¹¹⁰ During this period, Davutoğlu's 'strategic depth' doctrine served as the guiding principle.¹¹¹ Davutoğlu criticised the Western orientation of Turkish FP under the guidance of the Kemalist military establishment and called Turkey to exploit its vital geopolitical position and its status as 'the heir to the Ottoman Empire'.¹¹² This heritage highlights Turkey's potential to become the leading power within the Muslim world.¹¹³ Turkey's bid for hegemony in the Eastern Mediterranean was evident during the Arab Spring, when Erdogan aligned himself with the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt.¹¹⁴

Inevitably, the credentials to the leadership of the Muslim world are linked to a proactive stance in the Palestinian issue. Consequently, Turkey began to support the Palestinians and their cause, but the first critical breaking point between Ankara and Tel Aviv came with the Mavi Marmara incident and the death of Turkish

¹⁰⁷ I.T. Mazis, *Νταβούτογλου και Γεωπολιτική*, (Athens: Herodotos Publications, 2013), pp. 49-54.

¹⁰⁸ A. Davutoğlu, *Στρατηγικό Βάθος: Η Διεθνής Θέση Της Τουρκίας* (Athens: Poiotita Publications, 2010), pp. 178-179.

¹⁰⁹ U. Uzer, (2013) 'Turkish-Israeli Relations: Their Rise and Fall', *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 20, No. 1, p. 98-100.

¹¹⁰ M. Mufti, (2014) 'The AK Party's Islamic Realist Political Vision: Theory and Practice', *Politics and Governance*, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 34-36. See also S. Çağaptay, *The New Sultan*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2017) and W. Hale, (2016) 'Turkey's Domestic Politics, Public Opinion and Middle East Policy', *Palgrave Communications*, doi:10.1057/palcomms.2016.81.

¹¹¹ K. Dalacoura, "A New Phase in Turkish Foreign Policy: Expediency And AKP Survival", *Future Notes*, Vol. 4 (Rome: Istituto Affari Internazionali, 2017). Davutoğlu's foreign policy vision is outlined in A. Davutoğlu, 2010.

¹¹² Davutoğlu, 2010, p.33.

¹¹³ J.W. Walker, 'Turkey's Global Strategy – Introduction: The Sources of Turkish Grand Strategy – "Strategic Depth" and "Zero-Problems" in Context', in N. Kitchen (ed.) *IDEAS Report – Special Reports (SR007)* (London: LSE IDEAS, London School of Economics and Political Science, 2011).

¹¹⁴ Mufti, 2014, p. 36-38. See also I. Kouskouvelis and K. Zarras, (2019) 'Cairo and Riyadh, Vying for Leadership', *Middle East Quarterly*, Available at <https://www.meforum.org/57912/egypt-saudi-arabia-leadership>.

activists in the hands of the Israeli Defence Forces (IDF). The Israeli government was quick to brand the activists as terrorists and link them with the Turkish government, whilst the Turkish government condemned Israel in all available diplomatic forums.¹¹⁵ In Uzer's words, the 'incident and its aftermath marked the end of Israeli – Turkish relations'.¹¹⁶ This proved true during a short-lived rapprochement brokered by the Obama administration that was driven to a considerable extent by the prospect of a natural gas pipeline taking Israeli gas to Europe through Turkey.¹¹⁷ Nonetheless, for such a plan to materialise, a solution to the Cyprus Problem should be achieved since the pipeline would have to pass through the Cypriot EEZ.¹¹⁸ The Turkish response to the recent deadly Gaza Strip protests and Erdogan's fierce opposition to the US recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital have renewed the Israeli belief that Turkey seeks to jeopardise its position in the region by supporting Hamas and the Palestinians in general.¹¹⁹ The Israeli decision to support the creation of a Kurdish state an anathema for Turkey, highlights the severity of current Israel – Turkey relations.¹²⁰

The neo-Ottoman and Islamist turn taken by Erdogan's Turkey has also gravely damaged Turkish-Egyptian relations. Initially this turn did not pose a threat to this relationship, on the contrary it strengthened it since coincided with the Arab Uprisings of 2011 that led to the downfall of the long-time authoritarian leader Hosni Mubarak and the rise of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt.¹²¹ Given the role played by Islamic parties and entities in the aftermath of the revolution in Egypt, Erdogan received a hero's welcome in his three days state visit in Cairo in September 2011, highlighting the apogee of Turkish influence in the region on the backbone of Davutoglu's 'zero problems with neighbours' dogma. These relations seemed to become an organic link due to the electoral victory of the Muslim Brotherhood in the coming elections and the rise of Mohammed Morsi as Egypt's new President

¹¹⁵ Uzer, 2013, pp. 100-102.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, p. 102.

¹¹⁷ S. Effron, *The Future of Israeli-Turkish Relations* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2018), pp. 11, 34.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, p. 34.

¹¹⁹ BBC News, (2018) 'Turkey and Israel Clash Over Gaza Violence', *BBC News*, Available at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-43611859>.

¹²⁰ J. Heller, (2017) 'Israel Endorses Independent Kurdish State', Available at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-kurds-israel/israel-endorses-independent-kurdish-state-idUSKCN1B00QZ>.

¹²¹ K. Dalacoura, (2012) 'The 2011 Arab Uprisings in the Arab Middle East: political change and geopolitical implications', *International Affairs*, vol. 88, pp. 63-79.

meant that there was an ideological alignment between the Turkish and Egyptian governments.

However, the downfall of Morsi led to a break in Egypt-Turkey relations with President Erdogan leading the anti-Egypt bloc in support of the Muslim Brotherhood. The victory of General Sisi, the man who led the military during the coup against Morsi's government in the 2014 elections, worsened the fallout between Cairo and Ankara.¹²² The inflexibility showcased by the Turkish FPE regarding the change of leadership in Egypt in conjunction with the bid of taking over the reins of the Sunni Muslim world meant that Egypt, a predominantly Sunni Muslim state that has always seen itself as a leading Arab and Muslim state felt increasingly threatened by Turkish FP in the region.¹²³ Moreover, the personal animosity between President's Erdogan and Sisi did nothing to ease tensions instead it exacerbated them.

In general, Turkey is geographically proximate to Cyprus, Greece, Israel and Egypt, militarily strong and to varying extents it is perceived as a threat by all four parties. Additionally, Turkey has both the aggregate power and the offensive capabilities to back its bid for regional hegemony. It also has the ideational capital to challenge other regional players not only for hegemony over the Eastern Mediterranean Sea but of the Sunni Muslim world and the Middle East in general.

Alliance Building Efforts in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea

The fact that all these regional players perceive Turkey as a threat, albeit for different reasons and in different ways, does not immediately lead to alliance-building. Of course, the link between Greece and Cyprus is organic due to the common national identity and strategic culture. Nonetheless, this cannot be claimed for Egypt or Israel. After all, Cyprus as a small state has little to offer in any effort they made to counterbalance Turkey. Therefore, helping in the island's defence would not be in their interests. Moreover, relations between Israel and Cyprus were not always cordial, primarily due to the close relationship that Israel and Turkey enjoyed and the close links between Cyprus and the Palestinians.¹²⁴ In a similar manner, despite their common past as members of the NAM, Egypt and Cyprus did not always enjoy

¹²² Kouskouvellis and Zaras, 2019.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ N. Shaath, (2016) 'Old Friends? Palestine, Cyprus, and Greece', Available at <https://euobserver.com/opinion/132004>.

close relationships.¹²⁵ The aim of this sector is to briefly analyse these relationships, which currently fall short of military alliances but nonetheless have the potential to be further developed, particularly in their defensive aspect.

The key to the construction of these important partnerships lies in the break of Israel's and Egypt's relations with Turkey along with the prospect profit emanating from the region's potential of becoming an international energy hub. The discovery of hydrocarbons in the region pushed all parties, except Turkey, to come into contact with each other in order to demarcate their EEZs. This process of demarcating the Cypriot EEZ led the Cypriot FPE to gradually alter its perception of Israel and Egypt.¹²⁶ Hydrocarbons in this respect acted as structural modifiers by modifying the effects of the international system's structure and enabling Cyprus to change the patterns of its interaction with Israel and Egypt.

As we can see at the unit-level, these offshore natural resources acted as a systemic pressure, due to their effect on the system's structure, by inciting Cyprus to change its perception towards Israel and exploiting the change of leadership in Egypt. The Cypriot FPE's choice to involve Noble and Delek within its EEZ, two firms that had strong connections with the Israeli state and its own hydrocarbon exploitation illustrates this shift.¹²⁷ Furthermore, Cyprus and Egypt have signed an agreement in September 2018 for the construction of an underwater pipeline that would take Cypriot natural gas to the Egyptian LNG facility in Idku.¹²⁸ In this respect the Cypriot FPE was able to partly exploit the geopolitical opportunity presented by the break in Turkish-Israeli and Turkey-Egypt relations, taking steps towards increased cooperation not only in energy development but also *vis-à-vis* a common threat.

Additionally, a key development is the deepening ties in the realm of defense between Greece and Cyprus on the one side and Israel and Egypt on the other. The

¹²⁵ Cyprus Mail, (1978) 'Diplomatic Relations Between Cyprus and Egypt Broken Off After Fierce Gun Battle Between Egyptian Commandos and Cypriot National Guard at Larnaca Airport. Fighting Broke Out After Plane Carrying Hostages Returns to Cyprus', Available at, <https://cyprus-mail.com/2015/10/03/diplomatic-relations-between-cyprus-and-egypt-broken-off-after-fierce-gun-battle-between-egyptian-commandos-and-cypriot-national-guard-at-larnaca-airport-fighting-broke-out-after-plane-carrying-hosta/>.

¹²⁶ Interview with Major (AF) Hadjipavlis.

¹²⁷ Noble and Delek are oil firms.

¹²⁸ G. Psyllides, (2018) 'Cyprus, Egypt Sign Gas Pipeline Agreement' *Cyprus Mail*, Available at <https://cyprus-mail.com/2018/09/19/cyprus-egypt-sign-gas-pipeline-agreement/>.

acquisition of Israeli equipment by Greece and Cyprus, which increases the interoperability between the security forces of the three states highlights this effort from the part of Greece and Israel.¹²⁹ The three states have also conducted joint military exercises that have seen Israeli commandos in Cyprus.¹³⁰ This was the first time IDF land forces conducted exercises on foreign soil. Moreover, since 2011 the Hellenic and Israeli navies jointly participate in 'Noble Dina', the main exercise of the US navy in the Eastern Mediterranean.¹³¹ Finally, similar steps have been taken in the trilateral with Egypt through the signing of defensive cooperation agreements and the conduct in common military exercises.¹³²

Another crucial component is the ability of Cyprus to represent the interests of its two partners within the EU. Regarding Israel, the EU's desire to increase its own security autonomy could potentially deepen defence cooperation with Greece and Cyprus. In 2017 the EU activated PESCO which seeks to integrate the military forces of EU member states, allocating EUR13 billion much of which will go to R&D.¹³³ Israel's defence industry, which state-run firms, Rafael and IAI dominate, stands to profit from these developments since the programs are open to participation from third country firms.¹³⁴ Participation with an EU partner can help Israeli companies access these funds and subsequently penetrate the European defence market. In view of these developments, the ministries of defence of the three countries organised a joint summit in Nicosia in June 2019, bringing in the major defence industry firms from the three countries with the aim of exploiting this opportunity.¹³⁵ Con-

¹²⁹ Politis News (2017) 'Νέα Όπλα Για Την Εθνική Φρουρά', Available at <https://politis.com.cy/politis-news/kypros/nea-opla-gia-tin-ethniki-froyra/>. See also M. Hadjiconstantinou, (2018) 'Βουλή: Εγκρίθηκε Συμφωνία Leasing Επτά Μη Επιθετικών Drones Από το Ισραήλ', *News247.Gr*, Available at <https://www.news247.gr/politiki/voyli-egkrithike-symfonia-leasing-epta-mi-epithetikon-drones-apo-to-israil.6574301.html>.

¹³⁰ Cohen, 2016.

¹³¹ S. Corpsey, (2015) *U.S. Policy and The Strategic Relationship of Greece, Cyprus, and Israel: Power Shifts in the Eastern Mediterranean* (Washington, DC: Hudson Institute), pp. 39-44. For the official report on 'Noble Dina', see Hellenic Navy, (2018) 'Exercise "NOBLE DINA 2018"', Available at <http://www.hellenicnavy.gr/en/news/latest-news/item/10222-exercise-noble-dina-2018.html>.

¹³² E-Kathimerini, (2018) 'Greek, Egyptian, Cypriot Military Exercise to Start Friday', Available at <http://www.ekathimerini.com/234964/article/ekathimerini/news/greek-egyptian-cypriot-military-exercise-to-start-friday>.

¹³³ European Commission, (2018) 'Press Release – EU Budget: Stepping Up the EU's Role as a Security and Defence Provider', Available at http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-18-4121_en.htm.

¹³⁴ Greene and Rhynold, 2018, pp. 103-104.

¹³⁵ Republic of Cyprus Ministry of Defence – MoD, (2018) 'ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΑΜΥΝΑΣ – Ανακοινώσεις', Avail-

cerning Egypt, the trilateral allows Egypt to represent its interests within the EU, a bloc which has been critical of its human rights record.¹³⁶ Most recently, President Sisi thanked his Cypriot counterpart for his help in improving EU-Egypt relations and for the opportunity given to Egypt to participate in the EU-Arab League Summit, an event that in Sisi's word 'would not have been possible without Cyprus' contribution'.¹³⁷

The cordial relationships that Cyprus has developed with Egypt serve another important purpose for Cypriot FP; the non-recognition of the TRNC. Egypt is one of the leading Arab and Sunni Muslim states. By establishing and maintaining a strong relationship with Egypt the Cypriot FPE has a strong ally on its side in important Arab and Muslim forums like the Arab League and the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation where the issue of TRNC recognition could be raised.

Eventually, since Turkey is considered a threat by all four states, their common aim is to prevent it from tapping into the region's reserves and subsequently channel them to Europe through a Turkish pipeline. Such a development would critically strengthen Turkey's stature in the region allowing it to become an influential energy hub for the EU's energy security.¹³⁸ In this respect both Cypriot, Egyptian, Greek and Israeli officials have understood that to profit from their natural gas exports they would also have to prevent Turkish hegemony in the region. Therefore, the *prospect of profit* and the need to *hinder* Turkey have provided one of the key foundational cornerstones for the construction of these two ever-deepening relationships.

The Limitations of Cypriot Foreign Policy

Despite the proactive nature of Cypriot FP in the 2010s, the Cypriot FPE has not fully exploited the financial and political advantages offered by its balancing for profit grand strategy due to its delay in appropriately monetising its energy assets. The relative success of the trilaterals along with the decision of international firms

able at <http://www.mod.gov.cy/mod/mod.nsf/all/D9EC9DD979911175C22582B4003DF70C?opendocument>.

¹³⁶ See the European Parliament's resolution on the status of human rights activists in Egypt available at European Parliament, (2018) 'Joint Motion for a Resolution on Egypt, Notably the Situation of Human Rights Defenders', Available at http://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/RC-8-2018-0568_EN.html.

¹³⁷ 'President Sisi Thanks Cyprus',

¹³⁸ S. Fischer, (2018) 'Turkey and the Energy Transit Question', *Carnegie Europe*, Available at <http://carnegieeurope.eu/strategieurope/64382>.

to invest in the Cypriot EEZ have not prevented Turkey from launching its own gas exploration programme in the area and obstructing the efforts of the RoC and its partners.¹³⁹ Turkey's actions like the Turkish navy obstruction of ENI's drillship in February 2018 or the drillings of the Turkish vessel *Fatih* in May 2019 within the RoC's territorial waters have remained practically unanswered by the RoC's regional partners and the EU.¹⁴⁰ However, without creating the necessary financial incentives for the companies involved as well as Israel and Egypt by moving forward with a monetisation option that would benefit them, they would lack any incentive in defending the island-state's EEZ *vis-à-vis* Turkey since profit is rendered only when hydrocarbons are monetised. Of course, in the case of a military conflict with Turkey the stakes would be higher for Cyprus' defence and both states might opt out from defending it. However, the greater the stake they have in the Cypriot EEZ then the more likely is that Egypt and Israel would come to the aid of the island state.

In terms of monetisation, the Cypriot FPE currently has an array of options at its disposal.¹⁴¹ The first being the proposed East Med pipeline. Despite the political will exhibited by Greece, the RoC, Israel and Italy and the EU's support for the project, the cost and technical challenges involved make this scenario extremely difficult to come to fruition.¹⁴² As Charles Ellinas, the former head of the KRETYK, the predecessor to the Cyprus Hydrocarbons Company noted, 'the cost for the construction would be extremely high whilst the pipeline would have to pass through extremely deep waters in an earthquake prone area'.¹⁴³ Furthermore, the price of natural gas in the European markets, the final destination of the East Med pipeline, is very low compared to the growing East Asian markets due to competition with Russian natural gas.¹⁴⁴ Consequently, the profit margin for all the involved parties would be minimal, thus, reducing their stakes in maintaining a security relationship with the

¹³⁹ Daily Sabah, (2019) 'Turkey's Second Drillship Yavuz to Begin Hydrocarbon Exploration In Mediterranean Region', <https://www.dailysabah.com/energy/2019/03/04/turkeys-second-drillship-yavuz-to-begin-hydrocarbon-exploration-in-mediterranean-region>.

¹⁴⁰ R. Maltezou, (2018) 'Cyprus Accuses Turkey of Blocking Ship Again in Gas Exploration Standoff', *Reuters*, Available at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-cyprus-natgas-turkey/cyprus-accuses-turkey-of-blocking-ship-again-in-gas-exploration-standoff-idUSKCN1G71MF>.

¹⁴¹ An overview of this options is offered in A. Giamouridis, (2012) 'The Offshore Discovery in the Republic of Cyprus: Monetisation Prospects And Challenges', *The Oxford Institute For Energy Studies*, 2012, https://www.oxfordenergy.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/NG_65.pdf.

¹⁴² *Ibid*, pp. 43-44.

¹⁴³ C. Ellinas, (2019) 'Εξελίξεις Στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο - Συζητάμε Τα Δικά Σας Ερωτήματα', *Geopolitical Cyprus*, Speech, Nicosia.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*.

RoC. In fact, the costs of sending Cypriot Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) to Europe either through the proposed East Med Pipeline or through the Idku LNG plant far exceeds the USD6-7 per million British Thermal Units (mmBTU) selling price of natural gas on the continent, thus, rendering any of these prospects of delivering gas to Europe as economically imprudent.¹⁴⁵ Simultaneously, natural gas will be sold to Egypt at USD5-6 mmBTU which would also mean that the RoC and the firms involved in the Aphrodite block would be making minimal profits.¹⁴⁶

Arguably, the monetisation option which would elevate the RoC's geostrategic importance would be the construction of an LNG plant in Cyprus.¹⁴⁷ Such a plant would allow the RoC and the companies involved in the Cypriot EEZ to have greater flexibility in their export options and not be over reliant on prospect of a pipeline taking gas to Europe. The importance of Asian markets in this respect is related to the fact that East Mediterranean gas will find it hard to reduce the the EU's dependency on Russian gas to a considerable extent and be financially competitive in European markets.¹⁴⁸ Compared to Gazprom's 200 billion cubic metres (bcm) exports, the proposed EastMed pipeline will have the capacity when and if it becomes operational to transport up to 10 bcm of natural gas to Europe.¹⁴⁹ Russian gas will also become a more stable source of supply due to the ability of Gazprom to circumvent Ukraine and Poland and reduce its gas flows through those countries via the Nordstream 2 and Turkstream pipelines.¹⁵⁰ Finally, Eastern Mediterranean gas will have to compete with Russian and Norwegian pipe gas along with Qatari LNG exports which can provide much lower prices to European markets than

¹⁴⁵ C. Ellinas, 'Eastern Mediterranean Gas Developments' in Moran Ayla Gurel, Tzimitras Harry and Faustmann Hubert (eds.) *Global Energy Debates and the Eastern Mediterranean*, PCC Report, No 1, (Nicosia: PRIO Cyprus Centre, 2016).

¹⁴⁶ Ellinas, 2019.

¹⁴⁷ Giamouridis, pp. 49-60. See also G. Butt (2019), 'Cyprus Ponders Gas Options', *Petroleum Economist*, <https://www.petroleum-economist.com/articles/midstream-downstream/lng/2019/cyprus-ponders-gas-monetisation-options>, Lomas, A. (2014), 'Cyprus Hydrocarbon Options: In search of Peaceful solutions to a Gas Bonanza' in Gurel A., Tzimitras H. and Faustmann H.(eds). *East Mediterranean Hydrocarbons: Geopolitical Perspectives, Markets and Regional Cooperation*, PRIO Cyprus Centre, Nicosia, pp. 50-51,

¹⁴⁸ Gazprom (2019) 'Gas supplies to Europe.', <http://www.gazpromexport.ru/en/statistics/>.

¹⁴⁹ Hazou, E. (2020). "Historic' deal signed in Athens for EastMed pipeline (Update 2)." *Cyprus Mail*, <https://cyprus-mail.com/2020/01/02/historic-deal-signed-in-athens-for-eastmed-pipeline/>.

¹⁵⁰ Günther, M. (2019) 'What Nord Stream 2 means for Europe', *Atlantic Council*, 2020. <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/ukrainealert/what-nord-stream-2-means-for-europe/> , [Accessed January 5].

those the EastMed pipeline could offer in the future (Butler 2019).¹⁵¹ Hence, it would be challenging to see Eastern Mediterranean gas becoming vital to European gas markets and more importantly, an alternative to Russian pipe gas.

For the construction of an LNG plant to be an economically viable endeavour, approximately 10 trillion trillion cubic feet (tcf), should be committed for liquification.¹⁵² Between 2012 and 2013 the RoC's government was steadily moving towards the direction of constructing an LNG plant at the Vassilikon area.¹⁵³ The project had the support of Delek and the Israeli government since the natural gas from the Leviathan block in the Israeli EEZ allocated for exports would be liquified at Vassilikon.¹⁵⁴ Nonetheless, the change in government led to a slowdown of plans and Delek as a result chose to move ahead with the liquification of Leviathan's gas in a floating LNG platform. Currently, with the discovery of Glaucus by Exxon Mobil, the RoC's EEZ, has adequate natural gas quantities for the construction of an LNG plant. Nonetheless, the commitment of Aphrodite's gas for export and liquification at Idku will mean that there will not be enough natural gas available in the RoC's EEZ, hence, the construction of an LNG plant on the island will be once more economically non-viable. In consequence, the RoC's FPE will fail to make the island an international energy hub worth defending.

Moving on, although the RoC's political leadership and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have argued that the trilateral with Israel is an important aspect of Cypriot FP, the two states have been unable to reach a common agreement over their dispute regarding the basin of the Aphrodite block.¹⁵⁵ This deal is needed to allow the parties involved in Aphrodite to move forward with its commercial development.¹⁵⁶ The negotiations have been going on for the past seven years but to no avail. It begs the question if two friendly countries are unable to reach an agreement over a relatively small dispute, how could they deepen their cooperation to the extent that it becomes an alliance? Furthermore, the ability of Cyprus to export from the Calypso

¹⁵¹ Butler, N. (2019). "Eastern Mediterranean gas seeks a buyer." *Financial Times*, <https://www.ft.com/content/ef1036f0-fb06-11e9-98fd-4d6c20050229>.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Kathimerini, (2012) 'Συλλικιώτης: Σε Εξέλιξη Η Υλοποίηση Της Ενεργειακής Στρατηγικής', *Kathimerini*, Available at <http://www.kathimerini.com.cy/gr/kypros/104935/>.

¹⁵⁴ Ellinas, 2019.

¹⁵⁵ S. Gorodeisky and A. Barkat, (2018) 'Israel-Cyprus Gas Dispute Goes to Int'l Arbitration', *Globes*, Last modified 2018, <https://en.globes.co.il/en/article-israel-cyprus-gas-dispute-goes-to-intl-arbitration-1001233992>.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

block to Egypt could hamper the potential of buyers for Israeli gas.¹⁵⁷ The key, according to Ambassador Stavrinou for Cyprus, is ‘to find the necessary formulas that will serve both Cypriot and Israeli interests’ allowing Cyprus to maintain this vital relationship’.¹⁵⁸

Furthermore, although natural resources are structural modifiers, their effects on the patterns of possible strategic interactions can shift and change. This is because the possible interactions are not only affected by the structure, but also by the perceptions and perceived intentions of regional actors. For instance, the RoC views itself as a bridge between the Eastern Mediterranean, Southern Europe, as well as other EU partners, with Turkey seen as the ultimate foe and existential threat to RoC security.¹⁵⁹ Maintaining partnerships is vital for the RoC, though such partnerships are not permanently set in stone. In an environment like the Eastern Mediterranean that has seen a great deal of political change, the idea that current relationships between states will necessarily remain static is absurd. Apart from natural resources, the other major factor that has enabled the construction of these trilaterals is that Turkey is perceived as a threat by all the regional actors involved in these trilaterals. For instance, a change of leadership in Turkey, Israel or Egypt can shift this perception. If the AKP, for whatever reason loses power in Turkey and the pro-Western Kemalist establishment returns to power, then Israel or Egypt might not necessarily view Turkey as a threat. Consequently, they might be interested to cooperate in terms of energy exploitation leaving the RoC out of the equation. Therefore, the way in which natural resources modify the patterns of strategic interaction within the Eastern Mediterranean sub-system can also work against the RoC’s interests. The key for the RoC is to create the necessary material motives for its partners to remain in cooperation with the island-state even if there are political changes in the region. That can only be ensured through an appropriate and beneficial monetisation of the region’s hydrocarbons.

What is more, despite the positives arising from the trilaterals and the hydrocarbon development programme of the RoC, could potentially cause frictions between the RoC and its EU partners. The lack of any concrete measures against Turkey

¹⁵⁷ Maltezou, 2018.

¹⁵⁸ Interview with Ambassador Stavrinou.

¹⁵⁹ Press and Information Office (2018) ‘Keynote speech by the President of the Republic, Mr Nicos Anastasiades, at the 9th Mediterranean Oil and Gas Forum’ Available at <https://www.pio.gov.cy/en/press-releases-article.html?id=947#flat>

by the EU apart from verbal condemnations during the latest round of tensions between Turkey and the RoC in the region testify to this.¹⁶⁰ After all, Turkey is the fifth most important EU trade partner with the direct trade between its country and the EU worth more than EUR140 billion in 2016.¹⁶¹ Similar frictions could also be caused with segments of the Middle Eastern world, particularly the Palestinian people with whom the RoC enjoyed a decades-long relationship founded on common struggles and post-colonial solidarity. The rapprochement with Israel can potentially harm this relationship and possibly impede the attempts of the Cypriot FPE to act as a link between the EU and the Middle East. The comments of Averof Neofytou, the leader of the Greek Cypriot ruling party DISY, are that 'Cyprus no longer sees Israel as an aggressive country imposing its will by force on the Palestinians, but rather as a small nation fighting for survival in the face of much greater odds,' did not resonate positively within the Palestinian leadership.¹⁶² Finally, without a solution to the Cyprus Problem that will comprehensively solve matters on the island, the RoC will always run the risk of having its energy exploitation endeavours hijacked by Turkey or any other regional power. Hence, Greek Cypriot leaders ought to constructively engage in negotiations.

Conclusion

Cypriot FP grand strategy has changed a great deal since the nascence of the island-state in 1960. Nonetheless, the backbone of the state's grand strategy and its aims have remained unaltered; a solution to the Cyprus Problem, the removal of Turkish troops from the island and the non-recognition of the TRNC. The processes by which these aims would be achieved have changed however. Instead of employing a 'monothematic approach', through which Cyprus was trying to put pressure on Turkey to solve the Cyprus Problem putting emphasis on the illegality

¹⁶⁰ Middle East Eye (2019) 'Turkey Warned By EU's Mogherini Against Oil And Gas Drilling Off Cyprus', Available at, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/turkey-warned-eus-mogherini-against-oil-and-gas-drilling-cyprus>.

¹⁶¹ European Commission, (2016) 'IMPACT ASSESSMENT Accompanying The Document Recommendation For A Council Decision Authorising The Opening Of Negotiations With Turkey On An Agreement On The Extension Of The Scope Of The Bilateral Preferential Trade Relationship And On The Modernisation Of The Customs Union', Available at http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2017/january/tradoc_155238.pdf. See also L. Daziano, (2018) 'A Chance to Reset Europe's Relations with Turkey', *Financial Times*, Available at <https://www.ft.com/content/9e930bc0-9edd-11e8-b196-da9d6c239ca8>.

¹⁶² Shaath, 2016.

of the occupation, the Cypriot FPE through the hydrocarbons and the trilaterals is able to engage with other regional actors on issues including energy security and exploitation, defence cooperation as well as playing a linking role between the EU and the Eastern Mediterranean. The hydrocarbon discoveries within the Cypriot EEZ and the Eastern Mediterranean in general proved to be the turning point in this process by pushing the RoC to demarcate its EEZ with regional powers. This led the members of the Cypriot FPE to the realisation that being an EU member state in this volatile international locus could potentially elevate the status of the island-state by acting as a link between the EU and the Middle East, thus, helping with the objectives of the Cypriot grand strategy. This initial contact coupled with important geopolitical developments in the region which led both Egypt and Israel to see Turkey as a threatening actor vying for regional hegemony, led to the creation of the trilaterals.

The construction of these trilaterals highlights that offshore natural resources can act as structural modifiers. In the case of the Eastern Mediterranean, they have altered the parameters of strategic interaction between regional players facilitating the formation of alliances within a competitive and hostile geopolitical environment. Their effect is magnified by the regional antagonisms over the control of those resources. The trilaterals examined here are a result both of the antagonisms and of the modifying effect of the hydrocarbons upon the regional environment and the international system's structure in the area. The common threat perception of the four parties *vis-à-vis* Turkey has brought them close. However, the existence of offshore natural resources has been the key link that allowed the four states which had limited and even suspicious relations 15 years ago, to engage into a broadening and deepening partnership that has a distinct and important defensive component. Cyprus' ability to balance for profit has allowed it to partly defy Turkish pressures so far. Consequently, it has also avoided bandwagoning, which is the behaviour most Realist scholars would anticipate from a weak state.¹⁶³

Balance for profit, the theoretical construct utilised to explain these developments, modifies Walt's balance of threat. It showcases how a small state in the face of a regional threat, as defined by Walt, is pressured by the existence of these resources to readjust its grand strategy with the aim of reaping the profits of these resources through alliance-building. This alliance is based on the exploitation of an

¹⁶³ See Walt, 1987 and Schweller, 1994.

offshore natural resource between states who share a common threat perception within the same regional environment. Therefore, the strongest states are more likely to commit resources to protect the weaker link, thus, allowing it to balance and not bandwagon. They do so, with the aim of jointly exploiting these offshore natural resources themselves and preventing the aspiring hegemon from having them. Consequently, there are limitations to these alliances. Their continuity and deepening is dependent upon increased economic and security benefits for all parties. If the small state in the equation fails to enable the monetisation of these resources in an appropriate way that would benefit its regional partners, it runs the danger of losing them since they would have limited benefits from its survival.

This holds true for the trilaterals in the Eastern Mediterranean, which are not fully-fledged military pacts but seek to protect a specific type of natural resource allowing participating states to jointly profit from it with the aim of increasing their energy security and geopolitical leverage. The inactiveness of both Egypt, Israel and the EU over the recent Turkish provocations within the RoC's EEZ and its territorial waters stems to a great extent from the inability of the RoC to enable the monetisation of the region's hydrocarbons, even though it had the chance to do so with the construction of an LNG plant as early as 2013. Without being able to generate profit, it is highly unlikely that the RoC will be able to use it as a counterbalance against Turkey and as a tool that will enable the achievements of its long-lasting FP goals.

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- graph 2, of the Convention', New York, NY: United Nations HQ, Maritime Zone Notification.
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Bankruptcy Risk Levels and their Main Determinants of Acquired Listed Companies in Cyprus

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Abstract

The objective of this study is to explore the course of the bankruptcy risk levels of acquired companies listed in Cyprus Stock Exchange. Mergers and acquisitions increase in number and value in contemporary global economy, yet with uncertain outcomes as the risk of realizing losses out of these agreements is often. Past research confirms that the level of performance following mergers and acquisitions is often lower than before. The originality of this study is that it explores the levels of bankruptcy risk following acquisitions rather than just the performance of acquired companies, and in that this is the first study in the market of Cyprus. Altman's Z score is used as a method to evaluate the levels of bankruptcy risk for a five years post-acquisition period. In addition, this study explores the level of influence of current ratio (CR), debt ratio (DR) and net profit analysis (NPA) to the course of the Z score values, using both Pearson correlations and holistic approach. The findings suggest that the levels of bankruptcy risk of the acquired companies increase in the period examined, and that this increase is mainly the result of changes to the current ratio (85%) and to the debt ratio (69%), rather than to profitability. Moreover, there are strong indications that the current is the main influence upon the levels of risk at the start of the post-acquisition period, gradually losing its lead to debt ratio.

Keywords: risk of failure, financial performance, listed companies, Altman's Z score, current ratio, debt ratio, net profit analysis

Introduction

The paper explores the course of the risk levels of acquired listed companies in Cyprus for a period of five years after the acquisition event. Globally, Mergers & Acquisitions (M&A) increase in number and value as companies try to expand to new

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markers, differentiate their activities, or expand vertically to their supply chain. Kovela and Skok² estimate the transactions of M & A at \$2.4 trillion, \$2.5 trillion, \$2.6 trillion, \$2.3 trillion and \$3.5 trillion for the years 2010, 2011, 2012 2013 and 2014 respectively³; values that highlight the importance of M&A in global economy.

Mergers and acquisitions, however, have uncertain outcomes and carry risks of failure. Findings from previous research suggest the rates of failure are very high. Extensive studies in various geographic areas such as EU, America, Great Britain and India⁴ provide evidence that the risk of negative results in M&A is over 50%.

As such, although the overall aim of M&A is to add value to companies, the result is often disappointing and realized with losses. Research on the outcomes of M&A usually tries to study the performance of the companies based on accounting and financial ratios, such as profitability ratios, liquidity ratios, or solvency ratios⁵. Thus, successful M&A are the ones that increase their levels of, for example, profitability, and unsuccessful those that those whose performance ratios decrease. How-

² Kovela, S., & Skok, W., *Mergers and Acquisitions in Banking: A Framework for Effective IT Integration*, *International Journal of Business and Management*; Vol. 10, No. 3 (2015), pp 279-294.

³ Thomson Reuters, *Mergers and Acquisitions in 2014*.

⁴ De Wit, B., & Meyer, R., *Strategy – Process, Content, Context*, 2nd Edition, (1998). KPMG, *Unlocking Shareholders Value: Mergers and Acquisitions- The Key to Success*, A Global Research Report, (1999). Carleton, JR., & Lineberry, C., *Achieving Post-Merger Success, A Stakeholder’s Guide to Cultural Due Diligence, Assessment, and Integration*, Published by Pfeiffer, (2004). Cartwright, S., & Schoenberg, R., *30 Years of Mergers and Acquisitions Research: Recent Advances and Future Opportunities*, *British Journal of Management*, Volume 17 Issue S1 (2006), pp 1-5. Papadakis, V., & Thanos, I., *Measuring the Performance of Acquisitions: An Empirical Investigation Using Multiple Criteria*, *British Journal of Management*, Vol. 21, (2010), pp 859–873. Sinha, N., Kauslik, K., & Chaudhary, T., *Measuring Post Merger and Acquisition Performance: An investigation of Select Financial Sector organizations in India*, *International Journal of Economics and Finance*, Vol. 2, Issue 4, (2010), pp 36-45. Jayesh, C., (2012), *Why do Mergers and Acquisitions quite often Fail?* *Advances in Management*, Vol 5(5) May (2012), pp. 21-28. Paulone, S., *Mergers and Acquisitions: Examining Managerial Strategy Connection to Post Transaction Accounting Measures*, *School of Business and Technology Management*, (2013). Kosonen, M., & Blomqvist, K., *Knowledge Transfer in Service-Business Acquisitions*, *Journal of Knowledge Management, Economics and Information Technology*, Scientific Paper, Issue 2 (2013).

⁵ Rani N., Yadav S., and Jain P., *Impact of corporate governance score on abnormal returns and financial performance of mergers and acquisitions*, *Indian Institute of Management Decision* Vol. 41, Issue 4 (2014), pp 371–398; Soni B., *A Study on Pre Merger and Post Merger/ Acquisition Selected financial Parameters for Selected Cement Companies in India*, *Journal of Management*, Vol. 10, Issue 2 (2014), pp 79-86; Lin C., and Lee H., *The Bigger the Better? Merger and Acquisition Performance of Financial Holding Corporations*, *Emerging Markets Finance & Trade / January–February 2010*, Vol. 46, Issue 1 (2010), pp. 96–107; Leepsa, N., and Mishra, C., *Theory and Practice of Mergers and Acquisitions: Empirical Evidence from Indian Cases*, *Journal of Management Science*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (2016), pp- 179-194.

ever, to the best of our knowledge, past research has not tried to study directly the risk associated with bankruptcy in M&A. In Cyprus there have been 56 acquisitions from 2000 on listed companies⁶; a rather large number considering the size of the market. However, despite the significant increase in the value and number of deals commenced during the last two decades there, so far there is no attempt to evaluate the outcomes of the acquisitions.

This study applies Altman's Z Score Model in order to assess the risk of failure (possibility of bankruptcy) of Acquired Listed Companies in Cyprus. Nowadays bankruptcy is very common among nations, companies and individuals. Consequently, a critical question is: how to detect the risk of failure and or bankruptcy? The Altman model has been developed by Eduard Altman since 1968 and has been lastly revised in 2000 by the author in order to be more accurate in predicting bankruptcy. Mohammed & Kim-Soon⁷ stated that studies carried out by Altman 2003 using Z score were able to predict bankruptcy by 94% one year before, and by 72% two years before its actual occurrence. Several studies confirm the aforementioned high predictability rates of the risk of failure and validity of the model⁸.

⁶ Cyprus Stock Exchange, (2015), <http://www.cse.com.cy>

⁷ Mohammed A., and KimSoon, N., Using Altman's Model and Current Ratio to Assess the Financial Status of Companies Quoted in the Malaysian Stock Exchange, *International Journal of Scientific and Research Publications*, Vol. 2, Issue 7 (2012).

⁸ Bemmann, M., Improving the Comparability of Insolvency Predictions, *Dresden Economics Discussion Paper Series No. 08/05* (2005); Kannadhasan, M., Measuring Financial Health of a Public Limited Company Using Z Score: A Case Study (2007); Hayes, S., Hodge, K., and Hughes, L., A Study of the Efficacy of Altman's Z To Predict Bankruptcy of Specialty Retail Firms Doing Business in Contemporary Times, *Economics & Business Journal: Inquiries & Perspectives*, Vol. 3, Issue 1 (2010), pp 122-134; Muthukumar, G., and Sekar, M., Fiscal Fitness of Select Automobile Companies in India: Application of Z Score and Springate Models, *Journal of Management*, Vol. 11(2) (2014), pp 19-34; Anjum, S., Business bankruptcy prediction models: A significant study of the Altman's Z-score model, *Asian Journal of Management Research*, Volume 3 Issue 1 (2012), pp 212-219; Kasilingam R., and Jayabal, G., Profitability and Solvency Analysis of A Manufacturing Company using Dupont and Altman Model, *Management Edge*, Vol.5, No.2 (2012), pp 53-64; Gunathilaka, C., Financial distress prediction: A comparative study of Solvency Test and Z Score Models with reference to Sri Lanka, *Journal of Financial Risk Management*, IUP Publications, 3 (2014), pp 39-51; Pradhan, R., Z Score Estimation for Indian Banking Sector, *International Journal of Trade, Economics and Finance*, Vol. 5, Issue 6 (2014), pp 516-520; Thai, S., Goh, H., HengTec, B., Wong, J., and Ong, T., A Revisited of Altman Z Score Model for Companies Listed in Bursa Malaysia, *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, Vol 5, Issue 12 (2014), pp 197-207; Meeampol, S., Lerskullawat, P., Wong-sorntham, A., Srinammuang, P., Rodpetch, V., Noonoi, R. Applying Emerging Market Z Score Model To Predict Bankruptcy: A Case Study Of Listed Companies In The Stock Exchange Of Thailand, 25-27 June, Protoroz, Slovenia, *International Conference* (2014), pp 1227-1237; Kumar K., and Kavita K., An Analysis of the Financial Performance of Indian Commercial Banks, *The IUP Journal of Bank Management*, Vol.

Altman Z-score model weights in a certain way profitability, liquidity and leverage ratios in order to extract the probability of bankruptcy. However, this study attempts more than measuring the likelihood of bankruptcy of acquired companies based on the Z Score, by exploring the level of effect of Current Ratio (CR), Debt Ratio (DR) and Net Profit Analysis (NPA) in relation to the Altman Z Score in order to study which factors mostly influence the increase or decrease of Z Score and, as such, the bankruptcy probabilities. The analyses carried out cover the year of acquisition plus a five years post acquisition period.

The study contributes to research in the following ways: First, because it is the first study exploring the course of the bankruptcy risk levels in the post-acquisition period. Second, since there is not any similar study on the risk performance of acquired companies in Cyprus. Third, because the study explores which factors/variables among CR, DR and NPA mostly affect the Altman Z Score. Finally, because it may help professionals to identify the likelihood of bankruptcy in the early stages with a view to take corrective actions on time.

The paper proceeds as follows: The next section provides the literature review regarding the Altman Z Score and its interconnection with Current Ratio, Debt Ratio and Profitability analysis. Next, the methodology and methods are presented, followed by the findings of the study. The final part of the paper entails the discussion on the findings and its conclusion.

Literature Review

Introduction

Mergers and Acquisitions (M&A) remain an important strategic vehicle of corporate strategy that aids companies to expand their operations and furthermore to gain a competitive advantage. Scholars suggest that firms may benefit from acquisition strategies from the efficient utilisation of resources within the firm to obtain economies of scope, but also on shareholders' values; economies of scope derived from the sharing of tangible and intangible resources may result in overall lower costs and this should have a positive impact on shareholders' value⁹.

XVI, No.1 (2017), pp7-26; Madhushani, I., and Kawshala, B., (2018), The Impact of the Financial Distress on Financial Performance, Special Reference to Listed Non-Banking Financial Institutions in Sri Lanka, *International Journal of Scientific and Research Publications*, Vol. 8, Issue 2 (2018), pp 393-405.

⁹ Bailey, E., Friendler, A., Market structure and multiproduct industries, *Journal of Economic Literature* 20 (3) (1982), pp 1024-1048; Montgomery, C., Corporate Diversification, *Journal of Economic Per-*

However, theoretical arguments suggest that M&A can also have negative effects to shareholders value. Previous studies indicated that M&A efforts in many cases were unsuccessful due to (a) high acquisition premiums and (b) failure of synergies across strategic business units¹⁰. An example of such case is the case of Novel. Novel acquired WordPerfect for \$1.7 billion in stock in 1994, but the combination never generated enough profits and competitive advantage¹¹.

De Wit and Meyer¹² state that evidence for M&A between 1993 and 1995 prove that shareholders of acquiring firms lost an average of 10 percent of their investment on announcement. The research history of M&A suggests that they failed to add value to shareholders, in several cases record the rates of failure to offer value to shareholders to be between 50% to 83%¹³.

It is already mentioned that research has not tried to study directly the bankruptcy risks involved in M&A. This is important because it is another thing to say that an investment may not perform as expected, which may lead to some loss of money, and a different that it carries the risk of overall failure. Radwan & Al-Oshaibat¹⁴ review several studies that develop and propose different models for failure prediction, such as those of Beaver¹⁵,

spectives 8 (3) (1994), pp 163-178; Porter M., *Competitive Strategy, Techniques for Analyzing Industries and Competitors*, with new Introduction (1998); Palich, L., Cardinal, L., Miller, C., *Curvilinearity in the diversification-performance linkage: an examination of over three decades of research*, *Strategic Management Journal* 21 (2) (2000), pp 155-174.

¹⁰ De Wit and Meyer (No 3)

¹¹ Thomson and Strickland, 2001, *Crafting and Executing Strategy*, Twelfth Edition.

¹² De Wit and Meyer (No 3)

¹³ De Wit & Meyer (No 3); KPMG, *World Class Transactions, Insights into creating Shareholders Value through Mergers and Acquisitions*. The Academy of Management Perspectives 2014, Vol. 28, No. 2 (2001), 147-163; KPMG 1999 (No 4); Carleton & Lineberry (No 5); Cartwright & Schoenberg (No 6); Papadakis & Thanos (No 7); Sinha et al. (No 8); Otieno, O. & Kemunto, S., *Effect of Mergers and Acquisitions on the Financial Performance of Commercial Banks in Kenya*, *Research Journal of Finance and Accounting*, Vol. 8, Issue 14 (2017); Jallow, M., Masazing, M., and Basit, A., *The Effects of Mergers & Acquisitions on Financial Performance: Case Study of UK Companies*, *International Journal of Accounting & Business Management*, Vol. 5 No.1 (2017), pp 74-92.

¹⁴ Radwan, S, & Al Oshaiba, S., *Validity of Altman Z-Score Model to Predict Financial Failure: Evidence From Jordan*, *International Journal of Economics and Finance*; Vol. 10, Issue 8 (2018), pp 181-189.

¹⁵ Beaver W. H., *Financial ratios as predictors of failure*, *Journal of Accounting Research Studies* 1 (4) (1966), pp 71-111.

Altman¹⁶, Kida¹⁷, and Olson¹⁸. Comparing Altman and Keda models Radwan& Al-Oshaibatl¹⁹ find out the average result in giving early warning of bankruptcy of Altman was 93.8% comparing to 69% of Kida, Chouhan et al²⁰ state that the model of Beaver is developed using a univariate discriminant analysis compared to the Altman's Z Score model that makes use of multivariate discriminant analysis to select the five most significant variables for measuring the financial distress of firms. Furthermore, they note that Ohlson's O-Score model adopts a logit analysis to generate a one-year prediction model compared to the Altman's Z-Score model, for which the prediction analysis of failure orientates to up to five years. Thus, based to the above this research uses the Altman model.

Meeapol et al²¹ notes that in1993 Altman revised his model to incorporate a "four variable Z-Score" prediction model. Altman felt that this revised model significantly improves the predictive ability of the model and make sit simpler to incorporate. According to Apostolou²², the Altman model had been developing for the past three decades, while recent studies confirm that it still has predictive ability. The model has been developed in two forms: the specialist, which applies to listed manufacturing enterprises, and the generalized, which applies to all enterprises. In this study was selected the generalized model, which applies to all businesses/sectors, since the study includes enterprises of diverse industries (Investment, Insurance, Construction, Entertainment, Trade, Media, Hospitality and Banking). The specialized model is based on five ratios, weighted by coefficients aggregated between them giving the performance to the company. The generalized model is based on four ratios which are weighted by coefficients that are aggregated between them and give the risk performance for the enterprise. The financial soundness of an enterprise for both mod-

¹⁶ Altman E., Financial; Ratios, Discriminant Analysis and the Prediction of Corporate Bankruptcy, *Journal of Finance* 23 (1968), pp 589-609.

¹⁷ Kida, C. Y., Financial ratios as predictors of bankruptcy in Japan: An empirical research. *Journal of Finance*, 123 (19980), pp 589-610.

¹⁸ Ohlson, J., Financial Ratios and the Probabilistic Prediction of Bankruptcy, *Journal of Accounting Research* 18 (1) (1980), pp 109-131.

¹⁹ Radwan & Al-Oshaibatl (No 46)

²⁰ Chouhan, V., Chandra, B., Goswami, S., Predicting financial stability of select BSE companies revisiting Altman Z score, *International Letters of Social and Humanistic Sciences*, Vol. 26 (2014), pp 92(105).

²¹ Meeapol et al (No 27)

²² Apostolou A., *Analysis of Accounting Financial Statements*, Association of Greek Academic Libraries, National Metsovio Technical University of Athens, Healink, 2007-2013, (2015).

els depends on the price range of the company's performance. Table 1 presents the framework of the generalized model:

Table 1: Altman Model Z Score

General Model of Altman's Z-score		Pure ratio mean values of Altman's sampled companies	
Metric component	(Pure ratio × coefficient)	bankruptcy	non-bankruptcy
X1.liquidity metric	(Working Capital/Total Assets)*6,5 Frequently found in studies of corporate problems, is a measure of the net liquid assets of the firm relative to the total capitalization.	-0,06	0,41
X2.historical profitability metric	(Retained Earnings / Total Assets)*3,26 This measure of cumulative profitability over time was cited earlier as one of the "new" ratios.	-0,63	0,35
X3.current profitability metric	(EBIT / Total Assets)* 6,72 In essence, it is a measure of the true productivity of the firm's assets, abstracting from any tax or leverage factors.	-0,32	0,15
X4. solvency metric	(Market Value / Total Liabilities)*0,6 The measure shows how much the firm's assets can decline in value (measured by market value of equity plus debt) before the liabilities exceed the assets and the firm becomes insolvent.	0,4	2,48

The value of Z-score is the sum of the four ratios multiplied by the corresponding coefficient, that is, the sum of the values in the second column. The critical values that are compared to the value of Z-score are:

score	likelihood of failure	MeanZ-score	
.....<1,80	very high	bankruptcy	1,62
1,81>...<2,67	high	non bankruptcy	4,45
2,68>...<2,99	possible		
3,00>...	low		

The final Z Score value is the aggregate of the following formula: **Z Score = X1 + X2 + X3 + X4** (Apostolou²³)

²³ Apostolou (No 54)

According to Chouchan et al.²⁴ the Altman Z Score model has been applied in multiple settings, such as manufacturing²⁵, strategic planning²⁶, investment planning²⁷, capital structure²⁸, homeowner risk²⁹ and going concern business³⁰. Table 2 presents previous results of the application of Altman Z Score in regard to its effectiveness of failure prediction (Chouchan et al., 2014).

Table 2: Application of Altman Model Z Score

Author	Sample/Country	Efficiency & type of ratio
Ingbar ³¹	Israel's Private companies data from the 1980s	93% accuracy in forecasting bankruptcy one year prior to collapse and 73% two years prior to it
Heine ³²	Predicting Financial Distress of Companies: Revisiting The Z-Score and Zeta ® Models	Prediction of bankruptcy is very high at 94% regarding the prediction of failure one year prior to collapse

²⁴ Chouchan et al (No 52)

²⁵ Grice, J.S. and Ingram, R.W., Tests of the Generalizability of Altman's Bankruptcy Prediction Model. *Journal of Business Research*, 54 (2001), pp 53-61; Christopoulos A., Vergos K., How Stock prices react to managerial decisions and other profit signaling events in the Greek mobile telecom market?, 3rd International Conference on Applied Financial Economics, Samos Island, (2006).

²⁶ Calandro, J., Considering the utility of Altman's Z-score as a strategic assessment and performance management tool, *Strategy & Leadership*, Vol. 35 No. 5 (2007), pp. 37-43.

²⁷ Sudarsanam, S., and Lai, J., Corporate Financial Distress and Turnaround Strategies: An Empirical Analysis, *British Journal of Management*, Volume 12, Issue 3 (2001), pp 183-199; Lawson, R., Measuring company quality, *Journal of Investing* 17(4) (2008), pp 38-55.

²⁸ Allayannis, G., Brown, G. W., & Klapper, L. F., (2003), Capital structure and financial risk: Evidence from foreign debt use in East Asia. *Journal of Finance*, (2003), pp 2667–2709; Molina, C. A., Are firms underleveraged? An examination of the effect of leverage on default probabilities. *Journal of Finance*, 60(3) (2005), pp 1427–1459.

²⁹ Kao, D. L., Estimating and pricing credit risk: An overview. *Financial Analysts Journal*, 56(4) (2000), pp 50-66; Jayadev, M., Predictive power of financial risk factors: An empirical analysis of default companies. *The Journal for Decision Makers*, 31(3) (2006), pp 45-56.

³⁰ Citron, D., and Taffler, R., The Comparative Impact of an Audit Report Standard and an Audit Going-Concern Standard on Going-Concern Disclosure Rates. *Auditing: A Journal of Practice & Theory*: September 2004, Vol. 23, No. 2 (2004), pp. 119-130; Tafler, R.J., Lu, J., Kausar, A., In Denial? Stock Market Under reaction to Going-Concern Audit Report Disclosures *Journal of Accounting & Economics* 38(1-3) (2004), Nos 1-3.

³¹ Ingbar Y., Analysis of financial statement Israel Institute of Productivity, (1994) (Chapter 13).

³² Heine, M., Predicting Financial Distress of Companies: Revisiting The Z-Score and Zeta® Models, (2000).

Lifschutz & Jacobi ³³	Publicly traded companies in Israel between 2000 and 2007	95% accuracy rate one year prior to bankruptcy and with 85% accuracy rate two years prior to bankruptcy
Wang & Campbell ³⁴	China publicly listed companies	The accuracy is above 95% which confirms that delisting is a predictable event.
Alkhatib ³⁵	Jordanian companies during the five years preceding the bankruptcy	Bankruptcy incident high rates of 75% for the fifth year, 94% for the fourth year and 100% for each of the third, the second and the first.
Odipo & Itati ³⁶	10 failed firms of Kenyan market	90% successful prediction of the model.

Source: Chouchan et al³⁷

Recently, Altman et al³⁸ conducted a survey to evaluate the prediction of economic distress, confirming that the Z-score model performs well in an international context. Moreover, they argue that the four variables model works consistently well internationally and is easy to apply and interpreted. Thus, this type of accounting-based model can be used by all interested parties, especially active international banks or other financial institutions, not only to predict failure or distress but also for other managerial purposes such as provisioning and economic capital calculation.

Further to the application of Altman Z Score, various studies use additional parameters/indicators in correlation with the Altman Z Score in order to identify which indicators affect the decrease and or increase of the Z score values. This is discussed in the next subsection.

³³ Lifschutz, S., and Jacobi, A., Predicting Bankruptcy: Evidence from Israel, *International Journal of Business and Management*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (2010), pp 133-141.

³⁴ Wang, Y., and Campbell, M., Financial Ratios and the Prediction of Bankruptcy: The Ohlson Model Applied to Chinese Publicly Traded Companies, Volume 17 Number 1 (2010), pp 334-338.

³⁵ Alkhatib, K., and Al Bzour, A., Predicting Corporate Bankruptcy of Jordanian Listed Companies: Using Altman and Kida Models, *International Journal of Business and Management*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (2011), pp 208-215.

³⁶ Odipo B.K., Itati, A.S., Evaluation of Applicability of Altman's Revised Model in Prediction of Financial Distress: A Case of Companies Quoted in the Nairobi Stock Exchange (2011), pp1-39.

³⁷ Chouchan et al. (No 52)

³⁸ Altman, E., Iwanicz, Drozdowska, M., Laitinen, E., Suvas, A., Financial Distress Prediction in an International Context: A Review and Empirical Analysis of Altman's Z(Score) Model, *Journal of International Financial Management & Accounting* Vol.28, Issue 2 (2017), pp 131-170.

Relation of the Altman Z Score Model with other parameters

Meeapol et al³⁹, effectively demonstrate that all four factors (variables) of the Z score must have a positive rate for the most part to avoid the risk of failure. Altman⁴⁰, though, argues that the use of model is not limited to failure prediction, but can be used as a diagnostic management tool as well: "Those applied by company's board of directors that are at risk to assess strengths and weaknesses, in some cases may help and lead in a successful economic recovery". Under such perspective, it is interesting to study which factors mostly lead the Z-score and, consequently, the risk of failure.

There is previous work on this issue, although not in M&A. Madhushani & Kawswala⁴¹ in a study on public companies in Sri Lanka for 2012-2016, demonstrate that the Z score values have a significant impact on ROA and ROE. Range et al⁴² in their research of the bankruptcy score in Kenya show that the debt ratio is the main indicator of the potential bankruptcy. Thai et al⁴³ in their study on public companies on the Malaysian stock exchange conclude that the most important indicator is the working capital ratio. Meeapol et al⁴⁴ in their research of public companies in Thailand find the main source of anticipation of failure/bankruptcy is the liquidity ratio, and Mohamed & Kim-Soon⁴⁵ in their research of public companies on the Malaysian stock exchange shows that eight companies out of ten were weak in the liquidity index (current ratio). Table 3 provides a comprehensive list on how previous research examined the Z score model with other variables.

³⁹ Meeapol et al. (No 27)

⁴⁰ Altman, E., Applications of Distress Prediction Models: What Have We Learned After 50 Years from the Z Score Models? *International Journal of Financial Studies*, 6, 70 (2018), pp 1-15.

⁴¹ Madhushani & Kawswala (No 29)

⁴² Range, M., Njeru, A., and Waititu, G., Using Altman's Z Score (Book Value of Equity/Total Liabilities) Ratio Model in Assessing Likelihood of Bankruptcy for Sugar Companies in Kenya, *Human Resource Management Academic Research Society*, Vol 8, Issue 6 (2018), pp 578(601).

⁴³ Thai et al (No 26)

⁴⁴ Meeapol et al. (No 27)

⁴⁵ Mohamed & Kim-Soon (No 17)

Table 3 Combination of Altman Model and Accounting Ratios

Author	Research Journal Article	Parameter A- Z Score	Parameter B, Other Model / Criteria		Findings
Kasilingam & Jaybal ⁴⁶	Profitability and Solvency Analysis of a Manufacturing Company Using DuPont and Altman Model	Z Score Model	DuPont X1=Net Profit Margin (Net Income/Sales) X2=Total Asset Turnover (Sales/Average Assets) X3=Equity Multiplier (Total Assets/Equity) X4=ROE (Net profit/Equity)	Performance	Only two variables are having significant impact on Z score: sales/total assets and market value/book value of equity
Mohamed & Kim-Soon ⁴⁷	Using Altman's Model and Current Ratio to Assess the Financial Status of Companies Quoted In the Malaysian Stock Exchange	Z Score Model	Liquidity Current Ratio	Performance Liquidity	A significant positive correlation was found to exist between Altman Z-Score Y1 and Altman Z score Y2 as well as with Current ratio.
Muminović ⁴⁸	Revaluation and Altman`s Z-score –the Case of the Serbian Capital Market	Z Score Model	Implications of Revaluation to the Accounting Ratios of: ROE/ROA ROE (Return on Equity) ROA (Return on Assets)	Performance Profitability	The degree of relationship between changes in Z score due to the revaluation share in total asset was 84.47%, which shows a high positive correlation.
Muthukumar & Sekar ⁴⁹	Fiscal Fitness of Select Automobile Companies in India: Application of Z-score and Springgate Models*	Z Score Model	Springgate Model X1= Working capital /Total assets. X2=Earnings before interest and Taxes / Total assets. X3= Net Sales / Total assets X4= Earnings before taxes/ Total liabilities.	Performance	Both models are helpful to predict the company's financial performance. The relationship of the Z Score model has not been examined in relation with other variables.

⁴⁶ Kasilingam & Jaybal (No 23)

⁴⁷ Mohamed & Kim-Soon (No 17)

⁴⁸ Muminović, S., Revaluation and Altman`s Z-score –the Case of the Serbian Capital Market, International Journal of Finance and Accounting, 2(1) (2013), pp 13-18.

⁴⁹ Muthukumar & Sekar (No 21)

Meeampol et al. ⁵⁰	Applying Emerging Market Z-Score Model To Predict Bankruptcy: A Case Study Of Listed Companies In The Stock Exchange Of Thailand	Z Score Model	EM Score Model	Liquidity Profitability	There is correlation between liquidity and profitability. Liquidity affects the profitability. The Z-Score model achieved prediction of failure at 89.66% (2010) and 80.77% (2011)
Thai et al. ⁵¹	A Revisited of Altman Z Score Model for Companies Listed in Bursa Malaysia	Z Score Model	Liquidity	Working capital ratio	The working capital ratio affects the Z Score.
Awais et al. ⁵²	Do Z-Score and Current Ratio have Ability to Predict Bankruptcy?	Z Score Model	Liquidity Current Ratio	Performance Liquidity	There is significant positive correlation between Altman Z-Score and Current Ratio in all given years
Rajkumar ⁵³	Using Altman's Model and Current Ratio to Assess the Financial Distress of Listed Companies in the Default board of Colombo Stock Exchange	Z Score Model	Liquidity Current Ratio	Performance Liquidity	There is significant positive correlation between Altman Z-Score and Current Ratio.
Madhushani & Kawshala	The Impact of Financial Distress on Financial Performance (Special Reference to Listed Non - Banking Financial Institutions in Sri Lanka	Z Score Model	Accounting Ratio Analysis ROE ROA	Performance Profitability	Z score has a significant impact on ROA. Z sore and Leverage ratio has a significant impact to the ROE.

Although the previous researchers used the Altman model in combination with other factors/parameters, they didn't examine comparing and analyzing which fac-

⁵⁰ Meeampol et al (No 27)

⁵¹ Thai et al (No 26)

⁵² Awais, M., Hayat, F., Mehar, N., Hassan, W., Do Z-Score and Current Ratio have Ability to Predict Bankruptcy? Developing Country Studies, Vol.5, No.13 (2015), pp 30-36.

⁵³ Rajkuma P., Using Altman's Model and Current Ratio to Assess the Financial Distress of Listed Companies in the Default board of Colombo Stock Exchange, Scientific Research Journal (SCIRJ), Volume III, Issue XII (2015), pp 1-5.

tor(s) among CR, DR or NPA lead negatively or positively the Altman Z Score. For example, Muthukumar & Sekar⁵⁴ stated that Altman Z Score and Springate model provide different results, but both models are helpful to predict the company's financial performance. Specifically, there searchers have examined and concluded that the Altman model is workable and reliable in the majority, but they didn't have examined which component metric of the model among liquidity, leverage and profitability mostly affects and drives the Z Score index either positively or negatively. This is important because different industries or research settings may have different sensitivities to the Z score's component metrics. This study explores which of the following three factors, CR (represent liquidity area), DR (represent solvency area) and NPA (represent the profitability area) mostly leads the Z Score positively or negatively in the post-acquisition period. The next section presents the methodology and methods employed.

Research Methodology

Sample Selection

The sample of this study includes firms listed on Cyprus Stock Exchange (CSE), and includes companies of different sectors such as Investment, Insurance, Construction, Entertainment, Trade, Media, Hospitality and Banking. The present research study sets out a statistical table of sample data from acquisitions. The sample is therefore analyzed as follows: the total sample of public proposals for takeover of companies was carried out in a total of 56 implemented acquisitions. The Table 4 presents the number and the percentage of the selected sample by year.

Table 4: Sample Selection for Analysis based to the Altman Z Score for the Years of Y0-Y5

	Y0	Y1	Y2	Y3	Y4	Y5
Sample in No.	46	40	46	30	31	31
Sample in %	82%	71%	82%	54%	55%	55%

Source: Authors Analysis

Data Collection

This study basically depends on secondary data from the companies' published financial statements. Thus, the data once gathered, were analyzed by preparing descriptive statistics presented in Tables and Charts, and Themes were generated based on the data collected. The sampling in this case ranges between 55% to 82%

⁵⁴ Muthukumar & Sekar (No 21)

out of 100% within the 1999 and 2016 period. Data were collected from the Companies' financial statements (Statement of Financial Position and Income Statement) for the years of 1999 to 2016 and were analyzed using the IBM SPSS statistics v.23 program (statistical package of social sciences). The sample consisted of 31 to 46 companies for a period of 6 years (year of acquisition plus five years post acquisition period). The variation in sample year by year is due to the availability of reliable data from the published financial statements. Consequently, this study highlights the financial position of the companies' included and specifically whether the firms are in a distress or non-distress position.

Methods

This study makes use of Altman's Z score to evaluate the risk levels of corporate failure. In addition, two methods (Pearson Correlation and Holistic Approach) were applied to demonstrate the degree of influence of CR, DR and NPA in relation to the Altman Z Score. In other words, which factor among the CR, DR and NPA mostly drives positively or negatively the Z Score of the acquired companies

The Z scores of the companies included in the sample were calculated in order to explore the course of the levels of risk for a five years post-acquisition period. It is already discussed in the previous section that the model is proved valid and reliable for assessing the bankruptcy risks.

The Pearson correlation analysis examines the relationship between two variables. Here, a stable variable is the Altman Z score index, which is associated with each variable of liquidity ratio (CR), debt ratio (DR) and net profitability analysis (NPA) to explore the relationship in each year; this analysis examines the relationship and interdependence but not at an absolute level (specific percentage) of interdependence but through a scale such as zero relationship, slight relationship, moderate relationship, strong relationship and very strong relationship.

Cyprus is a small market in size and although the sample used in the paper represents a significant percentage of the acquired companies it is still small in number. For this reason, the Pearson analysis is complemented with holistic analysis. The holistic approach results in an absolute rate (percentage) by the end of the fifth year on the interdependence of a stable variable, which is the Altman Z Score, in relation to the other three variables of CR, DR and NPA. While Pearson correlation analysis examines these relationships for each year, the holistic approach treats the five-year period as a whole, thus enabling a larger number of observations. The advantage of

a holistic approach versus single approach is to highlight the importance of having a broader view⁵⁵. Additionally, Scott⁵⁶ argues that adopting the holistic approach you can evaluate the whole picture. The holistic approach is used here to identify which of the Altman component metric among Liquidity/CR, Solvency/DR and Profitability/NPA affect and drives the Altman Z Score either positively or negatively.

Therefore, the above two above applications (Pearson correlation and holistic approach) complement each other because they aim to demonstrate the influence of Altman Z Score Index but with different statistical application and from different optical views. The following section presents the findings of the study.

Findings

Z Score Analysis

Table 5 presents’ statistical data for mean, median, std. deviation, minimum and maximum for the year of acquisition until five years of post-acquisition period:

Table 5: Altman’s Z-score Analysis, Y0 (Year of Acquisition) to Y5 (Fifth year post-acquisition)

		Y0	Y1	Y2	Y3	Y4	Y5
N	Valid	46	40	46	30	31	31
	Missing	0	6	0	16	15	15
Mean		37.82	29.14	(25.12)	5.12	(48.94)	(50.83)
Median		3.42	4.52	2.02	2.68	1.57	1.48
Std. Deviation		123.43	61.38	268.11	12.19	324.56	323.28
Minimum		(22.19)	(4.52)	(1785.19)	(11.08)	(1785.19)	(1785.19)
Maximum		775.80	230.93	162.69	62.88	205.21	158.53

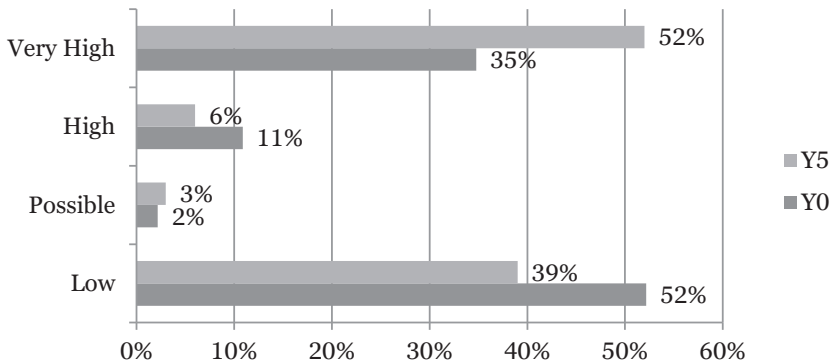
Source: Author’s analysis, Y0=Year of Acquisition, Y1=1stPost-acquisition, Y2, Y3, Y4, Y5 = 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5thPost-acquisition

As it is obvious from the above table the standard deviation for most of the years is very high, which results in asymmetries between the average and the median. When such an asymmetry is observed the median is closer to reality. Therefore, the following analysis reports on the median.

⁵⁵ The median indicator in the essential time of acquisition Y0 was at 3.42 indicating a low risk of bankruptcy. This was also the case for Y1 where the risk levels of the acquired companies actually improved (4.52). However, for the second year up to the acquisition of the companies, the risk levels increased (1.57). For more information on the subject, see Andersen, J., A Holistic Approach to Acquisition of Strategic Resources, *Journal of European Industrial Training*, Vol. 31, Issue 4 (2007), pp 669-677. ⁵⁶ Scott, P., *Bankruptcy Law and Practice*, 2nd Edition, (2016), IOS Press, (2016).
 Informatics, E. Ammeenwerth and M. Rigby (Eds), IOS Press, (2016).

fifth year, the recorded indicators suggest high risk of bankruptcy and especially in the fourth and fifth years where the scores were 1.57 and 1.48 respectively. According to the level of safety an index of less than 1.80 suggests a very high risk of bankruptcy. In this case, the median indicator is below 1.80, recording that most companies carried a very high risk of bankruptcy. Hence the results are depicted in the graph below:

Figure 1: Comparison between Y0 and Y5



Source: Author’s analysis

Table 6 presents the numerical analysis of sample based to the four categories regarding the Altman Z score. In statistical numbers below, the image of the selected companies is presented, regarding the probability of failure/bankruptcy:

Table 6: Probability of failure based to the Altman Model Z Score

Year	Low Risk Zone ...>3,00	Possible Risk Zone 2,68>.. <lt;2,99< th=""> <th>High Risk Zone 1,81>...<2,67</th> <th>Very High-Risk Zone ...<1,80</th> </lt;2,99<>	High Risk Zone 1,81>...<2,67	Very High-Risk Zone ...<1,80
0	52%	2%	11%	35%
1	60%	0%	5%	35%
2	41%	2%	9%	48%
3	50%	0%	7%	43%
4	35%	0%	10%	55%
5	39%	3%	6%	52%

Source: Authors analysis

According to the findings a)The comparative results between the acquisition year and the fifth year following the acquisition indicate the deterioration of the Z

Score indicator, where it is presented effectively in the above graph, b)The percentage of the acquired companies' Z Score in the low risk zone in the Y0 was at 52% while the fifth year fell to 39%, and c)The percentage of the acquired companies' Z Score in the high and very high zone in the Y0 was at 46 % while in the fifth year it increased to 58%. Table 7 presents companies' information which have been collected from the official website of the Registrar of Companies (Cyprus Government Authority), showing the companies that failed to survive in correlation to the Altman Z score index.

Table 7: Date from the Registrar of Companies (Cyprus Government Authority)

A/A	Acquirer	Acquired Company	Registrar of Companies Information	Altman ZScoreY5
1	Libra Holidays Group	Droushia Heights Hotel Co Ltd	Under Liquidation (21/2/2017)	0,23 Very High
2	Droushia Heights Hotel Co Ltd	Astarti Development PLC	Under Receivership/Under Liquidation (10/1/2014)	3,13 Low
3	Leptos Kalypso Hotels Ltd	Astarti Development PLC	Under Receivership/Under Liquidation (10/1/2014)	3,13 Low
4	Avacom Computer Services Ltd	Ceifloor Public Company Ltd	Winding up by the Court (17/10/2016)	0,02 Very High
5	A.L. Prochoice Financial Services Ltd	Cyprus Pipes Industry Ltd	Under Receivership (25/10/2017)	1,04 Very High
6	Sharelink Financial Services Ltd	Kyknos Investment Company	Dissolved	N/A
7	CLR Capital Public Ltd	Confine Investment Public Ltd (Finikas)	Winding up by the Court	(2,97) Very High
8	Lumier TV Public Company Ltd	Multichoice (Cyprus) Public Co Ltd	Dissolved	(22,19) Very High
9	Aspis Group	MFS Holding Public Co Ltd	Under Receivership	N/A
10	HNS LTD	Spidernet Services Public Ltd	Dissolved due to Merge	0,22 Very High
11	SFS Group Public Co Ltd	Athena Cyprus Public Company Ltd	Dissolved due to Merge	N/A
12	Vivartia A.B.E.E.	Christies Dairies Public Ltd	Dissolved due to Merge	N/A
13	Aspis Holding Public Co Ltd	Athos Diamond Center Public Ltd	Under Liquidation	(0,42) Very High

14	Giannis Panayi	Aqua Sol Hotels Public Co Ltd	Under Receivership (13/10/2014)	N/A
15	AspisHolding Public Co. Ltd	Leda Investment Public Company Ltd	Winding up by the Court	1,21 (Y2) Very High
16	Astro Bank	USB Bank PLC	Dissolved due to Merge	0,56 Very High
17	Cyprus Cement Co. Ltd	CCC Laundries Ltd	Dissolved	N/A

Source: Cyprus Registrar of Companies – Author analysis

According to the above information, seventeen companies were placed under the receivership, dissolution or liquidation and nine out of eleven (9 out of 11) companies that were placed under receivership, dissolution or liquidation or dissolution, brought a high failure indicator and only two brought a low failure indicator. A prediction rate of the Z Score model is verified by 82%. Regarding the remaining six companies (N/A), there was not information for their corporate status.

Correlation of Altman Z Score and CR, DR and NPA

The statistical Sample consisted of 27 companies that provide full comparable results (among the 56 acquisitions) according to the statistical presentation of the Altman Z Score in correlation with Current ratio (CR), Debt ratio (DR) and Net Profit/(Losses) Analysis (NPA/NLA). The full comparative analysis of 27 companies for a period of six years from the sample of 56 companies, i.e. a percentage of 48%, is considered satisfactory to draw conclusions, which increases the accuracy of the results

Table 8 presents the analysis of trends in each company for the time of acquisition until the fifth year after the acquisition/post acquisition (Y0-Y5) in correlation with the Z Score. The results are listed below:

Table 8: Correlation of Altman Z Score and CR, DR and NPA

CR<...<ZS and CR>...>ZS	CR<...>ZS and CR>...<ZS	DR>...>ZS and DR<...<SC	DR<...>ZS and DR>...<ZS	NP>...<ZS and NL<...>ZS	NP>...>ZS and <NL...<ZS
118	21	41	92	67	76
139 or86%		133 or82%		143or88%	
85%	15%	31%	69%	47%	53%

Source: Author analysis

In table 8 the parameters are: a) ZS: Z Score, b) CR: Current Ratio, c) DR: Debt Ratio, d) NP/NL: Net Profits/Net Losses), e) >: above the ratio of safety for CR which is 2:1 (the higher the better) and DR which the ratio of safety is equal or below the 40% (the lower the better), f) <: below the level of safety for the ratios of CR and DR.

The explanation of the sample is as follows: a) The holistic sample for each category is 6 years by 27 companies, i.e. 162 as a maximum sample, b) The sample of current ratio (CR) is: $(139 \times 100) / 162 = 86\%$ implemented, c) The sample of debt ratio (DR) is: $(133 \times 100) / 162 = 82\%$ implemented, and d) The sample of Net Profit analysis (NPA) is: $(147 \times 100) / 162 = 88\%$ implemented.

The findings of the analysis are divided into six categories with the following explanation:

- **CR<...<Z SCORE και CR>... >Z SCORE:** Decrease of liquidity ratio (CR/Current Ratio) leads to a decrease of Z Score (higher levels of risk) and an increase of CR leads to an increase of Z Score (lower levels of risk). The statistical result provided a percentage of 85% in this category/parameter. Specifically, 118 cases out of 136 (table 8) justify this category. For example, when the company index was below the security limit of 2:1 or 2.00, the Z Score was led below the 3.0 security limit with a probability of bankruptcy (risk), and on the other hand when the current ratio was above, then the safety limit led the Z Score above the 3.0 security limit with low probability of bankruptcy (low risk). The following example illustrates the logic for the above parameter:

Royale Highgate Ltd			
	Year	Z' Score	CR
7	Y0	6,52	3,51
	Y1	7,48	3,67
	Y2	1,24	1,89
	Y3	1,85	1,73
	Y4	N/A	1,33
	Y5	1,24	1,61

- In years Y0 and Y1 the CR ratio is above the 2:1 security limit in 3,51:1 and 3,67:1 respectively, where the Z Score indicator is above the 3.0 security limit, specifically, 6.52 and 7.48 respectively. Therefore, when CR indicator is above the safety limit, it means that it is leading Z score above the safety limit

(desired result). Moreover, in three out of the four years that both scores could be calculated, there was a parallel trend on the direction of change.

- In years Y2, Y3 and Y5, the CR was recorded below the safety limit of 2:1. In Y2: 1,89:1, Y3: 1,73:1 and Y5: 1,61:1, and the Z Score records indicators below the 3.0 security limit and specifically Y2: 1,24 , Y3:1,85 and Y5: 1,24. Therefore, when a CR is below the safety limit of 2:1 leads a Z score below the safety limit of 3.0 (desired result).
- **CR<...>ZS και CR>...<ZS:** decrease of CR leads to an increase of Z Score. The statistical result showed a 15% rate in this category/parameter. Contradictory results are presented here where CR is below the safety limit, while the Z Score indicator showed trends above the 3.0 threshold.
- **DR<...>Z SCORE και DR>...<Z SCORE:** decrease of debt ratio leads to an increase of Z Score (lower levels of risk) and an increase of debt ratio leads to decrease of Z Score (higher levels of risk). The statistical result provided percentage of 69% in this category/parameter. Specifically, 92 cases out of 133 (table 8) justify this category. The following example illustrates the logic of the above parameter:

Cy venture Capital Public CO Ltd		
Year	Z' Score	DR
Y0	13,38	2%
Y1	16,74	2%
Y2	7,94	3%
Y3	N/A	10%
Y4	5,89	12%
Y5	7,94	11%

- In regard to the company Cyventure Capital Public Co. Ltd the DR is below the safety limits of 40%, in all years. Hence the Z Score indicator is in all the corresponding years above the score of 3.0. Therefore DR <...> Z SCORE (logical result). Moreover, increase in debt ration gradually leads the Z score in lower levels.
- **DR>...>ZS και DR<...<SC:** Increase in debt ratio leads to an increase of Z Score and a decrease of debt ratio leads to a decrease of Z score index (inconsistent result). The statistical result showed a 31% rate in this category/parameter.

Specifically, the findings shows that in 41 cases out of 133 (table 8) justify this category/percentage.

- **NP>...<ZS and NL<...>ZS:** Positive sign in the net profit (achievement of profits/NP) leads to a decrease of Z Score (higher levels of risk) and a negative sign in net profits (achievement of losses/NL), leads to an increase of Z Score indicator (lower levels of risk), a fact that shows contradictory results. The statistical result showed a percentage of 47% in this category/parameter. The following example sufficiently shows the logic of the above parameter:

Toxotis Investment Ltd		
Year	Z' Score	NP/(NL)
Y0	1,91	(729.539)
Y1	1,91	(28.087)
Y2	(2,27)	(25.267)
Y3	(1,37)	13.463
Y4	(1,22)	(191.110)
Y5	(2,27)	(212.118)

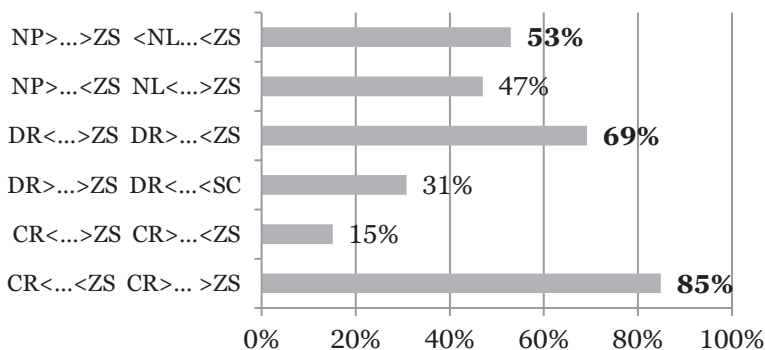
Europrofit Capital Investors Ltd		
Year	Z' Score	NP/(NL)
Y0	(3,48)	(6.095.941)
Y1	(4,52)	(5.307.974)
Y2	3,04	(4.519.435)
Y3	0,13	169.392
Y4	2,11	(1.064.876)
Y5	3,04	332.410

- In the aforementioned company Toxotis Investment Ltd, during all years the Z Score is under the security index of 3.0. In years Y2, Y3, Y4 and Y5 the Z Score shows negative results. On the contrary, the company achieved profits and losses but the Z Score was in all years below the security limit of 3.0-. Consequently, the fluctuation in profits and losses led the Z Score indicator below the security limit (<). Therefore, increase/decrease in net profits lead to a decrease of Z Score: >NP<... < Z Score, contradictory/inconsistent result.

- Similar fact is recorded in the company Europrofit Capital Investors Ltd where in the year Y2 the company made significant losses amounting to €4,519,435-, on the other hand the Z Score was above the security limit recording 3.04-. Therefore, decrease in net profits (losses) lead to an increase of Z Score: NP<....>Z Score, contradictory/inconsistent result.
- **NP>...>ZS and NL<...<ZS:** Achievement of net profits leads to an increase in the Z Score index and a decrease in net profits (net losses) leads to a decrease in the Z Score index. The statistical result showed a 53% rate in this category/parameter. Specifically, the findings show that in 76 cases out of 143 (table 8) justify this category.

Consequently, based on the above analysis of effect degree of CR, DR and NPA to the Z score, the chart below effectively indicates the relevant interconnection.

Figure2: Effect of CR, DR and NP on the Altman Z Score Model



Source: Author analysis

The above results suggest that the main factors driving the levels of risk in acquired companies are liquidity (85%) and debt ratio (69%). On the contrary, the results for profitability are almost equal (53% and 47%), which indicates that changes in profitability do not have a decisive impact on the levels of risk.

Pearson Correlation of Altman Z Score Current Ratio, Debt Ratio and NPA (Net Profit/(Losses) Analysis

The Z score of the companies was measured and correlated by each parameter/variable of CR, DR and NPA in order to examine the degree of their relationship. Two variables are related if they behave in such a way that they appear connected. For example, when changes in the value of one variable tend to coincide with changes

in the values of the other variable (Evangelos; 2013). The range that the Pearson (r) can take is from -1 (minus one) and + 1 (plus one). The first size (-1) shows a perfect negative relationship as opposed to the second size (+ 1) where it shows a positive relationship between the two variables (Emvalotis et al., 2006). Between the two limits (-1 to + 1) several classifications have been recorded. This study uses the following (Emvaliotis et al, 2006):

0.00 – 0.20	Zero relationship
0.21 – 0.40	Slight relationship
0.41 – 0.60	Moderate relationship
0.61 – 0.80	Strong relationship
>0.81	Extremely strong relationship

Table 9 summarizes the correlation results of the Z Score relative to the CR for the period of Y0-Y5:

Table 9: Correlation of Altman Z Score and Current Ratio for the period of Y0-Y5

	Y0	Y1	Y2	Y3	Y4	Y 5
Pearson Correlation	.851**	.769**	.022	.867**	.104	.038
Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.918	.000	.636	.865
N	24	23	24	23	23	22

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Source: SPSS, Authors' Analysis

Explanation:

Pearson correlation: Correlation coefficient r

Sig. (2-tailed – Test of significance) observed probability value P = .000-, because probability equal to zero does not exist, the above probability is simply less than 1 per 1000 (1/1000).

The findings of Pearson correlation in relation to CR for each year are the following: a) Y0:Pearson Correlation .851,>0.81, consequently *extremely strong relationship*,b)Y1:Pearson Correlation .769,>0.61-0.80, consequently *strong relationship*, c) Y2: Pearson Correlation .022,>0.21-0.40, consequently *slight relationship*, d) Y3: Pearson Correlation .867,>0.81, consequently *extremely strong relation-*

ship, e) Y4: Pearson Correlation .104,>0.00-0.20, consequently zero relationship, f) Y5: Pearson Correlation .038,>0.00-0.20, consequently zero relationship

Table 10 presents the correlation results of the Z Score relative to the DR for the period of Y0-Y5:

Table10: Correlations of Altman Z Score and Debt Ratio for the period of Y0-Y5

	Y0	Y1	Y2	Y3	Y4	Y 5
Pearson Correlation	-.381	-.112	-.344	-.505*	-.999**	-.905**
Sig. (2-tailed)	.080	.619	.092	.014	.000	0
N	22	22	25	23	22	17

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Source: SPSS, Authors' Analysis

The findings of Pearson correlation in relation to DR are the following: In the years Y0, Y1 and Y2, Pearson Correlation the r index is negative demonstrating slight negative correlation. In the years Y3, Y4 and Y5 the Pearson correlations are negative and demonstrate modest 0.41-0.60 for Y4and an extremely strong negative relationship >0.81 for the last two years. However, in relation to the DR, the positive correlation is achieved with negative statistical significance, because when the Z Score increases the debt ratio is reduced and vice versa.

Table 11 presents the correlation results of the Z Score relative to the NPA for the period of Y0-Y5:

Table 11: Correlations of Altman Z Score and NPA for the period of Y0-Y5

	NPA Y0	NPA Y1	NPA Y2	NPA Y3	NPA Y4	NPA Y5
Pearson Correlation	-.084	-.094	.034	.041	.073	-.094
Sig. (2-tailed)	.677	.642	.869	.847	.734	.711
N ((Sample)	27	27	27	25	24	18

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Source: SPSS

The r index varies between the scale of 0.00-0,20- for all the years examined, which means that there is no relationship between the variables. Therefore, it is evi-

dent that the Altman Z Score indicator is driven and/or influenced by other factors/parameters, such as CR and DR.

Discussion

This study applied the Z score model in order to explore the course of bankruptcy risk in acquired companies in Cyprus for five years after the acquisition period and also explored the a number of factors that could lead the course of the Z score. It was found that the levels of bankruptcy risk increased in the period examined, and that the bankruptcy risks are main driven by the course of liquidity and debt. These issues are discussed next.

The results of the Z score analysis conducted above, indicate that an initial improvement of the bankruptcy risks levels of acquired companies at the first post-acquisition year was followed by a significant reduction of the Z score values from the second year (Y2) up to the fifth year (Y5) of the post-acquisition period, which suggests that the risk of bankruptcy significantly increases. It was recorded that he the percentage of acquired companies in the safe zone atthe acquisition year (Y0) was at 52% while at the fifth year (Y5) it fell to 39%. Moreover, seventeen companies have been placed under management, liquidation or receivership arrangements. The prediction rate of the Z Score model in this study (82%) confirm the findings of previous research on the high predictability results on the risk of failure of the method⁵⁷.Moreover, the findings here are in agreement with previous research that records high rates of failure in M&A⁵⁸. Although previous studies evaluate the above on the basis of lower levels of performance, this study adds that the levels of bankruptcy risk not only do have a tendency to increase, but also that bankruptcy is often realized.

Based on the holistic approach analysis it can is argued that the main factor leading the course of the Z score at the post-acquisition period is liquidity, for at the 85% of the observations a parallel movement was observed. Lower, still important, influence was observed with the levels of debt since for the 69% of the observations increase at the levels of debt led to increases of bankruptcy risks. On the contrary profitability does not seem to have a decisive influence on the improvement or the

⁵⁷ Meeapol et al (No 27); Chouchan et al (No 52); Muthukumar & Sekar (No21); Kumar & Cavita (No 28); Maddhushani & Kawsvala (No 29).

⁵⁸ DeWit & Meyer (No 3); KPMG (No 4); KPMG (No38); Carleton & Lineberry (No 5); Cartwright & Schoenberg (No 6); Papadakis & Thanos (No 7); Sinha et al (No 8); Jayesh (No 9); Paulone (No 10); Kosonen & Blomqvist (No 11).

worsening of the bankruptcy risk levels because in only 50% of the observations profitability changes were observed with parallel changes at the levels of risk (e.g. increase in profitability and decrease at the level of risk and the vice versa). This is not to argue that profitability is not important to enterprises, for it obviously is. It rather suggests profitability changes are less decisive on influencing the levels of risk than the other factors examined. The findings of this research confirm that past evidence on the importance of liquidity⁵⁹ and debt⁶⁰ on the levels of risk are also valid for the case of acquired companies.

The Pearson correlation analysis fully confirms the low influence levels of profitability since it provided no relationship among profitability and the levels for risk to any the years examined. The Z score and liquidity relationship is confirmed as strong in Y1 and Y3 and slight for the in-between year Y2, while no significant relationship was detected during the last two years. The relation between Z score and debt is recorded negative in all years, i.e. increases in debt lead to decrease of the Z score values and, as such, increase the risk of bankruptcy. However, the relation is recorded as insignificant for the first year, gradually strengthening in Y2, and Y3 to result to extremely strong relationship for the last two years.

Therefore, liquidity is the main factor leading the levels of risk for the first years after the acquisition, while the debt levels take their turn in importance from the third year on. Yet, the sample in this study is small, although statistically sufficient for the whole market, simply because the market of Cyprus is small. As such, it is argued that the data provide indications for the above-mentioned relations that need to be studied to larger samples to be confirmed. Moreover, the generalization of the above finding outside the M&A field has to be treated with caution because other conditions may apply. The small sample was the reason that led the authors to complement the Pearson correlation analysis, which fragments the analysis to each year, with the holistic approach that treats the five years period as a whole thus enabling a larger number of observations. Therefore, the authors are more confident with the results of the holistic approach, i.e. that the main factor affecting changes on the levels of risk of acquired companies is liquidity, followed by the levels of debt, while profitability has no decisive impact on risk. Pearson correlation analyses fully confirm the latter, while the risk-debt relation is confirmed for Y3-Y5 and the risk-liquidity relation for Y1-Y3.

⁵⁹ Mohamed & Kim-Soon (No 82); Awais et al (No 89); Rajkumar (No 90).

⁶⁰ Range et al (No 79)

This study has a number of limitations. The sample contained only acquired companies. As such, no generalization on mergers can be made. The small size of the market unavoidably results in a small sample available for analysis. As mentioned before, this study applied the holistic approach in parallel with Pearson correlation to overcome this limitation. Nevertheless, the findings of the study should be tested in larger samples. Another limitation stems from the choice to use the Altman Z score for the evaluation of bankruptcy risk. The advantages of this choice have been discussed already. However, the model is based on accounting ratios, which means that it uses the historical cost and accrual accounting as its base. An approach closer to the principles of finance that would use future cost and cash-flow estimations may provide additional insights. Moreover, the analyses here are based only on accounting data and did not consider other factors/parameters such as corporate culture, corporate governance, staff and performance motivation systems, staff relations, product lifecycle, competition, infrastructure, and clientele that could influence the outcomes of acquisitions. Again, those issues could be the focus of future research.

It has been argued that risk is rather a subjective perception than an objective condition^{61 62}. Although this may be indeed the case, bankruptcy incidents are real. Not only the findings of this study support this, but also business history is full of such facts. The approach of this paper is based on objectified data and models that, arguably, may assist subjects, i.e. those managing the acquired companies to get through the difficult, as realized by the findings of this study, post-acquisition period. The Z score analysis provides visibility on risk levels and on certain factors that lead them, thus creating possibilities for managerial corrective action. Although a takeover may appear as a solution for a company to empower its financial position it often has the opposite results. In Cyprus, not only a number of acquisitions resulted in forms of bankruptcy (have been placed under management, liquidation or receivership arrangements), but also the levels of bankruptcy risk increased for most of the companies examined. Perhaps a more conservatory approach should be followed when such important decisions that significantly affect the wellbeing of numerous and oftentimes small shareholders, because those negative results una-

⁶¹ Singleton-Green, B., and Hodkinson, R. Reporting Business Risks: Meeting Expectations, Institute of Chartered Accountants in England and Wales (ICAEW): London (2011).

⁶² Ricciardi, V., A Risk Perception Primer: A Narrative Research Review of the Risk Perception Literature in Behavioral Accounting and Behavioral Finance, (2004).

voidable spread to the local economy and society. This also signals to policy-makers the need for a stricter control framework for acquisitions, at least at the local market.

In conclusion this is a pioneer study for the post-merging levels of bankruptcy risk, the main factors that lead them, as well as for its research setting of Cyprus. The findings support that the bankruptcy risk levels increase during the five years of post-acquisition period examined. The main factors that lead the course of risk were found to be debt and liquidity. Less secure, and in need of future testing, is the finding that liquidity is the main factor affecting the levels of risk at the first years following the acquisition, while debt takes its turn in lead after the third year on.

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**SPECIAL
SECTION**

**Gender in Cyprus:
Equality, Rights,
and Beyond**

**NOTE
TO THE
SPECIAL
SECTION**

Dear Readers,

In these times of perplexity and contestation, when fundamental values upon which the post-war order has been erected are challenged, while new threats, like the global pandemic, try to make their mark on the Anthropocene, moments of intellectual serendipity are of paramount importance. Such moments have been encapsulated in the following pages, featuring a vast range of contributions, including original research, on several sub-sectors of gender studies, always in a Cyprological perspective. We take this opportunity, to commend on the authors' unique vision of a Cyprus-oriented gender sensitive research, and –especially– their intellectual boldness, motivating more scholars and researchers to include such topics in their agenda.

The present section is the scholarly outcome of the *Review's* Spring 2020 Call on *Gender in Cyprus: Equality, Rights, and Beyond*. As stated in the aforementioned Call, gender, much like all proto-societal notions, bears significant philosophical, political, economic, legal, and even metaphysical connotations. In recent decades, the collective *topos* of gender, feminist, queer, sexual diversity, and LGBTQI+ studies has experienced a prolific development. However, topical studies in the national, local, and domestic context are still scarce. This was the ultimate cause for opening the Call mentioned above and the intended contribution of the present special section; to activate, promote, and substantiate the debate on gender studies *lato sensu* through an acclaimed intellectual platform of Cyprological studies, *The Cyprus Review*.

The section begins with Maria Angeli's contribution entitled 'Constructing and Deconstructing Gender Stereotypes Across Cyprus' Schools', a research paper aiming to obtain insight into the reproduction of gender stereotypes across Cyprus' schools, record good practices, and strike a blow to the phenomenon of entrenched gender inequality. This is followed by Magdalene Antreou's article on 'Women Bank Shareholders in Cyprus (1913-1930): Bridging 'Separate Spheres' in a Family Type Economy'. This paper, based on archival research, seeks to challenge the master narrative of 'separate spheres' and to discuss women's investment activity within a family framework. Christiana Cleridou's contribution entitled 'The Impact of the

EU Accession on Promoting Equal Pay and Female Voices in Cyprus' discusses the impact of EU accession on the national industrial relations system and on the involvement of social partners and civil society in the legislative process, including the post-accession development of NGOs specialising in women's issues. This is followed by Ioannis P. Giokaris' and Maria Eleni Pouliasi's original research paper, entitled 'To Tax or Not to Tax? Tampon Taxes and Gender (In)Equality: The Cyprus Case-Study', focusing on an important question, which was recently placed at the centre of the public debate. Then, Maria Photiou takes the lead with her contribution on 'Gendered Narratives in Adamantios Diamantis' *The World of Cyprus*' exploring gender relations and socio-political conditions in patriarchal Cyprus under the lens of Diamantis' work. This is followed by Marilena Zackheos article, entitled 'The Lesbian Space of Contemporary Greek-Cypriot Art', which traces the ways Greek-Cypriot self-confessed lesbian artist Charitini Kyriakou takes up space in her visual work. Finally, the special section concludes with Andreas Hadjigeorgiou's paper, entitled 'Republic of Cyprus: A Right to (Gender) Equality?', which discusses the jurisprudential underpinnings of gender equality.

Dimitrios A. Kourtis

Constructing and Deconstructing Gender Stereotypes Across Cyprus' Schools

MARIA ANGELI¹

Abstract

As primary agents of socialisation, schools convey values and behavioural models which often reinforce gender stereotypes. At the same time, education can be an effective tool in challenging unequal gender-based power relationships. The purpose of this research is to further obtain insight into the reproduction of gender stereotypes across Cyprus' schools. It also aims to record good practices, which, consciously or not, resist dominant gender-based stereotypes and strike a blow to the phenomenon of entrenched gender inequality. I have conducted this research in the course of my work at the Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies, in a six months period in 2018.

Keywords: gender stereotypes, gender segregation, education, Cyprus

Introduction

As shown by several feminist studies on education, the school, as an institution, tends to mirror and reproduce gender stereotypes, gender inequality and hegemonic masculinity.² As early as kindergarten, children are raised according to the boy-girl binary, steered towards different colours, games and interests, according to their gender. Further on in their education, students learn which gender is the more valuable and therefore more important across subjects like history, science, sports. Students are inundated with stories of great male politicians, historians, artists, scientists, poets, while women are mentioned less often, and usually as supporting characters in national struggles or occupying secondary roles in the public sphere. In this manner, the educational system supports the exclusion of half the population, while at the same time broadening the opportunities of the other half.³

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² Christine Skeleton & Becky Francis, *Feminism and 'the schooling scandal'* (London: Routledge 2008); Madeleine Arnot & Mairtin Mac An Ghaill, *The Routledge Reader in Gender and Education*. (New York: Routledge, 2006); Sara Delamont, *Sex Roles and the School* (2nd edn London: Routledge 1990)

³ Giorgos Tsiakalos, *The Promise of Pedagogy (Η υπόσχεση της παιδαγωγικής)* (Athens: Epikentro 2008) (In Greek).

Boys and girls are socialised differently, which heavily impacts their educational and vocational choices, that often reflect gender stereotypes.⁴ The long tradition of women's social role being attached to the care of the home and children might explain why more women choose studies and professions related to care, such as teaching young children or nursing, which are considered to be an extension of the role of women in the household.⁵ Conversely, boys and men learn from a young age to be strong, aggressive and technically proficient, which might explain the over-concentration of men in technical professions. The divergence in these choices is based on the dominating stereotypes around which sectors are more appropriate for women or men respectively, as opposed to proven differences in performance.⁶ Core agents of socialisation, such as schools and the media, create different expectations from men and women regarding the roles they are asked to perform. Along the lines of a self-fulfilling prophecy, people tend to internalise and reproduce these expectations when making educational and occupational choices.⁷

Statistics on educational options in Cyprus and Europe illustrate that girls and boys do in fact choose different education and occupation areas, creating the phenomenon of horizontal gender segregation. According to the most recent survey on academic choices, gender segregation is apparent within secondary education in Cyprus. The most important gender divergence can be found in courses such as technology (only 3,7% girls compared to 16,5% boys) and history (21.4% girls compared to only 6% boys). Moreover, despite the fact that mathematics is one of the most popular courses for girls, there is still a considerable gap between genders by 25 percentage points.⁸ Gender segregation in the selection of subjects at second-

⁴ Becky Francis, 'Is the Future Really Female? The Impact and Implications of Gender for 14-16 Year Olds' Career Choices' (2002) 15(1) *Journal of Education and Work* 77-88; Joscha Legewie & Thomas A. DiPrete, 'The High School Environment and the Gender Gap in Science and Engineering' (2014) 87(4) *Sociology of Education* 259-280; Vassiliki Deligianni-Kouimtzi, *Gender Sensitive Counselling (Συμβουλευτική με την οπτική του φύλου)* (Athens: Ellinika Grammata, 2010) (in Greek).

⁵ Behrooz Kalantari, 'The Influence of Social Values and Childhood Socialization on Occupational Gender Segregation and Wage Disparity' (2012) 41(2) *Public Personnel Management* 241-255.

⁶ Francine M. Deutsch, 'Undoing Gender' (2007) 22(1) *Gender & Society* 106-127.

⁷ Cecilia L. Ridgeway & Shelley J. Correll, 'Unpacking the Gender System: A Theoretical Perspective on Gender Beliefs and Social Relations' (2004) 18(4) *Gender & Society* 510-531.

⁸ Ministry of Labour and Social Insurance of the Republic of Cyprus, *Combating Gender Segregation in Employment - Provision of Training Services for Career Counsellors, Teachers and Parents. (Καταπολέμηση του Επαγγελματικού Διαχωρισμού με βάση το Φύλο- Παροχή Υπηρεσιών Κατάρτισης Συμβούλων Επαγγελματικής Αγωγής, Εκπαιδευτικών και Γονέων)* (Nicosia: Ministry of Labour and Social Insurance of the Republic of Cyprus 2013) (in Greek).

ary education level is reflected in tertiary education, where women often limit their choice to the fields of social and human sciences, while men choose science and technology. Gender segregation is prevalent across Europe and has led to an over-concentration of boys and men in fields related to science, technology, engineering and mathematics.⁹

Other than the concentration of women and men in differing subjects and fields of study, vertical gender segregation describes the phenomenon of male overrepresentation in management positions.¹⁰ In Europe, only a third (33%) of executives are women.¹¹ In Cyprus, the percentage of women in management positions is among the five lowest in Europe, at 26%.

Gender segregation is a social problem, as it reproduces gender-based inequality and limits the range of options for both men and women. Women in Cyprus and in Europe are concentrated in low-paid professions and at the lower levels of the workplace hierarchy. This leads to gender inequalities such as the pay gap, which has reached 14% in Cyprus and 16,4% in Europe.¹² Furthermore, gender segregation confines the choices of children and adults to predetermined roles, often preventing them from exploring fields which do not mesh with the expectations set for their gender. Boys and girls find it challenging to dream of a career in a field where their gender is significantly underrepresented.¹³ This overconcentration of men in technical professions and women in the field of humanities has therefore given rise to the concern that the human race is likely missing the opportunity to make use of women's talents in science and, correspondingly, men's talents in the field of humanities. Fighting against gender segregation and stereotyping would broaden the range of options for boys and girls, offering them the freedom and flexibility to navigate their options. At the same time, this is the key to eliminate the abovementioned gender inequality in the labour market.

⁹ European Commission, *Promoting Citizenship and the Common Values of Freedom, Tolerance and Non-discrimination Through Education: Overview of Education Policy Developments in Europe Following the Paris Declaration of 17 March 2015* (2016), available at: <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/ebbab0bb-ef2f-11e5-8529-01aa75ed71a1>.

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ Eurostat, *Gender Pay Gap Statistics – Statistics Explained* (2016), available at: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Gender_pay_gap_statistics.

¹² Ibid

¹³ Behrooz Kalantari, 'The Influence of Social Values and Childhood Socialization on Occupational Gender Segregation and Wage Disparity' (2012) 41(2) *Public Personnel Management* 241-255.

Education is a fundamental tool for the elimination of gender stereotypes that contribute to horizontal and vertical gender segregation and gender inequality across all aspects of social life.¹⁴

Methodology

Our research followed qualitative methods, utilising focus groups with students, professors and careers counsellors, as well as school observations. Semi-structured questionnaires were used in the course of conducting the focus groups. Two focus groups with a total of ten educators were conducted, which included practicing public school secondary education teachers and careers counsellors. The subjects they taught included both sciences and humanities, and they came from schools in Nicosia and the district of Famagusta, in order to cover a wider geographical sample. Participating students, a balanced selection of boys and girls, came from the age range of 13 to 16 years old. The sample included children from public and private schools from the city as well as the wider district of Nicosia, in order to ensure an adequate socio-economic range for the sample. A total of 15 young people participated in the two student focus groups.

At the same time, the researcher also performed school observations. This method was selected as an additional mean of understanding gender issues, as it contributes to the monitoring of experiences and interactions among the relevant groups within the context of the school environment in particular.¹⁵ A variety of schools, both middle schools and high schools, were included from the cities and wider districts of Nicosia, Larnaca and Limassol in order to achieve the widest geographical sample. The researcher performed sustained observations over a total of 32 teaching hours, eight in each school. I observed classes in both sciences and humanities. I also noted what was happening during break times. In order to validate the research and also respect the participants, the researcher followed a protocol, which stipulated silent observation at the back of the class, without interfering in the lesson, in order to minimise her impact on the natural flow of the lesson.

The research data was analysed in a two-step process. First, the data yielded from the research, the transcripts of focus group discussions with teachers and

¹⁴ European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE), *Gender in Education and Training* (2016), available at: <https://eige.europa.eu/publications/gender-education-and-training>.

¹⁵ Jerry R. Thomas, Jack K. Nelson, Stephen J. Silverman, *Research Methods in Physical Activity* (4th edn, Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 2001).

students and the observation notes, was codified. I used inductive reasoning (i.e. looking at the research data in isolation, without drawing from related theories or previous research) to identify some basic analytical categories, ten which emerged from concepts consistent throughout the data. In the second phase of analysis, the data was examined through the lens of feminist theory, to see whether gender stereotypes were being reinforced or challenged in school.

Research results

Construction of Gender Stereotypes in the School Environment

The research revealed that one of the core beliefs that perpetuate stereotypes in school is the focus on biological differences between boys and girls. This focus feeds the stereotype that boys and girls tend to hold distinct skills and talents. While biological differences undoubtedly exist between genders, these should not lead to generalised beliefs, since the boy / girl classification does not accommodate the range of diversity among those who share a gender. As the renowned biologist, Richard Lewontin¹⁶ warns us in his book *Biology as Ideology*, we must be wary of those using biology to justify social stereotypes and inequalities. Below, I list a number of dominant beliefs regarding the differing skills between genders that emerged during our research, as well as practices through which these beliefs could be challenged.

One argument related to the biological differences between genders, specifically that of physical strength, was consistently confirmed by behaviours and perceptions exhibited during both focus groups and school observations. The argument supports that girls should be excluded from subjects, activities and professions which require or are deemed to require a certain measure of physical strength. This belief is reinforced even through simple, everyday school practices. Angela, a student, describes her experience below:

'If a teacher, for example, asks a student to move a desk, they will no doubt ask a boy to do it, without even thinking that a girl would be able to'.

Angela, private school student

During an observation at a middle school, one professor told a student, 'Nicolas, you turn on the projector, you are the tallest in the class'. Four girls in the class began to laugh out loud, telling the teacher that Nicolas is indeed the tallest among

¹⁶ Richard Lewontin, *Biology as Ideology: The Doctrine of DNA* (London: Penguin 2001).

the boys, but there were girls in the class taller than him. This incident proves the extent to which stereotypical images of female and male bodies limit observations and evaluations about their respective capabilities.

Physical strength can also be used as an excuse to exclude women from technical subjects and occupations. For example, some teachers who participated in the research attribute the fact that girls do not express much interest in electrical engineering to their beliefs around physical strength.

'They might be thinking that, you have to be dextrous to become an electrician or an engineer. Or that you have to be agile, to lift weights, to go up ladders.'

Elpida, technical school teacher

The view that technical professions are not suitable for women and girls, due to a difference in physique, seems to be embraced by Stavros, technical school teacher:

'Some professions need strength. I would see her, a half pint, trying to hold a bolt. I mean, some things fit a certain body type. She will need to do manual labour which, if she does not have the strength, that body type, she will not be able to do. On the other hand, there are tasks that men might not be able to perform due to their body type, tasks that require a gentler touch, let us say.'

Stavros, technical school teacher

It is interesting how the rest of the teachers refuted this argument, by claiming the following:

'There are machines now for these tasks!'

Konstantinos, technical school teacher

'Ok, these stereotypes are being increasingly done away with. See what is happening in the army. Women had better results in shooting than the men this year. We are seeing a reversal. Men are proving to be better cooks than [the women] (laughs).'

Andreas, technical school teacher

I also encountered the stereotypical belief that boys are stronger than girls in my observations during physical education. Physical education teachers who participated in the research clearly argued for the maintenance of gender-segregated classes because, in their opinion, boys and girls perform differently.

'Boys are stronger, it is difficult to put them together (with the girls).'

Marina, physical education teacher

'Boys and girls should always be separate, because the level of training is very different. Even in sporting events, don't men and women compete separately?'

Michalis, Physical Education teacher

At this point, it is worth mentioning that the Cyprus Association of Physical Education Teachers is officially opposed to placing boys and girls into mixed groups in physical education. The association protested this very topic outside the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) in 2016.¹⁷

Although the MoEC guidelines have not changed, this research illustrated that teachers' opinions vary, with some adhering to gender-segregated teaching, while others welcoming mixed classes. One physical education teacher, Michalis, for example, keeps boys and girls apart, adapting his class according to gender. He instructs girls to run fewer laps around the track. On the other hand, Marina, who also teaches physical education, allows both mixed and gender-segregated classes. Her view is that gender segregation helps physical education teachers reach their quota of working hours, but it is also useful in tailoring the subject to the genders' respective capabilities, which she agrees, differ.

As I observed her class, I saw how the above belief was challenged by the students themselves, for example, in a mixed class of boys and girls, Marina demonstrated a floor exercise for the students. At some point, she gave two variations, one which was easier than the other, saying, 'Girls can do this (the easier version)'. Some girls performed the more difficult variation. Some boys, such as Phillipos, reacted along the lines of, 'Miss, what about gender equality, why do they get to do the easier exercise?' Marina replied by saying, 'I did not say that they should not do it, I said, if they cannot do it, they can do this'. The next time Marina was giving instructions, she avoided mentioning gender, opting for, 'If somebody finds it difficult, they can do this'. Although while observing her class no differences were

¹⁷ Politis newspaper, 'Association of Physical Education Teachers: boys and girls should not exercise into mixed groups' (Σύνδεσμος Γυμναστών: Να μην γυμνάζονται μαζί αγόρια – κορίτσια) *Politis newspaper* (Nicosia, 8 September 2016) (in Greek) <https://politis.com.cy/article/sindesmos-gimnaston-na-min-gimnazonte-mazi-agoria--koritsia> (last accessed 10 August 2020).

detected in boys' or girls' interest and energy levels, Marina, nevertheless noted that, 'Girls are less keen because of their hormones'.

Some students who participated in the research did not share the views of their teachers regarding girls being physically weaker, having a limited interest or lower performance in physical education. They were rather critical of the teachers' tendency to have lower expectations of the girls' performance. The following was covered during a focus group with high school students:

- Anna: *Generally speaking, education also promotes stereotypes, like segregating boys and girls in gym class.*
- Afroditi: *It depends, for example in gym class they did not have us take a particular exam because they thought we would not perform as well as boys.*
- Orestis: *Yes, it is like they instruct girls to run four laps around the running track, while we do six. A girl could also run six laps. it is just that not everybody can do it, it is not gender-related.*
- Haris: *Yes, this has to do with a person's physical condition, their stamina.*
- Researcher: *Are there boys who cannot run six laps?*
- Everybody: *Yes, there are.*

Although no student participating in the research explicitly expressed opinions in favour of gender inequality, school observations illustrated that there was often a discrepancy between what students would say and what they would do. This demonstrates that, despite the contemporary educational practice of promoting political correctness, there has been no radical change in practices which essentially reproduce unequal power relationships between the genders. Boys overwhelmingly dominated the school environment and even devised ways of maintaining it if said dominance was seen to be threatened, despite not openly admitting to doing so.

The most distinctive example was observed during a free period, when the children were instructed to play football. A mixed group of boys and girls went to the football field. Two boys appointed themselves team captains and began to build their teams by selecting players. During the selection, they left out five girls who were waiting along with the other children. One of them asked, 'Hey, who are we with?' without receiving any answer. Out of the five girls who were initially interested in playing, only two stayed on the field, Artemis and Thekla. The two girls who

stayed on were eventually included into the two teams, but only by their own initiative. Thekla assumed a less active role in the game, bringing the ball back when it went out of the field. Artemis seemed more combative. Christophoros, a boy sitting on a bench, asked her at some point to leave the game and give him her notebook so he could copy an exercise from her. She ordered him to take the notebook himself and, five minutes later, he told her, 'I do not want to hurt your feelings, but you have to come and tell me what you have written, because I cannot figure out your handwriting'. Artemis did not leave the game, instead she tried to participate and complained when they did not pass her the ball, saying, 'Why did you not pass me the ball, you guys, I was free, I could have scored', and Aristos replied, 'Oh please, girl, what would you have done, a bicycle kick?'. As the game went on, Artemis persisted, playing more dynamically and managing to steal the ball from Yannis and scoring a goal. Yannis then grabbed her by the waist, picked her up and put her in a different spot. When the bell rang, the children headed to the classroom for their next period. Yannis hugged Artemis, saying:

- Yannis: *We will play again and you will see what you will get if you ever take the ball from me. Oh and by the way your little pink swimsuit is perfect.*
- Artemis: *Where did you see it? I do not have any photos on Facebook wearing my swimsuit. (Thinks for a second and shouts to another boy). Andreas, I sent you that photo in confidence!*

The aforementioned incident indicates some of the ways in which boys impose and preserve unequal power relations in schools. As noted by feminist theorist, Nancy Fraser¹⁸, exclusion and social status allow for discrimination against women and any other person considered inferior. In the example above, the boys clearly adopted both these practices, through excluding the girls when picking teams, ignoring them, and minimising the social status of girls who try to participate. Artemis, who fought to change her role within the team, became the target of violent behaviour, which had the sole purpose of weakening her and putting her in her place.

In the course of the same incident, Antonis, a smaller boy with a high-pitched voice, that he would be teased for in class, received a higher status and acceptance by his peers when he played football well. Whenever he managed to score a goal or

¹⁸ Nancy Fraser, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere: a Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy' (1990) 25/26 *Social Text* 56-80

steal the ball, the boys encouraged and cheered him. It seems that boys have more areas in which they are afforded the opportunity to have a voice and gain social acceptance. One only needs to observe the most common spatial planning in schools. The soccer field, which is statistically dominated by boys, usually occupies the largest area of the schoolyard. Girls are frequently confined to the periphery of the field.

Nevertheless, boys who have no natural talent for sports are also an easy target, as they do not live up to the prerequisites of their gender. For example, in the course of observing a gym class, certain boys began to jeer one of their classmates who could not complete the laps, calling him little girl, period pad and faggot. The characterisations that make reference to women and homosexuals give boys a dual message. On the one hand, if he does not live up to the social rules regarding male power, he will not fit into the hegemonic category of being a heterosexual man; while, the message concurrently denigrates women by placing them in the weaker group. Similar incidents also emerged in discussion with students and teachers, for example:

I had a student who was kind of chubby, and they would make fun of him, he did not want to do come to gym class, whenever he had gym he would not come to school, then his mum came, we told him that he was missing classes, etc. In the end, he said he did not want to come to school when they had gym, because they were making fun of him when he was training and running. It got to the point where he had been absent so many times, that he was close to failing his grade, all because he did not want to come to school'.

Maria, counsellor

Although research based on the subject of physical education demonstrated that girls are vulnerable in mixed classes, the solution does not seem to lie in segregating classes by gender. Segregation might create a safer environment for girls, but it would not protect weaker boys. Furthermore, some of the incidents I described above could evidence that mixed physical education classes are conducive to challenging dominant stereotypes regarding the potential of girls and boys, as corroborated by the classroom studies conducted by Koca¹⁹ in 2009 and McCaughtry in 2014²⁰. The binary discourse, as imposed by gender-segregated classes, encourages

¹⁹ Canan Koca, 'Gender Interaction in Coed Physical Education: A Study in Turkey' (2009) 44 *Adolescence* 165-185.

²⁰ Nate McCaughtry, 'Learning to Red Gender Relations in Schooling: Implications of Personal History and Teaching Context on Identifying Disempowerment of Girls' (2014) 75 *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 400-412.

the view that boys and girls are more different than they are alike. This might risk strengthening the stereotype that boys are more capable in physical education. As we have seen, this stereotype is problematic both for boys and girls, since the distinction based on gender leaves no room for differing levels of performance and interest towards a subject. Therefore, the solution does not lie in segregation, but rather in sensitised scheduling and supervision, taking into account potentially emergent gender inequalities.

The present research has indicated that the use of Greek language in schools reproduces power relations between genders in two ways: a) through the dominance of the masculine gender in grammar, e.g. adjectives, nouns and other parts of speech, and b) through the pejorative use of female adjectives. Through classroom observations, but also textbook examination, it was confirmed that the masculine gender is used predominantly as a generic term for both boys and girls, which is highly detrimental to the visibility of girls. Even in all-girl classes, teachers would use masculine pronouns and adjectives, such as: 'If somebody knows this, he should tell us {...}', 'who dares, can answer {...}', 'cooperate with he who sits next to you'. I also observed that the masculine noun headmaster was used parking lot signs or outside the headmaster's office, even when the school had a headmistress.

Participating schools also produced incidents where I observed that feminine adjectives were frequently applied to boys in a derogatory manner. This fact was observed mostly during physical education, as mentioned above, and during breaks. This observation was also noted by Yannis in one of the focus groups with counsellors:

'Sometimes, when boys talk to each other, they say, you are acting like a girl. Or do not cry like a girl. Well, they are segregated, so when boys want to insult another boy they use feminine gender. I have never however encountered an instance when boys are mentioned in a negative way, do not act like a man, for example, for girls (they laugh).'

Yannis, counsellor

As schools are a core arena of public discourse production, the use of language in the Cyprus education system requires further study. Feminist theory has highlighted the role of language in understanding the world and the role of gender within it. For example, Prewitt-Freilino et al.²¹ have argued that equality indicators tend to be lower

²¹ Jennifer L. Prewitt-Freilino, T. Andrew Caswell & Emmi K. Laakso, 'The Gendering of Language: A

in countries where gender-discriminatory language is used. Language both reflects and has the simultaneous ability to influence social reality.²² In this way, the use of the generalised masculine gender in grammar affects us and strengthens the hegemonic role of the male human and the implicitly supplemental role of the female.

Although there have been sporadic efforts to diversify the Greek language²³, there has been no unified effort in either the Cypriot nor the Greek education system to use non-sexist language. It must be stressed that guidance on this topic must take into consideration historical, social and linguistic contexts, as these will be relevant in incorporating and testing the non-sexist language. Proposals that are hierarchically imposed come with the risk of creating backlash and achieving the diametrically opposite result: radical change, intended to fight against linguistic sexism and its consequences, is instead superseded by empty proclamations of political correctness.²⁴

Another stereotype prevalent in schools that is illustrated through this research is that boys are less well-behaved than girls. For example, during an observation conducted at a Nicosia district school, a pair of girls and a pair of boys were talking at the back of the class. The teacher only reprimanded the boys, whom he moved to the front, and encouraged to participate in class. The students who participated in the research, both from private and public schools, also observed that teachers tend to tell boys off for misbehaving more frequently than girls.

'Girls tend to be seen as more organised or quiet. Like boys and girls might both be talking in class, but it is only the boys' fault, for any reason'.

Andriana, public high school student

'In the classroom, it is like Kyriakos said, the naughtier, those who talk more are assumed to be the boys. They are not so strict with girls'.

Katerina, private school student

Comparison of Gender Equality in Countries with Gendered, Natural Gender, and Genderless Languages' (2012) 66 *Sex Roles* 268–281.

²² Theodosia Soula Pavlidou (ed.), *Language-Sex-Gender* (Γλώσσα-Γένος-Φύλο) (Thessaloniki: Manolis Triandaphyllidis Foundation, 2006) (in Greek); Lera Boroditsky, 'How Does our Language Shape the Way we Think?' In Max Brockman (ed.), *What's next? Dispatches on the Future of Science* (New York: Vintage Books, 2009).

²³ See, for example, the guidelines of non-sexist language in official documents in Greece.

²⁴ Theodosia Soula Pavlidou (ed.), *Language-Sex-Gender* (Γλώσσα-Γένος-Φύλο) (Thessaloniki: Manolis Triandaphyllidis Foundation, 2006) (in Greek).

The research also revealed the pervasive rumour that technical schools are for badly-behaved boys. This, combined with the stereotype that girls tend to more demure, acts as a barrier to female attendance at these schools. As some teachers put it:

'I worked in middle schools for many years, I was teaching third grade and I happened to talk with students. Who of you is intending to go to a technical school, who will go to a high school and which direction will you follow? For most girls, the attitude was: 'I am not going to a technical school; all the losers are going there'.

Elpida, technical school teacher

Apart from the stereotypes leading boys and girls to select different subjects and schools, technical schools have been burdened with the stereotype that they offer a lower level of education and thus are more suitable for unruly students and scholars who have performed badly in school. This stereotype further distances girls from selecting technical schools, increasing the gender gap in technical vocations. Additionally, it acts as a barrier to good students of either gender, who believe, due to a shortage of adequate information, that technical schools provide a lower level of education.

'The technical field has a lot of issues. There are taboos saying those schools are attended by boys who are challenging, who are bad influences. As much as a girl might consider it, the environment, even on open days, does not make them want to end up there'.

Eleni, counsellor

The stereotype about technical schools seems to affect the prestige not only of the students, but also of the teachers who work there, according to Konstantinos, a technical school teacher:

Among colleagues there is also this discrimination... 'You are working in the technical field, I am in a high school, you are in a middle school'.

The stereotype that technical schools provide a lower level of teaching is unfounded, as explained by the teachers who participated in the research:

'There is also the idea that: Ah! Technical schools? Full of boys and slow learners. I also had this notion. When asked: 'Would you let your son or your daughter go to a technical school?', I would answer emphatically 'No!'. Now, after I have seen the work that goes into teaching theory in a technical school, I feel that we do good work, and due to the fact that our class sizes are

small, I believe that we can easily be put on the same level as high schools’.

Elpida, technical school teacher

Technical schools in Cyprus also offer specialised knowledge and skills which are required for certain technical studies or jobs. Access to technical schools could be a good start in challenging gender-based occupational segregation, which results in technical professions and classes being dominated by men. Regrettably, entrenched beliefs continue to prevent girls from selecting technical schools, which may create additional difficulties in pursuing technical studies at university. Elena, a technical school teacher, explains:

‘At university I met fellow students from Greece. There were many courses that they passed with flying colours without even studying, because they had covered them in school, whereas we were completely ignorant, having attended high school (as opposed to a technical school). We ended up having a very tough time managing to pass those courses’.

Eleni, technical school teacher

Girls are often vulnerable to gender violence in schools in Cyprus.²⁵ The present research, and especially the focus group with teachers, illustrated that girls in technical schools, being the minority, are particularly vulnerable to exclusion and gender-based violence coming from their male peers.

‘The behaviour towards girls, especially by the boys, is not really appropriate. There is no respect’.

Stavros, technical school teacher

‘If a girl walks by a group of boys, they will tease her, they will mock her, they will say something salacious and try make them cry’.

Konstantinos, technical school teacher

Even female teachers are exposed to gender-based violence in male-dominated schools, except that they are better equipped to deal with the situation, as explained by Elpida, below.

‘I was appointed at a young age, so I dealt with pretty much the same things here as the female students. The difference was that I was shielded by my

²⁵ Christina Kaili & Susana Elisa Pavlou, *Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) and Sexual Violence (SV) in adolescents: preventive and supportive initiatives in Cyprus* (2015), available at: <https://medinstgenderstudies.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Deliverable1.1.CountryReportCyprus1.pdf>

position. I had the power to inform the parents, to try to engage them in a pedagogical dialogue, even to refer the incident to an assistant, the principal, that is, to escalate it, so that the student felt that at some point he had to draw the line because you have power, something which female students do not have at school'.

Elpida, technical school teacher

Girls in technical schools are forced to adopt specific roles and survival mechanisms. According to technical school teachers, girls either assume passive and receptive roles or they try to join in boys' groups, adopting behaviour that is socially constructed as boyish, in an effort to feel safe and accepted.

'There was once a girl who was the only one of her class. In order to survive, she had developed the same walk, the same vocabulary and male behaviour. The boys might simply comment that she was too much of a guy to be a woman, and while there was probably also a matter of sexuality there, but of course the girl never gave them any reason. On the contrary, most treated her like she was a boy'.

Christina, technical school teacher

'At that stage (when they are being verbally harassed), girls have two choices: 1. They can put their head down, pretend they did not hear anything and move on; 2. They raise their head and talk back. When they raise their head and talk back, there is a very fine line that if crossed, can enrage boys and even lead to blows'.

Andreas, technical school teacher

Based on the above, any attempt to attract girls and women to male-dominated fields of study and work should comprehensively take into account the social realities. Gendered issues, such as occupational gender segregation, are not distinct from gender-based violence and male hegemony. Additionally, the value of humanities subjects, as well as the cultivation of humanist and feminist principles are deemed to be essential to the smooth operation of schools and the minimising of transgressive behaviour. There is a risk in focusing on pushing girls into technical professions, without also trying to attract boys towards the fields of humanities. Although the market offers more employment opportunities in technology sectors, should we allow this to diminish the humanities and other school subjects? Should the school just follow market trends and what consequences will this have on its smooth operation?

Some teachers seem to espouse the common stereotype, which links care-giving professions to the status of motherhood, thus assessing women as being more suitable because of their nature. For example, Andreas, a technical school teacher, said:

‘Imagine a primary school with men. When a kid starts school and sees a female teacher, they will feel like they are at home and the teacher is like their mum. Imagine the kid going and finding men. What would happen? The kid would be terrified’.

The experience of one of the male teachers who participated in the discussion, who was a primary school teacher at the beginning of his career, contradicts the above stereotype, demonstrating the self-evident, in our opinion, ability of children to connect with any adult in their environment, regardless of the adult’s gender.

‘As a primary school teacher, I many times felt that kids become close with me, like a mother, just like Andreas said. They would come in the morning and hug me round the legs, both boys and girls, they would leave their mum and come to me. They would see me as a substitute. I gained many things from primary schools and my experience has left me nothing but grateful’.

Stavros, technical school teacher

Konstantinos adds that it is important to have both female and male role models in school.

‘Between these two scenarios, I think they are both bad. If we had to choose a scenario, only men or only women, I think it would be disastrous’.

Konstantinos, technical school teacher

The students who participated in the research felt in their majority that the teacher’s gender does not determine care-giving skills. For example, Aris, a high school student, said:

‘Maybe a man would not be patient enough to withstand the sound of kids crying, maybe he would yell at them, but that is not necessarily true. A woman might not be as patient as a man or vice versa’.

Aris, public school student

The connection between maternity and the labour market is the basis of vertical gender segregation, as women are overwhelmingly concentrated in care-giving professions, for example in the fields of education and health.²⁶

²⁶ Statistical Service of Cyprus, *Labour Research (Έρευνα εργατικού δυναμικού) (2017)*, available at:

As many teachers feel, the stereotype which links girls to aesthetics and boys to practicality can be witnessed from the way that students take care of their textbooks, all the way to their performance in the workplace. Some teachers seem to believe that girls' notebooks and handwriting are tidier.

'If I had in my hands two papers without a name, I would be able to tell which one was written by a boy and which by a girl. Girls are tidier, they will get a second pen, they will underline, while boys are messy, they write as they please'.

Andronikos, Mathematics teacher

As regards job performance, two high school teachers expressed that women in technical professions emphasise the aesthetics of construction jobs, thus risking their functionality, while, on the contrary, men focus on functionality, thus risking aesthetics and detail. This stereotypical view was not backed up by any evidence, nor was it contested by the other participants in the discussion, quite unlike other stereotypes that were brought up.

'We see it in construction offices. The purpose of men's sketches is functionality, while young women's sketches also strive for beauty'.

Andreas, technical school teacher

'It is true. Functionality is one thing and practicality is another (laughs). We (men) want practicality. We want to make something work and we do not care. A woman, on the other hand, will also observe the details'.

Konstantinos, technical school teacher

The belief that boys think more practically has urged some teachers and students to believe that boys are, by nature, better in Mathematics.

'The right side of boys' brains are, I think, more cultivated, let us say, when they are born, and this gives them a natural, if you like, advantage that they can, their mathematical side is a little better'.

Kyriakos, private school student

Antonia, a mathematics teacher, initially argued that she sees no difference between genders in her classes. She then added, however, that when girls perform

<https://www.mof.gov.cy/mof/cystat/statistics.nsf/All/DECFE28EC4C73D9CC2257D9E004E918C?OpenDocument> (in Greek).

well, this is based on studying, whereas for boys this can be attributed to on-the-spot thinking:

'Boys, even the weaker ones, can jump up and give you an answer that would surprise you. Ok, girls too, but they study, that is why.'

Antonia, Mathematics teacher

This opinion was refuted by Haralambos, another mathematics teacher, who did not identify any biological differences in the performance and the interest level of his students. He did, however, detect peer pressure on boys to not want to seem particularly interested in his lesson, for fear of being regarded as nerds. The classroom observations illustrated that, although he treated his boys and girls equally, boys showed signs of higher self-confidence. There were many classroom incidents where boys tried to find alternative solutions to exercises, saying, for example: 'Sir, my take on it was different'. Haralambos encouraged children to find alternatives, in an effort to cultivate their mathematical thinking, but this certainly required self-confidence, especially in a subject that seemed to attract boys more. Another observation was how boys would more frequently joke around in class and shout out answers without having raised their hand, all of which contributed to a feeling of the boys' verbal dominance in the classroom.

It is a fact that boys are more self-confident in mathematics than girls, who believe they are better at reading.²⁷ Our research revealed that social perceptions around the performance of girls and boys in mathematics and practical courses are usually expressed very openly, but also, at times, in subtle ways. For example, boys being self-confident in mathematics is so normalised, that, in the course of the observation, it was necessary to count the classroom interruptions made by boys and girls respectively, in order to show who was dominating the discussion. The notion, whether directly or indirectly expressed, that practical thinking is inherent for boys, affects girls' choices, who then become reluctant to select associated fields of study, even when their performance was excellent. Teachers should be aware of these cultural differences in the course of teaching their subject matter, so as to be able to adjust the lesson and reverse the classroom dynamics, in order to provide boys and girls with equal opportunities.

²⁷ Gareth Rees, Jane Salisbury & Stephen Gorard, 'The Differential Attainment of Boys and Girls at School: Investigating the Patterns and their Determinants' (2001) 27(2) *British Educational Research Journal* 125-139.

Deconstructing Gender Stereotypes in the School Environment

I have included below a list of good practices, which I encountered in Cypriot schools in the context of this research. This list is by no means exhaustive. It highlights the need for further research into good practices, which are already being applied in schools, albeit in a fragmented manner. The list also attempts to institutionalise and disseminate good practices in the context of learning among teachers.

A good practice to challenge gender stereotypes is via gender mainstreaming, which I observed in the modern Greek language class, as the students were taught the concept of freedom. Children were asked to indicate potential forms that freedom can take, such as political, social, ethnic, freedom of speech, religious, etc. The discussion moved to the constraints of technology and the computer games which boys and girls tend to play, and a girl stressed that games which are aimed at boys tend to be more aggressive.

The teacher dug deeper, showing the children a video a female robot being made, saying:

‘This man bought a robot woman, to make her exactly as he wants... This is a blatant violation, an insult to women... Can free persons be manufactured?’

Areti, language and literature teacher

Children then started giving more examples where technology is used in ways which promote sexism and gender-based violence in society, for example, using social media for grooming purposes. Despite it falling outside the scope of her formal tasks, the teacher, Areti, seized the opportunity to mention support hotlines to report such incidents. Areti continued to implement gender mainstreaming in her lesson regarding freedom, asking the children about potential factors that threaten the freedom of individuals in a society. Through the Socratic method, the children discussed racism and sexism. With regard to sexism, which they defined as discrimination that is gender-based – between the two genders, they conversed the following:

- Georgia: *The patriarchal family is a threat to freedom.*
- Pavlos: *There is an erroneous opinion that it is inferior to be female.*
- Loukia: *Women are banned from some jobs. Why, sir, this is against my freedom!*

- Areti (teacher): *Yes, it happened to one of my colleagues, they asked her to sign a document promising she would not get pregnant and when she did, they fired her.*

During break time, the children played a song by Melina Mercouri on the classroom computer. The teacher, once again adapting to the situation, used the teachable moment to say:

‘What do you know about Melina Mercouri, which freedoms did she fight for? Melina came to Cyprus and helped the Women Return movement, a struggle by Cypriot women for freedom’.

Areti, language and literature teacher

The same teacher used gender mainstreaming during her history lesson, citing a passage from the Nuremberg Laws, according to which only the man was punished when couples broke the law regarding no relationships being allowed between Jews and non-Jews. This is because the woman was seen as a dependant to the man. At the same time, employers were not allowed to hire a woman under 45 years old, as it was considered that there was too high a risk of her getting raped. Areti, while fulfilling her duty to teach the set material, enriched her lesson with the use of photographs, encouraging her students to watch historical films, and also teaching them extra material.

‘The (set teaching) material will always be a springboard for me to do something else. You have to make connections to other sources. In this way students can understand better and you also build a relationship with them. They now listen to me talking about the historical rumours and gossip stories (laughs)’.

Areti, Language and Literature teacher

Michalis, a physical education teacher, has observed that girls are less self-confident during his lessons. In his opinion, teenage girls may feel uncomfortable with the changes in their bodies. Michalis said this might prevent them from trying out different activities in physical education: ‘It is impossible for a child not to be able to jump over the gap, it is a matter of self-confidence, the child does not feel comfortable with its body’. In order to cope with this phenomenon, Michalis specifically encourages girls in every attempt, in order to increase their enthusiasm for his lesson.

Marina on the other hand, chooses to discourage the boys in her lesson who seem to be dominating group activities. For example, when observing a game of

volleyball between two teams consisting of boys and girls, Nikiforos does not pass the ball and tries to play single-handed with the opposing team. Marina notices and intervenes by saying: 'There are other people in the team. You are turning into a one-man show, trying to be everywhere at once'.

Moreover, both Michalis and Marina have planned their classes so as to offer a wide range of sports activities. Their syllabus is flexible enough to accommodate this. After covering the set material, the majority of the boys pressure them to be allowed to play football. Nevertheless, the teachers provide a range of choices, so as to be more inclusive to girls and boys who are not interested in football. Whenever the children play football, Michalis provides other activity options on the basketball court, for the children who do not want to play soccer. Marina tries to remain informed on current fitness trends so as to remain relevant to the students.

In order to encourage the participation of students in the school's theatrical troupe, the technical school teachers decided to themselves participate as amateur actors in the school plays. Elpida, a technical school teacher, described this interesting practice:

'Boys stayed away from the troupe, because those who participated were usually bullied a lot by the others. So we, as a group of teachers, announced that our participation in this year's play. When six-seven teachers said we would participate and held a casting call, suddenly around 50 students came! And we did this for several years, having both students and teachers participate, so that the student would want to come, thinking: 'Ah! I will play Ms A's friend' or 'I will be playing Mr B's daughter', so it became a bit of fun and it turned into a good practice'.

The use of audiovisual material was observed in almost every lesson we attended. The media we observed included short videos on biotic and abiotic factors in biology class and a video of the Wright brothers' first ever flight in technology class.

Career counsellors stated that promoting role models, namely professionals who are successful in a field where their gender forms the minority, is inspiring to students and reassuring to parents, when the latter show concern regarding the gender-appropriateness of the profession.

'Success stories help. I will say that I had, for example, a female student who studied chemical engineering and now she works in the field and enjoys it. Especially when you refer to your own students, your own experience. You

can see it, at that moment the parent's and the student's faces start to shine. See, another girl also did it and everything went well'.

Yannis, occupational education counsellor

Conclusion

The findings of this research have showed that the beliefs of teachers and students generate interactions in schools, which often reproduce gender-based stereotypes and inequalities. The main gender stereotypes that were observed were the following: a) boys are physically stronger and girls must not be assigned manual tasks, even when they can perform them as well or better than the boys; b) boys are less well-behaved than girls at school; c) the link between care-giving professions and motherhood, where teachers presume women as more suitable caregivers due to their nature; and d) girls are associated with aesthetics, boys, with practicality. Additionally, the focus group with teachers illustrated that girls in technical schools, being the minority, are particularly vulnerable to exclusion and gender-based violence from their male peers. There were incidences where students used gender violence as a mechanism for reassigning girls and boys to predetermined roles. The use of sexist language in schools also prevailed through the dominance of the masculine gender in grammar, as well as the pejorative use of female adjectives.

Gender stereotypes on the one hand constrain the educational and vocational choices of students and, on the other hand, render girls and children that do not fall into the stereotypical representation of their gender vulnerable to violence and school bullying.

At the same time, our research observed teachers and students expressing beliefs and implementing practices, which, could go some way in reversing unequal treatment in school and helping eliminate gender inequality. Some examples of this were: a) gender mainstreaming in the classroom and making use of teaching time; b) encouraging girls to participate in physical education classes, discouraging boys from monopolising the lesson, and expanding the range of activities; and c) promoting role models, namely professionals who are successful in a field where their gender is in the minority, is inspiring to students and reassuring to parents.

The paradoxical coexistence of contradictory stances and perceptions at school, some teachers and students promote gender-based discrimination and others question it, is on the balance, encouraging. This conflict shows potential movement and a certain momentum in education, one of the core agents of socialisation, which is

alive and constantly changing. In recent years there has been an increasing interest in the field of education towards gender equality. This has created an excellent opportunity for material interventions and structural changes, which can then be reflected throughout society. The vision for education's role in achieving substantive gender equality has so far consisted of fragmented interventions. Therefore, political will is necessary to deploy gender-related expertise so as to gender mainstream school activities.

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Women Bank Shareholders in Cyprus (1913-1930): Bridging ‘Separate Spheres’ in a Family Type Economy

MAGDALENE ANTREOU¹

Abstract

The issues of gender and banking historiography have been poorly discussed by national literature. This paper seeks to help cover this gap and further contribute to the limited, yet very informative existing knowledge regarding the role of women in Cyprus’s historiography and economy. In addition, it aims to challenge the master narrative of ‘separate spheres’ and to discuss women’s investment activity within a family framework. For this, I have researched two bank shareholders’ ledgers from the Bank of Cyprus Historical Archive covering the period between 1913 and 1930, and the digitalised archives of ten Greek Cypriot newspapers.

Keywords: women bank shareholders, women history, banking history, separate spheres, family type economy

Introduction

R.J. Morris, in discussing the issue of gender and property in the 17th-18th century England had argued that ‘So far women have sat at the edge of history’.² This also applies to Cypriot women, as Myria Vassiliadou argues, ‘women have been totally hidden from Cypriot history’.³

Nevertheless, numerous scholars have found evidences of women’s economic activities dating back to the late-medieval Cyprus. Dincer had discovered that in late medieval Cyprus, ‘post marriage women could take part in setting up trading

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² R.J. Morris, *Men, Women and Property in England, 1780-1870, A Social and Economic History of Family Strategies amongst the Leeds Middle Classes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 233.

³ Myria Vassiliadou, ‘Herstory: The Missing Women of Cyprus’ (Spring 1997) 9(1) *The Cyprus Review* 95-122, 97. According to Hadjipavlou ‘The dominance of the ‘national conflict’ has left no space for Cypriot women to become involved in their own struggles for women’s rights, liberation from patriarchy and to acquire public visibility’. Maria Hadjipavlou, *Women and Change in Cyprus: Feminisms and Gender in Conflict*, (London-New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010) 2.

contracts and invest cash alongside their husbands or on their own'.⁴ As expected, single women with no guardians and widows enjoyed more freedom in managing and investing their assets. In addition, Kitromilides had unearthed a letter written by the 'miserable wife of the unfortunate Christophakis' to her husband's business associate Giovanni Garmogliesi on 20 April 1750 regarding the deceased's debts and business affairs. The widow of the brutally murdered dragoman of Cyprus appeared to have had good knowledge of her family's financial affairs. Yet, she remained anonymous regardless of the determination and initiative she showed in claiming her rights against her husband's debtors.⁵ Similarly, Rizopoulou-Igoumenidou mentions that according to archival sources Cypriot women in the late 18th and early 19th centuries have had personal property consisting among other of money in cash and debentures, and that they 'appeared [in wills] as money lenders'.⁶ Moving towards the late 19th and early 20th centuries, authors like Phylaktis, Georghis and Demetriadou in documenting the early steps of the local banking system in Cyprus (the first Cypriot bank operated in 1899 as Nicosia Savings Bank-the forerunner of Bank of Cyprus) argued in brief that women shareholders, especially those from the emerging middle class, were a market group targeted by the banks, which were Joint-Stock companies.

This article seeks to help cover the gap in national literature regarding the role of women in Cyprus's historiography and economy and further contribute to the limited, yet very informative, existing knowledge. My intention is to discuss three issues. First, I will examine the investment activity of women within the family framework. I then intend to explore whether Cypriot women were restricted in their domestic roles and put the narrative of 'separate spheres' to question. Lastly, I will discuss the issue of the 'democratisation of investments'. For this, I have drawn from national and international literature which debates women's economic

⁴ Aysu Dincer, 'Wills, Marriage and Business Contracts: Urban Women in Late-Medieval Cyprus', (August 2012) 24(2) *Gender & History* 310-332, 323.

⁵ Paschalis Kitromilidis, 'The anonymity of an "eponymous" woman in Cyprus of the 18th century', (Η ανωνυμία μιας «επώνυμης» γυναίκας στην Κύπρο του 18ου αιώνα) (2006) *KZ' Bulletin of the Christian Archeological Society*, 511-515 (in Greek). All translations belong to the author.

⁶ Efrosyni Rizopoulou-Igoumenidou, Cypriot urban clothing in the 18th and 19th centuries based on written sources, illustrations, and preserved clothing (Η αστική ενδυμασία της Κύπρου κατά τον 18ο και 19ο αιώνα με βάση γραπτές πηγές, απεικονίσεις και σωζόμενα είδη ενδύσεως) (Phd Thesis, Aristoteleio University of Thessaloniki, 1994) 285 (in Greek). Also, she mentions that in 1891 women in Cyprus practiced 35 professions of which the most common were farmers, weavers, spinners, tailors and servants.

activity in family-based economies and which challenge the ‘separate spheres’ narrative. In addition, I have studied two shareholders’ ledgers from the Bank of Cyprus Historical Archive covering the period between 1913-1930, and the digitalised archives of ten Greek Cypriot newspapers from the Press and Information Office of the Republic of Cyprus.

The Archival Material

The archival material used for this article came from two shareholder ledgers kept at the Bank of Cyprus Historical Archive. The ledgers are titled ‘*Shareholders-Shares, Book A*’ (6 January 1913 - 28 October 1925), and ‘*Shareholders-Shares, Book B*’ (8 January 1926 - 9 May 1944). The 300 pages of Book A are divided to three entries each, summing up to 900 entries in total. Similarly, Book B lists 426 entries in 142 pages. The article employs a basic statistical and context analysis and does not implement any anonymisation technique, since according to Law 125 (I) of 2018 of the Republic of Cyprus the processing of personal data is allowed for academic purposes.

In this article, I have chosen to analyse the data from the 1913-1930 period for two reasons. First, the Bank of Cyprus became a limited liability company in 1930. Moreover, the bank grew rapidly in the 1940s by amalgamating the Famagusta and Larnaca banks in 1943, and by absorbing the Melissa Bank of Paphos and the Cyprus Savings Bank in 1944 and 1946 respectively.⁷ Thus, during the 1940s, the bank transitioned from a regional bank of Nicosia to an institution which could accommodate business all over Cyprus. Consequently, due to this change in the bank’s status, I thought it best to narrow my findings to the period prior to 1930 when the bank was experiencing a period of prosperity and growth but have not yet become the leading banking institution of Cyprus. Second, as Rappas mentioned, ‘With the combined effects of the world economic crisis following the 1929 slump and the three-year drought in the early 1930s, Cyprus’ mainly agricultural economy entered a phase which would help to reshape the island’s social outlook’.⁸ The described shift in the island’s economy was expected to have affected Cypriots’ in-

⁷ Kate Phylaktis, *The Banking System of Cyprus: Past, Present and Future* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1995) 15-16.

⁸ Alexis Rappas, ‘The Labour Question in Colonial Cyprus, 1930-1941: Political Stakes in a Battle of Denomination, *International Labour and Working-Class History*’ (Fall 2009) 76 *Public History and Labour History* 194-216, 194.

vestment activities, therefore, the periods prior and after 1930 are considered to be dissimilar and their combined analysis not suitable.

Each ledger entry offers the following information: a) shareholder's first name, middle name (which for women usually is the father's or husband's first name), last name, b) place of residence, c) date of registration for the purchase of the shares, d) number of shares, e) amount paid per share, and f) remarks. Additionally, the ledgers document the dates in which shares were transferred, the distinctive number of shares and the quantity and distinctive number of transfer deeds executed.⁹ Offering an example, Eleni Marinou from Larnaca bought two shares four pounds each, on 6 January 1913 with distinctive numbers 19 and 20. The shares were transferred on 12 June 1915 with transfer deed Av 2838, and according to the remarks were turned into anonymous securities.

On some occasions, further information is offered by the ledgers regarding the shareholder's residence and profession. For example, the teacher, Eftychia Nicolaou, who resides at Ayios Kassianos in Nicosia had bought 14 shares within a period of four years, from 1913 to 1917. Information regarding the change of a woman shareholder's marital status is also offered in some cases. For instance, in one case, the name K. Neofytidi had been added next to the name of the shareholder Chrystalleni D. Solea.¹⁰ This change probably indicates that Christalleni has been married, and her father's name D. Solea has been replaced with that of her husband's K. Neofytidi.

Furthermore, in some cases the ledgers include data concerning the origin of shares. Remarks such as dowry, inheritance or gift/donation can be found next to the number of shares certain women own.¹¹ According to the ledgers, Sophia I. Economidou, now C. Theocharidou, owned 250 shares marked as dowry and 32 shares marked as inheritance. Moreover, the ledgers mention cases where women who have bought shares based on their own initiative have also received shares by others. For instance, Rodothea Th. Anastasiadou, now Themistocleous, had bought four shares in 1929 and had received 20 more as a gift/donation during the same year.

⁹ The transfer indicates the continuation of the share's ownership by the same shareholder and not the transfer to a different person.

¹⁰ These additions are usually made using a pencil and the handwriting is often different from that of the original entry, suggesting that the addition has been made at a later time.

¹¹ The ledgers mention the words *προίκα*, *κληρονομιά*, και *δωρεά ή δώρον*.

Moreover, there are cases where the information given by the ledgers suggest that the woman shareholder has made an investment under the patronage of another person. For example, Athena Theophilou from Nicosia has bought seven shares between a period of three years from 1917 up to 1920. Next to her name, we found the note ‘Servant of Char. Marathefti’. On another occasion, the ledgers list the case of Eleni Hadjimichael, also a servant, whose employer is not mentioned. Presumably, Eleni has made her investment on her own volition, while Athena was assisted by her employer.

Additionally, I have researched the digitalised archives of ten Greek Cypriot newspapers during the period between 1899 (the year of establishment of the Nicosia Savings Bank) and 1930. I have used the key words woman/women and shareholder/s to search the data and found 180 results from the newspapers Eleftheria, Paratiritis, Neos Kypriakos Phylax, Ethnos, Paphos, Salpinx, Evagoras, Phone tis Kyprou, Alitheia, and Cyprus.¹² The articles mention several of the many savings and cooperative banks established in Cyprus during this period, such as the Melissa Bank of Paphos, the Bank of Larnaca and the Nicosia Savings Bank. They also include among others, advertisements, bank balance sheets, announcements-calls for general assemblies, and reports on the banks’ progress. The articles discussing women’s investments in Bank of Cyprus’ shares are numerous and very informative.

Women Investors in Europe and Cyprus: The Faint Line Between Public and Domestic Spheres

The issue of women presence in banking historiography has long been debated in international literature. A significant amount of work has focused on women’s investment activities in Western Europe. Amy Froide mentions that women public investors in England between the late 17th and early 19th centuries were welcomed by the ‘gender blind’ capitalistic system.¹³ In addition, Aston writes that 19th century women of England were able to access the public sphere and own a business, having thus a significant economic role.¹⁴ Nevertheless, as Alison Kay argues, the

¹² Detailed information regarding these newspapers are found in Antreas Sophocleous, *Contribution to the History of the Cypriot Press* (Συμβολή στην Ιστορία του Κυπριακού Τύπου) Vol. 1-4 (Nicosia: Intercollege Press, 1995-2011) (in Greek).

¹³ Amy Froide, *Silent Partners: Women as Public Investors During Britain’s Financial Revolution, 1690-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

¹⁴ Jennifer Aston, *Female Entrepreneurship in 19th century England: Engagement in the Urban Economy* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

economic activities of women have often been overlooked, due to their association with domesticity.¹⁵

Following contemporary literature, we can establish that women had indeed an important investment activity, and that their motives varied depending on the special circumstances, which they functioned within.¹⁶ According to Rutterford and Maltby, between the 17th and 19th centuries the 'separate spheres' model forced women into a restricted range of roles and excluded them from active participation in the economic and social life. According to this view, property was for women, a possession and not business capital.¹⁷ Thus, the public sphere of the financial markets was a man's world, whilst the private sphere of domestic life was a woman's entitlement. However, an examination of contemporary sources showed that women in fact were active in the market.¹⁸ As Newton and Cottrell argue, 'females collectively were becoming more important as bank shareholders' by the mid 19th century'.¹⁹

In South-Eastern Europe and especially in the Eastern Mediterranean basin, the studies discussing the investment activities of women were fewer but equally informative. According to Pfefferman the 'separate sphere' narrative was evident in mandatory Palestine during the Yishuv period where a significant number of women of the 'civic circles' established an economic venture within the domestic space of their homes.²⁰

In the case of Greece, Pepelasis-Minoglou argues that 'in 19th century Greece women succeeded in penetrating the male public sphere'.²¹ Similarly, the upper-middle class women of the Greek diaspora, which scattered throughout the

¹⁵ Alison Kay, *The Foundations of Female Entrepreneurship: Enterprise, Home, and Household in London, 1800-1870* (London-New York: Routledge, 2009).

¹⁶ Janette Rutterford, Josephine Maltby, 'Gender and Finance' in Karin Knorr, Alex Preda (eds) *Handbook of the Sociology of Finance* (Routledge, 2013) 510-528, 516.

¹⁷ Janette Rutterford, Josephine Maltby, 'The Widow, the Clergyman and the Reckless: Women Investors in England, 1830-1914' (January 2006) 12(1-2) *Feminist Economics* 111-138, 113

¹⁸ Ibid

¹⁹ Lucy Ann Newton, Philip L. Cottrell, 'Female Investors in the First English and Welsh Commercial Joint-Stock Companies' (2006) 16(2) *Accounting, Business and Financial History* 315-340.

²⁰ Talia Pfefferman 'Separate Spheres-Intertwined Spheres: Home, Work and Family Among Jewish Women Business Owners in the Yishuv', (2013) 32(1) *Journal of Israeli History: Politics, Society, Culture* 7-28, 11.

²¹ Ioanna Sapho Pepelasis-Minoglou, 'Women and Family Capitalism in Greece, c. 1780-1940' (2007) 81(3) *The Business History Review* 517-538, 535.

Mediterranean, contributed to the management of the family businesses.²² Within the family business framework of the Mediterranean economies important businesswomen, such as the Italian Luisa Spagnoli, flourished.²³ Moreover, as Licini argues in 19th century Milan, the proprietorship of the very wealthy women which came from rich families ‘was neither occasional nor trifling’.²⁴

Contrary to the international trends in historiography, the issue of gender has been poorly discussed by literature in Cyprus. The same applies to the banking history of Cyprus, which, with the exception of few studies, has been neglected by the researchers. However, some recent studies in Cyprus have produced new knowledge regarding womens’ business activity either independently, or as part of their families.

Cyprus during the period in question (1913-1930), was a small primarily agricultural economy similar to many others around the Eastern Mediterranean. In this type of economy, the family was at the epicenter of business activities. In this framework, a large number of middle-class women in British Cyprus were economically active and had control over their money.

According to Demetriadou, Cypriot women ‘commanded full legal rights and control over their property, income and wages’.²⁵ Many of those middle-class women were employed in the urban small-scale industries and accumulated wealth, which then invested in financial products, such as bank shares, aiming to secure a stable income for the future.²⁶ As Phylaktis mentions, the depositors and shareholders of the Nicosia Savings Bank ‘originated from the middle and lower urban classes, mostly housewives, shopkeepers, factory workers and servants’.²⁷ As Stav-

²² Ibid 525.

²³ Francesca Picciaia, ‘In Spite of Everything? Female Entrepreneurship from a Historical Perspective: The Italian Businesswoman Luisa Spagnoli, (1877-1935)’, (June 2017) 23(4) *Journal of Management History* 436-451.

²⁴ Stefania Licini, ‘Women’s Wealth and Finance in 19th century Milan’ in Anne Laurence, Josephine Maltby, Janette Rutterford (eds) *Women and their Money 1700-1950: Essays on Women and Finance* (New York: Rutledge 2009) 271-299, 271.

²⁵ Ersi Demetriadou, ‘Resistance Through Saving: The Founding of the Bank of Cyprus’, *EABH Annual Conference ‘The Critical Function of History in banking and Finance’* (Nicosia: 2009) 73-82, 73.

²⁶ In Cyprus, like in Britain the accumulated wealth of the middle classes was crucial for the expansion of capitalists endeavours, such as new manufacturing and commercial businesses. Janette Rutterford et. al., ‘Who Comprised the Nation’s Shareholders? Gender and Investment in Great Britain c. 1870-1935’ (February 2011) 64(1) *Economic History Review* 157-187, 181.

²⁷ Phylaktis (no.6) 9.

rou mentions, the 1921 Census lists 9,727 weavers, 3,408 sewers and dressmakers, and 2,449 embroiderers.²⁸ A large portion of these women workers were according to Pyrgos widows or elderly ladies in desperate need of funds.²⁹ As for women's activities in the business sector, Mathopoulou in her attempt to map out the births of joint-stock companies and partnerships argues that although women did not lead in the establishment and management of business units and rarely formed companies, had indeed interfered in the ownership.³⁰

The Cypriot Economy in Transition and the Establishment of the First Local Banking Institution

Cyprus transitioned from Ottoman to British rule in July 1878, according to the provisions of the agreement known as the Cyprus Convention.³¹ Two provisions of the said agreement were to shape the islands political and economic life. First, the annual tribute the British agreed to pay the Porte, which strangled Cyprus' economics.³² Second, the island's uncertain status as a territory owned by the Sultan, yet ruled by the British, which deterred foreign investments.

The policies of non-interventionism and minimum responsibility abroad implemented during Gladstone's premierships meant that Cyprus had to cover both its administrative costs and the amount required as tribute without any assistance from the treasury.³³ 'This was the case in Cyprus where the system of collecting tithes was designed with the sole object of extracting the maximum of revenue at a minimum of cost'.³⁴ The local government's efficacy in collecting the taxes and the implementation of the free market principles troubled the Cypriot farmers who were the backbone of the island's economy. All these resulted to the further blossom

²⁸ Stavros Stavrou, 'Cypriot Women at Work', (Spring 1997) 9(1) *The Cyprus Review* 57-81, 60.

²⁹ Mary Pyrgos, *The Cypriot Woman at a Glance*, (Proodos: Nicosia, 1993).

³⁰ Evangelia Mathopoulou, 'The History of Entrepreneurship in British Cyprus: A First Approach' (Η Ιστορία της Επιχειρηματικότητας στη Βρετανική Κύπρο Μια Πρώτη Προσέγγιση) *Fourth Workshop of Bank of Cyprus Historical Archive-Cyprus in the 20th century: State, Society, Economy* (Nicosia, forthcoming) (in Greek).

³¹ Philios Zannetos, *The History of the Island Cyprus from the British Occupation until 1911*, (Ιστορία της Νήσου Κύπρου από την Αγγλική Κατοχή μέχρι το 1911) Vol.2 (2nd edn, Nicosia: Epifaniou, 1994) 15-21 (in Greek).

³² George S. Georghallides, *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus 1918-1926: With a Survey of the Foundations of the British Rule* (1st edn Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1979) 17-29.

³³ *Ibid* 176-177.

³⁴ Charles William James Orr, *Cyprus Under British Rule* (London, 1933), 79-80.

of usury and the political and economic interdependence between the rural majority and the urban minority.³⁵

The decades of British austerity policies which were based on mid-Victorian ideals of laissez-faire and frugal governance, deprived the island from the much-needed liquidity boost. The introduction of the Colonial Loans Act of 1899 offered Cyprus finance opportunities. The policy of 'constructive imperialism' led to new investments in harbour, railway and other public works, which stimulated the local commerce and economy.³⁶ Furthermore, laws introduced in the 1930s promoted the economic development of the colonies.³⁷

Nevertheless, Cyprus continued to have a small underdeveloped, mainly agricultural economy with an export orientated production system. Cyprus' economy was characterised by the existence of a large number of small landowners and by the fact that the wealthy urban families were engaged in agriculture, either through their extensive land properties, or through their business ventures as money lenders to peasants. In 1887, a catastrophic agricultural crisis caused the simultaneous urbanisation of cheap labour and capitals. In other words, both people and capitals disengaged from the land and moved in to small scale industrial and manufacture businesses. Thus, the Cyprus' economy transitioned from a primarily agricultural economy to a mix type economy based on both agriculture and manufacture.

In this economic context, the Nicosia Savings Bank was established in 1899 by members of the Greek Cypriot economic elites, which like the Greek bankers of Constantinople capitalised upon the economic mechanism of 'trust and reputation'.³⁸ Up until then, the only other banking institution operating in Cyprus was

³⁵ Magdalene Antreou, *The Transition of Cyprus from Ottoman to British Rule: Social and Political Changes, 1878-1922* (Η Μετάβαση της Κύπρου από Οθωμανική σε Βρετανική Κυριαρχία: Κοινωνικές και Πολιτικές Αλλαγές, 1878-1922) (Phd Thesis, Panteion University of Athens, 2015) (in Greek).

³⁶ Serkan Karas, Stathis Arapostathis, 'Harbors of Crisis and Consent: The Technopolitics of Coastal Infrastructure in Colonial Cyprus, 1895-1908' (2016) 37(2) *The Journal of Transport History* 214-235, 215.

³⁷ David Meredith, 'The British Government and Colonial Economic Policy 1919-1939' (August 1975) 28(3) *The Economic History Review* 484-499, 487.

³⁸ Giorgos Georghis, 'Ioannis Economides (1864-1934): A Pioneer Banker' in Giorgos Kazamias, Chistodoulos Hadjichristodoulou (eds) *Third Workshop of Bank of Cyprus Historical Archive-Cyprus in the 20th century: State, Society and Economy* (Τρίτη Ημερίδα Ιστορικού Αρχείου Τράπεζας Κύπρου-Η Κύπρος στον εικοστό αιώνα, Κράτος, Κοινωνία και Οικονομία) (Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, 2015) 38-71, 41-45 (in Greek). Ioanna Sapho Pepelasis-Minoglou, 'Ethnic Minority Groups in International Banking: Greek Diaspora Bankers of Constantinople and Ottoman State Finances (c. 1840-81)' (October 2002) 9(2) *Financial History Review* 125-146.

the Ottoman Imperial Bank.³⁹ Consequently, usury was popular amongst the local capitalists who preferred to lend money to the impoverished farmers instead of the emerging middle classes.⁴⁰ The bank's establishment was an effort to create mutual faith amongst Cyprus' economic elites and middle classes targeting both the man and women potential investors. At the same instance, the bank covered a significant gap in the market caused by the Ottoman Bank's strategy of withholding loans from the majority of the island's agricultural population.

The bank, which was a joint-stock company, followed the principles of Schulze Delitzsch and the Italian Popular Banks.⁴¹ According to the articles of association, the future shareholder should make one original deposit of five shillings and weekly deposits of one shilling for five years for each share they wanted to acquire. The shareholders benefited from the high returns on their shares and the right to borrow up to 75% of their investment without offering any additional guaranties other than the shares themselves.⁴² During the first years of its operation, the bank was left completely unregulated due to the absence of a relative law. This changed when the bank became a Societe Anonyme Company in 1912. In 1930, the bank came under the provisions of the company law of 1922 and assumed a limited liability status.⁴³ The establishment of the bank enabled the transformation of the island's economic life by offering investment opportunities to the lower and middle classes.

'A Swarm of Sensible Bees': Women Shareholders of the Bank of Cyprus, 1913-1930

The newspaper *Neos Kypriakos Phylax* in 1912 mentioned that:

The women of Nicosia are an important economic factor not at all lacking in comparison to men. The Nicosia housewives and maidens, and especially those who prosper financially, don't sit idle, nor do they spent their time in vanities... they are all occupied with domestic work...Many families live and prosper financially due to the daily house work of mothers and their daughters...Proof of

³⁹ Lorans Tanatar Baruh and Alexander Apostolides, 'The First Bank in Cyprus, The Imperial Ottoman Bank', (May 2015) 1 *Bulletin, Newsletter for EABH* 3-12. Christopher Clay, 'The Origins of Modern Banking in the Levant: The Branch Network of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, 1890-1914', (November 1994) 24(4) *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 589-614.

⁴⁰ Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus: During the Second Half of the 19th century* (Cyprus Research Centre Nicosia: 1996) 103-105.

⁴¹ Georghis (no. 37) 39-70.

⁴² Phylaktis (no. 6) 8.

⁴³ *Ibid* 10.

their good economic status are the 1,200 women's shares in the Nicosia Savings Bank, the majority of which belong to women and maidens who live out of their personal work.⁴⁴

The necessary pre-conditions for the women's investment activity are, a) capital, b) opportunity/right, c) knowledge, and d) information. First, as mentioned by Rizopoulou-Igoumenidou, women in Cyprus on many occasions had acquired their fortunes through either inheritance (paternal or maternal) or dowries, which remained in the women's possession after marriage and even after the death of their spouses.⁴⁵ Besides, according to Kyritsi, 'women were also a key part of component of the labour force of the developing capitalist, factory-based production' and were earning wages.⁴⁶ Therefore, women had capital, which they often invested in companies. Such is the case of Caroline Matilda Middleton, wife of J.P. Middleton, who participated in business and commerce, and owned shares in the Cyprus Wine Company since 24 June 1880.⁴⁷

Second, as mentioned before, Cypriot women were free to manage their assets regardless of their marital status, since they had full legal rights. The opportunity to invest in products such as shares came with the establishment of the first joint-stock companies. Third, the flourishing of education under the British rule had allowed women not only to attend school but also to acquire the necessary knowledge, which enabled them to participate in the island's economy.⁴⁸ Ierokipiotis ar-

⁴⁴ 'Works and Life of Nicosia' (Έργα και Βίος της Λευκωσίας) *Neos Kypriakos Phylax*, (Nicosia, 31 March 1912)

⁴⁵ Rizopoulou-Igoumenidou, (no.5) 285-286.

⁴⁶ Thekla Kyritsi, 'Women's Activism in Cypriot Left: AKEL and the Working Women's Unions in early 1940s' (forthcoming) 1-21, 4.

⁴⁷ Gail Ruth Hook, *Britons in Cyprus, 1878-1914* (PhD Thesis: University of Texas at Austin, 2009) 323.

⁴⁸ Panagiotis K. Persianis, *History of Girls' Education in Cyprus* (Ιστορία της Εκπαίδευσης των Κοριτσιών στην Κύπρο) (Nicosia: Persianis, 1998) (in Greek). The importance of schooling became evident in the 1960s, education and skills became a part of a woman's dowry. Panagiota Hadjitheocharous-Koulouridou, *The institution of Dowry in Cyprus During the 20th century (1920-1974), From the Rural to the Urban Society (Ο Θεσμός της Προίκας στην Κύπρο κατά τον 20ο αιώνα (1920-1974) Από την Αγροτική στην Αστική Κοινωνία)* (PhD Thesis: University of Athens, 2004) 120 (in Greek). Dalakoura in discussing the issue of Greek education in the Ottoman Empire during the late 19th-early 20th century, has documented that the improvement of practical education for the women of the popular class was considered as essential. 'It is best that the graduating [girls] know how to manage their frugal financial budget and to document their daily expenses'. Dalakoura, 'Words for the Education in Greek Female Magazines of the Ottoman Space (19th c.-1906): Female Popular Education' (Λόγοι για την Εκπαίδευση στα Ελληνικά Γυναικεία Περιοδικά του Οθωμανικού Χώρου (19ος αιώνας-1906): Η Γυναικεία Λαϊκή Εκπαίδευση) (2012) 31 *Mnimon* 115-150, 146 (in Greek)

gues that there is a clear correlation between education and employment in the case of working women in all of the island's districts between the years 1891 and 1921.⁴⁹ Fourth, Cypriot women had access to financial information which enabled the democratisation of investments. Newspapers which often published the banks' progress reports were available to both men and women. Moreover, in 1923 the first bookkeeping/accounting text, which included a commercial guide to the island's businesses, was published.⁵⁰

The first available information about the bank's shareholders are the two ledgers mentioned previously. According to the ledgers, from the total listings of 1326 shareholders' names, 39,51% (524) were women. As I have mentioned above, I have narrowed my findings to the period prior to 1930. Thus, between the years 1913 and 1930 the bank had 386 women shareholders who held 13,064 out of the 200,000 of the bank's shares meaning 26,13%. The majority of them (56,17%) held up to ten shares. Approximately one third (34,18%), had from 11 up to 100 shares, and 9,31%, owned more than 101 shares.⁵¹

The first argument I would like to make is in relation to women's economic activity within the family framework. Modern scholars share the assumption that the family was at the core of economy and business within the framework of the Mediterranean Sea. According to Kopanas, household and family are not identical terms. The household is an 'economic unit that is based on income pooling, while on the other hand, family members are connected with each other on the basis of kinship. In this sense, a family can comprise of several households while a household can consist of more than one family'.⁵² Furthermore, Vardanis makes mention of three

⁴⁹ Kostas C. Ierokipiotis, *Greek Education in the District of Paphos (1878-1960): Contribution to the History of Cypriot Education (Η Ελληνική Εκπαίδευση στην Επαρχία της Πάφου (1878-1960): Συμβολή στην Ιστορία της Εκπαίδευσης της Κύπρου)* (PhD Thesis: Aristoteleio University of Thessaloniki, 1991) 140 (in Greek).

⁵⁰ Peter Clarke, Andrekos Varnava, 'Accounting in Cyprus During the last Four Decades of British Rule: Post World-War I to Independence (1918-1960)' (2013) 18(3), *Accounting History* 293-315, 301. For instance, information regarding the Bank's progress, advertisements and annual balance sheets are found in the articles 'Elections of the "Nicosia" Savings Bank', *Evagoras*, Nicosia: 26 February 1904, 'The "Nicosia" Savings Bank-The Annual Assembly', *Kypros*, Nicosia: 19 February 1905, 'Bank of Cyprus', *Neos Kypriakos Phylax*, Nicosia: 15 November 1912, and 'The Balance Sheet of the "Nicosia" Savings Bank during the 31st of December 1911', *Neos Kypriakos Phylax*, Nicosia: 4 February 1912.

⁵¹ In detail, 11,1% hold 1 share, 45,07% hold 2-10 shares, 27,97% own 11-50 shares, 6,21% have 51-100 shares, and 0,51% have invested in more than 500 shares.

⁵² Dimitrios Kopanas, 'Family and Labour in Corfu Manufacturing, 1920-1944' (2019) 15 *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique* 133-162, 140-141.

types of families, the nuclear (father/mother/children), the extended (nephews, son in laws etc.), and the stem (grandparents).⁵³ The data material discussed in this article is analysed on this basis.

As Mathopoulou mentions during the British rule period ‘the businesses in Cyprus were of a family type’.⁵⁴ This also applied to many economies in the Eastern Mediterranean area. In Greece, Vardanis argues that ‘the family has constituted the core of the Greek economy and business; at least since the 18th century [and that] the familial model had an important presence, too, in joint-stock companies’.⁵⁵ Moving towards the period in industrialisation, the model of the small agrarian family was transferred to the cities with the establishment of small workshops. In this model, the husband and wife had to work together.⁵⁶ The partnership between husband and wife is also evident in 18th century France were, according to Dermineur, married couples secured loans within a family framework, with both spouses co-signing the official deeds of loan.⁵⁷ In this context, the loss of either spouse would, according to Hufton, result in wrecking the entire construction of the family economy.⁵⁸

Modern scholars argue that the contribution of women in family type economies is multi-face and undeniable. According to Coli, Fernandes-Perez and Rose, ‘women directly and indirectly were vital sources of finance and contacts for their families’ in Italy and Spain.⁵⁹ Also, as Rutterford and Sotiropoulos noted, women in Britain often made their investments with the patronage of male relatives and friends.⁶⁰

The findings of my research suggest a connection between women’s investment

⁵³ Michalis Bardanis, ‘Family Business in the Brick and Tile Industry in Athens, 1900-1940’(2019) 15 *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique* 91-132, 114.

⁵⁴ Mathopoulou, (no. 29) 4.

⁵⁵ Bardanis (no. 52) 98, 100.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 122-123.

⁵⁷ Elise M. Dermineur, ‘Credit Strategies, and Female Empowerment in Early Modern France’ in Elise M. Dermineur (ed.) *Women and Credit in Pre-Industrial Europe* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers n.v., 2018) 253-280, 262.

⁵⁸ Olwen Hufton, ‘Women and the Family Economy in 18th century France’, (Spring 1975) *French Historical Studies* 9(1) 1-22,17.

⁵⁹ Andrea Coli, Paloma Fernandez Perez, Mary A. Rose, ‘National determinants of family firm development? Family firms in Britain, Spain and Italy in the 19th and 20th centuries’ (March 2003) *Enterprise and Society* 4(01) 28-64, 40.

⁶⁰ Janette Rutterford, Dimitris Sotiropoulos, “‘Putting all their Eggs in one Basket?’ Portfolio Diversification 1870-1902’ (2016) 26(3) *Accounting History Review* 285-305, 286.

activity and the family framework. After comparing the place of residence as well as the middle (father's or husband's first name) and last names of the 386 women shareholders of the Bank of Cyprus I have found that 26,68% (103) are related to each other and 6,21% (24) are related to men bank administrators.

For instance, three women from the family of Loizos Papouti of Pedoulas, who are assumed to be sisters, are listed as shareholders. Chrystallou and Antigone have bought five shares each on 4 February 1920 and Elene has received seven shares as a dowry on 4 February 1924. Similarly, three women from the prominent family of Mavroidis of Larnaca are included in the ledgers. The fact that they all bought their first shares on 15 January 1913, suggests that investing was an economic activity shared by the members of the family. The assumption that families engaged in investing is evident in the case of Emilia, Eliza and Maro K. Kostantinidou who all acquired four shares each on the same day.

Other familial relations can also be traced in the ledgers. For example, Ioanna S. Theophanidou and Olga Th. Pavlidou are co-sisters in-law. Both women are documented in the ledgers under their maiden names, which indicates that they owned shares prior to their marriage. What connects them is the addition of the last name Chalkousi that leads to the assumption that they married into the same family. Additionally, there is the case of the shareholders Elene M. Symeonidou and Maria P. Symeonidou who, based on their common last name and yet different middle name, are assumed to be either sisters in-law or cousins. The family Poulaki of Nicosia also offers interesting data of familial relations in investing activities. According to the ledgers, Elene Lympouri and Eftychia Nicolaou married into the family of Poulaki and are therefore related to the shareholder Kalliopi Poulaki who is assumed to be their sister or mother in law.

On some occasions, the ledgers list women and men shareholders, which share the same last name successively, suggesting their familial relation. Therefore, Clio M. Papetta is possibly the wife or daughter of Malahias Papettas. Furthermore, the case of the family Lytra of Athienou offers almost undisputable evidence of the common investment activities of entire families. Eleni and Annettou Kiozi Lytra from Athienou, who resided in Nicosia, had bought four shares each on 7 February 1917. Also, Eleni and Panagiota A. Lytra have seven shares each deriving from a gift/donation. In addition, Ioannis A. Lytra has 30 shares and Vasilios A. Lytra owned eight shares from a gift/donation. All six members of the two families, which share the same last name, have acquired their shares on the same day.

As for the women shareholders who are related to men bank administrators, the evidence offered by the ledgers present a clearer picture of the family connections between shareholders. For instance, Evgenia A. Theodotou, is the wife of the doctor Antonios Theodotou, who served as member of the bank's administrative board in 1899 and 1913. Her sister, Athena K. Dianellou, is the wife of the tobacco factory owner Konstantinos Dianellou who likewise served as a member of the administrative board. Also, her sister-in-law, Styliani Th. Theodotou is the wife of the lawyer and member of the bank's supervisory board, Theophanis Theodotou.

The large number of shares which were inherited, granted or gifted (19,26%) is also an indication of women's investment activities within the family framework.⁶¹ As mentioned above, one of the preconditions necessary for the women's investment activity is capital. Demineur argues that 'inheritance patterns, and dowry, gave women access to a capital to manage' and therefore invest.⁶² In the case of the Bank of Cyprus the ledgers document nine dowries (738 shares), nine gifts/donations (479 shares), and 12 inheritances (1300 shares). Furthermore, Maltby and Rutterford mention that in some cases, women in Britain held shares, jointly with others.⁶³ The data in the case of the Bank of Cyprus show three joint accounts held by one man and one woman and two joint accounts held by two women. The account of Jonh and Alexandra Kirzi, as well as that of Chariklia and Chrystalleni K. Machallekidou, also show evidence of investment activity within the family framework.

My second argument is concerning domesticity and separate spheres. Zucca Micheletto argues that 'women's work has always been a mix of domestic and non-domestic work, formal and in-formal, paid and un-paid'.⁶⁴ Therefore, 'female

⁶¹ The data show two thousand five hundred and seventeen (2517) shares which fall in this category, in addition of course to the ten thousand five hundred and forty-seven (10,547) shares bought by women individually.

⁶² Elise M. Demineur, 'Women and Credit in Pre-Industrial Europe-An Overview' in Demineur (no. 56), 1-18, 2.

⁶³ Josephine Maltby, Janette Rutterford, "'She Possessed her own Fortune": Women Investors from Late 19th c. to Early 20th c.' (2006) 48(2) *Business History* 220-235, 227.

⁶⁴ Beatrice Zucca Micheletto, 'Reconsidering the Southern Europe Model: Dowry, Women's Work and Marriage Patterns in Pre-Industrial Urban Italy (Turin Second-Half of the 18th century)' (2011) 16(4) *History of the Family* 354-370, 367. According to Groppi, the complex relation between the spheres of work and property has caused the camouflage of women's economic activity. Angela Groppi, 'A Matter of Fact Rather than Principle: Women, Work and Property in Papal-Rome (18th-19th centuries)', (Spring 2002) 7(1) *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 37-55, 37. As Rizopoulou-Igoumenidou mentions in 1878, Cyprus' High Commissioner send a silk fabric to Queen Victoria as a gift. The Queen liked it so much that she decided to order two more. The maiden who weaved the fabric was one of the richest

work and property has political meaning insofar as they allow a crossover of descriptions of male/female relations in respect of dominant/subordinate relationship'.⁶⁵ Hence, 'the public sphere must not ignore the private, since the second is included in the first, since they do not consist two different self-contained spheres'.⁶⁶

Nevertheless, during this period women in the Eastern Mediterranean region and especially those of the working class were still more related to the private/domestic than to the public sphere, regardless of their increasing contribution to the productive economy.⁶⁷ The fact that women's industrious activity was associated with the house environment and limited to professions perceived as 'female' has led to the reproduction of the separate spheres and domesticity narrative.⁶⁸ Regardless, women's participation in the economy as investors in joint-stock companies supports the assumption that the lines between domestic and public sphere are faint.

The data I have collected suggest that a number of working women in Cyprus invested in bank shares. For the majority of women shareholders, the ledgers only mention names and place of residence but for 15 (3,88%) of them, who hold 2,77% of the women's shares, a profession is also listed. One woman was a hat maker with one share, another was a handkerchief maker, likewise with one share, three were seamstresses with 152 shares, seven were servants with 23 shares, and also seven were teachers with 181 shares. The fact that some women's economic activity occurred within the domestic environment led to the misguided assumption that they themselves were restricted in their domestic role. One of the clearer links between

of Nicosia and she demanded payment for her work. Regardless of the success of her work, the Nicosia maiden remains anonymous. Rizopoulou-Igoumenidou (no.5) 70-71.

⁶⁵ Beatrice Zucca Micheletto, 'Only unpaid labour force? Women's and Girl's Work and Property in Family Business in Early Modern Italy' (2014) 19(3) *The History of the Family* 323-340, 325.

⁶⁶ Maria Kantaraki, *Women and Working Relations in Textile Industry. Impact on Class Configuration* (Γυναίκες και Εργασιακές Σχέσεις στη Βιομηχανική Υφαντουργία. Επιδράσεις στη Ταξική Διαμόρφωση) (PhD Thesis: Panteion University of Athens, 2001) 16 (in Greek).

⁶⁷ In this context, "While the man was to represent the family in the public spheres of economy, politics, and law, the woman was charged with managing the domestic sphere, the children's education and instilling a sense of national identity in the younger generation". Pfefferman, (no. 19) 9.

⁶⁸ In the case of Cyprus, according to Kyritsi, "The press and education system put particular emphasis on separate gender spheres. The women from the middle and upper classes of the cities were expected to remain in the private sphere... Their socialization in the public sphere was limited to going to church or... social gatherings... Women's work was seen as shameful and inappropriate by the rising bourgeoisie... [they] were excluded from most professional occupations... The only professional opportunity for an educated woman was to become a teacher'. Thekla Kyritsi, 'Engendering Nationalism in Modern Cyprus: The First Women's Organisations' in Thekla Kyritsi, Nicos Christofis (eds) *Cypriot Nationalism in Context: History, Identity and Politics* (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018) 98.

the domestic and public sphere is the case of the servant Chrystallou Heraklidi who has been acquiring one or two shares on the same month of every year between 1916 and 1920. The data leads to the assumption that Chrystallou had been investing all or part of her salary in shares, thus creating a connection between her domestic work and the public sphere of investments.⁶⁹

The third argument I will make is related to the democratisation of investments in regard to gender and class. According to Kopanas, the 'labour market is not gender-neutral'.⁷⁰ In the case of Cyprus, as Kyritsi stated 'the women who entered the world of paid labour did so under the framework of traditional inequalities and gender stereotypes, [therefore] women were the oppressed gender in an oppressed working class'.⁷¹ On the other hand, as established by notable scholars mentioned above, the capitalistic system and especially the field of investment is 'gender blind'.

The *Neos Kypriakos Phylax* wrote in February 1912 that:

The capitals of this Saving Bank [Bank of Cyprus] grew almatically, originating not from capitalists but mainly from the savings and thriftiness of the working men wages and especially of many women servants. Of the 2000 shareholders, 766 are women of which the majority are weavers, handcrafts, and servants by 9/10, representing 1271 shares.⁷²

In addition, according to *Eleftheria*, 'everyone, from all classes are willing to deposit in them [banks] their savings'.⁷³ Moreover, as the bank's director, Mr. Economides, mentioned in a speech he gave in February 1927, 'our bank was also the pioneer and leader in field of offering economic assistance to our farmer, our director has established three (cooperative societies) to which our bank has approved credit to a current account'.⁷⁴ Ergo, the investment system does not discriminate between gender and class, at least not in theory.

⁶⁹ The issue of girl servants and the benefits of their employment is discussed by Deborah Simonton, "Birds of Passage" or "Career" Women? Thought on the Life Cycle of the 18th century European Servant' (2011) 20(2) *Women's History Review* 207-225.

⁷⁰ Kopanas (no. 51) 134.

⁷¹ Kyritsi, (no. 45) 4-5

⁷² 'Cooperatives and Savings in Nicosia' (Συνεργατισμός και Αποταμιεύσεις εν Λευκωσία) *Neos Kypriakos Phylax*, (Nicosia: 11 February 1912) (in Greek).

⁷³ 'The Popular Savings Banks' (Τα Λαϊκά Ταμειντήρια) *Eleftheria* (Nicosia: 20 February 1909) (in Greek).

⁷⁴ 'General Assembly of the Bank of Cyprus', (Γενική Συνέλευσις της Τράπεζας Κύπρου) *Neos Kypriakos Phylax* (Nicosia, 9 February 1927) (in Greek).

Apart from the democratisation of investment in regard to the different classes, the bank also offered investment opportunities to those residing both in cities and villages across the island. According to newspaper articles ‘not only city residents are investing, but also villagers from the suburbs are flocking to the Saving Bank of Nicosia’.⁷⁵ In this context, the peasant, the wealthy and the working women, as well as those residing in cities, suburbs or villages had access to investment.

According to the ledgers, the democratisation of investments is evident in the wide geographical allocation of women shareholders. The majority of them (75,38%) resided in the island’s city centres, but also 13,21% lived in villages, and 8,03% in the cities’ suburbs. In addition, although the majority of women shareholders resided in the Nicosia district (73,31%), where the bank’s headquarters were situated, 103 shareholders (23,31%) lived in all of the island’s districts. What is also noteworthy are the 11 shareholders residing in cities, such as Rhodesia, Souez, Constantinople, Athens, Volos, Cairo, and Chatroom who held 814 shares. The names of these women, with the exception of Eliza N. Lenguish of Constantinople, indicate that they were Cypriots who live abroad. Equally interesting are the nine women shareholders who based on their names, are assumed to be of foreign origin. These women who live in various cities and villages of Cyprus held 260 shares.

Further evidence of the democratisation of investment from a gender point of view is offered by Georghis who mentions that women shareholders of the Nicosia Savings Bank exercised their voting rights in the general assembly of 1901.⁷⁶ According to the bank’s articles of association all shareholders had the right to vote.⁷⁷ This provision was revoked in part by the 1930’s articles of association, where it is stated that husbands may vote in place of their wives with no longer having to produce a signed authorisation.⁷⁸

These findings open a new discussion regarding the relation between women’s rights to property and emancipation. In 1881, Edward Fairfield, who was a colonial officer tasked with producing a general report about Cyprus, wrote to the Earl of Kimberly expressing the opinion that, ‘There was never a more proper place than

⁷⁵ ‘Pleasant Sight-The Flocking to the Savings Bank-Swarm of Reasonable Bees’ (Ευχάριστον Θέαμα-Η συρροή εις το Ταμειτήριο-Σμήνη Λογικών Μελισσών) *Neos Kypriakos Phylax* (Nicosia: 2 February 1912) (in Greek).

⁷⁶ Georghis (no. 37) 35.

⁷⁷ Phylaktis (no 6) 8.

⁷⁸ *Bank of Cyprus Chronicle 1899-2009* (Τράπεζα Κύπρου Χρονολόγιο 1899-2009) (Bank of Cyprus Historical Archive: Nicosia, 2010) 34 (in Greek).

Cyprus for the introduction of women suffrage, marriage has no effect on a woman's property as a rule, nor on her capacity to contract'.⁷⁹

Yet, during this period, there was no active emancipation movement in Cyprus. However, in 1905 Cypriot women who owned property voted for the first time in the educational elections due to 'a mistake' in the law. Cypriot women did not ask the right to vote, nor did they object when their voting rights were revoked the next year.⁸⁰ As the newspaper *Phoni tis Kyprou* mentioned in 1908, 'From the women of Cyprus we have nothing to fear, they are more than enough tamed and inert'.⁸¹ Nevertheless, women's economic activity allowed them to actively participate in the island's public and political life and to bridge the separate spheres, even if it was for a brief period of time.

Conclusion

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Cypriot women were experiencing a transition from a primarily domestic life to a life within and without their domestic environments. According to Nearchou, 'The shift, to paid employment outside the house has strengthened the woman's position in the society, as the husband ceased to be the sole financial authority'.⁸²

However, the narrative of separate spheres is reproduced in the national literature, which mentions that during this period only a few wealthy city women were economically active. According to research carried out by the Women's Organisation of United Democrats, 'Absolute male domination and oppression of women in both a private and public sphere' existed in Cyprus during the period of British rule.⁸³ Also, according to Hadjipavlou and Biran 'The working-class women engaged in agriculture in the fields, but the money was controlled by the husband or the father'.⁸⁴ Papastavrou adds that 'during colonial life, women's experiences

⁷⁹ Edward Fairfield to Earl of Kimberly, *Minutes*, 31 January 1882, PRO, CO67/21/76:502 in Demetriadou (no.24) 73

⁸⁰ Vasilios Protopapas, *Electoral History of Cyprus: Politicians, Parties, and Elections in British Rule, 1878-1960* (Εκλογική Ιστορία της Κύπρου: Πολιτευτές, κόμματα και Εκλογές στην Αγγλοκρατία, 1878-1960) (PhD Thesis: University of Athens, 2011) 201-206 (in Greek)

⁸¹ 'Female Claims' (Γυναικείαι Αξιώσεις) *Phoni tis Kyprou* (Nicosia: 3/16 March 1908) (in Greek).

⁸² Lina Nearchou, 'Women Entrepreneurs in Cyprus', (Fall 1999) 11(2) *The Cyprus Review* 49-64, 51-52.

⁸³ Woman Organisation of United Democrats GOED, *Cypriot Women's Participation in Politics and Public Life* (Nicosia: Print Ways, 2006).

⁸⁴ Maria Hadjipavlou, Mertan Biran, 'Cypriot Feminism: An Opportunity to Challenge Gender Ine-

were limited to the home and to tending the fields'.⁸⁵ Moreover, Maria Michaelidou mentions that 'for decades, the woman continued to live in the shadow of the man, at the margin of social life, being responsible only for her house affairs and maybe occasionally for some charitable work'.⁸⁶

The findings of my research negate the above arguments and indicate that Cypriot women were not limited to their domestic roles. Instead, they had a significant role in the island's economy as investors. Cypriot women's investment activity within the family framework blurs the lines between domestic and public life and punches holes in the separate spheres narrative. In addition, the research data indicate that Cypriot women shareholders, which come from a wide socioeconomic background and geographical dispersion, benefited from the democratisation of investments.

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⁸⁵ Sophie Papastavrou, 'Decolonising the Cypriot Woman: Moving Beyond the Rhetoric of the Cyprus Problem' (2012) 24(2) *The Cyprus Review* 95-108, 100

⁸⁶ Maria Michaelidou, "Korasiaka" and "Thileokomeia": The Education of Females in Cyprus' («Κορασιακά» και «Θηλεοκομεία»: Η εκπαίδευση των Θηλέων στην Κύπρο) (2017) 34(63) *Pedagogical Review* (Παιδαγωγική Επιθεώρηση) 71-85, 71-72 (in Greek)

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The Impact of the EU Accession on Promoting Equal Pay and Female Voices in Cyprus

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Abstract

This article aims to investigate whether EU membership has contributed to the promotion of female voices in the formulation of legislation relating to gender equal pay in Cyprus. It focuses particularly on the impact of EU accession on the national industrial relations system and on the involvement of social partners and broader civil society in the legislative process. Finally, it explores the post-accession development of NGOs specialising in women's issues (women's organisations).

Keywords: gender equal pay, European Union, Cyprus, female voices, social partners, industrial relations, civil society, women's NGOs

Introduction

The European Union (EU) is a gender equality actor in local, regional and global levels. In the general framework of gender equality protection in the EU, the principle of equal pay has a prominent role. It is a fundamental principle in the EU and was included in the founding Treaty of Rome.² The protection of equal pay has since been developed through legislation and case law, while the complex causes of inequality made necessary the gradual complementary use of hard and soft law instruments.

The impact of EU in relation to the transposition and implementation of gender equality *acquis*, including that of equal pay, in Member States has been the subject of a number of studies. This article aims to go a step further in contributing to the understanding of EU impact on the promotion of female voices in the formulation of legislation relating to gender equal pay at the level of the Member State. Thus, it examines women's participation within the structures of actors involved in the legislative process in Cyprus and whether women are provided with effective op-

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² Art.119 now Art.157 Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU).

portunities to give voice to their needs, interests and perspectives³ and to shape the outcome.⁴

Legal analysis was combined with a limited number of elite-interviews at the national level with key people from the main actors involved in the legislative process, namely the two biggest trade unions, one (out of two) employers' associations, the Ministry of Labour, Welfare and Social Insurance (MLWSI) and one women's NGO. The aim was to shed light to the role of these stakeholders in promoting the equal pay principle and women's voices and whether EU membership enhanced their role.

Cyprus was chosen as a case study because of its industrial relations characteristics, such as a developed social dialogue. Also, it is a relatively new Member State of the EU⁵ and this made the interviewing of actors directly involved possible in the harmonisation process. In addition, Cyprus has achieved a substantial reduction in gender pay gap: from 36,2% in 1998 when the accession process started to 13,7% in 2017,⁶ thus making it an interesting case study on the impact of the EU in this area.

The paper is divided into three sections. The first outlines the Cypriot context in relation to the Industrial Relations System (IRS) and explores the impact of EU accession on its voluntary nature and collective agreements. In the second section, the impact of EU accession on the involvement of the national social partners and broader civil society in legislative processes, including that relating to equal pay is explored. The third section analyses the post-accession development of NGOs specialising in women's issues (women's organisations). The aim is to examine whether EU accession has contributed to the promotion of women's voices in the legislative process at the national level as well as within the structures of the actors involved in this process.

The Industrial Relations System in Cyprus

The Cypriot Constitution protects the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and freedom of association with others. This includes the right to form or join a trade union (Art.21); recognises the possibility of adopting legislation to provide for

³ Iris Marion Young, *Inclusion and Democracy*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 119.

⁴ Simon Deakin and Aristeia Koukiadaki, 'Capability theory, employee voice and corporate restructuring: Evidence from UK case studies' (2011) 33(3) *Comparative Labour law and Policy Journal* 434.

⁵ Cyprus became an EU Member State on the 1st May 2004.

⁶ European Commission, 2019 Report on equality between women and men in the EU, DG Justice and Consumers 66.

collective labour contracts of obligatory fulfilment (Art.26), even though such a law was never adopted, and recognises, with some exceptions, the right to strike (Art.27).⁷ The current IRS was consolidated with the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960⁸ and is based on the fundamental principles of voluntarism, collective bargaining and tripartite cooperation.

Voluntarism and Collective Bargaining

The heart of the IRS in Cyprus is the Industrial Relations Code (IRC)⁹, a gentlemen's agreement signed by the trade unions, employers' organisations and the government¹⁰ in 1977¹¹. The IRC was adopted under very difficult circumstances, just three years after the Turkish military invasion and the illegal occupation of 37% of the island's territory¹². These circumstances had a decisive effect on its nature and importance, since the essential contribution of the trade unions (TUs) to economic recovery, in the form of a number of concessions¹³ and refraining from any claims,

⁷ The Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus 1960- English version available at <[http://www.presidency.gov.cy/presidency/presidency.nsf/all/1003AEDD83EED9C7C225756F0023C6AD/\\$file/CY_Constitution.pdf](http://www.presidency.gov.cy/presidency/presidency.nsf/all/1003AEDD83EED9C7C225756F0023C6AD/$file/CY_Constitution.pdf)> accessed 02/06/2017.

⁸ Matina Yannakourou and Evangelia Soumeli, 'The evolving structures of collective bargaining in Europe 1990-2004', Research Project Co-financed by the European Commission and the University of Florence (2003), VS/2003/0219-SI2.359910, available at <http://adapt.it/adapt-indice-a-z/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/matina_yannakourou.pdf> accessed 31/01/2020.

⁹ Industrial Relations Code English Version, available at <[http://www.mlsi.gov.cy/mlsi/dlr/dlr.nsf/F2D01AEC93C7C090C22578AA0023C4B6/\\$file/Industrial%20Relations%20Code.pdf](http://www.mlsi.gov.cy/mlsi/dlr/dlr.nsf/F2D01AEC93C7C090C22578AA0023C4B6/$file/Industrial%20Relations%20Code.pdf)> accessed 23/05/2017.

¹⁰ The signatories were the following: Cyprus Employers Federation, the Pancyprian Federation of Labour, the Cyprus Workers Confederation and the Minister of Labour and Social Insurance (now Minister of Labour, Welfare and Social Insurance).

¹¹ The IRC succeeded an earlier simpler agreement (the Basic Agreement) which was signed in 1962, available at <http://www.mlsi.gov.cy/mlsi/dlr/dlr.nsf/page05_en/page05_en?OpenDocument> accessed 20/05/2017.

¹² Christina Ioannou and Giorgos Kentas, 'The Europeanisation of gender issues in the labour sector: normative vs cognitive adaptation', 13th International Conference of International Society for the Study of European Ideas in cooperation with the University of Cyprus (2012), available at <<https://lekythos.library.ucy.ac.cy/bitstream/handle/10797/6169/ISSEIproceedings-Ioannou%20Giorgos%20Giorgos%20Kentas.pdf?sequence=1>> accessed 01/06/2017.

¹³ For example, the TUs consented to the government's proposal to suspend the automatic indexation system (Cost of Living Allowance-COLA system) in 1974. The COLA system was re-introduced in 1978, see Christina Ioannou 'The Development of the "Cypriot Corporatist Model": the Emergence of a "Corporatist Culture" and its Impact on the Process of Europeanisation', (2009) 10 *Cyprus and European Law Review* 719.

was recognised by the institutional integration of the working class and its representatives into the system of tripartite cooperation.¹⁴

The IRC essentially regulates the collective bargaining process (in the private and the semi-public sector)¹⁵ and provides for a conflict resolution mechanism when employers and employees representatives fail to reach a mutually acceptable outcome.¹⁶ Collective bargaining takes place at sectoral and company level and has traditionally played a primary role in regulating labour relations. The terms and conditions of employment, in particular financial terms such as salaries and benefits, were set by collective agreements, which, however, are not legally enforceable documents.¹⁷

Any disputes arising in relation to them are dealt with according to the provisions laid out in the IRC and cannot be settled in the labour disputes court. Nevertheless, the provisions of collective agreements in the employer's company, plus any other existing practices concerning terms and conditions of employment, are taken into consideration in cases before the Court.¹⁸ As it will be analysed below, the EU accession had a direct impact on the voluntary nature of the IRS and collective agreements.

The success of IRC can be attributed to the well established' employers organisations and TUs, which with their strong and effective organisational structures¹⁹ have managed to effectively deal with arising problems and crises. Equally important was the role of the government, which supported the interaction of independent social partners between them and with the government as equal partners in order to achieve steady and sustained socio-economic progress and development.²⁰ Consequently, despite the absence of legal sanctions for violations, the IRC has

¹⁴ Gregoris Ioannou, 'Labour Relations in Cyprus: Employment, Trade Unionism and of Class Composition' (DPhil thesis, University of Warwick, 2011) 43.

¹⁵ Evangelia Soumeli, 'Capacity building for social dialogue in Cyprus', Eurofound (2006), available at <<http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/pubdocs/2006/517/en/1/ef06517en.pdf>> accessed 10/10/2013.

¹⁶ Christina Ioannou and Giorgos Kentas, 'The Mediating Impact of Corporatism on the Europeanisation of the Cypriot Labour Sector' (2009) 21(2) *The Cyprus Review* 125.

¹⁷ There is also no legal mechanism for the extension of collective agreements, *ibid*.

¹⁸ Department of Labour Relations (MLWSI), Main characteristics currently applied in the Industrial Relations Code, available at <http://www.mlsi.gov.cy/mlsi/dlr/dlr.nsf/page40_en/page40_en?OpenDocument> accessed 03/06/2017.

¹⁹ Department of Labour Relations (MLWSI), The role of social partners, available at <http://www.mlsi.gov.cy/mlsi/dlr/dlr.nsf/page37_en/page37_en?OpenDocument> accessed 29/05/2017.

²⁰ Mikis Sparsis, *Tripartism and Industrial Relations: The Cyprus Experience* (Nicosia, 1998) 25.

rarely been violated, since the social partners exhibit responsibility and respect towards adhering to its provisions.²¹

Tripartite Cooperation

Tripartite cooperation is deeply embedded in the Cypriot IRS²² and the formulation and implementation of almost all legislative proposals and policies regulating industrial relations is the result of social dialogue between the government,²³ the TUs and the employers' associations.²⁴ Cooperation is achieved through a number of tripartite social dialogue bodies²⁵ functioning under the auspices of the MLWSI, which is responsible for supervising the overall administration of the labour market and overseeing the IRS.²⁶ The existence of these bodies, through which social partners express their views, as well as the many informal contacts that usually take place between the actors involved and which are facilitated by the small size of the Cypriot industrial sector, contribute to the good climate of smooth co-existence between the parties.²⁷

The Labour Advisory Board (LAB) is the highest level advisory body to the MLWSI, since the social partners' representatives are of the highest level (for example trade unions are represented by their general secretaries).²⁸ It is considered as the most important mechanism of tripartite cooperation²⁹ because every proposed piece of labour legislation, social programme and every labour market policy more generally, is discussed in the LAB before being presented to parliament.³⁰ The LAB is such a respected and powerful mechanism that the parliament will rarely over-

²¹ Department of Labour Relations (MLWSI) (n 17).

²² *ibid.*

²³ The Government is represented by the Ministry of Labour, Welfare and Social Insurance in relation to labour market and IRS issues and by the Ministry of Finance and the Planning Bureau in relation to the economic aspects of the IRS, see Ioannou C. and Kentas (2009) (n 15) 125.

²⁴ Soumeli (2006) (n 14).

²⁵ Such bodies include the Labour Advisory Board, the National Employment Committee, and the Social Security Committee.

²⁶ Department of Labour Relations (MLWSI), Social Dialogue, available at <http://www.mlsi.gov.cy/mlsi/dlr/dlr.nsf/page08_en/page08_en?OpenDocument > accessed 19/05/2017.

²⁷ Ioannou C. and Kentas (2009) (n 15) 125.

²⁸ Interview with trade union official (B) on 26/06/2013.

²⁹ Evangelia Soumeli, 'Cyprus: Working life country profile, European Observatory of Working Life', Eurofound (2015), available at <<https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/print/observatories/eurwork/comparative-information/national-contributions/cyprus/cyprus-working-life-country-profile> > accessed 19/05/2017.

³⁰ Ioannou C. (2009) (n 12) 726.

turn unanimous recommendations from LAB, even when it has taken contrary positions prior to receiving such recommendations.³¹

It should be noted that only the three biggest trade union confederations and the two employers' organisations³² participate as social partners in the LAB. Indeed, the representation of only a very small number of TUs at confederation level in this body (and the other official bodies of tripartite representation) and the exclusion of the other TUs has been criticised during the last ten years by a number of TUs, mainly single-sector TUs (i.e. ETYK which is the banking sector TU).³³ The relatively limited social dialogue agenda has also been criticised, whereas it has been argued that the social partners lack initiative to expand into new areas such as economic and monetary issues.³⁴

Moreover, and as it will be analysed subsequently, women are under-represented in the decision-making bodies of the social partners and this has an impact on their participation and on how their concerns are voiced at the level of the LAB. For example, while departments dedicated to women issues within the trade unions would raise concerns such as paternal leave and equal treatment at work for many years prior to accession, the adoption of relevant legislation was only made possible during the harmonisation process, because they had to accept it.³⁵

EU Impact on the Cypriot IRS

In the process of becoming a member of the EU, Cyprus had to introduce extensive and radical changes³⁶ in labour and social law areas (including gender equal pay and gender equality at work). The harmonisation of the national legislation on these areas was timely, swift and straightforward.³⁷ This can be attributed to two reasons.

Firstly, harmonisation and achieving EU accession as quickly as possible became a national mission.³⁸ EU accession was seen as a means for promoting a solu-

³¹ *ibid.*

³² However, depending on the issue in question, representatives from other TUs or employers' associations might be invited on ad hoc basis as observers, Soumeli (2015) (n 28).

³³ Soumeli (2015) (n 28).

³⁴ *ibid.*

³⁵ Personal interview with trade union official (A) on 26/6/2013.

³⁶ Christina Ioannou, 'The Europeanization of Cypriot Social Policy: An "Apolitical" Europeanization Process', (2008-9) 25-26 *Journal of Modern Hellenism* 97.

³⁷ Ioannou C. and Kentas (2009) (n 15) 131.

³⁸ Ioannou C. and Kentas (2012) (n 11) 6.

tion to the Cyprus political problem with the active involvement of the EU³⁹ that would be compatible with the *acquis communautaire* and the founding principles of the EU. Further, timing was of the essence since the Cypriot government's purpose was for island to accede to the EU before the latter reached a decision on the opening of accession negotiations with Turkey.⁴⁰ Thus the national mission created adaptation pressure and indeed Cyprus was the first country (among the other nine candidate countries) to successfully conclude its accession negotiations within the agreed timeframe.⁴¹

Secondly, the adaptation pressure was combined with the capacity of the existing institutional and organisational structures of the industrial relations in Cyprus⁴² to implement the *acquis* on labour and social areas. The government recognised the importance of the embedded role of the social partners in the decision-making process and actively involved them in drafting and introducing new legislation during the harmonisation process. For this purpose, tripartite technical committees (consisting of legal drafters, trade union officials and employers' representatives) were appointed by the LAB with the task of drafting the bills.⁴³ These bills were presented to the competent department of the MLWSI, which in cooperation with the law office of the Republic, prepared draft laws,⁴⁴ which were resubmitted to the technical committees for discussion, whereas reports were prepared expressing the views of the parties involved.⁴⁵

As social dialogue was already highly developed in Cyprus, there was no need for this to be further promoted with the accession to membership of the EU. However, accession had a direct impact on the agenda of social dialogue. With the accession, 'more issues were put on the table, which we needed to see under the prism of European realities and we needed to learn some things in relation to how these European procedures work [...]. The accession did not develop the social dialogue [...] our

³⁹ Ioannou C. and Kentas (2009) (n 15) 116.

⁴⁰ *ibid* 123.

⁴¹ Embassy of the Republic of Cyprus in Washington D.C., available at <<http://www.cyprousembassy.net/home/index.php?module=page&cid=31>> accessed 29/04/2017.

⁴² Ioannou C. (n 35) 111.

⁴³ *ibid* 105.

⁴⁴ *ibid*.

⁴⁵ *ibid*.

accession just gave to the social dialogue some other parameters’,⁴⁶said an official, Employers’ Organisation.

In addition, from the beginning of the harmonisation process it became obvious that in the European context, a more solid legally enforceable national industrial relations system was needed. A system based on the voluntary cooperation of the social partners to adhere to the terms of collective agreements, which in any case lack of *erga omnes* effect⁴⁷ (coverage for all),⁴⁸ was clearly not enough. Legislation applicable to all at the national level and in line with the *acquis communautaire* was required as a condition for EU membership.

Consequently, the harmonisation process critically changed the direction of the Cypriot IRS to a more statutory legislation. The voluntary system of regulating industrial relations, where statutory and State intervention was limited, was transformed to a system that guarantees and compulsory promotes the rights and freedoms of the whole workforce.⁴⁹ While collective agreements still remain important, the new legislation which transposed the EU *acquis*, provides for minimum terms and conditions of employment for non-unionised employees and for employees in enterprises that have not agreed to or signed a collective agreement.⁵⁰ Further, provisions in collective agreements providing for less favourable terms than this legislation had to be amended to reach the legislative minima.⁵¹

Cyprus accession to the EU had also a profound transformative effect on the national legal framework regarding women’s rights. For the purposes of harmonisation with the *acquis communautaire* and within specified time limits, a very important legislation was adopted affecting women’s lives such as on equal pay, equal treatment in employment and training, special advantages for pregnant and breastfeeding women, maternity benefits and parental leave.⁵² Furthermore, legislation particularly affecting equal pay, such as legislation in social security, social

⁴⁶ Personal interview with employers’ organisation official on 26/06/2013.

⁴⁷ The collective agreements cannot be imposed upon and enforced in the whole sector: they apply only to the members of the workforce that are covered by them and not to the non-members of the signing organisations, see Ioannou C. (n 35) 104.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*

⁴⁹ *ibid* 124.

⁵⁰ Department of Labour Relations (n 17).

⁵¹ Christophoros Christophi (2014), Lawyer, available at <<http://www.lawyer.com.cy/docs/cyprus-employment-law-2014.pdf>> accessed 06/06/2017.

⁵² *ibid* 4.

pension and occupational security was amended in order to provide equality between men and women.⁵³

The pre-accession national legislation on equal pay (the Equal Pay Law L.158/1989) as amended in 2000, which was never put into practice due to gaps and inconsistencies,⁵⁴ was repealed in 2003 by the equal pay between men and women for the same work or for work of equal value law,⁵⁵ as amended by Laws L.193(I)/2004, L.38(I)/2009, L.151(I)/2014 (the Equal Pay Laws 2002-2014). The Equal Pay Laws 2002-2014 transposed the Equal Pay Directive⁵⁶, the Burden of Proof Directive⁵⁷ and the Recast Directive⁵⁸ on the implementation of the principle of equal opportunities and equal treatment of men and women in matters of employment and occupation. This legislation introduced new concepts such as direct and indirect discrimination based on sex and the principle of equality in pay for work of equal value. In fact, the definitions contained in the Recast Directive are virtually replicated in the national law.⁵⁹ The introduction of these new concepts in the national labour market policy discourse clearly demonstrates the EU impact in the area of gender equal pay.

Moreover, the accession had an important impact regarding gender equality in the context of collective bargaining and collective agreements. According to the provisions of the Equal Pay Laws 2002-2014, all provisions containing direct or indirect discrimination based on gender in existing collective agreements have to be abolished, whereas any such provisions in new collective agreements will be considered invalid.

⁵³ *ibid.*

⁵⁴ The only achievement was the replacement of the (discriminatory) terminology man's salary and woman's salary from collective agreements by the new terms worker A, which referred to men and worker B, which referred to women, see Anna Pilavaki, 'Equal Pay Internationally and in Cyprus', Equality and Equal Treatment Department, DEOK (2004), available at <[http://www.mjpo.gov.cy/mjpo/mjpo.nsf/28496476922F8D3BC2257B880027911B/\\$file/%CE%94%CE%95%CE%9F%CE%9A-%CE%9F%CE%94%CE%97%CE%93%CE%9F%CE%A3%20%CE%99%CE%A3%CE%9F%CE%9C%CE%99%CE%A3%CE%98%CE%99%CE%91%CE%A3.pdf](http://www.mjpo.gov.cy/mjpo/mjpo.nsf/28496476922F8D3BC2257B880027911B/$file/%CE%94%CE%95%CE%9F%CE%9A-%CE%9F%CE%94%CE%97%CE%93%CE%9F%CE%A3%20%CE%99%CE%A3%CE%9F%CE%9C%CE%99%CE%A3%CE%98%CE%99%CE%91%CE%A3.pdf)> accessed 01/06/2017.

⁵⁵ Law 177(I)/2002

⁵⁶ Directive 75/117/EEC, relating to the application of the principle of equal pay between men and women.

⁵⁷ Directive 97/80/EC on the burden of proof in cases of discrimination based on sex.

⁵⁸ Directive 2006/54/EC.

⁵⁹ Nicos Trimikliniotis and Corina Demetriou, 'Evaluating the Anti-Discrimination Law in the Republic of Cyprus: A Critical Reflection' (2008) 20(2) *The Cyprus Review* 93.

In 2008, the Women’s Bureau of the Pancyprian Federation of Labour⁶⁰ completed a study on the ‘Equality between women and men in collective agreements’,⁶¹ which was the first of its kind at the national level.⁶² The study found direct discriminatory provisions regarding pay in two collective agreements (one at sectoral and one at company level).⁶³ In relation to indirect discrimination, the study focused on issues relating to job segregation, given its role in maintaining the wage gap and in many collective agreements examined that women’s labour participation was generally restricted to unskilled, low qualified or the lowest paid jobs.⁶⁴

Also substantive discrimination as well as verbal inequality was observed in relation to the language used to define occupations: ‘in some collective agreements at sectoral and company level, numerous occupations were defined as typically female roles, i.e. cleaning lady, chambermaid, female phone operator and female secretary’.⁶⁵ This implies that these jobs were ‘either held by or intended only for women’,⁶⁶ therefore perpetuating stereotypes and occupational segregation. Important was also the fact that in almost all of the agreements examined, provisions were made in relation to maternity leave, although provisions on other aspects of equality laid down in law, such as parental leave and affirmative action were absent.⁶⁷

It has been argued that overall the efforts to bring collective agreements into compliance with the principle of equality appeared to be focused on linguistic corrections (replacing gender discriminatory terms of job titles with gender neutral definitions) or on the formal abolition of directly discriminatory provisions and clauses, instead

⁶⁰ Set up in September 2004.

⁶¹ Anthoula Papadopoulou, ‘Equality between women and men in collective agreements’, Mechanism for Monitoring the Implementation of the Legislation on Equality through Collective Agreements (2008) Women’s Bureau of PEO, Sponsored by the National Mechanism on Women’s Rights, available in Greek at <[http://www.eif.gov.cy/mlsi/dl/genderequality.nsf/All/FB5C9EA03FA20611C22579A7002FEF6C/\\$file/%CE%B9%CF%83%CF%8C%CF%84%CE%B7%CF%84%CE%B1_%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B9%CF%82_%CF%83%CF%85%CE%BB%CE%BB%CE%BF%CE%B3%CE%B9%CE%BA%CE%AD%CF%82_%CF%83%CF%85%CE%BC%CE%B2%CE%AC%CF%83%CE%B5%CE%B9%CF%82_%CE%B5%CF%81%CE%B3%CE%B1%CF%83%CE%AF%CE%B1%CF%82.pdf](http://www.eif.gov.cy/mlsi/dl/genderequality.nsf/All/FB5C9EA03FA20611C22579A7002FEF6C/$file/%CE%B9%CF%83%CF%8C%CF%84%CE%B7%CF%84%CE%B1_%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B9%CF%82_%CF%83%CF%85%CE%BB%CE%BB%CE%BF%CE%B3%CE%B9%CE%BA%CE%AD%CF%82_%CF%83%CF%85%CE%BC%CE%B2%CE%AC%CF%83%CE%B5%CE%B9%CF%82_%CE%B5%CF%81%CE%B3%CE%B1%CF%83%CE%AF%CE%B1%CF%82.pdf)> accessed 15/01/2020.

⁶² Anthoula Papadopoulou and Evangelia Soumeli, Cyprus Labour Institute (INEK-PEO), ‘Gender equality lacking in collective agreements’, European Observatory of Working Life, (2008) Eurofound, available at <<https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/observatories/eurwork/articles/gender-equality-lacking-in-collective-agreements>> accessed 22/02/2017.

⁶³ Papadopoulou and Soumeli (2008) (n 61).

⁶⁴ *ibid.*

⁶⁵ *ibid.*

⁶⁶ *ibid.*

⁶⁷ *ibid.*

of more 'effectively promoting and applying the principle of workplace gender equality.'⁶⁸ According to Papadopoulou and Soumeli this 'legalistic and rather superficial approach' reflects 'the more general approach adopted in Cyprus, as regards gender equality in the workplace and in employment'.⁶⁹ It can to some extent be further attributed to the under-representation of women in collective bargaining.⁷⁰

Finally, the changes effected by the accession made necessary the modernisation of the industrial relations. To this end, the three biggest union organisations compromised their previous divergence of opinions and in 2006, with a joint letter to the MLWSI (also communicated to the employers' organisations), requested the initiation of social dialogue in modernising industrial relations.⁷¹ In the letter, they emphasised that the underlying philosophy of the existing IRS based on voluntarism, collective bargaining and tripartite cooperation should be maintained,⁷² but proposed that collective agreements should become legally enforceable.⁷³ Extensive consultations were held before the competent tripartite technical committee set by a decision of the LAB, where it was agreed that there was a need to introduce new regulatory provisions relating to the stage prior to the application of the provisions of the IRC.⁷⁴ Therefore, as part of a package of legislative measures for the modernisation of the IRS, a new legislation was passed in 2012,⁷⁵ which includes a number of provisions on strengthening rights to bargain collectively and to give TU representatives access to workplaces, while still respecting employers' rights.⁷⁶ Further, the law ratifying ILO Convention 135 on worker representatives was amended (L.10(III)/2012).⁷⁷

⁶⁸ *ibid.*

⁶⁹ *ibid.*

⁷⁰ 9th National Report on the implementation of the European Social Charter submitted by the Government of Cyprus (Articles 1,9,10,15,18, 20 and 24 for the period 01/01/2007-31/12/2010) 44.

⁷¹ Evangelia Soumeli, 'Unions seek social dialogue on modernization of industrial relations', European Observatory of Working Life, (2006) Eurofound, available at <<https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/is/observatories/eurwork/articles/unions-seek-social-dialogue-on-modernisation-of-industrial-relations>> accessed 11/05/2017.

⁷² *ibid.*

⁷³ This proposal was abandoned in 2013.

⁷⁴ Department of Labour Relations, The Future/Modernization of Industrial Relations System, available at <http://www.mlsi.gov.cy/mlsi/dlr/dlr.nsf/page07_en/page07_en?OpenDocument> accessed 09/10/2016.

⁷⁵ L. 55(I)/2012 on the Recognition of Trade Union Organization and the Right to Provide Trade Union Facilities for Recognition Purposes.

⁷⁶ Soumeli (2015) (n 28).

⁷⁷ Department of Labour Relations (n 73).

Social Partners in Cyprus

Trade Unions

Currently, there are two dominant multi-sectoral trade union confederations at a national level of broadly similar size. Firstly, the Pancyprian Federation of Labour (PEO), which has a stronger basis among blue collar workers (especially in the construction industry), and strong links with the left-wing (communist) party. The second dominant confederation is the Cyprus Workers Confederation (SEK)⁷⁸ which has a strong presence in the semi-public sector, and is closer to the parties of the right-wing and centre-right. The third in size confederation is the Democratic Labour Federation of Cyprus (DEOK),⁷⁹ which has links with the social democratic party, whereas a much smaller union is the Pancyprian Federation of Independent Trade Unions (POAS).⁸⁰ Additionally, there are a number of significant independent/autonomous sectoral employees' organisations.⁸¹

Relations between the different trade union organisations are generally good and despite ideological and political differences or different affiliations,⁸² 'they have been able to achieve unity in their pay claims and other activities.'⁸³ It should be further noted that the Cypriot TUs are well networked at European and international levels, although given Cyprus' small size their involvement is neither central nor a priority.⁸⁴

There are no official figures available after 2008 regarding TU membership density in Cyprus. The Trade Union Registrar and the TUs estimate that the union density is now below 50%; a considerable reduction from the 76,1% in 1990.⁸⁵ The

⁷⁸ SEK was founded in 1949.

⁷⁹ DEOK was created from a split of SEK in 1962.

⁸⁰ POAS was founded in 1956.

⁸¹ Such as the Pancyprian Union of Public Servants (PASDYD), the Pancyprian Organisation of Greek Teachers (POED), the Organisation of Greek Secondary Education Teachers (OELMEK), the Union of Banking Employees of Cyprus (ETYK) and the Independent Union of Cyprus' Public Employees (ASDYK).

⁸² Soumeli (n 14): 3.

⁸³ Lionel Fulton, 'Worker representation in Europe' (2015) Labour Research Department and ETUI, available at <<https://www.worker-participation.eu/National-Industrial-Relations/Countries/Cyprus/Trade-Unions>> accessed 01/06/2017.

⁸⁴ Gregoris Ioannou and Sertac Sonan, 'Trade Unions In Cyprus: History of Division, Common Challenges Ahead' (2014) Friedrich Ebert Stiftung 18.

⁸⁵ It should be noted that TU density in the public, the semi-public and the banking sector approaches 100%, see Ioannou G. and Sonan, *ibid* 5.

decrease in union membership is one of the most vital problems the TU movement is facing and causes a number of difficulties, including issues with finances (due to loss of income from subscription fees).⁸⁶ The severe banking crisis in 2012 and the resulting rise of the unemployment level (at 15,1% in 2015 in comparison to 6,3% in 2010)⁸⁷ had an adverse impact on TU membership levels. Despite the recent decrease of the unemployment levels at 7,6% (December 2019),⁸⁸ the trade unions' power has been gradually eroded by the deregulation trend, since collective agreements are undermined by the gradual individualisation of labour relations and the rise of personal contracts.⁸⁹

Additionally, the austerity measures adopted by the Cypriot government in the period 2013-2016,⁹⁰ with 'the implementation of major fiscal, structural and institutional reform measures in the context of the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on Specific Economic Policy Conditionality'⁹¹ further eroded TUs' power. During the duration of the Economic Adjustment Programme, the traditional tripartite decision-making mechanisms were not used and decisions were unilaterally taken at the political and technocratic levels.⁹² TUs were thus unable to promote their positions and faced 'difficulties to provide even the most basic protection to their members'.⁹³ In addition, the MoU 'has inflicted powerful changes in areas previously governed by the collective agreements'.⁹⁴ It is too early to assess the long-term impact of this situation on the industrial relations functioning. However, it

⁸⁶ Soumeli (2015) (n 28).

⁸⁷ Soumeli (2015) (n 28).

⁸⁸ Eurostat-Statistics explained, Unemployment statistics, available at <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Unemployment_statistics> accessed 30/01/2020.

⁸⁹ Yiannos Katsourides, 'Political Parties and Trade Unions in Cyprus', (September 2013) GreeSE Paper No.74 Hellenic Observatory Papers on Greece and Southeast Europe, London School of Economics 32, available at <<http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/52625/1/GreeSE%20No74.pdf>> accessed 11/06/2017.

⁹⁰ Cyprus agreed with Troika (a group of international lenders comprised of the European Commission, the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund) an Economic Adjustment Programme on 02/04/2013 for the period 2013-2016. The Programme aimed at addressing the country's financial, fiscal and structural imbalances and involved a package of €10 billion. The main aims and expected outcomes of the Programme were included in a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the European Commission and the Republic of Cyprus, see Odysseas Christou, Christina Ioannou and Anthos Shekeris, 'Social Cohesion and the State in times of Austerity-Cyprus'(September 2013) Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

⁹¹ Soumeli (2015) (n 28).

⁹² Ioannou G. and Sonan (n 83) 6.

⁹³ *ibid.*

⁹⁴ Katsourides (n 88) 36.

has been argued that the consent of the State and employers to TUs' demands in the previous years was linked with the power of the TUs and it is anticipated that there is a possibility of escalation of tension with the decline of the TUs' power.⁹⁵

Women's Voices and the TUs

The difficult economic conditions after 1974 forced an accelerated entry of women into the labour market, since the male wage was not enough to support the family.⁹⁶ Although women were concentrated in temporary, part-time, non-skilled and low-paid positions, their entry into the labour market was a decisive step in the struggle for gender equality.⁹⁷ According to the latest statistics concerning women in Cyprus by the national Statistical Service in March 2017, women now constitute the 48% of the total labour force of Cyprus, whereas they embody the majority of the population at 51%.⁹⁸ Women's employment is characterised by a horizontal and vertical segregation.⁹⁹

According to research, women's membership in the TUs in Cyprus varies from 13% to 76%, but only a limited percentage of employees of the TUs are women.¹⁰⁰ Within the TUs a strong male hierarchy exists¹⁰¹ and despite the existence of women's departments, their gender's participation in the decision-making bodies of the TUs is very limited. It is then worth noting that in 2003, the Cyprus Gender Equality Observatory (CGEO), which is affiliated with DEOK, called on the whole Cypriot TU movement to adapt a charter for the incorporation of gender equality in all the policies of the TU movement.¹⁰² However, the majority of the TUs did not agree on the basis that they have already set gender equality issues in their priorities.¹⁰³ In addition, the TUs do not have a common position in relation to the use of quotas.

⁹⁵ *ibid.*: 33.

⁹⁶ Ioannou G. (n 13) 47.

⁹⁷ *ibid.*

⁹⁸ Statistical Service of Cyprus, Press Release: The Woman in Cyprus in Figures, 07/03/2017, available at <[http://www.cystat.gov.cy/mof/cystat/statistics.nsf/All/73F947E6E0470DD2C22580D80037BA90/\\$file/Woman_in_CY-EN-070317.pdf?OpenElement](http://www.cystat.gov.cy/mof/cystat/statistics.nsf/All/73F947E6E0470DD2C22580D80037BA90/$file/Woman_in_CY-EN-070317.pdf?OpenElement)> accessed 25/06/2017.

⁹⁹ Anna Pilavaki, 'Woman in Modern Society Internationally and in Cyprus: Personality and Factors of Success' (2008) Cyprus Gender Equality Observatory (CGEO) Publication 43.

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁰¹ *ibid.* 43.

¹⁰² *ibid.* 48.

¹⁰³ *ibid.* 48.

Both participants from the TUs cited that the reconciliation of family/professional life is problematic and prevents women from pursuing higher positions, which ‘require more time’.¹⁰⁴ Therefore, the increased economic independence of women did not extend to the private/home context and did not liberate them from the burdens of housework.¹⁰⁵ This is not only evident by the absence of women in leadership roles in the TUs but also from their absence in prominent positions in the political parties or in occupying important roles of the State in areas of economy and industry.¹⁰⁶

The absence of women from decision-making positions within the TUs and generally the limited number of women employees within the central organisation of the TUs could also explain to a great extent why equality issues are not raised in collective bargaining and subsequently not included in collective agreements.¹⁰⁷ Women negotiators for collective agreements are virtually absent, whereas there is a lack of interest from women to apply for such a post.¹⁰⁸ Further, ‘there is a perception that trade unionism is more a male job’ and ‘women need encouragement to participate in decision-making centres [...] it is a continuous effort to convince women [...] that if their voices are heard it helps [...] and it will also help them to develop as persons’,¹⁰⁹ were the comments of an official from a trade union.

Employers’ Organisations

Two employers’ organisations exist in Cyprus: the Employers and Industrialists Federation (OEB)¹¹⁰ and the Cyprus Chamber of Commerce and Industry (CCCI),¹¹¹ where between them they represent nearly the entirety of the business/entrepreneurial community of Cyprus, since it is understood that all individual professional/industrial associations are affiliated with either the OEB or the CCCI or in some cases with both.¹¹² Individual enterprises can become direct members to either, or both, of these organisations, or they can be affiliated to them through their mem-

¹⁰⁴ Personal interview with trade union official (A) on 26/6/2013.

¹⁰⁵ Ioannou G. (n 13) 47.

¹⁰⁶ Maria Hadjipavlou and Biran Mertan, ‘Cypriot Feminism: An Opportunity to Challenge Gender Inequalities and Promote Women’s Rights and a Different Voice’ (2010) 22(2) *The Cyprus Review* 261.

¹⁰⁷ 9th National Report on the implementation of the European Social Charter submitted by the Government of Cyprus (Articles 1,9,10,15,18, 20 and 24 for the period 01/01/2007-31/12/2010) 44.

¹⁰⁸ Personal interview with trade union official (B) on 26/06/2013.

¹⁰⁹ Personal interview with trade union official (A) on 26/06/2013

¹¹⁰ The OEB was established in 1960.

¹¹¹ The CCCI was established in 1927.

¹¹² Department of Labour Relations (n 17).

bership to their professional association, which in turn is a member of the employers' organisations.¹¹³ The grouping of all forces into two umbrella organisations acting as the coordinating bodies on behalf of the business community in all sectors of economic activity, as well as the high level of representation, have contributed decisively to the shaping of well organised employers.¹¹⁴

OEB and CCCI have equal representation in the various tripartite bodies but in general, 'OEB is by far the more influential, taking part in all negotiations with PEO and SEK' and 'has to large extent undertaken the role of a coordinating body in the field of employers as a whole'.¹¹⁵ Further, in terms of representation in collective bargaining, OEB's members employ almost 65% of the private sector employees.¹¹⁶

In both employers' associations women are under-represented in all decision-making positions. For example, women are absent from the executive committee of the CCCI, which is the highest decision-making body of the organisation comprising of 17 members. In OEB out of the 120 members of the council of management only ten are women and there is only one woman out of 21 members in the executive committee.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless, it should be noted that the statute of OEB was amended in 2016 and now the promotion of equality between men and women in employment, the encouragement of women's entrepreneurship and the promotion of equal representation of the two genders in decision-taking positions are included in the purposes of the organisation.¹¹⁸ This is an important development, where the impact of which remains to be seen in the future.

EU Impact on Social Partners

As explained in the previous section, the harmonisation process, acted as a catalyst for the adoption of legislation promoting gender equality at work and equal pay more specifically. In this process the social partners were actively involved and through the already established mechanisms of tripartite cooperation, women in TUs were empowered and were given the opportunity to make their voices heard.

¹¹³ *ibid.*

¹¹⁴ Evangelia Soumeli and Theodoros Giovanni, 'Cyprus – Developments in social partner organisations: employer organisations' (2010) Eurofound, available at <<https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/observatories/eurwork/comparative-information/national-contributions/cyprus/cyprus-developments-in-social-partner-organisations-employer-organisations>> accessed 19/06/2017.

¹¹⁵ Soumeli (2006) (n 14) 3.

¹¹⁶ Soumeli and Giovanni (n 113).

¹¹⁷ Yearly Report of the Council of Management of OEB for 2018 dated 14/05/2019.

¹¹⁸ Yearly Report of the Council of Management of OEB for 2016 dated 11/05/2017.

This was particularly important because, at the time of the accession, women had very few opportunities to make their voices heard: they were underrepresented in decision-making positions within the social partners, in the parliament and government,¹¹⁹ whereas women's NGOs were weak.

After Cyprus accession to the EU, gender equality in general and equal pay in particular were discussed in the LAB, in the context of the strategic plan for reconciliation (in 2009), where the TUs put forward their views.¹²⁰ While 'some issues were implemented regarding amendment of legislation and some not',¹²¹ the process was interrupted by the economic crisis. Indeed, this crisis negatively affected the agenda of social dialogue in terms of gender equality, since this issue was not seen as a priority.¹²² Therefore it could be argued that the normative changes brought with harmonisation were not internalised into the IRS. Nevertheless, with the exit of Cyprus from the Economic Adjustment Programme in March 2016, it seems that issues of gender equality and reconciliation are coming back on the agenda. This is evident by the first time adoption of a legislation regarding two weeks paid paternity leave which entered into force on 1 August 2017.

In relation to the internal structures of the social partners, it seems that little has changed with the EU accession, since women remain underrepresented in the decision-making bodies. Especially in relation to trade unions and even in female dominated sectors such as education, trade unions are led by men even though 80% of teachers and educators in Cyprus are women.¹²³ More positive steps towards this direction were taken by OEB, one of the two employers' associations, with the amendment of its statute in 2016.

Broader Civil Society in Cyprus

Due to Cyprus' late independence, the intercommunal violence that followed and the events of 1974, there was little change for the development of civil and dem-

¹¹⁹ The accession negotiations started in 1998 and were concluded in 2002. During this period the representation of women in the Parliament was between 5.4% and 10.7% and there was only one women Minister out of eleven in the government, Statistical Service of Cyprus, Press Release: Portrait of Women in Cyprus 2012, 15/10/2012, available at <[http://www.cystat.gov.cy/mof/cystat/statistics.nsf/All/D95240D3A523C89BC2257A9800307B94/\\$file/Potrait_of_Women_in_Cyprus-2012-151012.pdf?OpenElement](http://www.cystat.gov.cy/mof/cystat/statistics.nsf/All/D95240D3A523C89BC2257A9800307B94/$file/Potrait_of_Women_in_Cyprus-2012-151012.pdf?OpenElement)> accessed 05/09/2016.

¹²⁰ Personal interview with trade union official (B) on 26/06/2013.

¹²¹ Personal interview with trade union official (B) on 26/06/2013.

¹²² Personal interview with MLWSI official on 26/06/2013.

¹²³ Personal interview with women's NGO official 27/06/2013.

ocratic culture.¹²⁴ The unresolved Cyprus political problem has monopolised the political life of the island and contributed greatly to the politicisation of Cypriot society and the prominence of political parties.¹²⁵ It has been argued that the ideology of nationalism, which was dominant throughout the 20th century, translated into lack of tolerance and reluctance to engage in social criticism, which suppressed the development of civil society. A lack of participatory civil culture among Cypriots compared to other established democracies has been noted.¹²⁶ In addition, the dominance of the Cyprus problem on the political agenda resulted in an environment which was not conducive to civil society activism.¹²⁷ ‘The government did not know what civil society was [...]. I mean NGOs and civil society organisations were not at all included in a policy dialogue. There was no policy dialogue [...] that is the environment we are coming from’.¹²⁸

It was as late as the 1990s, that non-governmental organisations (NGOs), which were independent of the State and the political parties, started to develop. The UN and the EU systems emerged as a major and constant source of ‘path-breaking changes that have strengthened and empowered democratic institutions and civil society organisations at national level’¹²⁹. Especially the EU accession favoured the development of civil society as the EU encourages dialogue with civil society.¹³⁰

Women’s NGOs

The women’s NGO movement, in the sense of independent non-governmental organisations not linked to political parties or trade unions and with the specific aim of promoting gender equality, is still a new concept to the Cypriot society which started developing mainly since 2000. This can be partly explained by the fact that Cypriot women did not have to struggle to gain their right to vote by ‘engaging in a process of politicisation and raising gender consciousness awareness.’¹³¹ Instead, they were given this right with the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus.¹³²

¹²⁴ Katsourides (n 88): 9.

¹²⁵ *ibid.*: 11.

¹²⁶ *ibid.* 25.

¹²⁷ *ibid.*

¹²⁸ *ibid.*

¹²⁹ Cyprus National Report on the Implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action (1995) and the outcome of the twenty-third Special Session of the General Assembly (2000), (2004) Nicosia 7.

¹³⁰ Katsourides (n 88): 21.

¹³¹ *ibid.*

¹³² Hadjipavlou and Mertan (n 105) 255.

In the absence of women's NGO movement, 'women's avenues or avenues for activism were [...] naturally, through trade unions and political parties,'¹³³ said an official from the woman's NGO. Women's organisations affiliated to political parties are 'an important part of the national scene'¹³⁴ and they were the prime drivers behind women's movement and some of their members had been elected to parliament.¹³⁵ However, it has been argued that 'now political affiliations are actually detrimental to the scope of action of the women's movement because their priorities are always shaped by the priorities of the [...] political party itself'.¹³⁶

Further, 'the structures of the political parties are so exclusive [...] that the structures themselves exclude women, because they failed to implement quota even when they have them'.¹³⁷ There was never a woman leader of a political party in Cyprus, except recently of the newly-formed Solidarity Movement¹³⁸ (in 2016), the founder and president of which is a woman. 'The patriarchal attitudes towards female politicians, lack of support from male political networks and insufficient media representation prevent women from equal participation in political life'.¹³⁹

According to Hadjipavlou and Mertan,¹⁴⁰ the majority of Cypriot women's organisations affiliated to political parties 'did not have the opportunity to develop a different women's voice on women's rights'. This is firstly attributed, to the dominance of the national problem on the political agenda and secondly, to the fact that political parties are male-dominated.¹⁴¹ A positive development is that awareness campaigns and other measures resulted in a small increase in the participation of women in parliament in 2016 (from 10,7% to 17,85%).¹⁴²

¹³³ Personal interview with women's NGO official on 27/06/2013.

¹³⁴ Hadjipavlou and Mertan (n 105) 255.

¹³⁵ UN Press Release (WOM/1563), Cyprus delegation tells women's anti-discrimination committee about sweeping legal changes aimed at achieving de facto gender equality, 25 May 2006, available at <<https://www.un.org/press/en/2006/wom1563.doc.htm>> accessed 01/06/2017.

¹³⁶ Personal interview with women's NGO official on 27/06/2013.

¹³⁷ Personal interview with women's NGO official on 27/06/2013.

¹³⁸ A nationalist political party.

¹³⁹ UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, Concluding observations on the combined sixth and seventh periodic reports of Cyprus adopted by the Committee at its fifty fourth session (11 February – 1 March 2013) 5, available at <<http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/docs/co/CEDAW.C.CYP.CO.6-7.pdf>> accessed 13/06/2017.

¹⁴⁰ Hadjipavlou and Mertan (n 105) 247.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid* 247.

¹⁴² UN Women, Cyprus commits to scale up support for gender equality rooted in a new national action

Funding is crucial for the very existence and development of NGOs in general, whereas lack of funding was cited as another limitation for civil society activism in Cyprus. It is interesting that the growth of women's NGOs was initially based on funding received by the UN Development Programme (UNDP) in 2000 in relation to peacebuilding cooperation.¹⁴³ The goal of the UNDP was to bring women closer from both communities¹⁴⁴ in bi-communal structures. However, women's roles were not elevated within the actual framework of the negotiations for the settlement of the Cyprus problem.¹⁴⁵

It is a paradox that, while the focus on finding a solution to the political problem was seen as the main obstacle for the development of the women's NGOs movement in the previous decades, in 2000 the funds received in the framework of a UN programme directly linked to this obstacle provided the opportunity for the development of the women's NGOs movement in Cyprus.

EU Impact on Women's NGOs

The accession to the EU was a catalyst to the development of NGOs specialising in women's issues, and of NGOs in general. This can be attributed firstly to the availability of funding. Through various European programmes, women's NGOs receive funding in order to carry out actions promoting gender equality such as training and awareness campaigns. For example, the European Social Fund (ESF) co-financed the budget of EUR3 million for the project 'Actions for Reducing the Gender Pay Gap' which was developed by the MLWSI.¹⁴⁶ Women's NGOs (as well as social partners) were involved in the different actions of this project, which 'consisted of a broad mix of measures, aiming in combating the root causes that create and sustain the gender pay gap'.¹⁴⁷ In addition, funding is provided for studies and research, which is extremely important since research in the area of gender equality, was very limited prior to EU membership.

plan (updated), available at <<http://www.unwomen.org/en/get-involved/step-it-up/commitments/cyprus>> accessed 29/05/2017.

¹⁴³ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.

¹⁴⁵ Hadjipavlou and Mertan (n 105).

¹⁴⁶ The project was launched in 2011 and completed in 2016

¹⁴⁷ Project 'Actions for reducing the pay gap'- Cyprus, available at <http://www.gender-equalpay.com/english_info.htm> accessed 19/05/2017.

Funding coming from the European level is considered vital for the NGOs and at for some NGOs 80% of their funding is coming from the European Commission.¹⁴⁸ An annual grant is given by the government, through the National Machinery for Women's Rights (NMWR),¹⁴⁹ to all organisations working on equality between women and men. However, the state funding is very limited and was affected by the crisis.¹⁵⁰ For example, the budget of the NMWR has considerably decreased from EUR980,000 in 2008 to EUR225,000 in 2017.¹⁵¹

Secondly, national women's NGOs have the opportunity to interact with women's NGOs in other EU countries as well as women's NGOs organised at the European level. For example, in 2008, the Cyprus Women's Lobby (CWL) was formed,¹⁵² which is an umbrella network of 16 women's organisations and non-governmental establishments¹⁵³ aiming 'to amplify the voices of advocates for women's rights and gender equality'¹⁵⁴ and 'to give a channel for more unified voice'.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁸ Personal interview with women's NGO official on 27/06/2013.

¹⁴⁹ The NMWR under the Ministry of Justice and Public Order is the main coordinating body for the promotion of gender equality in Cyprus and it 'serves as a cooperation channel between the Government and women's organisations and NGOs working on gender equality and women's rights', see Susana Pavlou and Josie Christodoulou, 'The Policy on Gender Equality in Cyprus', (2012) Directorate General For Internal Policies, European Parliament Policy Department C: Citizens' Rights And Constitutional Affairs, Gender Equality.

¹⁵⁰ Personal interview with women's NGO official on 27/06/2013.

¹⁵¹ Cyprus National Report on the Implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action (1995) and the outcomes of the twenty-third Special Session of the General Assembly (2000), in the context of the twentieth anniversary of the Fourth World Conference on Women and the adoption of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action 2015, (2014) Nicosia 8, available at <http://www.unecce.org/fileadmin/DAM/Gender/publications_and_papers/Cyprus_FINAL_REPORT_BEIJING_20.pdf> accessed 28/01/2020. See also Marios Demetriou, 'Opposite the deep state...the Commissioner for Equality' 24h Newsletter (Cyprus, 26/03/2017), available in Greek at <<http://24h.com.cy/2017/03/26/apenan-ti-stovathy-kratos-i-epitropos-isotitas/>> accessed 02/07/2017.

¹⁵² 'Her mission is the promotion of gender equality and women's empowerment, to combat all forms of discrimination and violence against women, and to ensure the full participation and active involvement of women in decision making processes' available at <<http://www.womenlobby.org/Cyprus-Women-s-Lobby>> accessed 30/03/2017.

¹⁵³ Including most of the women's organisations affiliated to political parties and one Turkish Cypriot organisation.

¹⁵⁴ Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID) 'What is the State of Women's Rights in Cyprus', 18 August 2010, available at <<https://www.awid.org/news-and-analysis/what-state-womens-rights-cyprus>> accessed 01/06/2017.

¹⁵⁵ Personal interview with women's NGO official on 27/06/2013.

CWL is the national coordinator of the European Women's Lobby (EWL) in Cyprus.¹⁵⁶ 'Through our membership we have a voice on the European level because we help [...] shape the policy direction of the lobby [...] with our voice. But they also help shape our priorities as well [...] sort of guidance [...] what is going on in the European level [...] what is important, what can we do in Cyprus, how we can coordinate our activities'.¹⁵⁷ Further, as the EWL works together with the European Institute on Gender Equality and they extend invitation to members (such as the Cyprus Women's Lobby), 'we were given the opportunity to participate as well [...] through our give and take, through our exchange we build capacity. [...]. It is really important our contact with the European level [sic], with organisations working on, in other countries, on different issues, the exchange of ideas, of knowledge, of experience and another important result of this exchange is common projects'.

Thirdly, with the EU accession civil society was introduced in the political arena through legislation and policies. 'We have all these new laws starting to come out and they gave [...] a foundation with which to work on and all sort of funding started to come in. And so we were more able to put gender equality on the political agenda because of our membership in the EU [...]. The government because it is been obliged to [...] or because it wants to, [...] or whatever, has been including NGOs in various consultations on policy'.¹⁵⁸

Art.6B of the Equal Pay Laws of 2002-2014¹⁵⁹ provides that the relevant authority (in this case the MLWSI) shall conduct dialogue with non-governmental organisations which according to their memorandum have a legitimate interest to contribute to the elimination of gender discrimination, with objective purpose the promotion of the principle of equal pay between men and women.¹⁶⁰ However, the legislation does not specify on how the dialogue with the NGOs will take place, whether any decisions taken are documented and how this is followed up.

¹⁵⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ Transposing Directives 75/117/EEC, 97/80/EC and 2006/54/3C.

¹⁶⁰ Art.6B original text in Greek: «Η αρμόδια αρχή διεξάγει διάλογο με τις μη κυβερνητικές οργανώσεις που έχουν σύμφωνα με το καταστατικό τους νόμιμο συμφέρον να συμβάλλουν στην καταπολέμηση των διακρίσεων λόγω φύλου, με αντικειμενικό σκοπό την προαγωγή της αρχής της ίσης αμοιβής μεταξύ ανδρών και γυναικών».

Conclusion

This article aimed to demonstrate the profound impact of Cyprus accession to the EU in the area of gender equal pay and how this have influenced women's voices at the national level. A comprehensive analysis of the Cypriot context for the formulation of legislative proposals regulating labour issues relating to equal pay was provided, including the actors involved, namely trade unions and employers' organisations as 'social partners' as well as broader civil society groups. The analysis of the IRS, revealed that tripartite cooperation plays a primary role in this entity and it is achieved through social dialogue within well-established mechanisms (i.e. LAB), despite the absence of legal underpinning. Indeed, social dialogue between the government¹⁶¹ and the social partners is an essential part of the legislative processes in relation to labour issues. In addition, the power equilibrium of the two sides of the industry, which existed until very recently, contributed to the smooth functioning of the tripartite mechanisms. The harmonisation process changed the direction of the IRS towards more government regulation, since with the transposition of the EU *acquis* minimum terms and conditions of employment became applicable to all employees (unionised and non-unionised). Nevertheless, harmonisation was achieved in an orderly and timely manner through the already established tripartite mechanisms. Thus, the IRS retained its solid basis of cooperation with strong social dialogue, collective bargaining and autonomous social partners.

However, the economic crisis and the disregard towards the traditional tripartite decision-making mechanisms during the period of the Economic Adjustment Programme (2013-2016) had a negative influence on the established features of the IRS, but it is still too soon to evaluate any long term effects. Further, the cognitive growth and learning during the harmonisation process in relation to gender equal pay was confined to the bureaucratic level and was not internalized into the IRS.

In addition, high unemployment levels reduced TU membership and consequently the TUs' power, whereas it appears that the employers' associations' membership has increased. The change in the balance of power could possibly negatively

¹⁶¹ The Government is represented by the Ministry of Labour, Welfare and Social Insurance in relation to labour market and IRS issues and by the Ministry of Finance and the Planning Bureau in relation to the economic aspects of the IRS, see Ioannou and Kentas (2009) (n 15) 125.

affect the tripartite cooperation and lead to escalation of tension.¹⁶² Therefore, in view of the above, the resilience of tripartite social dialogue remains to be tested.¹⁶³

Finally, Cyprus accession to the EU seems to be the turning point for the development of specialised NGOs promoting women's rights. External influence coming from the UN and EU levels in the form of funding has been decisive for this development. A variety of projects, research and awareness campaigns were funded, regarding gender equality issues in general and equal pay in particular. The enhanced legal framework and the introduction of new concepts such as gender mainstreaming as well as the establishment of equality bodies (which falls outside the scope of this article) provided leverage to include gender equality and equal pay on the social agenda and gave visibility to women's issues. Further, the interaction of the stakeholders at the national level with other stakeholders at the EU level introduced a learning process and led to capacity building. All the above resulted in the gradual building of women's voices in civil society, including in the structure of employers' organisations.

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¹⁶² Katsourides (n 88) 33.

¹⁶³ European Commission, 'Industrial Relations in Europe 2014' (2015) Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion, Unit B.1. 77.

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To Tax or Not to Tax? Tampon Taxes and Gender (In)Equality: The Cyprus Case-Study

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Abstract

The ‘tampon tax’ is a consumption based tax, imposed on products of menstrual hygiene, which has come to the centre of attention worldwide as feminist activists keep protesting against its imposition. This article suggests that the VAT directive itself violates the charter of fundamental rights of the EU, as it obliges the member States to impose at least 5% VAT on sanitary products, the consequence of that being that the domestic law implementing the directive necessarily violates the charter as well. Although Cyprus imposes the lowest VAT rate possible, the level of awareness in the Republic as well as the cover of the topic by the local media is surprisingly low compared to the international evolutions in the field, while its domestic law is violating gender equality, despite the correct implementation of the directive.

Keywords: tampon tax, gender inequality, discrimination, VAT Directive, taxation

Introduction

Back in 1789, Benjamin Franklin’s famous quote states, ‘in this world nothing can be said to be certain, except death and taxes’.² According to this opinion it is sure that we will die and that at some point of our life, we will be obliged to pay taxes.

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² Benjamin Franklin in A Jay (ed.), ‘The Oxford dictionary of political quotations’ Oxford University Press (1996).

While taxes are unavoidable for everyone, a portion of the population pays more. Moreover, and most important, this portion sometimes remains in bliss because certain people are ignorant. We are talking about women and a specific tax they bear the burden to pay, the so-called ‘tampon tax’.

This tax raises serious issues of gender equality having a major connection to human rights. Additionally, there is a strong interrelation with the issue of access to feminine hygiene products and its consequences, given that menstruation is still surrounded by multiple stereotypes and is a taboo even though we have entered the second decade of the 2000.

For this article Cyprus will constitute our sample country because despite the fact that it is one of the two countries in the European Union (EU) that imposes 5% VAT on feminine hygiene products,³ this was not always the case and our research has shown that there has not been much public debate about this issue neither has it attracted much media attention. Hence, our first goal (and hope) is to raise the level of awareness in Cyprus. Furthermore, Cyprus is an EU member-state. Thus, we will have the opportunity to examine the Cyprus domestic law, as it has implemented the critical EU VAT Directive,⁴ under the prism of the Charter of Fundamental Rights (the Charter).⁵ Such an examination, according to our best knowledge, is taking place for the first time in academic literature. Part I will be dedicated to the international movements in this field after shortly explaining the notion of ‘tampon tax’. In Part II we will analyse the Cypriot domestic law arguing that although the Republic has implemented the directive correctly, there are severe issues regarding its compatibility with the Charter and the Treaty of the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), arising from the compatibility of the directive itself with the latter. In the last part of this article, we will argue in favour of the repeal of the ‘tampon tax’ in Cyprus from both a legal and a social perspective.

What is the ‘Tampon Tax’?

Before starting any analysis it is useful to understand the term ‘tampon tax’. These authors use it as a broad term which includes the value-added tax (VAT) in Europe, the sales tax in the US, as well as the Goods and Services Tax (GST) and other taxes of the same nature imposed on menstrual hygiene products. Thus, it is a consump-

³ The other country is the UK.

⁴ Council Directive 2006/112/EC of 28 November 2006 on the common system of value added tax.

⁵ Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union of 26 October 2012, 2012/C 326/02.

tion-based tax and refers not only to tampons but also to sanitary pants, napkins, washable underwear and disposable menstrual cups.

Most countries tax the products more heavily which can be considered as luxury⁶ items and impose a reduced rate or create exemptions for the necessary ones.⁷ Undoubtedly, products of menstrual hygiene cannot be included in the first category mentioned, simply because menstruation cannot be avoided: It is not a matter of choice; either you belong in this part of the population who menstruates or not. Nonetheless, in many countries worldwide they are taxed at a higher rate than necessary. A detailed analysis of the reasons behind this phenomenon is beyond the scope of this article but it is interesting to note that Viagra, the closest comparable product designated to cure erectile dysfunction is exempted in almost all states of the US^{8,9}, while the latter cannot be said for products of menstrual hygiene, despite their connection to women's health. Fortunately, 'tampon taxes' have come to the centre of attention worldwide both by the media and the academic literature.

The International Scene: It is More than a Simple Tax

The year 2016 could easily gain a title named 'The Big Bang Year against Tampon Tax', signifying the commencement of huge movements of feminist activists protesting against its imposition and asking for legal intervention with a single purpose: the abolition of indirect taxes imposed on products of feminine hygiene. In London, Kiran Gandhi runs the London marathon while menstruating, letting the blood flow freely and *Cosmopolitan* (including others) applauds this, considering that an action of emancipation.¹⁰ In the US, the *Time Magazine* declares 2016 as 'Year of the Period' and regards as wins of the global movement legislative amendments which eliminate the tax of menstrual products in New York State and Illi-

⁶ Alcohol and tobacco products are characteristic examples of this category. In Cyprus, bottled water and other industrial and fruit drinks are subject to a reduced rate of 5% while beverages, alcoholic drinks, beer and wine are subject to the 'normal' 19% VAT, considered as luxury products according to Annex V, catalogue B, para. (10)(b) of the law L.95(I)/2000 as amended by the law L.142(I)/2007.

⁷ Foodstuff and pharmaceutical products are typically included in this category. This is also the case for Cyprus.

⁸ With the exception of Illinois.

⁹ Gwenyth S. Gamble Jarvi, Thank Hefner Erectile Dysfunction Is A Medical Condition: A Period Piece (2018) 15(2) *Pittsburgh Tax Review* 151, available at DOI 10.5195/taxreview.2018.72, <http://taxreview.law.pitt.edu>.

¹⁰ Helin Jung, '26-Year-Old Woman Free Bleeds Proudly Through Her First Marathon' *COSMOPOLITAN* (August 6, 2015), available at <http://www.cosmopolitan.com/healthfitness/q-and-a/a44392/free-bleeding-marathoner-kiran-gandhi/> [<https://perma.cc/4C9TUX29>].

nois.¹¹ Simultaneously, *New York Times* in an editorial titled ‘End the Tampon Tax’ raise the issue of accessibility to products of feminine hygiene, arguing that the elimination of the tax is a primary step so as to become more affordable.¹² The issue reaches the White House when former President Barack Obama, when interviewed by a famous YouTuber, replied: ‘I have to tell you, I have no idea why States would tax these [tampons] as luxury items. I suspect it is because men were making the laws when those taxes were passed. And I think it is pretty sensible for women in those States that you just mentioned to work to get those taxes removed.’¹³

His answer, clearly supportive indicates the problem of women representation but fails to understand the cultural roots of the issue that regard menstruation as unclean and the uneasiness around it.¹⁴ Meanwhile, online petitions like those launched by Jennifer Weiss-Wolf of the Brennan Center for Justice at New York University along with *Cosmopolitan*¹⁵ in the US and by Laura Coryton, a young British activist in the UK¹⁶ saw massive success gaining thousands of signatures¹⁷ indicating that the ‘tampon tax’ is not only a matter of collection of revenues but has a strong social background, being addressed as a matter of unfairness and discrimination against women which has lasted for too long and it is high time that it come to an end.

The increase of public awareness and the significant pressure created led to the abolition of ‘tampon taxes’ in Canada,¹⁸ after a long political debate in Austral-

¹¹ Maya Rhodan, ‘Tampon Tax Ends After ‘Year of the Period’, *TIME* (June 3, 2016), available at <http://time.com/4355164/tampon-tax-ends-in-states-after-year-of-the-period> [<https://perma.cc/A7ZR-PH3J>]

¹² The Editorial Board, ‘End the Tampon Tax’ *N.Y. TIMES* (February 8, 2016), available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/08/opinion/end-the-tampon-tax.html> [<https://perma.cc/CSR9-KG3F>].

¹³ Ingrid Nilsen Interviews Obama, YouTUBE (January 16, 2016), available at <https://youtu.be/K2OaaWjB6S8> [<https://perma.cc/4CE4-EKSA>].

¹⁴ Bridget J. Crawford and Emily Gold Waldman, *The Unconstitutional Tampon tax 2018* 53 *University of Richmond Law Review* 439.

¹⁵ Jennifer Weiss-Wolf & *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, ‘No Tax on Tampons: Stop Taxing Our Periods! Period’, *CHANGE.ORG*, available at <https://www.change.org/p/u-s-state-legislators-stop-taxing-our-periods-period> [<https://perma.cc/6X8T-3FJS>].

¹⁶ Laura Coryton, ‘Stop taxing Periods. Period#EndTamponTax’ *CHANGE.ORG*, available at <https://www.change.org/p/george-osborne-stop-taxing-periods-period>.

¹⁷ The first gathered 71,906 supporters and the second 318,498 supporters.

¹⁸ Jason Fekete, ‘Federal Government Taking the Tax off Tampons and Other Feminine Hygiene Products, Effective July 1’ *NAT’L POST* (May 28, 2015), available at <http://news.nationalpost.com/news/canada/federal-government-taking-the-tax-off-tampons-and-other-feminine-hygiene-products-effective-july-1> [<https://perma.cc/29KY-KSL9>].

ia,¹⁹ in India,²⁰ in Malaysia,²¹ in Ireland, Jamaica, Nigeria and Tanzania²² as well as some States in the US.^{23,24} In Europe, countries cannot opt for the repeal of the ‘tampon tax’ because of the provisions of the²⁵ EU VAT Directive which will be analysed shortly. However, some of those have opted for a reduced VAT in the light of the global evolutions. Cyprus and the UK impose the lowest rate possible, i.e. 5%, followed by France (5.5%),²⁶ while Spain and Germany recently decided for a reduction.²⁷

In the first part of this article the focus was on the most important activism movements on an international level and the consequent legislative reactions in an effort to show that this tax and more specifically the request to be repealed shares a strong connection with the idea of fairness and justice. In this part, we will first examine the impact of the global activism on Cyprus and thereafter we will argue in favour of its repeal as a violation of the EU Charter Fundamental Rights and of the EU treaties.

¹⁹ Eli Meixler, ‘Australia Ditches ‘Tampon Tax’ after 18 Years of Outrage From Women’s Rights Groups’ TIME (October 3, 2018) available at <https://time.com/5413585/australia-ends-tampon-tax-gst/>.

²⁰ Karen Zraick, ‘22 States Considered Eliminating the ‘Tampon Tax’ this Year: Here’s what Happened’ New York Times (July 12, 2019), available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/12/us/tampon-tax.html>.

²¹ Karen Zraick, ‘22 States Considered Eliminating the ‘Tampon Tax’ this Year: Here’s what Happened’ New York Times (July 12, 2019), available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/12/us/tampon-tax.html>.

²² Christina Do, Helen Hodgson and Nicole Wilson-Rogers, ‘The Tax on Feminine Hygiene Products: Is This Reasonable Policy’ (2017) 32 Australian tax Forum 521.

²³ Connecticut, Florida, Maryland, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, New Jersey, Illinois and New York.

²⁴ Maria Alvarez Del Vayo and Ena Belmonte, ‘Half of the European countries levy the same VAT on sanitary towels and tampons as on tobacco, beer and wine’ EUROPEAN DATA JOURNALISM NETWORK (July 17, 2019), available at <https://www.europeandatajournalism.eu/eng/News/Data-news/Half-of-the-European-countries-levy-the-same-VAT-on-sanitary-towels-and-tampons-as-on-tobacco-beer-and-wine>.

²⁵ Council Directive 2006/112/EC of 28 November 2006 on the common system of value added tax.

²⁶ Maria Alvarez Del Vayo and Ena Belmonte, ‘Half of the European countries levy the same VAT on sanitary towels and tampons as on tobacco, beer and wine’ EUROPEAN DATA JOURNALISM NETWORK (July 17, 2019), available at <https://www.europeandatajournalism.eu/eng/News/Data-news/Half-of-the-European-countries-levy-the-same-VAT-on-sanitary-towels-and-tampons-as-on-tobacco-beer-and-wine>.

²⁷ The Spanish government announced a VAT reduction in 2019 while the reduction in Germany took place from January 1st 2020.

Cyprus As Part of The International Evolutions: The Untouched

It has already been mentioned above that Cyprus is the one out of two countries that impose the lowest VAT possible in the EU. Hence, when we started our research we were expecting the Republic to be deeply influenced by the evolutions worldwide. Surprisingly, we could find no traces of public or political debate regarding this issue and focused our efforts on the media coverage. Only six articles in the electronic versions of the big Cypriot newspapers were dedicated, and none of those was relevant to the domestic news, where instead their coverage was on the reforms in the legal field. One article in CyprusNews.eu which concerns the ‘tampon tax’ in Germany just contains the link to the original source which was a Greek newspaper.²⁸ Interestingly, the article names the tax as ‘bloody tax’ which gives the reader the impression of irony and reduces the significance of the topic at stake. Articles in CYtoday²⁹ and philenews³⁰ cover the repeal of the tax in Australia, SIGMALIVE communicates the repeal request of a Turkish parliamentary member³¹ and CyprusMail³² and POLITIS³³ the developments in the EU. This indicates that

²⁸ Cyprus.eu, ‘Germany: The ‘bloody tax’ makes women furious’ (May 30,2019), available at <https://cyprusnews.eu/protothema-kosmos/9090590-γερμανία-ο-«φόρος-αίματος»-ξεσηκώνει-τις-γυναίκες.html>, which contains the link to Mina Aggelini, ‘Germany: The ‘bloody tax’ makes women furious’ TO PROTO THEMA (May 30,2019), (Γερμανία: Ο «φόρος αίματος» ξεσηκώνει τις γυναίκες’) (ΤΟ ΠΡΩΤΟ ΘΕΜΑ) (30 Μαΐου 2019) (in Greek), https://www.protothema.gr/world/article/895302/germania-o-foros-aimatos-xesikonei-tis-gunaikes/?utm_source=rss.

²⁹ CYtoday. ‘The controversial tax which divides a country for almost 20 years’, (October 3, 2018), available at <http://www.cytoday.eu/index.php/index.php?id=17&nid=10715315>, (‘Ο αμφιλεγόμενος φόρος που διχάζει μια χώρα εδώ και σχεδόν 20 χρόνια’) (CYtoday) (3 Οκτωβρίου 2018) (in Greek), <http://www.cytoday.eu/index.php/index.php?id=17&nid=10715315>.

³⁰ Philenews, Australia: Repeals the ‘tampon tax’ (October 3, 2018), available at <http://www.philenews.com/eidiseis/kosmos/article/589228/afstralia-katargi-ton-foro-ton-tampon>, (Αυστραλία: Καταργεί τον «φόρο των ταμπόν») (philenews) (3 Οκτωβρίου 2018) (in Greek), <http://www.philenews.com/eidiseis/kosmos/article/589228/afstralia-katargi-ton-foro-ton-tampon>.

³¹ SIGMALIVE ‘Parliamentary member in Turkey requests the repeal of tax on sanitary napkins’, (February 14,2019), available at <https://www.signalive.com/news/international/554691/vouleftis-stin-tourkia-zita-na-katargithei-o-foros-stis-servietes>, (Βουλευτής στην Τουρκία ζητά να καταργηθεί ο φόρος στις σερβιέτες’) (SIGMALIVE)(14 Φεβρουαρίου 2019)(in Greek), <https://www.signalive.com/news/international/554691/vouleftis-stin-tourkia-zita-na-katargithei-o-foros-stis-servietes>.

³² Francesco Guarascio, ‘EU to give states more powers on VAT rates to tackle fraud’ CyprusMail (April 7,2016) available at <https://cyprus-mail.com/2016/04/07/eu-to-give-states-more-powers-on-vat-rates-to-tackle-fraud/>, Alastar Macdonald, ‘Cameron declares Brussels victory to end ‘tampon tax’ CyprusMail (March 17,2016), available at <https://cyprus-mail.com/2016/03/17/cameron-declares-brussels-victory-to-end-tampon-tax/>.

³³ POLITIS ‘The EU allows for reduction or repeal of VAT in some products’ (January 1,2018), available at <https://politis.com.cy/politis-news/oikonomia/perithorio-meiosis-toy-fpa-i-katargisis-se-ka>

the level of public awareness which would contribute to fertile dialogue is extremely low and this is the cause behind the inexistence of movements of activism in the Republic. We reached the same conclusion after conducting empirical research based on questionnaires, as will be analysed below. It could be argued that Cypriots do not have to fight for a reduction in the light of the low rate of the domestic law. With outmost respect, the authors of this article do not believe that this is the case. The examination of the global scene has revealed that the main request of the movements is the repeal and not simply the reduction of ‘tampon taxes’ and if more well-known, they could bring the necessary inspirational power at a societal level.

Method of our Research

Many of the questionnaires have been disseminated to first, second and third year undergraduate students at the University of Nicosia. The students had 30 minutes to fill in the questionnaires after they had a two hours exam. Additionally, the researchers had sent the questionnaire to the e-mails of their own personal contacts. The majority of the respondents work as lawyers, accountants, secretaries and insurers and they at least had a five-year working experience. The questionnaire consisted of 16 questions and the researchers gave the opportunity to the respondents the opportunity to answer some multiple-choice questions and to provide answers that are more extensive by responding to some open-ended questions. By offering the chance to the respondents to answer the open-ended questions we gathered some valuable information regarding the experiences they had during their school and university years.

Findings of our Research

The first important question which had been asked to the respondents was the following: ‘How familiar are you with the topic of tampon tax?’ 75% of the respondents had answered that they are not familiar at all with the tampon taxes issue, 20% of the respondents were very little familiar with this important topic and only 5% knew many things about this subject.

In relation to the second question of the questionnaire, ‘How would you describe the level of the awareness for the topic of tampon taxes from the Cypriot media?’, that had been disseminated to the respondents, the vast majority of them

poia-proionta-dinei-i-ee/, (Περιθώριο μείωσης του ΦΠΑ ή κατάργησης σε κάποια προϊόντα δίνει η ΕΕ’) (ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ) (1 Ιανουαρίου 2018) (in Greek), <https://politis.com.cy/politis-news/oikonomia/perithorio-meiosis-toy-fpa-i-katargisis-se-kapoia-proionta-dinei-i-ee/>.

(90%) answered that the level of the awareness is at minimum levels and 10% argued that occasionally some of the television and radio programmes make sporadic statements and provide little information about this important topic. Here, it is worth mentioning that many of the respondents argued that while many of the TV and radio programmes in Cyprus spend many hours of their daily programmes to analyse and deal with sports topics such as the 'card fan topic' that are mainly connected with men and totally neglect to deal with, and analyse important topics that are related to women such as the 'tampon tax subject', the sexual harassment issues, etc.

The third question of the questionnaire was the following: 'Do you believe that the 'tampon tax' is sexist?' 70% of the respondents highly believe that the tampon tax is a sexist tax. Other respondents express the opinion that the tampon tax is a bit sexist but that there are additional reasons for its imposition from the government, irrelevant to sexist or nonsexist behaviours.

In another interesting and important question for this research: ('Do you believe that feminine hygiene products during the menstruation phase are luxury products?') The vast majority of the respondents (75%) shared the opinion that these products must not under any circumstances be considered as luxury products since menstruation is something that you cannot avoid and additionally that these products are more than necessary to the women to cover their basic needs. As one of the respondents had put it, 'These products are not and must not be considered by the governments as luxury products since the menstruation is an unavoidable thing and all women have it'. A small proportion of the respondents (15%) argued that some of the feminine hygiene items are a bit of a luxury of products and only a very small percentage of the total sample (5%) shares the idea that these products must be considered luxury goods.

Another fundamental question posed to the women that participated in this important research had been the following: 'What is the main reason behind the taxation of the female hygiene products during the menstruation period?.' The majority of the women share the view that the main reason behind the taxation of these products is that very few women participate in the law making bodies that enact the legislation concerning this important topic. Additionally, other participants pointed out the fact that the Cypriot government has an urgent need to increase the taxes so as to cope with the economic crisis. As some of the participants have put it, 'Cypriot government needs to collect more and more taxes to cope with the economic

crisis and the easiest way is to heavily tax the female hygiene products in order to raise the level of taxes’.

Additionally, the respondents pointed out that there are no powerful organisations and movements that would protect the rights of the Cypriot women and this fact reinforces the decisions and the initiative of the Cypriot governments. The absence of pressure on behalf of the society reinforces the decisions and the initiatives of the Cypriot governments to impose heavy taxes on hygiene products because they are sure that they will not have any strong reactions or heavy protests in relation to the imposition of such taxes. Some of the respondents were of the opinion that because the legislation has been enacted mainly by men, these subjects do not take into consideration the interests and the rights of the women when they draft and enact the various laws. On the contrary, if in these legislative bodies the majority of the members had been women, then they would have drafted better laws which would have taken into account the inequalities and the discriminations which women have to suffer in everyday life.

Moreover, in another fundamental question of the research all the respondents unanimously said that they have felt uncomfortable because of their menstruation. In other words, there were some incidents that have occurred that made them feel badly because of their menstruation. Some of the respondents said that during their high school days when they had menstruation there were some spots on their clothes. When the schoolmates had noticed the stains and the spots, they started laughing loudly indicating the marks to the other pupils and all together the make fun of these girls, who had to face this unpleasant situation. Moreover, some of the respondents indicated incidents where some teachers have been involved in the unpleasant incident. Three of the respondents said that during the primary school days when they had menstruation for the first time, all their clothes had blood.

When they stood up to go out from the classroom the teachers pointed out the blood that the girls had on their clothes and they yelled to the students saying the following: ‘Where are you going like this? You cannot see that you have menstruation and your clothes have been covered up with blood? Most significantly, some of the respondents indicated incidents when teachers had been involved in the unpleasant event. Three of the respondents said that during their primary school days, when they were menstruating for the first time, there was blood all over their clothes. When they stood up, the teachers themselves pointed out the blood and yelled at them making the following comment: ‘Where are you going like this?’

Don't you see that you are menstruating and your clothes have been covered up with blood?' As the respondents have pointed out this had been a very awkward and humiliating moment for them since the other pupils started laughing and make fun of them. Additionally they argued that the teachers had not handled this particular incident with the appropriate manner since they should not have yelled at them in front of the whole class.

Now, turning to another important question that has been asked to the respondents, 'If you have access to feminine hygiene products during the menstruation period (and the financial ability to buy these particular products)?' Here the majority of the respondents (95%) said that they have access, since all the major supermarkets and the small convenience stores offer a high variety of these products.

But some of the respondents (30%) said that after the economic crisis they had to reduce the money they spent on hygiene products because they had to save money to spend them on other needs (electricity bills, travel expenses etc.). Additionally some of the respondents argued that if the government would have lowered the taxes on these products, then the women would have to pay a reduced price.

Additionally in a question closely related with the aforementioned question, 'If you are aware of someone that does not have access to products that protect the feminine hygiene during the menstruation period?' Some of the respondents answered that they knew of women who could not afford buying these particular products due to financial problems. 15% of the respondents mentioned that after the economic crisis they had some friends or relatives that faced some difficulties and could not, for a limited period of time buy hygiene products. Additionally another group of respondents mentioned the fact that they had some friends that had been fired from their jobs and for a period ranging from four months to twelve months they could not cover their needs. The majority of the respondents added to the previous that on many instances, they financially supported to a certain extent these women that could not afford buying the hygiene products because they were of the opinion that such products must be considered necessities and every woman must have access and financial ability to buy these products.

Now turning to the important question, 'Whether you were obliged to miss some school, university classes or working days because of your menstruation and what was the duration of this absence?' the totality of the respondents admitted that they could not attend school or university classes or their work because of their menstruation. Once more, a high percentage (95%) of the respondents said that

they had to miss, for at least one day, school and university classes because of their menstruation. The main reason for this absence was the unbearable pain that they felt because of the menstruation. Other reasons cited were that they did not feel well and they had a general weakness and dizziness because of the menstruation, the large blood flow and the feeling of embarrassment they feel because of this situation.

An interrelated question, in conjunction with the above mentioned inquiry that had been asked to the participants was, 'whether they knew another woman that had to miss school or university classes or women that had to miss work because of their menstruation'. The totality of the respondents knew at least three friends or relatives that had to miss school or university classes because of their menstruation. Additionally, many respondents that work as lawyers, accountants or secretaries argued that they knew at least two female colleagues that had to take time off work because of the intolerable pain they felt because of their menstruation. Some of the participants (15%) indicated that they knew female colleagues that had to take five days off work due to the fact that they suffered from intense pain because of their menstruation.

Moreover, the vast majority of the respondents (85%) said that they do not feel comfortable to speak on matters that are related to their menstruation in front of men. Other participants (15%) had indicated that they feel comfortable to speak on issues that are related with their menstruation only to certain men that they know that they will not laugh or make fun of this situation. The main reason for not feeling comfortable to discuss such issues, is because the majority of men consider this particular topic disgusting and if any woman tries to discuss it, they will make fun of her or they will show the feeling of disgust and annoyance. Additionally another important reason that has been cited by the respondents is that their parents or relatives that are older than them indicated to these women that it is not appropriate to discuss such an issue with men. Moreover many mothers have several times told their girls that they should be ashamed of their menstruation and that they must not speak about this topic to other people and especially men because these people will malign them.

Lastly, the totality of the participants, have mentioned that they have heard negative comments about their menstruation. For instance, many participants that have a relationship, have mentioned that when they have complaining about something to their boyfriends or to their husbands these men have answered back

using the following phrases: ‘You have your menstruation again and this is the only reason why you complain to me’, ‘Oh my God, you have your menstruation again’, ‘For God’s sake, you have menstruation and that is the reason that we cannot make a sensible discussion again we cannot make a sensible discussion. I will wait until your menstruation period ends in order to discuss this matter’. Moreover, many older women have instructed these women not to mention to others that they have their menstruation because this is inappropriate and the woman who proceeds to such action loses her self-respect and dignity. Additionally, some respondents mentioned incidents during their secondary and high school years that many fathers were mad at their daughters because they have not concealed the sanitary napkins they were holding. On top of this, some respondents have mentioned several incidents where the schoolmates of these girls have made negative comments and laugh at them because of their menstruation.

The answers of the respondents confirm that the level of awareness in Cyprus is extremely low and although women regard ‘tampon taxes’ as sexist, they are still unable to even mention issues pertaining to menstruation because of the stereotypes and taboos surrounding it. According to the authors of this article, the societal pressure in conjunction with the abolition of the taxes at stake would be the most useful tools in the battle against the menstruation-related taboos.

The Legal Framework in Cyprus: Who is to Blame?

Until 1993, Cyprus had a uniform VAT rate of 5%³⁴ and no reduced rate which increased to 8%, which remained stable until 2000. On 1st July 2000 the Republic adopted a two-rates VAT system with the normal rate being 10% until June 2002,³⁵ a percentage which climbed to 13% for the rest of the months of the year 2002 and further increased in 2003 to reach 15%. The reduced rate had always been 5% during those years³⁶ while Cyprus did not impose any VAT for some goods and services.³⁷ Products of menstrual hygiene did not enjoy the privileged status of the second category until 2007 and the amendment of the law L.95(I)/2000 by the law L. 142(I)/2007³⁸ which constitutes the current regulatory framework. Subsequent

³⁴ Article 22 of Part IV of the Law L. 254/90.

³⁵ Article 17 of Part II of the Law L. 95(I)/2000.

³⁶ Article 18 of Part II of the Law L.95(I)/2000.

³⁷ Annex VI of the Law L.95(I)/2000.

³⁸ Annex V, catalogue B, para. 14 of the Law N.95(I)/2000 as amended by the Law N.142(I)/2007.

legal amendments did not have any effect on these products and thus there is no need to be analysed.

Cyprus is an EU member State since 1st May 2004. The amendment of the domestic law in 2007 took place so as the Republic implement the EU VAT Directive³⁹ and comply with its EU sourced obligations. However, it must be noted that Article 98 of the directive⁴⁰ just offers member states the discretion to impose a reduced tax rate on the products and services listed in Annex III,⁴¹ one of them being products used for contraception and sanitary protection without though obliging them. Contrariwise, it imposes member states the obligation not to impose a tax rate lower than 5%⁴² apart from those that are exempted⁴³ or should be subject to zero rate according to the directive. Thus, it was a choice of the Republic to impose the lowest rate possible understanding the necessity of the products in question, even without the social pressure that other countries met.

Nonetheless, the implementation of the directive does not automatically mean non-violation of the EU law. The CJEU in the FII case⁴⁴ when assessing the UK underlying foreign tax credit system ruled that in order not to violate the EU law it is not sufficient that a country complies with the secondary EU law⁴⁵ although it must also comply with the requirements imposed by the treaty provisions. The court referred to the treaty because of the nature of that case which involved the fundamental freedoms but of course the same must be admitted for the compliance with the charter. Cyprus' domestic law violates both the treaties⁴⁶ and the charter⁴⁷ because it mirrors the VAT directive provisions and the latter do not comply with the EU primary law.

³⁹ Council Directive 2006/112/EC, supra note 3.

⁴⁰ Council Directive 2006/112, supra note 3, Article 98.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* at Annex III, case (3).

⁴² *Ibid.* at Article 99.

⁴³ *Ibid.* at Title IX.

⁴⁴ Case C-446/04 *Test Claimants in the FII Group Litigation* [2006] ECR I-11753 (CJEU) at [45].

⁴⁵ In that case the Parent-Subsidiary Directive, Council Directive 90/435/EEC (recast as 2011/96/EU).

⁴⁶ Consolidated version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union of 13 December 2007, 2008/C 115/01 and Treaty of Lisbon of 17 December 2007, 2007/C 306/01.

⁴⁷ Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, supra note 4.

Gender Equality

Equality between men and women is one of the objectives of the EU according to Articles 2 and 3(3) of the Treaty on European Union (TEU).⁴⁸ Additionally, this fundamental value is protected under the charter⁴⁹ which prohibits any form of discrimination in basis of sex, while Article 8 of the TFEU mandates that the EU take measures so as to eliminate discrimination and promote gender equality,⁵⁰ while Article 19 of the TFEU⁵¹ provides for the necessary authorisation so as the EU adopt active measures to combat any form of discrimination including that based on sex. Article 153 of the TFEU⁵² wants to ensure equal opportunities and treatment between men and women in the labour environment and Article 157 authorises positive measures with the purpose of achieving that goal.⁵³

It is true that the ‘tampon tax’ is a *prima facie* neutral tax, which does not contain any express gender biases.⁵⁴ This does not mean that it is not discriminatory. Such an illusion disappears if we take into account the final consumer of those products and this can be no other than women. Products of feminine hygiene are designated for a specific purpose: the usage during menstruation and only female bodies perform that function. Indeed, in view of the lack of any close comparable product which can be used exclusively by men with the aim of assisting them with an involuntary function of the human body,⁵⁵⁵⁶ the ‘tampon tax’ creates an indirect discriminatory effect against women, who end up bear an extra tax burden. Although there is no case law on ‘tampon taxes’, both domestically and at an EU level, indirect discriminations are a well-known field for the CJEU. Even back in 1986 in

⁴⁸ Consolidated version of the Treaty on European Union of 13 December 2007, 2008/C 115/01, Article 2 and Article 3(3).

⁴⁹ Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, *supra* note 4, Article 21 and 23.

⁵⁰ Consolidated version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, *supra* note 46, Article 8.

⁵¹ Consolidated version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, *supra* note 46, Article 19.

⁵² *Ibid.* at Article 153.

⁵³ *Ibid.* at 157.

⁵⁴ Bridget J. Crawford & Carla Spivack, ‘Tampon Taxes, Discrimination, and Human Rights’ [2017] *Wisconsin Law Review* 491, available at 491, <http://digitalcommons.pace.edu/lawfaculty/1070/>.

⁵⁵ Bridget J. Crawford & Carla Spivack, ‘Tampon Taxes, Discrimination, and Human Rights’ [2017] *Wisconsin Law Review* 491, available at 491, <http://digitalcommons.pace.edu/lawfaculty/1070/>.

⁵⁶ Viagra is sometimes suggested as the closest comparable product. However, erectile dysfunction is a medical condition. Despite the connection of feminine hygiene with the right to health, menstruation is a biological function of the female body and thus the authors of this article are of the opinion that Viagra cannot be a good comparator, despite being the closest in view of the different nature of the conditions they are designed to be used for.

Bilka,⁵⁷ the court did not hesitate to recognise the indirect discrimination caused by a pension scheme excluding part-time occupants on the basis that women were the majority of part-time workers because the measure could not be explained by factors which exclude any discrimination on grounds of sex. This emblematic decision indicates the continuous willingness of the court to adopt a ‘substance over form’ approach and although someone should be careful when predicting the CJEU decisions, it seems to these authors that such an approach is embedded in the CJEU legal tradition and would comfortably be adopted had ‘tampon taxes’ reached the court room especially in view of the fact that the court has accepted that taxation measures can violate the gender equality principle.⁵⁸

The gender equality case law is abundant and these authors want to draw on a specific case, i.e. the *Test-Achats*⁵⁹ because the ratio of the court as well as its final decision provides fertile ground for the invalidation of the obligatory imposition of a minimum 5% VAT on sanitary products. In this case, the CJEU declared the invalidity of Article 5(2) of the Goods and Services Directive⁶⁰ as contrary to the principle of equal treatment between men and women. The article in question permitted member states to allow proportionate differences in premiums and benefits in cases where sex was a determinant factor for the evaluation of risks by insurance companies and as result of relevant and accurate actuarial and statistical data without any temporal limitation as a derogation from the general provisions of the directive which required unisex premiums and benefits. Belgium had implemented Article 5(2) in its domestic law. The court accentuated that after 1st December 2009 the charter shares the same legal power as the treaties and following a human rights analysis it examined the directive in the light of the charter concluded that the derogation without any temporal limitation violates the general principle of gender equality. The similarities with the VAT directive are obvious: both directives were adopted prior to the charter and in both cases the States have implemented provisions in compliance with the directives. The difference is that the invalidated

⁵⁷ Case C-170/84 *Bilka-Kaufhaus GmbH v Weber von Hartz* [1986] ECR 1607 (ECJ).

⁵⁸ Case C-175/88 *Klaus Bichl v Administration des contributions du grand-duché de Luxembourg*, [1990] ECR I-1779 (ECJ) at [12], Case C-279/93 *Finanzamt Köln-Altstadt v Schumacker* [1995] ECR I-225 (CJEU) at [23] and Case C-512/13 *C.G. Sopora v Staatssecretaris van Financiën*, [2015] ECLI:EU:C:2015:108 (CJEU) at [22].

⁵⁹ Case C-236/09 *Association belge des Consommateurs Test Achats ASBL and others v Conseil des Ministres* [2012] 1 W.L.R 1933.

⁶⁰ Council Directive 2004/113/EC of 13 December 2004 implementing the principle of equal treatment between men and women in the access to and supply of goods and services, Article 5(2).

directive offered a simple choice while the VAT directive imposes a positive obligation to the member States allowing them only to decide for the size of the discrimination by permitting them to opt for a reduced or a normal tax rate for the products at stake. Unfortunately, the Cypriot (or any other) domestic law implementing the VAT directive has not been examined yet.

In the same decision, the CJEU stated that:

As is stated in recital 18 to directive 2004/113, the use of actuarial factors related to sex was widespread in the provision of insurance services at the time when the directive was adopted.⁶¹

This statement shows that the use of actuarial factors had become obsolete by the time of the court judgment. Similarly, there are voices in the EU against the outdated and discriminatory character of the directive. The UK government brought the issue of ‘tampon taxes’ to the European Commission demanding for its banishment.⁶² In 2016, the commission in its ‘VAT Action Plan’ announced measures which would give member States the flexibility to opt for a zero rate or an exemption on sanitary products⁶³ with the final proposals getting published in 2018.⁶⁴

Additionally, the European Parliament’s Committee on Women’s Rights and Gender equality took the initiative to request more research in the field of taxation and gender studies⁶⁵ and the parliament itself repetitively called the member States to abolish the tampon tax taking into account both its discriminatory effect and the

⁶¹ Case C-236/09 Association belge des Consommateurs Test Achats ASBL and others v Conseil des Ministres [2012] 1 W.L.R 1933 at [22].

⁶² Jon Stone, ‘French Parliament Votes to Cut “Tampon Tax” VAT on Women’s Sanitary Products’ INDEPENDENT (December. 15, 2015), available at <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/french-parliament-votes-to-cut-tampon-tax-vat-on-womens-sanitary-products-a6773676.html> [<https://perma.cc/Y6LH-BZG6/>].

⁶³ European Commission press notice, ‘Vat Action Plan: Commission presents measures to modernize Vat in the EU’, (April 7, 2016), available at https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_16_1022. See also, European Commission press notice, ‘Action Plan on VAT: Questions and answers’, (April 7, 2016), available at https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/MEMO_16_1024.

⁶⁴ European Commission press notice, ‘VAT: More flexibility on VAT rates, less red tape for small businesses’, (January 18, 2018), available at https://ec.europa.eu/taxation_customs/business/vat/action-plan-vat/proposal-vat-rates_en.

⁶⁵ Åsa Gunnarsson, Margit Schratzenstaller and Ulrike Spangenberg for European Parliament Policy Department C: Citizens’ Rights and Constitutional Affairs, Gender equality and taxation in the European Union (April 2017), available at <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/supporting-analyses>.

fact that many women in the EU do not have access to those products.⁶⁶ Nonetheless, albeit those initiatives are admirable and towards the right direction they are not legislative acts but soft-laws, lacking of any legislative power and the implication of this is that Cyprus is still bound by the VAT directive despite the parliamentary calls to the States. Hence, had Cyprus decided to amend its domestic law so as to repeal the tax, the Republic would be subject to legal action against it. The only available forum and the only sustainable solution, since it is highly unlikely that Cyprus will be willing to ‘take the genie out of the bottle’, remains the CJEU, which can rule about the issue through the preliminary ruling procedure.

Thoughts for the Future

When the desired reform turns into reality or the controversial VAT directive provision is invalidated, Cyprus should opt for the total repeal of ‘tampon taxes’. Setting aside the symbolic value, the repeal will result in a reduction in market prices making paid work more appealing than unpaid work given that, according to empirical studies,⁶⁷ the increase of indirect taxes affects women and their access to paid labour more. Importantly, Cyprus, one of the smallest countries in the EU, will have the opportunity to promote a strong political message of progression and equality, against the typical taboos around feminine menstruation in a Europe where the majority of countries still taxes those products in the category of luxuries. It is suggested that the repeal of ‘tampon taxes’ is possible to open the ‘floodgates’ for requests of abolition of indirect taxes in other similar products such as baby nappies or incontinence diapers for elderly people which would gradually erode the indirect taxes system as a whole and would increase complexity.⁶⁸ Undoubtedly, it is an attractive argument which nonetheless loses strength if we consider the life of a woman in a linear way: If someone is born as a girl, initially they have to use baby

⁶⁶ Marisa Matias and Ernest Urtasun, Report on gender equality and taxation policies in the EU (2018/2095(INI)), (November 29,2018) available at http://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/A-8-2018-0416_EN.pdf, which was adopted by the European Parliament with the European Parliament resolution of 15 January 2019 on gender equality and taxation policies in the EU (2018/2095(INI)), P8_TA(2019)0014, available at http://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/A-8-2018-0416_EN.html.

⁶⁷ Åsa Gunnarsson, Margit Schratzenstaller and Ulrike Spangenberg for European Parliament Policy Department C: Citizens’ Rights and Constitutional Affairs, Gender equality and taxation in the European Union, April 2017, available at <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/supporting-analyses>.

⁶⁸ Christina Do, Helen Hodgson and Nicole Wilson-Rogers, The Tax on Feminine Hygiene Products: Is This Reasonable Policy (2017) 32 Australian tax Forum 521.

nappies, afterwards sanitary products for menstruation and then possibly elderly nappies. This means, that at any case a woman will always be subject to one more tax, contrariwise to men. Besides, menstruation hygiene products are the only category, which is gender specific. Consequently, these authors insist that it can only be beneficial for Cyprus to exempt those products from its VAT base.

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Gendered Narratives in Adamantios Diamantis' *The World of Cyprus*

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Abstract

In this paper, I examine Adamantios Diamantis' painting The World of Cyprus as a representation of a male-dominated society where women are marginalised. Through the analysis of the artwork, I will consider how the piece presents a traditional 'world of Cyprus' that was beginning to disappear during the post-1960s. I will refer to Diamantis' work as an example to explore gender relations and socio-political conditions in patriarchal Cyprus. I will argue that socio-political conditions in Cyprus left little space for women to contest patriarchy, to fight for gender equality, or to gain public visibility.²

Keywords: patriarchal Cyprus, Adamantios Diamantis, gendered narratives, gender roles, gender studies, Cypriot art

Introduction: The Making of *The World of Cyprus*

The monumental artwork *The World of Cyprus* was created by Cypriot artist Adamantios Diamantis (1900-1994) between the years 1967 and 1972. Diamantis is a foremost Cypriot artist who studied at the London St. Martin School of Art and at the Royal college of Art during the early 1920s. After his return to Cyprus in 1926, he taught in secondary schools until the early 1960s.³ *The World of Cyprus* is based on a series of drawings and sketches made during Diamantis' peregrinations around the island between 1931 and 1970. The final work of 1.75 m height and 17.50 m width consists of 67 people and 25 sceneries. Interestingly, the actual title, *The World of Cyprus*, was given to the piece around the time of its first exhibition at the Museum of Folk Art in Nicosia, in 1975. Initially, Diamantis referred to the work as a 'picture without a name' but later adopted the title 'Demography'. He then borrowed the final title from his friend and poet George Seferis and dedicated the work to him.⁴

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² This paper is derived, in part, from research I undertook for my doctoral research entitled *Rethinking the History of Cypriot Art: Greek Cypriot Women Artists in Cyprus* at Loughborough University.

³ For further information on Diamantis' life and work, see Eleni Nikita, *Adamantios Diamantis: His Life and Work* (Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, 1998).

⁴ Adamantios Diamantis, *The World of Cyprus: A Narrative* (Nicosia: Kailas Printers & Lithogra-

Diamantis produced several preparatory trials for *The World of Cyprus*. For over three years he deliberated on the type of composition, colours, and figures for this creation. An important element in his work is the construction of a Cypriot national identity and culture. This is not surprising if we consider that in the 1950 referendum, the majority of Greek Cypriots voted in favour of union with Greece. It was within this socio-political context that Diamantis produced *The World of Cyprus*. As Danos points out, Diamantis ‘embarked on a decades-long process of idolising the Cypriot peasantry and their land as living testimonies to the island’s Hellenic cultural heritage’.⁵ Diamantis talked about his fascination with the ordinary people from the villages he visited:

‘For the first time I came to know my country. [...] I saw the world of Cyprus, I became familiar with it, and I started drawing anything I could: men, women children. [...] What an indescribable revelation this was for me! Its antiquity, its truth moved me tremendously. [...] Since then, I have seen no other element in Cyprus that has moved me so much as the study of the people of Cyprus. The women stood as statues and moved like archaic figures. [...] The ancient and eternal figures of this place constitute important sources of inspiration.’⁶

Diamantis constructed in *The World of Cyprus* an idolisation of the people he met and the places he visited. Colour was fundamental in the realisation of the work; however, the choice of colour was another problem that troubled the artist for a long time. Diamantis discusses in the following narrative his struggles to solve the problems he was experiencing in relation to the composition, colour, and figures: ‘In other words, more than three years after I had become involved in this painting I had solved all the problems: the picture was drawn but without colour’.⁷ His choice to draw the image with black and white shades is a politicised strategy to emphasise the national identity of his figures. Diamantis’ use of exclusively black and white shades is based on the traditional colours that Greek Cypriots were constrained to wear under the Ottoman Empire occupation. Consequently, through the occupation, the aesthetic tradition evolved into a radical consciousness of the ‘other’; black garments for Greeks, red for Turks. Diamantis’ employment of predom-

phers LTD, 2002), p. 89.

⁵ Antonis Danos, ‘Twentieth-Century Greek Cypriot Art: An “Other” Modernism on the Periphery,’ *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* (October 2014), p. 220.

⁶ Quoted in Danos, *ibid.*, p. 220.

⁷ Adamantios Diamantis, *ibid.*, p. 40.

inantly black colour also mirrors Cypriot tradition, specifically 'vrakes' (the traditional costume for Cypriot men), and the black cassocks of the priests in Cyprus.

Religion is another fundamental element in Diamantis' work. This is not surprising if we consider that Archbishop Makarios III served as the first president of Cyprus during 1960 and 1977. Makarios was considered to be the ethnarch and led the political affairs of the Greek Cypriot community. The pivotal position of the church in socio-political happenings is represented in Diamantis' *The World of Cyprus*. The central scene of the work shows two imposing figures: one is a man from Pygi village, and the other is priest Papaconstantinos from Pera Chorio of Nisou village. Diamantis described the priest as 'tall, bulky, proud and imposing [...] and with the gravitas of the "cloth" and the priesthood [...] which is disappearing. The priest of the village, the master, the judge, severe perhaps but just, his opinion, his judgement always right and respected'.⁸ Diamantis reinforces the importance of religion by positioning an image of a church in the background of the central scene. As he explained, 'The church in the centre was also a solution, a link'.⁹ Without doubt, the priest's image, along with the church representation in the background, emphasises the close relationship between Greek Orthodox religion and patriarchal Cypriot society.

Women and Patriarchy in Cyprus

Patriarchy, the institutionalised domination of society by men, had long been a part of Cypriot society. For decades, patriarchal structures prevented women from actively participating in the political State of affairs in Cyprus. Heidi Hartman defines the term 'patriarchy' in her article *The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism* as a social hierarchy of relationships among men in order to dominate women:

'We can usefully define patriarchy as a set of social relations between men, which have a material base, and which though hierarchical, establish and create interdependence and solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women. Though patriarchy is hierarchical and men of different classes, races or ethnic groups have different places in the patriarchy, they are also united in the shared relationship of dominance over their women; they are dependent on each other to maintain that domination. [...] The material base upon which patriarchy rests lies most fundamentally in men's control over women's labour

⁸ Ibid, p. 67.

⁹ Ibid, p. 70.

power. Men maintain control by excluding women from access to some essential productive resources (in capitalist societies, for example, jobs that pay living wages) and by restricting women's sexuality.¹⁰

It is important to recognise that we find a powerful formulation of these structures within Cypriot society. As Hadjipavlou and Mertan point out, 'Cypriot society has been male dominated, and patriarchal structures gave rise to social stereotypes, gender prejudices, and sexual division of labour'.¹¹

Although Diamantis portrayed in *The World of Cyprus* a representation of colonial Cyprus, it is important to recognise that certain patriarchal structures existed before British rule commenced in 1878 and remained in place after the 1960 independence. Prior to British rule, Cyprus was under Ottoman occupation, and Islamic conservatism severely affected Cypriot women's lives: their lives, their bodies, their activities, and their spirit were crushed' by the restrictive society that required women to be hidden inside the house and completely excluded from the outside world.¹² Within this context, I agree with Pollock's argument that patriarchy:

[...] does not [only] refer to the static, oppressive domination by one sex over another, but to a web of psychological relationships which institute a socially significant difference on the axis of sex which is so deeply located in our very sense of lived, sexual, identity that it appears to us as natural and unalterable.¹³

The oppressive nature of patriarchy in Cyprus produced a strong distinction between the categories of masculinity and femininity. This distinction dominated all aspects of women's lives and their social positions. For a long time women's perspectives and issues were neglected and ignored under patriarchal discourses, even today, almost everything revolves around the Cypriot conflict and the reconciliation process. Central to this is the interrelationship of nationalism and patriarchy. Given the centrality of nationalism in the socio-political history of Cyprus, it is not surprising that the island's historical interpretation is based on nationalism and the processes of patriarchal society. As Myria Vassiliadou points out:

'Cypriot women's relationship to nationalism, within a context which reflects

¹⁰ Quoted in Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art* (London: Routledge, 1988), p. 33.

¹¹ Maria Hadjipavlou and Biran Mertan, 'Cypriot Feminism: An Opportunity to Challenge Gender Inequalities and Promote Women's Rights and a Different Voice', *Cyprus Review* (September 2010), p. 265.

¹² Maria Pyrgos, *The Cypriot Woman at a Glance* (Nicosia: Pyrgos Public Relations, 1993). p. 39.

¹³ Griselda Pollock, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

the politicisation of ethnic differences on the island, forms part of the ethno-nationalist agenda of each community, and contributes to an understanding of the politics of separation and the exclusion of women from the political processes.¹⁴

Women's connection to nationalism is complicated.¹⁵ This is mostly because all nationalisms are gendered, with limited access to the resources and rights of the nation-state: 'No nation in the world grants women and men the same access to the rights and resources of the nation-state'.¹⁶ Within Cypriot patriarchal society, the national/ethnic conflict has for a long time overshadowed and disregarded women's issues. This meant that women were excluded from important positions and decision-making.

It is important to point out that women in Cyprus were as oppressed in the private sphere as they were in the public sphere. The 'culture of gossip'¹⁷ is a product of the patriarchal structure, representing women's domination by men both in public and in private. According to Vassiliadou, 'the culture of gossip concentrates around sexual morality, chastity, virginity, dowry, home cleanliness, upbringing of children, church going, dress code, [body] weight, make-up, extra-marital affairs, and pre-marital affairs'.¹⁸

In addition, Cypriot culture embraces an interrelationship between patriarchy, the State, and the Orthodox religion. A significant aspect of this is women's symbolic association with the Virgin Mary and other female saints such as Helen and Marina, who symbolise women as pure, sacrificing themselves to their husbands and their children, God and society.¹⁹ Such association served as a powerful device for women's subordination, placing much importance on women's chastity and consequently enforcing the social code of honour and shame in Cypriot culture.

Jean Peristiany wrote of the phenomenon of honour and shame in Cyprus: 'In a

¹⁴ Myria Vassiliadou, 'Questioning Nationalism: The Patriarchal and National Struggles of Cypriot Women within a European Context', *European Journal of Women's Studies*, (Vol. 9, 2002), p. 460.

¹⁵ For a comprehensive account on women and nationalism in Cyprus see Floya Anthias, 'Women and Nationalism in Cyprus', in Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias (eds) *Women-Nation-State* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1989).

¹⁶ Anne, McClintock, 'No Longer in Future Heaven: Nationalism, Gender and Race', in Geoff Eley, and Ronald Suny. *Becoming National: A Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 260.

¹⁷ I borrow this term from Myria Vassiliadou, *A Struggle for Independence: Attitudes and Practices of the women of Cyprus*, (The University of Kent, Unpublished PhD. Thesis, 1999), p. 168.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

¹⁹ Maria Roussou, 'War in Cyprus: Patriarchy and the Penelope Myth', in Ridd, R. and Callaway, H. *Caught up in Conflict: Women's Response to Political Strife* (London: Macmillan Education, 1986), p. 31.

country where feminine honour is almost exclusively associated with sexual modesty this attitude assumes a particularly violent and socially significant form. Feminine honour involves not only a woman's total personality but also that of the group she represents'.²⁰ Such phenomenon was strongly supported by religion and patriarchal conventions, which together reinforced women's subordination to the male members of their family. Until recently, a woman's life was always linked to the male members of her family (her father and brothers, and later her husband), who decided what was most suitable for her. This defined her position as an inferior, so little attention was given to her needs and wishes. Furthermore, the prejudice about women's capacities limited their opportunity to get an education or to work. The best thing that could happen to women (according to the patriarchal stereotype) was an early marriage. Since the customs of society at the time required a dowry for a woman to get married (otherwise, she would remain a spinster), most fathers chose to educate only their sons and provide a dowry for their daughters. The institution of dowry became a practice in which parents provided a house and furniture for their daughters upon marriage. Cynthia Cockburn points out that this practice makes a woman 'a marketable commodity and strengthens parental power, making her dependent on the economic status of her father'.²¹ These limitations imposed on women's lives reinforced certain stereotypes regarding gender roles and attitudes.

Women's Position in *The World of Cyprus*

Diamantis described his view on women's roles and gender relations in his 1974 discussion of *The World of Cyprus*: 'In the male-dominated "World of Cyprus" woman holds a second place. In Cyprus, she takes this place either because of man's arbitrariness or willingly. With wisdom and respect she holds this position of mother and mistress in the home'.²² Undoubtedly, *The World of Cyprus* is a male construction of a male-dominated society. The fact that Diamantis suggests women's inferiority to men in his narration reveals the socio-political restrictions on women during and after the British colonial period. Likewise, in his work, the figures of men are dominating the large composition; women hold a second place, barely visible in the background in their roles as mothers with children or as young girls.

²⁰ Jean, Peristiany, *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1965), p. 183.

²¹ Cynthia Cockburn, *The Line: Women, Partition and the Gender Order in Cyprus* (London: Zed Books, 2004) p. 119.

²² Diamantis Adamantios, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

The setting of *The World of Cyprus* is significant, as it shows a traditional coffee shop scene. In the 1960s, coffee shops were the second most popular gathering place in Cyprus (churches were the first). Diamantis chose to present his work as a location of the place where, until recently, women were not allowed in Cyprus: the male-dominated traditional coffee shops. During the time Diamantis constructed his work, the coffee shops 'had become a platform where nationalism would be preached, where working class subcultures would emerge, where the Left would organise itself, and where it would eventually confront the Right.'²³ Women's exclusion from the coffee shop meant that they did not have a voice in the political developments. As Maria Hadjipavlou and Biran Mertan highlight, women were viewed as 'apolitical', as they 'usually voted as their husband instructed them to because it was men's opinion on politics that mattered'.²⁴ This is highly significant if we consider that with the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus women were eligible to vote for the first time in the history of the island. However, despite women having the right to vote, they were 'stereotyped as the housewives whose vote could be used for the benefit of those in control: men'.²⁵

Women's exclusion and apolitical stance had devastating consequences during the 1974 invasion and the aftermath of the military occupation. For Cypriot women, living in a patriarchal culture led thoroughly by men had an impact on their own identities as women. The 1974 war impacted the lives of Cypriot women who were caught up in conflict:

'We left these things (meaning politics, war) to men and we had faith in them. They were our men who talked and talked for hours in the coffee shops about this politician and that, [and the English], and the English and the American and the Turks. [...] We used just to listen and hoped for the best. (She shook her head, her voice become louder.) They made a mess. [...] We (women) should not leave everything to men. Men do not give birth and do not care much when killing people, when destroying homes. We know now what is peace and what is war.'²⁶

²³ Theopisti Stylianou-Lambert and Nicos Philippou, 'Aesthetics, Narratives, and Politics in Greek-Cypriot Films: 1960-1974', in Costas Constandinides and Yiannis Papadakis (eds) *Cypriot Cinemas: Memory, Conflict, and Identity in the Margins of Europe*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), p. 71.

²⁴ Maria Hadjipavlou and Biran Mertan, op. cit., p. 256.

²⁵ Myria Vassiliadou, "'Herstory': The Missing Woman of Cyprus", *Cyprus Review* (Vol. 9, 1997), p. 112.

²⁶ Quoted in Maria Roussou, *Greek Cypriot Women in Contemporary Cyprus with Special Reference to the 1974 War and its Consequences*, (University of London, Unpublished PhD. Thesis, 1985), p. 575.

This account, narrated by a 65-year-old refugee woman, highlights the problematic position of women living in a male-dominated society where women's presence in important decision-making processes was marginalised. Women's primary association to the private sphere and 'position of mother and mistress in the home' meant that they had limited knowledge of what was happening in the public sphere. Cynthia Cockburn in asking the question 'How did Greek Cypriot women experience the troubled years of the 1960s?' highlights that political histories are generally written by men and do not differentiate experiences by sex.²⁷

Until today, little is known on how women experienced the troubled post-independence years. As previously mentioned, the conversations on politics were taking place in the coffee shops from which women were excluded. Therefore, the making of the history was created through a male understanding of socio-political events. Maria Hadjipavlou recalls the troubled times in the 1960s:

'As girls we were expected to be taken care of, protected and silenced. Father was the head of the family (as was the head of the State) and his command and word were to be heeded. The men were in charge and women subordinate and our questions remained unanswered. Militarisation and gun shots were men's businesses'.²⁸

The socio-political landscape and conflict were shaped by men who were serving their own political agendas. In doing so, they failed to communicate the reality of their actions to their families, who were dependent on them. Cockburn, after interviewing Cypriot women, both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, who experienced the conflict as children, writes, 'Many of these women say their parents had told them little about what was going on, out of a wish to shield youngsters from adult worries'.²⁹ Cockburn also concludes that, 'This meant, of course, that the children heard the shots and explosions in 1963 and experienced the new rules of caution and curfew, but usually had insufficient information to understand the new reality'.³⁰ Hadjipavlou's account is highly significant to this:

'This was very confusing to me as I knew something was really wrong. I was afraid and unhappy. [...] we lived close enough to [...] hear gun shots and [see]

²⁷ Cynthia Cockburn, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

²⁸ Maria Hadjipavlou and Biran Mertan, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

²⁹ Cynthia Cockburn, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

smoke in the sky but no one told me. [...] I felt the men knew it all but not my mother or us, the four sisters. [...] No one explained.³¹

The oppressive nature of patriarchy in Cyprus produced a strong distinction between gender roles, and dominated all aspects of women's lives and social positions. As I previously mentioned, within this patriarchal society, not only were women's issues overshadowed and disregarded but, moreover, women were excluded from important positions and decision making. Women's passivity and their subordinated role is obvious in Diamantis' *The World of Cyprus*:

'In their communal gatherings solemn senators, priests and men, the men of Cyprus. They govern. The women are in the margin, not humbled, but always obedient, ruling over their own domain with the great strength of the mother, always vital and dominant.'³²

Constructing an alternative *The World of Cyprus*

In 1975, a year after the Turkish Invasion, Diamantis drew on his work *The World of Cyprus* to offer a response to the catastrophic event. For this, he restructured his composition and changed the original title. *When the World of Cyprus First Heard the Bad News* acts as Diamantis' statement about the new conditions in Cyprus. Now, *The world of Cyprus* is represented in action; Diamantis' figures are no longer seated in the coffee shop. In contrast, the figures are on their feet, reacting to the news of the invasion. Some are wondering what has happened, others indicate scepticism and doubt about the news, and some look furious. Similar to the original *The World of Cyprus*, this new account is male-dominated and offers little reference to female presence: a figure of a young girl is shown embracing her younger brother, and some female silhouettes are visible in the far background.

Maria Roussou wrote in relation to Diamantis' work:

'The fact that in this huge mural, women are invisible is significant, in that it accurately reflects the society that the artist is portraying. Do we regret the disappearance of this world? Can it be replaced by a world in which there is more sharing, more equality between people? Can the passive mother figures and the innocent young girls of the painting be replaced by women who are active par-

³¹ Maria Hadjipavlou and Biran Mertan, op. cit., p. 253.

³² Adamantios Diamantis, op. cit., p. 82.

ticipants in the public life of Cyprus, involved in the decision making processes that affect the affairs of the island’?³³

The aftermath of the 1974 war led women to express an outrage towards the male governors who were responsible for the actions that led the events:

‘Why had they not heeded those leftists and assorted eccentrics who had argued that generosity to the Turkish Cypriots should be national policy? Why had Makarios not made a generous offer to the Turkish Cypriots during the five long years of the inter-communal negotiations from 1968-73? [...] Why no ‘olive branch’ to the Turkish Cypriots in those years? ‘What would not we have given the Turks, just to stay in our properties?’ they now said’.³⁴

The generation of women who came to maturity in the mid-1960s experienced significant changes as they gradually embarked upon the public domain. Despite the fact that Diamantis chose to show an image of Cyprus emphasising traditional customs of the patriarchal society, he acknowledges the changed society in his narration:

‘Our world, the World of Cyprus, the world of the villages of Cyprus as they were, which is now being lost, adulterated and changed. Centuries and centuries of a life constrained under the will of others [...] they remained silent and accepted their frugal lot. What they did not accept was the curtailing of the essence of the expression of their life. Language, church, virtue, sustenance, clothing, justice, friendship, marriage. These things they never agreed to renounce’.³⁵

There is no doubt that Diamantis produced an image of Cyprus as he had viewed and experienced it over four decades of observing and generating drawings. *The World of Cyprus* is a world made of figures, people, and buildings which, after the 1960 independence, was gradually disappearing. It is interesting to examine the manner in which Diamantis dissociates himself from Cypriots, and his refusal to accept any of the modern aspects integrated in Cypriot society. As Diamantis states, ‘This “World of Cyprus” is on its way of being lost. It is being swamped by new, ill-digested ideas and customs. [...] I refuse to help with the change. In any case I have no

³³ Maria Roussou, op. cit., p. 8.

³⁴ Peter Loizos, *The Heart Grown Bitter: A Chronicle of Cypriot War Refugees* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 134.

³⁵ Adamantios Diamantis, op. cit., pp. 81-82.

more time'.³⁶ Diamantis' narration allows little space for social challenges and even less space for women who in Diamantis' words are 'in the margin, not humbled, but always obedient, ruling over their own domain with the great strength of the mother, always vital and dominant'.³⁷

Diamantis was not the only artist to emphasise in his work women's role as mother-wife. Many of his male contemporary artists (such as Telemachos Kanthos, Christophoros Savva, and George Georgiou) also favoured the representation of women as mothers in their work. It is important to emphasise that their actual choice of themes and figures can act as politicised devices of patriarchal society and restrictions over women's role. I agree with Stylianou-Lambert and Philippou that, 'choices of subject matter and aesthetic decisions are essentially political decisions even though, more often than not, their creators do not perceive them as such'.³⁸ Diamantis' choice to represent Cyprus and its people in a traditional way (by 'traditional' I refer to the representation of rural life with traditional costumes and habits) emphasises a close community. It is important to consider that his painting is set in a rural setting (the coffee-house of a village) with men dressed in traditional Cypriot garments. Consequently, the work can be seen as an 'idealised image of community' which 'conceals the deep divisions that existed then, and glosses the uneasy sense of change and transformation that is ongoing'.³⁹ Interestingly, despite the fact that the artist himself was a modern Cypriot dressed in European fashion, he chose to represent his contemporaries in traditional costumes. As Stylianou and Philippou put it, Diamantis 'cast himself as a sophisticated urbanite who set out to record what he repeatedly called "simple villagers"'.⁴⁰

The emphasis on rural life, traditional customs, and rituals can also be viewed as a constriction of an imagined community where people remain fixed in place. The quest to represent a community within a traditional national framework was also expressed in Greek Cypriot cinematography and photography of the same period. As Stylianou-Lambert and Philippou discussed, the creators (referring to artist Diamantis, filmmakers Giorgos Filis, and photographer Takis Demetriadis) skipped

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Theopisty Stylianou-Lambert and Nicos Philippou, op. cit., p. 64.

³⁹ Nikos Papastergiadis, *Annotations: Mixed Belongings and Unspecified Destinations*, (London: Institute of International Visual Arts, 1996) p. 10.

⁴⁰ Elena Stylianou and Nicos Philipou, 'Greek-Cypriot Locality: (Re) Defining our Understanding of European Modernity', in Pam Meecham (ed) *A Companion to Modern Art* (Hoboken: Wiley, 2018), p. 346.

‘Cypriot modernity by ignoring fundamental social, political, and cultural changes and conflicts that have taken place in the meantime’.⁴¹ During the post-independent years, Cyprus experienced changes due to the rapid economic developments. The island speedily became a tourist destination, and several resorts were developed. The period was also marked by the inter-communal conflict between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Despite the gravitas of the different happenings, these conditions were not reflected in the work of the three creators, who in their work represented traditional image of rural Cyprus. What Diamantis and Filis also have in common is the way they presented women: they are ‘being obedient, passive, and dependent’.⁴²

Post-independent Cyprus also experienced sociocultural changes in relation to gender roles and women’s attitudes. Even though patriarchal society had remained fairly constant in terms of certain structures, there had been certain outlets for women to negotiate their status in society. Possibly, the most significant outlet was public education, which was a key mechanism for future generations to raise awareness of women’s issues. Considering that elementary education became compulsory only in 1962 and the first three years in secondary education became free of charge ten years later, it is remarkable that in 1974 Cyprus ranked amongst the countries with the highest rates of literacy.⁴³

The sociocultural change was initiated during the British colonial period where a Westernised culture was introduced to Cypriot women. This was broadly adopted, especially by women who lived in the cities: ‘Apart from religious activities and visits to the baths, they were seen going for walks with their female friends or their families; they went to dances, receptions, attended the races and also exercised, rode, and played tennis’.⁴⁴ The national liberation struggle was also a fundamental period for Greek Cypriot women, as they stepped out of their domestic orientation and supported the struggle. Not only were women supporting the struggle but were also active members. The fact that the British undervalued women’s worth gave them the opportunity to participate; throughout the struggle women were employed as couriers, as they were less likely to be body-searched while ferrying confi-

⁴¹ Theopisti Stylianou-Lambert and Nicos Philippou, op. cit., p.71.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Cyprus Social Research Centre, *Cypriot Woman Rise and Downfall* (Nicosia: Printing Office of the Republic of Cyprus, 1975), p. 7.

⁴⁴ Maria Pyrgou, op. cit., p. 48.

dential correspondence and guns, writing slogans on public walls, and participating in hazardous missions. This meant that women gained a kind of independence that was innovative at the time. Previously, women's main public outings were related to the ordinary events of attending religious functions or working in the family's field. Their involvement in the struggle signified a big departure from traditional conventions and customs. Consequently, a significant change was simultaneously undertaken to the national struggle. This change was an acceptance that women's roles reformed to meet the needs of the struggle, something that was for the most part left unrecorded by history and by the male-oriented ideology of the hardship. It is important to consider that women's participation in the national struggle presented a defining moment for Greek Cypriot women: they were able to reconceptualise the power structure within gender relations and, by extension, their status within society. Their participation paved the way for women to challenge patriarchy and laid the foundation for women to be 'active citizens' in the public sphere.

The increased economic developments offered an opportunity for women to enter the workforce in the post-independent Cyprus. However, although women entered the public labour market in great numbers during the period, it remained that women were six times less likely than men to be found in high positions.⁴⁵ Thus, most working women were employed in lower-paid and less prestigious labour. Additionally, a large number of women received salaries equating to half of what men were paid. However, despite the continuation of traditional attitudes towards the stereotypes of women, working women began to define themselves as an active body of workers who gradually came to occupy high positions and command better paid salaries.

Nonetheless, despite the seemingly promising propaganda of gender equality in employment, women's subordinated role largely continued after the years of independence. Significantly, post-independent Cyprus preserved the patriarchal structure, which was:

'Protected in particular by the relatively unaltered practical coherence of behaviours and discourses partially abstracted from time by ritual stereotyping, represent[ing] a paradigmatic form of the phallonnarcissistic vision and the androcentric cosmology which are common to all Mediterranean societies [...].'⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Cyprus Social Research Centre, *op. cit.*

⁴⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination*. (Cambridge: Polity, 2001), p. 6.

Therefore, it is not surprising that, while traditional roles were being changed by a modernised Westernised influence, gender relations preserved their identities of men equals public and women equals private, positioning women as the sole keepers of the household.

Although women entered the public labour market, sharing the role of the breadwinner, their conditions at home remained the same. Thus, working women in Cyprus were consistently working double shifts: working full time professionally while still being expected to maintain their domestic labour at home. Such a working pattern was common for the majority of working women who entered public employment after the State endorsed full-time employment for them. However, the State failed to develop a functional system that would support married women and mothers.

Conclusion

Diamantis believed that he represented the authentic people of Cyprus he had met in the villages he visited. As he expressed in his narration, 'I tried to draw it and paint it either as a visitor or as a worshipper: with faith in its worth, with enthusiasm and with love. [...] It has been the best of the worlds'.⁴⁷ In 1983, he talked in a documentary about the absence of women in *The World of Cyprus*: 'A lot of people commented on the absence of women – women are not absent, they are just in the margin like their lives are also in the margin'.⁴⁸ If we consider that Diamantis' work accurately reflected the society he represented, little had changed in the years after the Turkish invasion. Moreover, when Diamantis talked about his work *When the World of Cyprus First Heard the Bad News* he explained that the women are 'confused and they remained still and serious'.⁴⁹ This can be seen as a way of reinforcing the perception of women's inactive role in society.

Considering that women experience socio-political happenings in a different way to men, there is a need to explore experiences from a woman's perspective. In terms of gender, Irini Savvides writes that there is 'a record of experience missing in current narratives' in relation to the 1974 war and its aftermath: 'One aspect of the Cyprus problem is that the stories of what women have suffered as a result of the

⁴⁷ Adamantios Diamantis, op. cit., p. 81.

⁴⁸ Digital Herodotus, Online Documentary *The World of Cyprus of Diamantis and Interview* (2018), available at <https://vimeo.com/304868092> (last accessed on 26 Jan. 2020) [translation from Greek by author].

⁴⁹ Ibid.

continued occupations and violence have not been given equal voice in the available literature'.⁵⁰ Importantly, a number of contemporary Greek Cypriots scholars have explored in their research women's experiences.⁵¹

In the 2020 Global Gender Gap report, Cyprus was ranked 111th out of 152 countries, with a score of 11,2% of female participation in the government.⁵² This highlights an urgent need to consider pragmatic ways for political empowerment to ensure that women are included in decision-making. This will help challenge and eliminate the patriarchal mentality that politics are a male privilege. Hopefully, the future generations will live in a society where all citizens are equal and active participants in the public life of the island.

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⁵⁰ Irini Savvides, 'No Man's Land: A Revisionist Story of "The Cyprus Problem"' in Jan Shaw, Philippa Kelly and L.E. Semler (eds), *Storytelling: Critical & Creative Approaches* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp.132-133.

⁵¹ See for example the work of Myria Vassiliadou and Maria Hadjipavlou.

⁵² Global Gender Gap Report 2020, available at http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2020.pdf (last accessed on 26 Jan. 2020)

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The Lesbian Space of Contemporary Greek-Cypriot Art

MARILENA ZACKHEOS¹

Abstract

This paper traces the ways Greek-Cypriot self-confessed lesbian artist Charitini Kyriakou takes up space in her visual work. It examines the sexual and spatial orientation in Kyriakou's artistic and curatorial practices by focusing on four of her solo exhibitions from the last decade: 'Months Stay' («Μήνες Μείνε») (2010), 'My Personal Persons' («Προσωπικά μου Πρόσωπα») (2011), 'Rooms' («Δωμάτια») (2016) and 'Desire's Erebus' («Του Πόθου το Ερεβώδες») (2018). As will be shown, the lesbian space of Kyriakou agrees with lesbian assembling practices, highlights the everyday as a site of creativity, delight, and protection, privileges the inner world, assumes a lesbian habitus through deportment, disposition, and attire, as well as transgresses heteronormativity's spatial, sexual, and national boundaries.

Keywords: gender, sexuality, desire, queer, lesbian, space, orientation, visual art, heteronormativity, Cyprus

Introduction

Contemporary Greek-Cypriot art has flourished in Nicosia over the past decade.² Within this blossoming art scene, emerged also a queer subculture that has been demonstrating a tactical use of formal and informal art institutions to show queer art, resist heteronormativity, connect with others, and gain recognition.³ Current scholarship on queer identities in Cyprus is limited and although ample work has been done on gay male sexuality worldwide, work on lesbian sexuality and lesbian spaces is in turn poor.⁴ This paper seeks to map the queer use of space, specifi-

¹ Marilena Zackheos, Assistant Professor, Department of Social Sciences, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Nicosia.

² Regarding the urban regeneration of Nicosia in the 1980s and the subsequent flourishing of the Nicosia art scene, see M. Zackheos and N. Philippou, 'Nicosia's Queer Art Subculture: Outside and Inside Formal Institutions', in *Contemporary Art in Cyprus: Politics, Identity and Culture Across Borders*, eds. E. Tselika, E. Stylianou and G. Koureas (London: Bloomsbury, forthcoming 2020).

³ The tactical use of formal and informal art institutions by the queer subculture of Nicosia has been explored at length in Zackheos and Philippou, 'Nicosia's Queer Art Subculture: Outside and Inside Formal Institutions'.

⁴ C. Hammers, 'Space, Agency, and the Transfiguring of Lesbian/Queer Desire', *Journal of Homosex-*

cally of a lesbian sensibility,⁵ in the artistic and curatorial practices of one prolific Greek-Cypriot artist, Charitini Kyriakou. It concentrates on how Kyriakou makes use of space in four of her solo exhibitions from the last decade:⁶ ‘Months Stay’ («Μήνες Μείνε») (2010), ‘My Personal Persons’ («Προσωπικά μου Πρόσωπα») (2011), ‘Rooms’ («Δωμάτια») (2016) and ‘Desire’s Erebus’ («Του Πόθου το Ερεβώδες») (2018).⁷ Exploring how Kyriakou orientates herself sexually but also spatially in her visual art initiates an archiving of the lesbian art scene in Cyprus and contributes to contemporary art discussions on the island and abroad concerning queer subjectivities.⁸

Locating Lesbian Sexualities: Desire, Habitus, and Space

The lesbian art scene in the Republic of Cyprus has so far been left undocumented. This is due partly to the lack of self-confessed lesbian artists on the island. Invisibility of course is one part of the equation on which the paper will expand below. A prevailing erotophobia in a small, close-knit and largely conservative society is another, though the resistance to grapple with lesbian desire in particular is also a global phenomenon.⁹ Expressions of female sexuality that challenge social norms, especially those that are expressed by women themselves have often been pushed to the wayside as incomprehensible,¹⁰ episodic aberrations, or subsumed within a heteronormative narrative as male heterosexual voyeuristic fantasy. Unquestionably, as ‘heteronormative depictions of femininity geared toward a male audience’ have steadily offered ‘a one-dimensional portrayal that permeates almost the entire media industry and society’,¹¹ desire has generally been tackled from a male or heterosexual lens.¹² Even space itself has been viewed as an ‘unequivocally male

uality, Vol. 56, No. 6 (2009), 781.

⁵ In this paper, the term ‘queer’ is used to denote a comprehensive range of sexual and gendered identities and the term ‘lesbian’ is used to refer to the specific identity category.

⁶ An examination of all of Kyriakou’s visual work is unfortunately beyond the scope of this paper.

⁷ All translations from Greek to English for the titles of the artworks and the quotes used are the author’s own.

⁸ The decision to focus on this particular Greek-Cypriot artist is due to a personal familiarity with Kyriakou and her work but also because she is one of the only self-confessed lesbian artists on the island.

⁹ For a discussion on this bias from the perspective of contemporary Italian culture, see C. Ross, ‘Queering the Habitus: Lesbian Identity in Stancanelli’s “Benzina”’ *Romance Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (2004), 240.

¹⁰ Ross, ‘Queering the Habitus’, 241.

¹¹ Hammers, ‘Space, Agency, and the Transfiguring of Lesbian/Queer Desire’, 772.

¹² Hammers, ‘Space, Agency, and the Transfiguring of Lesbian/Queer Desire’, 773.

territory' as is evident in 'the creation of space such as technology, labor, structures, and the state itself'.¹³ Largely excluded from this male public territory, women have been primarily granted the private and domestic sphere to manage.¹⁴ Though there is a substantial amount of literature on sexuality today, scholarship on lesbian sexualities and lesbian spaces remains scant.

Documenting the sexual but also spatial orientation of lesbian subjectivities¹⁵ is crucial in better understanding, valuing, and mapping these subjectivities. Additionally, it contributes to a more comprehensive perspective of the 'sexualization of space, as well as the spatiality of sexual desire'.¹⁶ According to Judith Halberstam, people's behaviour in space is interrelated with their understandings of time. Unlike heteronormative time and space, which are familial, reproductive, and abide by 'the logics of labor and production',¹⁷ queer time and space disrupt these normative forms of belonging by questioning the privileging of property, the couple, the family unit and the nation.¹⁸ Halberstam explains that queer subjects are distinguished

in terms of the ways they live (deliberately, accidentally, or of necessity) during the hours when others sleep and in the spaces (physical, metaphysical, and economic) that others have abandoned, and in terms of the ways they might work in the domains that other people assign to privacy and family. Finally, [...] for some queer subjects, time and space are limned by risks they are willing to take: the transgender person who risks his life by passing in a small town, the subcultural musicians who risk their livelihood by immersing themselves in nonlucrative practices, the queer performers who destabilize the normative values that make everyone else feel safe and secure; but also those people who live without financial safety nets, without homes, without steady jobs, outside the organizations of time and space that have been established for the purposes of protecting the rich few from everyone else.¹⁹

¹³ Hammers, 'Space, Agency, and the Transfiguring of Lesbian/Queer Desire', 758.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ On the significance of investigating orientation's dual senses—sexual and spatial—see Zackheos and Philippou, 'Nicosia's Queer Art Subculture: Outside and Inside Formal Institutions'.

¹⁶ S. Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 1.

¹⁷ J. Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives*. (New York: NYU Press, 2005), 10.

¹⁸ L. Berlant and M. Warner, "Sex in Public," in *Intimacy*, ed. Lauren Berlant (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 322.

¹⁹ Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place*, 10.

It follows that the 'sexualization of space, as well as the spatiality of sexual desire' conflict between heterosexual and queer subjects.²⁰

But is there something distinct about the ways lesbian subjects in particular orientate themselves? Alison Rooke theorises that 'a lesbian body embodying a lesbian habitus is a site of lesbian distinction where lesbian cultural practices are incorporated and rendered seemingly inherent'.²¹ Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus that views culture as 'habitually inscribed on the body'²² and henceforth forming orientation dispositions, Rooke argues that the lesbian habitus is itself an embodied and performative expression of lesbian sexuality. In other words, 'the ways that lesbian identity is made visible, performed, and expressed can [be] understood as a matter of practices and a practical belief or mastery'.²³ Under this schema, lesbian identity is not a given; it is achieved. As Cheryl A. Parks explains, a woman's familial, social and historical circumstances will affect the timing, progression and result of her coming out and her 'identity developmental process'.²⁴ It follows that achieved lesbian identity can be expressed in a myriad ways: for instance, through deportment, that is, the way one carries oneself, through disposition such as displaying a confident sense of sexuality, or through non-normative attire.²⁵ At times the lesbian habitus is embodied on an 'intangible' level, more like Bourdieu's 'le sens pratique' or the 'feel for the game'.²⁶ Going against the dominant heterosexual habitus, the lesbian habitus is recognisable as being distinct for lesbian sexuality. That is not to say that there is a singular or static lesbian habitus. As in the case of butch and femme lesbians, there is variety in embodied expressions of lesbian sexuality.²⁷ Nonetheless, these expressions are recognisably lesbian and constitute a common language or lexicon of lesbian belonging.

Charting the spatial orientation of lesbian sexualities is no easy matter however,

²⁰ That is not to say that all queer subjects adopt queer lives nor that all heterosexual subjects live strictly straight lives. See Zackheos and Philippou, 'Nicosia's Queer Art Subculture.'

²¹ A. Rooke, 'Navigating Embodied Lesbian Cultural Space: Toward a Lesbian Habitus', *Space and Culture*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (2007), 239.

²² Rooke, 'Navigating Embodied Lesbian Cultural Space', 232.

²³ Rooke, 'Navigating Embodied Lesbian Cultural Space', 239.

²⁴ K. Fobear, 'Beyond A Lesbian Space? An Investigation on The Intergenerational Discourse Surrounding Lesbian Public Social Places in Amsterdam', *Journal of Homosexuality*, Vol. 59, No. 5 (2012), 721-747, DOI: 10.1080/00918369.2012.673942.

²⁵ Rooke, 'Navigating Embodied Lesbian Cultural Space', 232.

²⁶ Rooke, 'Navigating Embodied Lesbian Cultural Space', 239.

²⁷ Ibid.

especially as many choose to remain invisible. Beverley Skeggs notes that ‘most lesbians and gay men learn that most space is heterosexual and they have to develop strategies and tactics for negotiating this unremitting normalization when moving through and occupying space’.²⁸ Many avoid ‘spatializ[ing] their own recognition’ for fear of homophobic violence.²⁹ Petra Doan and Harrison Higgins point out that queer subjects remain extremely alert to their surroundings, scanning for signs of rejection in their milieu in case they need to conceal their identities.³⁰ Having said that, it is women in particular, both heterosexual and queer, who feel that they need to police and protect themselves the most, having learned that ‘they do not belong in many public spaces, that many spaces are not for them’.³¹ Skeggs adds that some choose to dwell in invisibility for ‘invisibility holds the delights of desire and power’.³² Others prefer not to be defined as persons by their sexual orientation and do not publicly claim their queerness. Still other queer subjects seek recognition and belonging in safe, identifiably gay spaces like gay bars and clubs.³³

Be that as it may, sociologist Manuel Castells has observed that the way lesbians concentrate in space is generally different than the way gay men assemble in bars, clubs, and gay residential communities. Unlike men,

Women have rarely had these territorial aspirations: their world attaches more importance to relationships and their networks are ones of solidarity and affection. [...] So when gay men try to liberate themselves from cultural and sexual oppression, they need a physical space from which to strike out. Lesbians on the other hand tend to create their own rich, inner world and political relationship with higher, societal levels. They are ‘placeless’ and much more radical in their struggle.³⁴

Even existing lesbian neighbourhoods like Park Slope in New York and the

²⁸ B. Skeggs, ‘Matter out of place: visibility and sexualities in leisure spaces’, *Leisure Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (1999), 214.

²⁹ Skeggs, ‘Matter out of place: visibility and sexualities in leisure spaces’, 220.

³⁰ P. Doan and H. Higgins, ‘Cognitive Dimensions of Way-Finding: The Implications of Habitus, Safety, and Gender Dissonance among Gay and Lesbian Populations’, *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, Vol. 41, No. 7 (2009), 1747.

³¹ Skeggs, ‘Matter out of place: visibility and sexualities in leisure spaces’, 222.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Skeggs, ‘Matter out of place: visibility and sexualities in leisure spaces’, 221.

³⁴ A. Betsky, *Queer Space: Architecture and Same-Sex Desire*, (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1997), 175.

Mission in San Francisco ‘lack the outward appearance that makes them cohere as visible spaces in areas dominated by men.’³⁵ Instead, they are marked more by their strong social networking without repeating gay men’s ‘ghettolike isolation’.³⁶ Similarly, lesbian hangouts are often not bars but, as Rooke points out, ‘temporary “women’s nights” at different venues on different nights of the week or month’.³⁷ Sara Ahmed also notes that lesbians ‘exten[d] differently into space through tending toward “other women”’, which makes “becoming lesbian” a very social experience, redefining desire as a form of action that shapes bodies and worlds’.³⁸

Related to this more ‘undetected’ and ‘unterritorial’ tendency for women to extend toward their social connections rather than toward the visible and material expression of queer cultures through gay bar and gay club institutions³⁹ is another most significant space which queer subjects inhabit and in which they orientate themselves: the space of the everyday. The everyday is a ‘lived practice, found in routine movement through space’.⁴⁰ According to Henri Lefebvre, the everyday refers to what is left over after significant or spectacular occasions. The everyday is the hidden facet of life.⁴¹ For Michel De Certeau, the everyday is significant for its ‘fleeting moments of resistance, inventiveness, and agency within a commodified culture’.⁴² In turn, Rooke postulates regarding lesbian and bisexual women’s everydayness that ‘The space of the everyday tells us of the micro politics of simply getting by, getting on with it, and finding our own pleasures amid the difficulties of living in the city’.⁴³

As will be shown in the analysis below of Kyriakou’s work,⁴⁴ the everyday is certainly a vital lesbian space that offers safety, delight, and creativity. In addition to this expression of everyday lesbianism, the lesbian space for Kyriakou favours the reinforcement of social connections and the exploration of one’s inner world. It assumes a lesbian habitus through characteristics like deportment, disposition and

³⁵ Betsky, *Queer Space: Architecture and Same-Sex Desire*, 176.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Rooke, ‘Navigating Embodied Lesbian Cultural Space’, 241.

³⁸ Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology*, 102.

³⁹ Altogether, queer spaces whether these are private or public can be seen ‘as sites for claims for visibility and invisibility, for legitimacy, for avoidance of pathology. See Skeggs, ‘Matter out of place: visibility and sexualities in leisure spaces’, 220.

⁴⁰ Rooke, ‘Navigating Embodied Lesbian Cultural Space’, 233.

⁴¹ Rooke, ‘Navigating Embodied Lesbian Cultural Space’, 234.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Rooke, ‘Navigating Embodied Lesbian Cultural Space’, 233.

⁴⁴ Kyriakou’s work is available for viewing at <http://www.xaritini.com/>.

attire. Finally, it challenges heteronormative notions of time and space that value reproduction, blood ties, affluence, and belonging through nationhood.

The Artist

Born in Nicosia in 1979, Kyriakou is an exceptionally talented, productive and prominent artist in the contemporary Cyprus art scene. To date, she has had six solo art exhibitions, all held within the walls of Old Nicosia. In 2001, Kyriakou presented her first exhibition titled 'Femininus' («Θήλυ») at offbeat café-bar 'Kaf-eodio' («Καφεωδείο») on Onasagorou Street (now defunct). In 2009, she showed her self-titled work 'Charitini' («Χαριτίνη») at Gallery 2 on Aeschylou Street (now also defunct). In 2010, 13 pencil drawings, created for a 2011 daily agenda titled 'Months Stay' («Μήνες Μείνε»), were featured in Kyriakou's third solo art exhibition at Temporary Space also on Aeschylou Street (again defunct). In 2011, Kyriakou's fourth exhibition 'My Personal Persons' («Προσωπικά μου Πρόσωπα») was shown at Is Not Gallery on Odysseos Street. Kyriakou's fifth exhibition 'Rooms' («Δωμάτια») was set up at the multipurpose arts and culture venue The Garage in 2016. Lastly, her sixth exhibition 'Desire's Erebus' («Του Πόθου το Ερεβώδες») was shown again at Is Not Gallery.⁴⁵

Aside from a painter, Kyriakou is a musician, poet, and clay artist. Kyriakou sings, plays percussion, the guitar and tzouras, composing and recording her songs often in her home studio. Her first poetic collection 'Because I Ero' («Αφού Ερώ»)⁴⁶ was self-published in 2016 featuring both verses and pencil drawings. In 2017, she created a series of miniature clay figurines, primarily female (often accompanied by a dog or cat), engaged in various activities such as reading in an armchair, playing the piano or staring at an open refrigerator (naming these pieces in Cypriot Greek «Τα Πηλά»⁴⁷ meaning 'The Muddies'). These were successfully sold at the artist collective shop Phaneromenis 70 and also at Prozac Café.

Especially worth noting is that Kyriakou is one of very few self-confessed lesbian artists currently active in Cyprus.⁴⁸ Regardless of the artistic medium, Kyriak-

⁴⁵ More recently, in 2019, she showed and sold drawings in pencil, ink and acrylic on paper at Nicosia's artist hang-out coffee-bar Prozac Café in a solo casual event titled 'Artist's Workshop' («Ατελιέ»).

⁴⁶ Meaning 'Because I Lust', Kyriakou here plays with the word 'Eros' («Ερωτας»), in other words sexual love or lust, making up the verb 'to ero'.

⁴⁷ Kyriakou chooses not to capitalize most of the titles of her works but for the purposes of this paper, the standard grammatical rule is followed.

⁴⁸ Greek-Cypriot Athina Antoniadou (b. 1962) is another self-confessed prolific lesbian artist who has

ou's oeuvre exhibits a distinct lesbian sensibility. Her musical compositions often incorporate sensual Latin music elements and rhythms like bossa nova and tango. Lyrics such as 'Do not ask for me to stay here and wait, it is not right. Let time judge the both of us [women] little one' («Μη θες να μείνω εδώ να περιμένω, μη θες, μη θες, δεν είν' αυτό σωστό. Άσε το χρόνο μικρό μου να κρίνει και τις δυό») in the song 'Take Your Time Little One' («Πάρε το Χρόνο σου Μικρό μου») and 'I have no worldly words to tell you, my singular is insignificant as you stand before me' («Δεν έχω να σου πω λόγια του κόσμου, δεν ειν' σημαντικός ο ενικός μου όταν σ' έχω εδώ μπρός μου») in 'Mistress of Mine' («Μαιτρέσσα μου»)⁴⁹ openly express homoerotic themes, especially as they are sung by the female voices of Kyriakou herself and/or lead vocalist Efthymia Alphas of her band Sandy Brouer. Her poetry is similarly explicit regarding same-sex desire. The title alone of her latest poetry collection 'Diary of a Lesbian' («Ημερολόγιο Μιας Λεσβίας») makes Kyriakou's sexuality clear.

Kyriakou's lifestyle largely follows queer time and space. Though she lives primarily through earnings from her books, performances, and works of art, she is also fortunate enough to live in a family-owned rent-free apartment. Overall, she lives outside institutionalised work structures, leading a bohemian lifestyle in which she prioritises the creation of her art and day-to-day freedom at the expense of a nine-to-five job.

The Exhibitions

'Months Stay' («Μήνες Μείνε») at Temporary Space in 2010

In 2010, local publisher A Bookworm Publication commissioned Kyriakou to create drawings for their first publication. The result was a 2011 Agenda titled 'Months

presented artwork all over Europe and even represented Cyprus at the 21st Biennale of Alexandria in 2001. Illustrator and text-based visual artist Lefki Savvidou (b. 1990) is also producing interesting work on the island and exhibiting work in Cyprus and abroad—belonging to a younger generation. Several other female artists choose not to make public their lesbian identities and though there are various self-confessed queer female artists who are especially bold in their art like Despina Michaelidou and Krista Papista (the latter lives in London and is half Greek-Cypriot and half-Australian), nonetheless, they are not lesbian.

⁴⁹ In the song 'Take Your Time Little One', 'the both of us' is expressed using the feminine plural in Greek. Noteworthy is Kyriakou's use of grammar throughout her work. Note for instance in the song 'Mistress of Mine' where she turns herself into a 'singular'. According to Alison Rooke, 'The lesbian habitus is a matter of practices, embodied acts, drives, and desires, an underlying embodied *grammar*' (emphasis added). See Rooke, 'Navigating Embodied Lesbian Cultural Space: Toward a Lesbian Habitus', 246.

Stay' («Μήνες Μείνε») that featured 12 pencil drawings, one for each month of the year, including an additional artwork for the cover. Subsequently, along with copies of the agenda, the original drawings created on white A4 paper were shown and sold at local photographer Elia Eliades' studio called Temporary Space on Aeschylou Street in Old Nicosia.⁵⁰

In this third solo exhibition, Kyriakou captures the everyday delights of her protagonists. A little boy licks his ice-cream cone in front of an ice-cream truck in 'June'. Another child carries its bag of beach toys, goggles, watermelon and caught crab on its shoulder by the seashore in 'September'. A woman drinks wine in front of a window overlooking the streets of Old Nicosia in 'November'. A figure places a log of wood in the fireplace in 'December'.

In certain drawings, the everyday takes an unexpected form. In 'February', a dog's image sleeping on a plush cushion is reflected in a teabag. In 'April', a pair of feet in bunny slippers peek out underneath a kitchen table. A traditional Greek Easter bread, a drinking glass, and a lit candle rest on the table, while a spoon balancing an egg hovers above alongside two butterflies. The drawings are whimsical, creating games and new possibilities with their surroundings: packaging a sleeping pet into a tea bag to drink; turning two simple household objects, that of an egg and a spoon into an egg-spoon race. This space is that of a thirsty and hungry self for life.

Especially noteworthy is the congregation of solitary young children in Kyriakou's work. In *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive*, Lee Edelman puts forward that the image of the child, the hope for the future, perpetuates reproductive futurism. Edelman describes reproductive futurism as a 'teleological determination,' a fantasy that temporalises the desire for completeness in the future.⁵¹ He argues that the repetitive conjuring of the child image depicts 'the fetishistic fixation of heteronormativity.'⁵² Heteronormativity, being the futuristic identity of 'the social order,'⁵³ resists any disturbance to its goal of achieving fullness, unlike queerness which disturbs heteronormative identity⁵⁴ by 'nam[ing] the side of those not "fighting for the children"'.⁵⁵ He most famously and controversially has written:

⁵⁰ Eliades often rented out his studio space to other artists.

⁵¹ Edelman, *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 9.

⁵² Edelman, *No Future*, 21.

⁵³ Edelman, *No Future*, 25.

⁵⁴ Edelman, *No Future*, 17.

⁵⁵ Edelman, *No Future*, 3.

Fuck the social order and the Child in whose name we're collectively terrorized; fuck Annie; fuck the waif from *Les Mis*; fuck the poor, innocent kid on the Net; fuck Laws both with capital Ls and with small; fuck the whole network of Symbolic relations and the future that serves as its prop.⁵⁶

One might argue that Kyriakou upholds a heteronormative understanding of the optimism symbolised by the child but in contrast to Edelman's Child that is symbolic of reproductive futurism, Kyriakou's images seem to question the privileging of the family unit. Like the majority of Kyriakou's adult figures, Kyriakou's children are unaccompanied and self-governing with no clear connection to a family unit. They are masters of themselves and of their own futures.

For example, 'March' features a child in a cape sitting on a branch of a blossoming tree and looking forward, with its back facing the viewer in a hilly landscape (Figure 1). There are stitches outlining the tree, flower and hills of the scene, making it look like the space is in the process of being sewn together with a needle and thread. This is a space of becoming. It is a space of creation or reparation. It appears as a productive rather than reproductive space. It is also a space of regeneration born out of domestic creativity and well-being. Admittedly, it is unclear who is doing the stitching; the child itself, a parental figure, a higher power or the artist. However, this ambiguity may suggest that they are all one and the same in this scene. Despite the landscape being an outdoors space, this is also a safe space as seen by the silky thread encasing the scene in a protective cocoon on the top left of the drawing. But perhaps it is because this is an outdoors space that the protective cocoon features as necessary for the safety of the child. Unlike heteronormativity's focus on family protection, the drawing of 'March' queers this protection, creating a protective social fabric for the child out of the domestic but apart from the family unit. Hence, the heteronormative space of family and domesticity are queered. One may go as far as to argue that the child itself is queer. There is also no clear indication of the child's gender. Though unclear if the scene is a memory or a dream for the future, what is certainly clear is that the child gazes out solo toward new horizons, turning its back to any social order outside of itself as well as to the present and past. In its superperson cape, the child can do anything, such as climbing the tallest tree, all on its own.

The sole drawing that features a couple in this exhibition is 'August'. It depicts

⁵⁶ Edelman, *No Future*, 29.



Figure 1. Kyriakou, 'March' («Μάρτιος»), pencil on paper 21 x 29.7 cm, 2010 [with permission].

an embrace between a long-haired and short-haired individual. Behind and above the two lovers, a paper boat floats on a sea of curved spaghetti-like lines, which in turn flow into the short-haired individual's back. The paper boat also carries an open parachute from which stars are released and fall behind this individual. The couple form is here expressed, nonetheless, it is unclear if the figures are heterosexual. It is important to note too that the perspective of the drawing is not that of the couple but of an individual. The stars fall and the paper boat floats directly into one of the two individuals, signaling the erotic significance for this one of the two persons. That is, this is a love dreamscape of one person. The emphasis is on the experience of the short-haired individual burrowing his/her face and desire into his/her lover.

Moreover, Kyriakou's figures in 'Months Stay' («Μήνες Μείνε») express their own whimsies, pleasurable activities, and restful idleness, in what appears a contradictory state of solitary melancholy and promise. In 'January', a man, having entered in from the rain with a wet umbrella on the floor, lowers his head on his crossed arms at a coffee table and sleeps. The steam from his warm cup of tea or coffee permeates his ear, gently calling upon the man to wake up and enjoy his warm libation.⁵⁷ In 'May', a somber standing woman closes her eyes while a bird pulls a thread from her sweater's sleeve, undoing it. The bird at once destroys her sweater and ushers in a new season. In 'July', a man reclines with one foot over the other, sips a drink from a glass, with eyes closed, while taking a short break from his writing. He is in a posture of repose but also shows intellectual activity.

This contradictory air of melancholy filled with promise may perhaps best be understood as the interrelationship between lack and desire. Following Jacques Lacan's definition of constitutive lack, Mari Ruti notes that lack is what causes desire and what 'induces us to turn outward in pursuit of things that might add multidimensionality to our lives'.⁵⁸ She further explains: 'it is precisely the fact that we are lacking—that we are creatures of desire—that allows us to approach the world as a space of possibility'.⁵⁹ Ruti goes on to assert that there is 'a direct link between

⁵⁷ Musician Maria Panosian later acquired permission to use 'January' as the cover of her 2011 album 'Wet Floors' («Πατώματα Βρεγμένα»).

⁵⁸ M. Ruti, 'Why there is always a future in the future', *Angelaki*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (2008), 113-126, DOI: 10.1080/09697250802156109.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

lack and creativity, between the subject's self-alienation on the one hand and its capacity to generate imaginative ways of coping with this alienation on the other'.⁶⁰

Unlike Edelman's unconstructive, antisocial, and negative queerness, which rejects futurity, queerness in Kyriakou's work does see a future not necessarily connected with heteronormativity but championing the self. Kyriakou's space is one governed by the singular self's lack and desire, inactivity and possibility, collapse and rejuvenation. The pieces in 'Months Stay' («Μήνες Μείνε») pay tribute to 'an everyday filled with invention, creativity, humor, memory, and hope'.⁶¹ They attest to a 'rich, inner world'. Their protagonists cope, persist, dream, play and savour life in the here and now of their everyday despite difficulties. Held at a semi-circular, corner building with large glass windows in Old Nicosia, A Bookworm Publication's first official publication launch and Kyriakou's exhibition were a huge success. On opening night, journalists, writers and artists filled the inside and even spread outside mingling for hours under the street lamps. For the duration of the exhibition, the publishers made Temporary Space their working space (personal communication), lending the venue an air of the much-later-to-come trend in Nicosia: the pop-up shop. With the social but fleeting features of lesbian assembling, this space came to life for a brief period to honour the artist's seemingly simple but rich innermost world and to support her through the purchase of personal agendas.

'My Personal Persons' («Προσωπικά μου Πρόσωπα») at Is Not Gallery in 2011 and 2012

For her fourth exhibition 'My Personal Persons' («Προσωπικά μου Πρόσωπα»), Kyriakou expanded on her exploration of identity by turning her attention to portraits of friends, family, but also strangers in her milieu. Combining paper napkin and newspaper collages with acrylic, gouache, pencil and ink use on paper, Kyriakou created 18 portraits. The paintings were shown in December 2011 and January 2012 at Is Not Gallery, a spacious artist-run space within the walls of Old Nicosia that features Cypriot and European work. The pieces were placed in sequence, based on chromatic similarities, across the gallery's white walls.

The press release for the exhibition stated that 'Many small stories are recorded on the face, which either reveal or hide experiences from the everyday and beyond' («Στο πρόσωπο υπάρχουν καταγεγραμμένες πολλές μικρές ιστορίες, οι

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Rooke, 'Navigating Embodied Lesbian Cultural Space', 234.

οποίες φανερώνουν ή κρύβουν εμπειρίες και βιώματα από την καθημερινότητα και μη».⁶² Kyriakou expounded that ‘The lines on our faces are not random. While painting a portrait, I feel that I am painting that person’s soul’ («Οι γραμμές στο πρόσωπο του καθενός μας, δεν είναι τυχαίες. Όταν ζωγραφίζω ένα πορτρέτο, νιώθω πως ζωγραφίζω την ψυχή ενός ανθρώπου»). Kyriakou appears to be interested in honouring the essence of individuals, in exploring what is hidden from view and also what is faithful to the inner world of the individual.

For one, she tackles what she views as the essence of people close to her. For instance, in ‘Virginia Vulpes’, Kyriakou creates the portrait of her friend and music collaborator Elena Papaleontiou, adding a collage of a fox behind her,⁶³ thus drawing a parallel between the two. In ‘If So’ («Αν Είναι»), she portrays close friend Annie Damianou,⁶⁴ while in ‘She Still Is...’ («Ακόμα Είναι...»), Kyriakou presents singer Eftychia Alphas who she has been referring to as her ‘muse’ both privately and publicly for years.⁶⁵ In turn, in ‘The Invisible Man Everywhere’ («Ο Αόρατος Παντού»), Kyriakou depicts another friend, Christos Kyriakides.

Secondly, in terms of family, Kyriakou creates, only one portrait, that of her father. Titled ‘Before Kyriakos’ («Πριν τον Κυριάκο»), the portrait depicts the father young, before having had her and her older brother Kyriakos (personal communication). He faces the viewer with a hopeful determination in his eyes. A miniature collage of a man with a backpack and water bottle setting out on a voyage sits on her father’s left brow. A miniature flag is raised at the corner of his left eye. Another miniature person walks along the edge of her father’s collar. A pinwheel hangs from the opening of his shirt suggesting play but also a reliance on heading where the wind blows. Lastly, a cityscape with apartment buildings and high-rises is set in the background behind her father’s head but also snippets of this cityscape appear in his ears, sternum and chest. All these elements contribute to the hidden narra-

⁶² Is Not Gallery, ‘Charitini Kyriakou’ [Press Release], available at <http://www.isnotgallery.com/?p=934> (2011, December).

⁶³ In many of these works, like ‘Virginia Vulpes’, the background collages stick out from the rest of the piece signifying an excess, a surplus, or a remainder left over that is significant, visible and there to be accounted.

⁶⁴ Kyriakou makes a play on Annie Damianou’s first name with the title «Αν Είναι» (pronounced ‘Annie-neh’).

⁶⁵ Kyriakou has said that Alphas has been the inspiration behind many of her artworks and songs (personal communication).

tive, as told by Kyriakou (personal communication), of her father leaving his village Palaichori in order to move to the big city of Nicosia for work.

Thirdly, there are portraits of strangers to Kyriakou; some are famous and various are unknown. In 'There Once Was a Pianist with Big Ears' («Ήταν Ένας Πιανίστας με Μεγάλα Αυτιά»), Kyriakou displays French artist, writer, director, singer, and composer Serge Gainsbourg. In 'Death in Venice', Kyriakou takes inspiration from the same-titled 1971 Italian-French film and portrays the young boy Tadzio who is the love interest of the much older protagonist Gustav. Then, in 'A Case of You', Kyriakou presents Canadian folk singer-songwriter Joni Mitchell (Figure 2) who also happens to be viewed as an icon in the LGBTQI community. Perhaps Kyriakou identifies with the same-titled song sung by Mitchell, which includes the lyrics: 'Oh, I am a lonely painter/ I live in a box of paints/ I'm frightened by the devil/ And I'm drawn to those ones that ain't afraid'. A hat-wearing Mitchell faces the viewer with a somber, thoughtful look, while resting her head on the heel of her palm. The background is made of collaged paper napkins showing multi-coloured daisies in a green field. Part boredom, part daydream, part contemplation, Mitchell's demeanour suggests a melancholic or withdrawn artist but one existing in a landscape full of vitality, promise and creativity.

Other portraits include people whose faces Kyriakou admitted she was simply drawn to from old newspapers and films (personal communication). One such portrait based on a photograph from an old newspaper is titled 'Don't Travel in Other Lands' («Μην Πας Ταξίδι Σ' άλλους Τόπους»). The title for this portrait refers to a lyric from Manos Chatzidakis's song 'Come to Me' («Έλα σε Μένα»). The portrait shows a central female figure, a miniature suitcase on the bottom left corner, a miniature figure in an apron standing on the woman's right brow, a miniature headless figure with an umbrella peeking out from the collar of the woman's blouse, and a miniature bottom half of a woman dressed in a skirt and boots entering the woman's left ear. Kyriakou here clearly identifies with Chatzidakis' lyric 'don't travel in other lands' by including the miniature woman's body queerly penetrating the ear of the beloved as if to convince her to leave her suitcase and stay.

Moreover, on the one hand, Kyriakou's exhibition 'My Personal Persons' («Προσωπικά μου Πρόσωπα») creates a social network of family members, friends and strangers which is not unified by blood or national ties. The drawings bring together Cypriots and non-Cypriots, known and unknown persons. Queer individuals and icons, friends and strangers abound without making explicit hetero-



Figure 2. Kyriakou, 'A Case of You', paper napkin collage with acrylic, gouache, pencil and ink on paper, 75 x3 5cm, 2011 [with permission].

sexual figures in the work. Kyriakou's father is even shown apart from the heteronormative realm, as Kyriakou imagines him at a time before becoming a father, in this way undermining the weightiness of heteronormative reproduction. Like lesbian space which is a 'traveling party' of social connections, 'My Personal Persons' («Προσωπικά μου Πρόσωπα») is a constellation⁶⁶ of people. In other words, lesbian space appears as par excellence a pliable social space. As Lauren Berlant and Michael Warner argue 'The queer world is a space of entrances, exits, unsystematized lines of acquaintance, projected horizons, typifying examples, alternate routes, blockages, incommensurate geographies'.⁶⁷

On the other hand, according to Kyriakou, these persons meant something to her at the time, insofar as they made her feel something strongly. She has confessed that now she does not recall exactly where she first saw some of these faces (personal communication). Some, she found in newspapers whose countenance simply drew her attention and effected an emotional response in her. She has admitted that 'It is more that my personal issues emerged from their faces' («Πιο πολλά εφκαίναν τα δικά μου προσωπικά μέσα που τα πρόσωπα τους») (personal communication). That is, the personal in 'My Personal Persons' refers more to her personal matters that she uncovers in these other people. All in all, she suggests that for her, lesbian space is a safe space of exploration of self through meaningful, even if transient, others.

The space itself of Is Not Gallery attracted a similar multitude of loved ones, acquaintances, and strangers. In addition, showing portraits of a mixture of known and unknown figures seemed most appropriate for an established venue hosting the work of local and foreign artists and for Kyriakou to reveal the hidden in a more inclusive social network and to a larger public.

'Rooms' («Δωμάτια») at The Garage in 2016

Housed in a renovated building in the Old City, The Garage showed Kyriakou's fifth exhibition 'Rooms' («Δωμάτια»). The exhibition opened on 6 December 2016 and was attended by an intimate crowd of Kyriakou's friends and acquaintances including fellow artists. The exhibition focused on the themes of intimacy and mental

⁶⁶ I borrow the terms 'traveling party' and 'constellation' from Jen Jack Gieseke to talk about lesbian space that is fleeting but based on social connections. See Urban Omnibus, 'Constellating Queer Spaces', available at <https://urbanomnibus.net/2018/02/constellating-queer-spaces/> (2018, February 7).

⁶⁷ Berlant and Warner, 'Sex in Public,' 322.

well-being. The press release penned by Kyriakou's friend and curator Christos Kyriakides stated:

[...] Kyriakou, locks her self away from any earthly temptation, using isolation as a means of turning intensity into serenity. That's the space she creates in order to draw the ones she loves, the ones she falls in love with, when they are bored and when they lose sanity. Pieces of an old relationship or pieces of a new promise. Pieces that compose her. All together a puzzle of her won self. These are the forces driving her back home. In her drawing room she registers, archives and finally redefines her self.

Kyriakides draws attention to domestic space as a place of refuge, contemplation, memory, and personal transformation. Kyriakou locks herself up 'away from any earthly temptation' presumably found in the public sphere, she composes her erotic relations in private spaces, nonetheless, she makes these public, or rather, counterpublic, in her exhibition.

One might argue that Kyriakou here too seems to reproduce heteronormative logic by remaining 'in the closet' without making explicit homoeroticism and without orientating herself away from the home. Indeed, queers are generally more closeted in the small, close-knit and conservative community of the island. Still, domesticity for Kyriakou in this exhibition is once again not clearly defined by the heterosexual couple form but by her own personhood which is made and remade in 'pieces that compose her' including her same-sex affections and even her close connection with her pet Laki or her 'companion dog' as she has referred to him.⁶⁸

Arguably, there appears no radical sense of anti-normativity in Kyriakou's 'Rooms' («Δωμάτια»). Nonetheless, "radical anti-normativity" can undermine our experiences as "the average people that we also are".⁶⁹ Instead, Kyriakou paints portraits of herself dozing off in the living room armchair, resting on her bedroom floor with her dog companion (Figure 3), performing a handstand in her kitchen, sitting naked on the toilet. In her pencil drawings, Kyriakou's female figures for instance comb their hair, take a bath, or twirl in circles. Lauren Berlant and Michael Warner remind that 'To be against heteronormativity is not to be against norms. To be against the processes of normalization is not to be afraid of ordinariness'.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Kyriakou makes reference to her 'companion dog' in her biography included in M. Zackheos and K. Kattashis (eds), *From Cyprus With Love*, (Nicosia: Phaneromenis 70, 2016), 41.

⁶⁹ Berlant and Warner, 'Sex in Public', 321.

⁷⁰ Ibid.



Figure 3. Kyriakou, 'Noon in the Bedroom' («Μεσημέρι στο Δωμάτιο»), acrylic on wood gesso panel 60 x30 cm, 2016 [with permission].

In fact, the mundane of the everyday in Kyriakou's work strangely here features as exceptional. In her paintings, seemingly random white brushstrokes pirouette all over domestic scenes lending these a dreamy quality. Splashes of vibrant colours in the furnishings and in Kyriakou's attire break the monotony of the earthy tones on the walls, wooden flooring, bathroom tiles, and furniture. Though the drawings are seemingly simple in subject matter and there is a modest use of pencil on parchment paper, the female limbs curl in unusual and exaggerated positions yielding a soul-stirring effect.

Furthermore, Kyriakou's posing in the paintings is anything but ladylike. In 'Noon in the Bedroom' («Μεσημέρι στο Δωμάτιο»), she lies on the bedroom rug next to her dog with her forearms covering her face while her legs are crossed and rest on an unmade bed. In 'Douche', she sits on the toilet seat naked crouched over with elbows on her knees. In 'Evening in the Living Room' («Βράδυ στο Σαλόνι»), she slouches down in an armchair with her legs apart and her hair covering her face. Kyriakou's body thus assumes a lesbian habitus that rejects 'conventional "ladylike" demeanor'.⁷¹

While the women in the drawings from 'Rooms' («Δωμάτια») exhibit more of a

⁷¹ Rooke, 'Navigating Embodied Lesbian Cultural Space', 239.

feminine comportment, they often don transparent tops and are braless resisting norms of accepted public femininity but also present peculiar twists in their movement and curves of their limbs suggesting an otherworldly sensuality. In 'The First Meeting' («Η Γνωριμία») for instance, a woman sits on a barstool holding a flower between her fingertips in one hand, clasping a glass in the other, while bending her neck to the side as if in a day-dream with her eyes closed. The woman's tight bottoms bring attention to her genital area. Her long necklace rests on her see-through blouse emphasising her breasts. Her neck bends exceptionally far, with her ears almost coming parallel to the ground, exaggerating thus the length of her neck and consequently spotlighting this as an erogenous zone. The female figure's neck bends similarly in 'Day's Recurrence / Diary' («Η Επανάληψη της Μέρας / Ημερολόγιο»). This figure sits on a mat with a warm libation in front of her, arms across her chest and palms curved upwards with a pencil in one hand (Figure 4). Presumably, a self-portrait of the artist drawing her everyday reality in pencil, her upwards curved palms give the sense of holding it all together, that is, providing this female figure confidence, protection and comfort in her own home. She wears underpants and a long-sleeved shirt through which one of her breasts is shown. The steam from her warm cup travels upwards toward and past her genitals, drawing attention to these but perhaps also subtly suggesting a parallel between the vagina and this warm vessel of feel-good liquid. Moreover, Kyriakou accentuates feminine curves through her curved lines in her female figures' necks, knees and wrists showing that a woman's curves are not limited to the heterosexual realm's emphasis on breasts and buttocks. Specifically, lesbian eroticism attends to the micro.⁷²

Overall, the intimate, the small, and the local were highlighted in a gallery that is equally modest to the artwork. Arbitrary paint brushstrokes covering one of the main exhibition walls acted as the canvas on which Kyriakou's paintings were positioned, insinuating seamlessness between the exhibition content and the exhibition space. The exhibition space itself, with a façade reflecting that of other craftsman workshops and shops in the area, seamlessly blended into the rest of the Taktakalas neighbourhood in Old Nicosia.

The Garage is an open-plan, cement-built space but the subtlety, intimacy and domesticity in this particular body of work may be said to have transformed it into a more private and warm environment. The work is certainly subtle but still queer

⁷² Another case in point are Kyriakou's miniature clay figurines of 2017.



Figure 4. Kyriakou, 'Day's Recurrence / Diary' («Η Επανάληψη της Μέρας / Ημερολόγιο»), pencil on paper, 31 x 44 cm, 2016 [with permission].

in its exaltation of physicality and repose as well as its explicit tackling of domestic space as a place of collectedness in the absence of the family and the heterosexual couple form.

‘Desire’s Erebus’ («Του Πόθου το Ερεβώδες») at Is Not Gallery in 2018

In November 2018, Kyriakou returned at Is Not Gallery for her sixth exhibition. The selection of the venue was made due to its esteemed reputation but also due to its spaciousness and ability to accommodate all 19 paintings of this exhibition on the walls with ease (personal communication). The dark paintings against the gallery’s stark white walls were striking to say the least. This is certainly the darkest, in terms of colour, set of works by Kyriakou, and unexpected from her previous playful use of cool and warm tones. The bold content matter was even more striking.

Kyriakou has explained that the title of her sixth exhibition ‘Desire’s Erebus’ («Του Πόθου το Ερεβώδες») alludes to the dark in which desire resides. Identifying with and adopting Greek poet Kiki Dimoula’s idea that ‘[desire] lives in the dark’, («ζει στα σκοτεινά, έτσι είπε η Κική Δημουλά σε μια συνέντευξη και το έκλεψα γιατί ταυτίστηκα»), Kyriakou further explicated her intentions in the following poem: ‘dangerously beautiful/ always mutual/ and immature / in the dark, Eros/ walks’ («επίφοβα ωραίος/ πάντοτε αμοιβαίος/ κι ανώριμος/ στα σκοτεινά ο έρως/ περπατεί»).

The Erebus of the exhibition title refers to the ancient Greek god of darkness, shadows, caves and caverns who is the offspring of Chaos. Through Erebus’s queer union with his sister Nyx/Night, it is said that Aether and Day were brought forth. Accordingly, Kyriakou’s 19 paintings in this exhibition play with the intermingling of light and dark. She has explained that her process consisted of first painting the canvases dark and then moving on to add light colours.

Activities such as lying on the bed reading a book, drying one’s hair in a towel after a shower, shaving one’s legs in the bathtub, cooking in the kitchen, doing a handstand against a wall, and dozing off naked in an armchair may be considered unremarkable subjects but they are certainly erotically-charged in the sense that they convey an ode to the female body and female subjectivity. They also reveal a glimpse into the everyday realities of a lesbian sensibility that remains hidden from public view.

The moment of dressing on the bed—crouched over topless, underwear raised above the ankles—features in ‘Preparation / Getting Dressed’ («Ετοιμασία / Έν-

δωση»). Here attention is drawn to the white sheets of the bed, the light seeping in through the blinds and the contours of the female body, which stand in stark contrast to the dark room. The same bedroom setting features in 'Nude Starlight / Stripping' («Γυμνοστέριασμα / Έκδυση») with a bottomless seated female figure raising a blouse over her head. The spotlight here is on the breasts, ribs, abdomen, pubic hair, thighs and knees.

Overall, Kyriakou's paintings in 'Desire's Erebus' («Του Πόθου το Ερεβώδες») defy heterosexual porn's emphasis on the anus and vagina⁷³ and privilege instead the erogenous zones of the breasts, nipples, and vulva including the labia—and presumably the unseen G-spot and clitoris. The painting 'Glass Glare' («Αντικαθρέφτισμα») features a woman from the chin down donning a necklace, squatting on a dark tile floor, with hands holding her knees open, elbows kept high at a 90 degree angle, while her breasts rest on a glass table upon which an African mask is also placed (Figure 5). The woman's shadowy silhouette contrasts with the white stucco wall behind her. The breasts and upper torso are reflected in the glass glare.

Perhaps the most graphic of Kyriakou's paintings is 'Day-Sun-Amber / Fossilised Image' («Μέρα-Ήλιος-Κεχριμπάρι / Απολιθωμένη Μορφή»). A naked woman casually squats on a tile floor with her knees open exposing her labia. The woman is painted from the neck down. One elbow is placed on one knee while the other rests on the other knee with the palm facing down. The breasts feature on the top centre of the canvas with one obscured by a shadow while the other is revealed clearly in the light. The open knees span the full length of the 70 x 29 cm painting displaying the female genitals below. The reflection on the tile floor shows the bottoms of the feet and buttocks. Thin pencil-like lines of contrasting light and dark colours encircle and cover the female silhouette lending this bubble image a fossilised tree resin appearance,⁷⁴ as the title of the piece suggests, that preserves the female body, uncensored, through time.

The rear view of the female figure kneeling on all fours in 'Backwards Per-version / Blindness / Calling' («Δια-στροφή Προς τα Πίσω / Τύφλωση / Κάλεσμα») spotlights not the anus, as in heterosexual porn, but instead reveals a striking red vulva. Against a blue wall is the shadow of the female figure's breasts and nipples. There hangs a camera too signaling the significance of the gaze, in this instance that

⁷³ Hammers, 'Space, Agency, and the Transfiguring of Lesbian/Queer Desire', 767.

⁷⁴ For more on amber, see K. Gammon, 'The Human Cost of Amber', *The Atlantic* (online) (2019, August 2).

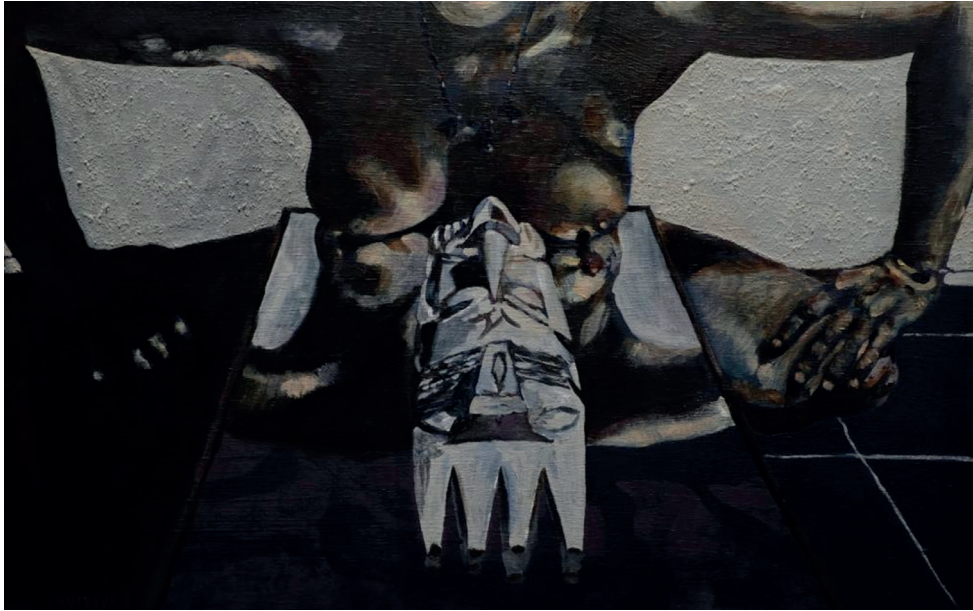


Figure 5. Kyriakou, 'Glass Glare' («Αντικαθρέφτισμα»), acrylic on wood gesso panel 47 x32 cm, 2018 [with permission].

of the lesbian. The tile floor is bare except for the presence of a single open book. On the one hand, this literally signals the casual everyday reality. On the other, the open book may metaphorically signify the freedom from concealment.

Noteworthy is Kyriakou's process in 'Desire's Erebus' («Του Πόθου το Ερεβώδες») of first photographing poses and scenes before painting them (personal communication). The staging of the photographs agrees also with a purposeful emphasis on performativity in these works. For instance, seated on a traditional Cypriot wooden chair with legs open, the female nude figure in 'Inwards Per-version / Friction / Role Liquefaction' («Δια-στροφή Προς τα Μέσα / Τριβή / Υγροποίηση Ρόλου») conceals her face holding an African mask with one hand and masturbating with the other as the toes tense upwards in a state of arousal. In the painting 'Libra / Weighing' («Ζυγός / Ζύγισμα»), two facing traditional Cypriot wooden chairs are stacked with books upon which a naked female figure balances her weight. The woman pulls her knees up to her chest while still revealing large parts of her breasts and her vulva. These are depictions of a performative existence. The mask seductively hides the face but allows the wearer to assume an alternate identity for the purpose of performance. Similarly, the 'embodied expression[s] of lesbian identi-

ty⁷⁵ in these paintings are pleasurable ‘performative acts’⁷⁶ themselves, in Judith Butler’s sense of performative gender, constructed to appear distinct regarding a lesbian sensibility. Ultimately, it is ‘these appearances [that] produc[e] the space as lesbian’.⁷⁷ As Rooke explains, the queer body ‘is a site of an incorporated understanding, an aesthetic display of this knowledgeable corporeality, and as such it is a way in which identity is constituted as it sediments on the body’.⁷⁸

It would not be an exaggeration to argue that showing such uncensored—for Kyriakou—erotic content at an established place like Is Not Gallery may be Kyriakou’s official ‘coming out’ as a visual artist. The darkness of the paintings, almost irreverent, against the gallery’s white walls attest to a wild desire finally unmasked. The characteristic emphasis on the everyday domestic sphere in Kyriakou’s work is still there, though this time it is under bright lights.

Conclusion

Studying how queer subjects inhabit space both sexually and spatially can lead to a better understanding of both queer desire and use of space but additionally, examining how queer subjects reside in space on the local level can further contribute to conversations concerning globalisation and metronormativity. Referring to the cherishing of queers living more carefree lives in metropolitan areas like London or Vancouver, metronormativity holds an underestimation of queers living a ‘sad and lonely’ existence in small towns.⁷⁹

Though not a metropolis, Nicosia is the capital and island’s cultural hub. Geographically and historically, the city has in turn been a cultural hybrid. Today, with people from all over the world calling Nicosia ‘home’, it is extraordinarily multicultural. It is also a post/colonial city, half under Turkish occupation. Both cosmopolitan and small, Nicosia can be said to occupy the in-between position of a non/metropolis,⁸⁰ complicating binary understandings of the local/global and urban/rural sexual logics.

Surely, by virtue of inhabiting a small and highly conservative place, radically

⁷⁵ Rooke, ‘Navigating Embodied Lesbian Cultural Space: Toward a Lesbian Habitus’, 239.

⁷⁶ Rooke, ‘Navigating Embodied Lesbian Cultural Space: Toward a Lesbian Habitus’, 244.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place*, 36.

⁸⁰ For an extended discussion on Nicosia’s non/metropolitan position, see Zackheos and Philippou, ‘Nicosia’s Queer Art Subculture: Outside and Inside Formal Institutions’.



Figure 6. Kyriakou, 'Backwards Per-version / Blindness / Calling'
(«Δια-στροφή Προς τα Πίσω / Τύφλωση / Κάλεσμα»),
acrylic on wood gesso panel 31.7 x 45.7 cm, 2018 [with permission].

explicit or 'out' work may not be an option for queer artists in Cyprus, like it is in the metropolis of New York City, given that Cypriot artists must preserve their own safety. Nonetheless, as seen through the case of Kyriakou, the impetus to produce queer work that challenges normative notions is very much alive, even when expressed on a more subtle or micro level.

Local spatial elements are very much preserved in Kyriakou's work such as her inclusion of traditional Cypriot chairs and the characteristic architecture of Old Nicosia. Nonetheless, she does not hesitate to cross national boundaries by including portraits of key figures from abroad and embracing foreign artefacts like African ceremonial masks.

Lastly, Kyriakou's choice to show her work in low-key places like Temporary Space and The Garage can be said to be non/metropolitan by virtue of being small but also by virtue of having the features of lesbian assembling abroad too. In other words, 'a global gay model is always interacting with other, often non-metropoli-

tan sexual economies'.⁸¹ Kyriakou's 'Months Stay' («Μήνες Μείνε») and 'Rooms' («Δωμάτια») are private but also of the (queer) world. They rid the everyday and the domestic from a strictly heteronormative association, exalting delight, creativity, safety and inner peace. As for the exhibitions held at Is Not Gallery, 'My Personal Persons' («Προσωπικά μου Πρόσωπα») and 'Desire's Erebus' («Του Πόθου το Ερεβώδες»), the former brings together a local and global social network, while the latter can be said to place localised lesbian sensuality within a global framework of lesbian desire.

To conclude, Kyriakou inhabits a lesbian space that is non/metropolitan, follows queer understandings of time, gathers intimate social relations, as well as safeguards the private, the domestic, the everyday and her inner world. Here she comes to terms with her own identity, worldview, and desires. Just 'as queer theories suggest, subjectivity is a process of ongoing personal construction rather than a point of arrival', in each exhibition Kyriakou makes and remakes subjectivity through a 'located engagement'⁸² in which the performative work of the body plays a central role in working toward stabilising a lesbian identity. After all, the body itself is a home for subjectivity.⁸³ It is 'a surface of social and cultural inscription'; it is 'a site of pleasure and pain'; it is 'public and private'; it 'has a permeable boundary', and it is 'material, discursive, and psychical'.⁸⁴ As such, it is as feminist poet Adrienne Rich has described: 'the geography closest in'.⁸⁵ For Kyriakou, lesbian space is a safe but subversive space where the boundaries of heteronormativity and its expected performative acts can be transgressed, precisely through the body, ultimately showing that bodies shape space as much as our surroundings shape our selves.

⁸¹ Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place*, 38.

⁸² Rooke, 'Navigating Embodied Lesbian Cultural Space', 236.

⁸³ L. Johnston and R. Longhurst, *Space, Place, and Sex: Geographies of Sexualities*. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers (Why of Where), 2010), 11.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ Johnston and Longhurst, *Space, Place, and Sex*, 21.

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Republic of Cyprus: A Right to (Gender) Equality?

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Abstract

*The right to equality is a tool, which enables citizens to seek change within their legal system from the bottom-up. Using this right, to prompt constitutional review of legislative provisions and governmental practices, opens up an invaluable dialogue between citizens, government and the court. This dialogue may, in turn, lead to the invalidation of such provisions and practices, replacing them with new more equal versions. As such, the right to equality has historically been pivotal to the restructuring of gender relations within society. Within the Republic of Cyprus, though, while the legislator continuously differentiates his treatment according to gender, a precedent of the Supreme Court, formulated in the case of *Dias United* (1996), has barred this right from activating. This has granted the legislator the ability to 'legally' infringe upon constitutionally guaranteed rights and perpetuate a patriarchal social structure; leading to arbitrary results.*

Keywords: Right to equality, art. 28, gender equality, *Dias United*, case of *Vrountou v Cyprus*

Introduction: Gender and the Right to Equality

In the structuring of gender social relations, equality has been set as the goal.² However, gender equality has not always been the position that humans strived for. The history of law and societies teach us that the division of social positions, and the structure of power relations, were deeply affected by the concept of gender. From its genesis, law and society made a strong division between genders – and almost always awarded political power, and the strongest social positions, to only one gender. The trend was, of course, patriarchal;³ although there have been some notable matriarchal communities.⁴

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² Gender equality has been set as the 5th goal in the UN sustainable development goals, see <https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/gender-equality/> (last accessed July 2020).

³ Henry Summer Maine, *Ancient Law: Its Connection With The Early History Of Society And Its Relation To Modern Ideas* (London: John Murray, 1861).

⁴ Bronislaw Malinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (London: Keagan Paul, 1926).

From this perspective, gender equality in a timeless manner is not a concept which describes, the structure of human societies or their political views. Rather gender equality is an ideal which summarises a recent political direction that societies internationally decided they should follow in the course of their growth. That is where we should locate the concept of gender equality: in the self-conscious efforts of humans, as political beings, to guide the change and the evolution of their societies into better versions of themselves.

Furthermore, this change/evolution does not happen in a vacuum, and unrestrained; it is however facilitated through, and controlled by, law. As such, law is not merely an organised system which actualises, reflects and stabilises the political ideals of each society, it is also a primary engine which facilitates change within the practices of each community.⁵ For this reason, law provides tools⁶ (frequently in the form of rights) which are meant to empower citizens to seek change within their community, by invalidating certain of its practices and, in extension, nudging the legislator to create new practices, and updating the social structure.

Such tools are usually negating in nature. While they are meant to represent future aspiring plans and social arrangements, these are never fully spelled out, and the guiding function of these tools remains limited. Instead, these tools become more adapt in invalidating (or negating) current practices and social arrangements as outdated, while allowing discretion (usually) to the legislator(s) to decide which new practices/arrangements shall take their place.

In the efforts to achieve greater gender equality, perhaps the most critical legal tool is found in the right to equality (also often styled as protection from/prohibition of discrimination⁷ or a right to non-discrimination⁸). In the same vein, while the right to equality represents some ideal future structure or ordering that society should follow, this is done in a vague and uncertain manner. What is required exact-

⁵ For a view of law being an engine for change in society see Maine (no 2).

⁶ For a theory of rights as tools used to facilitate change organically from the bottom up see most notably Friedrich Hayek, *Law, Legislation and Liberty: A New Statement of The Liberal Principles Of Justice And Political Economy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973-79).

⁷ See, for example, Article 14 of the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (signed 4 November 1950, entered into force 3 September 1953), CETS No. 5, 213 UNTS 221.

⁸ See, for example, Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights in Cooperation with the International Bar Association, *Human Rights in the Administration of Justice: A Manual on Human Rights for Judges Prosecutors and Lawyers* (2003) available at <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/training9Titleen.pdf> (last accessed 23 September 2020) at chapter 13.

ly by the concept of equality (or protection from discrimination) is highly debated, and not abundantly clear.⁹

From this perspective, this right is more successful in empowering citizens to initiate review of the constitutionality of current practices. While, what ‘equality’ exactly requires is not clear, the constitutional review of practice(s) can be complex; the right functions best in these limited domains where specific practises are put under examination.¹⁰ If successful, then the right invalidates the practice and initiates a process of replacing the practice with a new one. Each invalidation and replacement count as a step forward in meeting the obligations set by this right to a higher degree.

This overall spirit is enshrined most accurately in the wording of Protocol no. 12 to the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms: ‘Having regard to the fundamental principle according to which all persons are equal before the law and are entitled to the equal protection of the law;

Being resolved to take further steps to promote the equality of all persons through the collective enforcement of a general prohibition of discrimination by means of the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms signed at Rome on 4 November 1950 (hereinafter referred to as “the Convention”);

Reaffirming that the principle of nondiscrimination does not prevent States parties from taking measures in order to promote full and effective equality...’.¹¹

Naturally, article 1 of Protocol no. 12 addresses the general prohibition of discrimination. This article builds upon the article 14 of the convention by reaffirming its content and adding an extending second paragraph. The concept of gender (or sex) is of course included in paragraph 1, however the content of paragraph 2 will have a significant role to play in the forthcoming discussion. Both paragraph 1 and 2 of article 1 of Protocol no. 12 run as follows:

⁹ For an interesting overview of the theoretical/philosophical debates that surround the concept of equality see the introductory discussions in Ronald Dworkin, *Sovereign Virtue – The Theory and Practice of Equality* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002).

¹⁰ For a comparative discussion of the successes, and complications involved, in the process of asserting the right to equality to invalidate state practices see Guy Lurie, ‘Proportionality and The Right to Equality’ (2020) 21 *German Law Journal* 174.

¹¹ See, Protocol no. 12 to the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (signed 4 November 2000) available at https://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/Convention_ENG.pdf (last accessed 23 September 2020).

‘1. The enjoyment of any right set forth by law shall be secured without discrimination on any ground such as sex, race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, association with a national minority, property, birth or other status.

2. No one shall be discriminated against by any public authority on any ground such as those mentioned in paragraph 1.’¹²

As such, paragraph 1 designates the concept of gender (or sex) as grounds upon which discrimination is not permitted, and paragraph 2 makes explicit the fact that public authorities in particular are prohibited from establishing practices, which entail gender discrimination. Concerning the Cypriot legal system, it is worth mentioning that both of these protections, more or less, are enshrined within article 28 of the Cypriot constitution. More specifically, art. 28(2) designates gender (or sex) a ground upon which no discrimination is permitted, while art. 28(1) roughly translates into:

‘Everyone is equal before the law, the government (or public administration) and justice, and is entitled to the same protection and treatment.’

Furthermore, it should be noted that the right to equality (or the principle of equality as is often styled in Greek) has an added protection and its own article in the administrative law. More specifically, art.38 of the legislation on the General Principles of Administrative Law¹³ states:

‘(1) The principle of citizens’ equality imposes upon the administration, during the exercise of its discretion, equal or homogenous treatment of all citizens that function under the same or similar circumstances. [...]

(3) The equal treatment of unequal things is equality unacceptable as the unequal treatment of equal things.’

While the concept of gender is admittedly not explicitly mentioned, this article, as well as the whole domain of administrative law, builds upon the already existing provisions of the constitution. From this perspective, formally the right to equality is protected in the Cypriot constitution more or less in the same way as in the European Convention on Human Rights. However, the real question, and the question the present paper shall examine, is: ‘how does this right function in practice within

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ο περί Γενικών Αρχών του Διοικητικού Δικαίου Νόμος του 1999 (Ν.158(Ι)/1999).

the Cypriot legal system’? And more particularly: ‘How does it contribute, or fails to contribute, in the change or evolution of the Cypriot legal system into a version of itself which attains higher degrees of gender equality’?

As such, section 2 examines a defining, for the right to equality, precedent of the Cypriot Supreme Court: the judgment of *Dias United Publishing Co. Ltd. v. Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας*, προσφ. αρ. 870/91, 05/12/1996. Section 3 provides an overview of how this precedent affected administrative cases involving gender equality and claims that public authorities differentiated their treatment of citizens upon gender grounds – as well as the reply given by the European Court of Human Rights, in *Case of Vrontou v. Cyprus*,¹⁴ where the *Dias United* standard was challenged. Section 4 closes off with a reassessment and some final thoughts.

The *Dias United* Judgment¹⁵

At the outset it is important to note that the *Dias United* case does not touch upon matters of gender equality. Rather, this judgment formed a precedent which defined the stance of Cypriot courts whenever cases would arise which relied on the right to equality (art. 28 of the Cypriot constitution). In turn, this precedent affected subsequent cases which addressed matters of gender equality and relied upon art. 28. However, let us take things one step at a time.

The facts of the *Dias United* case are simple. Legislation¹⁶ was passed which criminalised the organisation of lotteries (art.10) while allowing for certain exceptions (art.11). Subsequently, this legislation was amended¹⁷ to include within the exceptions (art.11) ‘any lottery organised by and on behalf of the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation (RIK) for the purposes of its radio or television shows, with the permission of the minister of finance’.

The applicants, Radio Proto (a private station), made a request to the minister of finance for permission to organise lotteries. A reason they cited for this request (as written in the judgment) was in order to combat the financial situation/problem

¹⁴ *Vrontou v Cyprus* App no 33631/06 (ECtHR, 13 October 15).

¹⁵ Part(s) of the forthcoming discussion have already appeared in a shorter, and reformulated through a different context, blog post; see Andreas Hadjigeorgiou, ‘The Phenomenon of *Arnisidikia* in the Precedent of *Dias United* – A Threat To The Cypriot Rule of Law’ (*The Rule of Law Monitoring Mechanism*, 14 July 2020) available at <https://lawblog.uclancyprus.ac.cy/the-phenomenon-of-arnisidikia-in-the-precedent-of-dias-united-a-threat-to-the-cypriot-rule-of-law/> (last accessed 23 September 2020).

¹⁶ Ο περί Λαχείων Νόμος Κεφ. 74.

¹⁷ Ο περί Λαχείων (Τροποποιητικός) Νόμος του 1986 (Ν.71/86).

that was produced by the continuous unfair competition (or monopoly) by RIK. The minister, in denying the request, noted that the law did not vest him with the authority to grant such a licence. As a result, the applicants filed a case under administrative law, which was taken on to be decided by the supreme court directly.

The applicants (Radio Proto) sought the judicial annulment of the minister's decision not to grant them the licence they requested. Their argument was that his decision, as well as the underpinning legislation, violated the principle of equality (art. 28 of the Cypriot constitution) since it grants selectively/arbitrarily the right to organise lotteries only to RIK and no other station. The counsel for the government (which represented the minister in court), noting RIK's public and non-profit character, claimed that this distinction was justified and thus is not violating any constitutional rights.

It should be noted that this argument clearly provides a valid ground for the court to conclude that since the two subjects (RIK and Radio Proto/the applicants) were not of the same nature and, thus not equal, there is no obligation that the administration (or the law) treats them equally. The court, though, failed to agree with either side, as it altogether refused to assess the constitutionality of the decision, and the law itself. The legal reasoning developed by the court is perplexing. The best one can make of this reasoning is as follows:

1. The claim of the applicants was initiated by their request for a licence to organise lotteries.
2. Any judgment finding that the law (which the decision was based upon) constitutionally violates the principle of equality (art. 28) would have no practical impact towards the fulfilment of the request for such a licence, because:
 - a. In order for such a licence to be granted, legislated legal provisions need to be in place.
 - b. The verdict that the law (or certain of its provisions) is unconstitutional would invalidate the law (or the relevant provisions), and there would be no legal rules for the government to apply when re-examining the applicants request for such a licence.
 - c. Due to the constitutionally structured separation of powers, this absence of legal provision(s) cannot be filled or supplemented with a judicial decision, contrary the legislator's wishes.
3. It is a legal principle that the court only assesses the issue of constitutionality where it is practically relevant to resolving the case at hand.

4. Thus, since the claim of the applicants cannot succeed, assessing the constitutionality, or otherwise, of the law (or certain of its provisions) would be merely of a theoretical or academic nature, with no practical relevance or impact towards the fulfilment of the original request (for a licence to organise lotteries), and the court is thus barred from examining it.

From this perspective, the court concluded:

‘Thus, since it would not be possible, even if the law was declared unconstitutional, for the case to succeed, we are not permitted [or justified] to prompt constitutional review. Such an endeavour would be academic and not in line with our crystallised precedents, according to which the supreme court reviews the unconstitutionality of a law only where it is necessary for solving the matter under review.’ (p.558)

There are many things one could point out and enquire about this judgment and its legal justification. Is the understanding of the separation of powers it purports correct, or did the court fail to understand the place it occupies within this separation? Does this stance of the supreme court correlate with the values enshrined in the ideals of the rule of law? Did the court perhaps fail to understand properly the applicant’s claim? Does the court overestimate the vested interest an applicant should have in order to be entitled to seek constitutional review? Or does the court perhaps, underestimate the impact a judicial declaration of a law as unconstitutional will have for an applicant and the society as a whole?

However, while an examination of the legal basis of this judgment is a tempting endeavour,¹⁸ the present paper is more interested to explore its result. That is, analyse the effect it has upon those legal claims that seek to prompt judicial review of the constitutionality of a law by relying on art.28 of the Cypriot constitution, the right to equality, generally. In turn, the next section will focus on how this precedent has affected cases of gender inequality which sought to prove a violation of art.28.

In short, in the *Dias United* judgement the Cypriot supreme court found itself barred, by its own customary rules, principles and precedents, to assess the constitutionality of laws and legal provisions – at least insofar as the right to equality is concerned. Furthermore, in a common law system, such as the Cypriot one, judgments of the supreme court form binding precedents that guide and, to an extent, control the collective decisions and stances of the Cypriot courts. From this per-

¹⁸ This endeavour has, to an extent, been taken on in Hadjigeorgiou (no 14).

spective, the crystallisation of the *Dias United* judgment into a precedent has the effect of blocking Cypriot courts from reviewing the constitutionality of laws and legal provisions generally whenever art.28, the right to equality, is relied upon – at least in the last 20 years.

Let us take an example: *Gonul Ertalu v. Υπουργείου Οικονομικών* 4 Α.Α.Δ. 429 in 2008. The applicants were residents of the Turkish-occupied area of Cyprus and they challenged an administrative decision denying them a college/university grant which were given to those who have their permanent residence in the areas controlled by the Republic of Cyprus. Their claim was that the law which this decision was based upon, was unconstitutional because it violated art.28, the right to equality. This was so because the law allowed eligibility only to those who resided in the areas controlled by the Republic of Cyprus, against those who resided in the areas under Turkish military occupation.

According to their claim, this was unequal treatment, favouring only one portion of the Cypriot population, and thus unconstitutional. The court, though, made an interesting observation. Borrowing from *Birinci v. Δημοκρατίας*, it noted that this was due to the fact that only the former group pays taxes, and this grant was given to families in lieu of tax returns/deductions. Admittedly, this observation gave strong grounds to the court, both in *Gonul Ertalu* and in *Birinci*, which enabled it the possibility to conclude that this differentiated treatment was justified and thus, constitutional.

Nevertheless, the court did not proceed to assess the issue of constitutionality; instead, it cited *Dias United* and declared that ‘in light of this precedent the case cannot succeed’. The same scenario repeated in *Gonul Ertalu v. Υπουργείου Οικονομικών* 3 Α.Α.Δ in 2011 with the same applicants. The same resulted in *Κωνσταντίνου κ.ά. v. Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας* (2007) 3 Α.Α.Δ. 267, where a violation of art.28 was alleged due to the differentiated retirement age that was set for employees in the public sector according to the date they completed their 61st year of birth. The court cited *Dias United* and declared that ‘in light of this precedent the case cannot succeed’.

The *Dias United* ‘loophole’ entails that virtually any to date applicant lacked a necessary vested interest that would enable the courts to prompt constitutional review of a law (or certain of its provisions) in relation to art.28. Such a declaratory decision, on the unconstitutionality of a law, would become the first in a chain of events which would eventually create the circumstances for the original request to be

decided upon on constitutional provisions. While it would momentarily leave no legal provision(s) for the re-examination of the applicants' request for a licence, the government's lack of response would violate a constitutional obligation to examine and respond to any requests under law within a certain timeframe. Thereafter, for every day the government fails to respond, was in violation of constitutional obligations, something which incurs costs, if the applicant resorts to the administrative court.

From there, legal, moral, and political pressure are inevitably exerted upon the legislature to act and produce a new law, or new provisions, which will abide by the constitution, or at least they could be re-assessed by the court. In this way, this right becomes an invaluable tool which constitutes citizens as active participants in the evolution of their civilization, by empowering them to seek a more equally structured society and place their current governmental practices under critical review. A tool that the *Dias United* precedent blocks from activating.

Furthermore, the inability of Cypriot courts to enter into a constitutional examination of a law, by hearing both sides (that of the citizens and that of the government), prevents a critical public debate from taking place. Citizens have no possibility nor place to be heard. What's more, by not succeeding to allow this debate to unfold and by failing to critically and in a justified manner, choose a side, courts prevent the right to equality from crystallising a form, and a content capable of, not only neutralising practices, but also guiding us in their creation.

After all, the courts' decisions on which practices count, and which do not, as a violation of art. 28, ultimately work together to create publicly visible standards, which work together with this right. As such, the right to equality, when coupled together with an interconnected collection of judicial decisions which examine the substance of the claims made, can guide society in a way that the right on its own, as is formally enshrined in the constitution, cannot. Furthermore, the courts' decisions surrounding the right to equality give it a more public expression that can be scrutinised by the people.

Lastly, this refusal to assess constitutionality –this *arnisidikia*¹⁹– inevitably grants the legislator immunity from a rule of constitutional law and enables the government to infringe upon constitutional rights while at the same time acting according to the law, and in this sense legally – after all there is a judicially established presumption that laws are constitutional until declared otherwise by a court (see

¹⁹ Ibid.

The Board for the Registration of Architects and Civil Engineers v. Christodoulos Kyriakides, (1966) 3 C.L.R. 640).

Furthermore, the public and systematic manner through which the courts announce their inability to examine such claims communicates a clear message to the Cypriot legislator: 'feel free to disregard art.28 of the Constitution'. It should come as no surprise that the legislator listened, and this came to affect greatly the treatment genders received in the Republic of Cyprus.

***Dias United* and Gender Equality in the Republic of Cyprus**

The *Dias United* precedent in effect neutralises art.28, the right to equality, from activating – in this sense, it is a trump card, a loophole. According to the Supreme Court's rationalisation, applicants lack a vested interest, necessary to enable the court to prompt a constitutional review. This precedent, in turn, came to predetermine the course of certain clusters of cases, which sought to prove unequal treatment of genders. While the *Dias United* precedent does not only affect cases of gender equality, the cases that involve gender have an interesting twist.

In most of the cases we have already examined, before the court found itself unable to prompt constitutional review by citing the *Dias* precedent, it noted certain factors that could have given it valid grounds to conclude where there was no violation of art.28. In *Gonul Ertalu and Birinci*, for example, the court noted how the college/university grant in question was given to citizens in lieu of tax deductions/returns. Since the applicants, residents of the Turkish-occupied area of Cyprus, do not pay taxes to the Republic of Cyprus, nor do they reside in areas controlled by it, the differentiated treatment could be justified.

In the *Dias United* judgment itself, the public character of the RIK station, in contrast to the privately owned Radio Proto station, which applied for the same licence, could have in the same way provided valid grounds for the court to conclude that the unequal treatment was justified upon this differentiation of their nature. However, as we will shortly see, in the cases that involve unequal treatment of genders the court either failed to note any factors that could justify this differentiation, or it provided reasons to believe that if it had entered into a constitutional review of the law, it would have found a violation of art.28.

The cases we shall examine fall in three thematic categories. The first category of cases revolve around the criteria under which widows and widowers are allowed survivor's pensions. In the second cluster, cases challenge the attribution of certain

benefits to the children (during the Turkish invasion) of Cypriot displaced males, in contrast to the children of their female counterparts. While the third category entails cases which seek to scrutinise the reduced military service which children of Cypriot fathers and foreign mothers receive, against children of Cypriot mothers and foreign fathers.

Survivor's Pension

The first cluster of cases – *Κώστας Λοΐζου ν Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας*²⁰ and *Λοΐζος Λοΐζίδης ν Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας*²¹ both in 2004, sought judicial review of the constitutionality of the legal provisions which set the criteria under which male and female citizens receive survivor's pension.²² The challenged administrative decisions denied both applicants survivor's pensions because they did not fulfil the criteria. Their claim was that this decision violated the principle of equality because the law was based upon different criteria provided for widows and widowers – a discrimination based upon gender.

According to the admittedly gender-differentiated legislative provisions²³ in question (which remained the same until August 2019), survivor's pension is paid to:

‘(1) Widow, who, at the time of her husband's death, was residing with him or she was maintained exclusively or primarily by him, is entitled to survivor's pension [...]

(2) Widower, who, at the time of his wife's death, was declared permanently incapacitated to self-support himself and was maintained exclusively or primarily by her, is entitled to survivor's pension [...]’²⁴.

A mere glimpse at this article reveals a clear differentiation in the way husbands and wives (in a heterosexual marriage)²⁵ are treated by the Cypriot legal system in the event of their spouse's death. Further, married women are put in a much more privileged and protected position. Married men on the other hand are left with very little protection and security. While women qualify merely by having resided with

²⁰ 4 Α.Α.Δ. 717, ημερ. 13/11/2004.

²¹ Υποθ. Αρ. 559/2002, ημερ. 5/3/2004.

²² Survivor's pension is the pension paid by the state to the legal spouse of a deceased citizen who paid insurance contributions.

²³ See art. 39 του περί Κοινωνικών Ασφαλίσεων Νόμου του 1980, (Ν. 41/80) όπως τροποποιήθηκε.

²⁴ The rest of the criteria, (α) and (β), are the same for both widows and widowers.

²⁵ From the wording of the provisions homosexual couples are excluded from a survivor's pension altogether.

their husband during his death or having been maintained by him; men have to have been declared incapacitated to support themselves and maintained by their wife.

From this perspective, men qualify only if they were severely dependent upon their wives; but women qualify merely by residing with their husbands. The lawyer representing the government argued that this distinction was justified, without violating constitutional rights, because it was based upon the different social positions men and women occupy within society. The court replied: ‘I don’t believe that today, in the 21st century, the argument that distinctions within the law based solely upon gender could easily be justified for social reasons’. This is a critical sign that the court remained unconvinced by this argument, and that it adheres to a greater level of gender equality than the one the government proposes.

This argument definitely provided a valid ground enabling the court to annul the decision and declare the law (or its provisions) unconstitutional. Nevertheless, while it seemed for a second that the court was willing to prompt an open discussion about gender equality and the social standards that should be fitted under art.28, the court refused to once more altogether constitutionality asses . It was quick to cite that *Dias United*, in light of this precedent in the case, cannot succeed, while without providing any further legal reasoning or explanation.

These judgments are a critical blow towards movements of gender equality in Cyprus and this practice systematically disfavours the male gender. Belgium, for example, which originally reserved the right for survivor’s pension to only widows, in 1984 changed its provisions to also include widowers.²⁶ While Cyprus came to replace the aforementioned legislation with a new one,²⁷ this gender-motivated differentiation remained the same. It was only in August 2019²⁸ that a new provision was created which extended the same criteria to widows and widowers. This change seems to be a recognition by the legislator of the illegality of their previous unequal treatment.

Nevertheless, the criteria that applied only to widows, apply also to widowers only insofar as their wife died after 1 January, 2018. This means that there is a number of widowers still alive today that are denied equal treatment. In reality, there are still a number of cases within this cluster pending at the administrative

²⁶ See <https://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=1102&langId=en&intPageId=4421> (last accessed July 2020).

²⁷ See Ο περί Κοινωνικών Ασφαλίσεων Νόμου του 2010 (Ν.59(I)/2010).

²⁸ See Ο περί Κοινωνικών Ασφαλίσεων (Τροποποιητικός) Νόμος του 2019.

and supreme court. As such, the fight for gender equality in the practice of awarding survivor's pensions is still ongoing despite the momentary win of August 2019.

Refugee Cards

The second cluster of cases – *Ευαγγελία Τσιάκκα κ.α. ν Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας*²⁹ in 2007, *Άννα Γιαγκώζη ν Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας*³⁰ in 2006 and the infamous case of *Μαρία Βρούντου ν. Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας*³¹ in 2006 – challenged the constitutionality of an administrative decision which denied their application for a refugee card. According to the Cypriot legal system, those who were displaced from the Northern to the Southern part of the Republic of Cyprus, during or after the Turkish invasion of 1974, are referred to as refugees. The relevant legal provisions³² that the administrative decision was based upon, stated that:

‘The children whose father is displaced are considered to have their permanent residence in the occupied areas and, as such, for the purposes of this law, are recognised as displaced from the same place their father was resident.’

The applicants, in all cases were displaced mother and her daughter who claimed that this provision violates art.28 since it recognises (or awards) displaced status to the children of displaced fathers but not displaced mothers. This is, of course, a differentiated treatment motivated solely by gender. Why should displaced fathers be entitled to claim recognition of the displaced status of their children and not displaced mothers? It should be noted that being recognised as displaced enables one to request a refugee card which entitles the holder to a number of schemes, such as financial aid, scholarships, free education, medical treatment, housing assistance, and help in the form of clothing and footwear.

Neither the court, nor the counsel for the democracy, could provide one credible argument to suggest that this differentiation could be justified. On the contrary, in the first instance judgment of *Άννα Γιαγκώζη*³³ the court noted that on a theoretical level there can be no doubt that there should be equal treatment between the children of female and male displaced persons. In the *Μαρία Βρούντου* case, on the other hand, the supreme court, in its judgment notes how the counsel for the

²⁹ 4 Α.Α.Δ. 869.

³⁰ 3 Α.Α.Δ. 85.

³¹ 3 Α.Α.Δ. 78.

³² See art.119 περί Αρχείου Πληθυσμού Νόμου (Ν. 141(I)/2002) και Τροποποιήσεων.

³³ 4 Α.Α.Δ. 405.

democracy agreed that this differentiated treatment entails unfair discrimination against the applicants.

Nevertheless, in all these cases the court followed the same drill; it cited *Dias* and concluded that ‘in light of this precedent the case cannot succeed’. The court though did take notice of the fact that if it were to enlarge the scope of this entitlement to include also children of female displaced applicants then this would inevitably create an increase in the budget of the State – since the granting of a refugee card, as noted above, entails certain economic benefits. From there it observed that, according to the constitution, not even the parliament has the power to propose on its own an increase of the state budget, let alone the supreme court.

This is to an extent a credible argument and it is a characteristic of the Cypriot legal system that deserves more research. However, as already mentioned, the applicants in these cases did not request that the court accepts their original applications for whatever benefit. Rather, they merely asked the court to annul the decisions for their applications because the findings, and the laws they were based on, violate constitutional rights.

Nevertheless, *Μαρία Βρούντου* did not accept this result and, unlike all other applicants in the cases we have examined, she submitted this judgment to the European Court of Human Right (ECHR) for review. This was the first, and only time the *Dias United* precedent was put under review by a non-Cypriot court. The side of the government, as recorded in the *Case of Vrountou v. Cyprus* (Application no. 33631/06, 13/10/15), sought to justify this differentiated treatment of genders with the following story – which deserves to be quoted at full length:

‘The economic effects of displacement were far more acute for the children of male displaced persons who would bear the responsibility for their children’s upbringing and education, and for providing them with financial assistance in their adult lives. On the other hand, the children of female displaced persons would not be financially dependent on their mothers: when those women married, their children would be provided for by their non-displaced father who had not suffered the financial effects of displacement. Moreover, it had been necessary for the State to give priority to persons most in need, taking into account the availability of funds for catering for the variety of needs of those affected by the Turkish invasion.’

This is a textbook example of a patriarchal justification for differentiated gender treatment; however, it is shocking to see the government of a European State

providing such justifications in the 21st century. In this story the children of male displaced persons, as well as the displaced male population itself, require more help, than their female counterpart, because the men, as the breadwinners of every family, are more disadvantaged. On the contrary, female displaced persons, as well as their children, can easily escape the negative results by marrying someone to take care of them.

Men on the other hand need more support because they will be the supporters of their families. Under no circumstances, does the government think it appropriate to empower displaced mothers to begin their own life anew and escape the consequences of the invasion, and subsequent military occupation, through their own efforts – without having to necessarily rely on a male spouse for survival. The ECHR's reply to these arguments was swift:

[...] this is precisely the kind of reference to “traditions, general assumptions or prevailing social attitudes” which provides insufficient justification for a difference in treatment on grounds of sex because it derives entirely from the man's primordial role and woman's secondary role in the family. [...] even if that reflected the general nature of economic life in rural Cyprus in 1974, it did not justify regarding all displaced men as breadwinners and all displaced women as incapable of fulfilling that role once displaced from the Northern to the Southern part of the Republic. Nor could it justify subsequently depriving the children of displaced women of the benefits to which the children of displaced men were entitled. This is particularly so when many of the benefits that the children of displaced men were entitled, including housing assistance, were without any reference to a means test. [...] There is accordingly no objective and reasonable justification for this difference in treatment.'

The ECHR accordingly found a violation of art. 14 (prohibition of discrimination/ right to equality) taken in conjunction with Article 1 of Protocol No.1 (protection of property). Coming to the *Dias United* precedent, though, the ECHR had something further to say:

[In the present case the Cypriot Supreme Court] found itself unable to consider the merits of the applicant's discrimination claim and thus unable to grant her appropriate relief. The Court readily understands the supreme court's concern to ensure proper respect for the separation of powers under the constitution of Cyprus and it is not the court's place to question the supreme court's interpretation and application of that principle. However, the consequence of

the supreme court's approach was that, in so far as the applicant's convention complaints were concerned, recourse to the supreme court was not an effective remedy for her. Since the government have not submitted that any other effective remedy existed in Cyprus at the material time to allow the applicant to challenge the discriminatory nature of the refugee card scheme, it follows that there has been a violation of Article 13 of the Convention.'

From this perspective, the court rightly found a violation of art. 13 – that is, the right to an effective remedy. After all, the refusal put forward by the Cypriot courts, through the *Dias United* precedent, denies applicants even the possibility of a legal remedy as they fail to enter into a constitutional examination altogether. This might seem like it should be the 'happy ending' of the story, but this is not quite true. While the ECHR found a violation of art. 13, it did not go far enough.

More specifically, it did not note how that effective remedy should come from the courts regardless of any formal legislative change in the Cypriot legal system. While concerns for the separation of powers are valid, they cannot continue to assert this precedent, and they cannot continue to deny exercising their power, and obligation, to guard the constitution and constitutionally review (wherever necessary) laws. As such, despite a momentary loss in the *Vrountou* case, the *Dias United* precedent continues to live on. Which brings us to the last cluster of cases.

Reduced Military Service

The third cluster of cases – *Μιχάλης Ιωάννου ν Υπουργείου Άμυνας της Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας*³⁴ in 2008 and the more recent *Καλακούτης ν. Κυπριακή Δημοκρατία*³⁵ in 2019 – challenged the reduced military service that children of Cypriot mothers and foreign fathers are legislative³⁶ entitled, unlike the children of Cypriot fathers and foreign mothers. It should be noted that reduced military service was six months, while the normal length is 25 months is a substantial difference.

The court failed again to note any facts or arguments that could justify this differential treatment between the two groups. On the contrary, as expected, the court cited *Dias United*, followed by 'in light of this precedent the case cannot succeed'. However, what is of particular interest is that the *Καλακούτης* judgment was issued after the conviction by the ECHR in the *Vrountou* case. That is, the supreme court

³⁴ 4 Α.Α.Δ. 597.

³⁵ Αναθεωρητική Έφεση 151/2013, ημερ. 10/12/2019

³⁶ See Ο περί Εθνικής Φρουράς Νόμος.

has continued to assert this precedent even after Cyprus was found to be in violation of art. 13 of the convention, the right to an effective remedy.

Of course, the applicant's lawyer did mention the ECHR conviction and generally the *Vrountou* case, citing them as a reason to prompt the supreme court to diverge from its settled customary practices. In a confusing turn of events, the supreme court noted that it fails to see a relation between the *Vrountou* and the *Καλακούτης* cases. According to the court's view the former dealt with refugee cards, while the latter with reduced military service.

While the supreme court did in length quote the passage by the ECHR judgment (quoted above) which concludes that there was a violation of art. 13 – it quickly concluded, that the aforementioned decision (of the ECHR in *Vrountou*) does not affect the correctness of the first instance decision (which relied on the *Dias United* precedent). In this way, a tradition that begun with the *Dias United* judgment continues unobstructedly to exist and exert influence in the Cypriot legal system, neutralising the activation of art.28, perpetuating unequal treatment based upon gender, and other unconstitutional distinctions.

Conclusion: Gender Equality in the Republic of Cyprus

Reaching the end of our examination and having collected a considerable number of cases showing administrative practices and the way they perceive structure and regulate gender relations in Cyprus, we can now look back and draw some conclusions out of our analysis. More specifically three concluding questions shall be posed: 1) How are gender relations legally structured in Cyprus and at what level is gender equality showcased? 2) How does art.28 of the constitution, the right to equality (or prohibition of discrimination), contributes (or fails to contribute) to the development of equality in Cypriot gender relations? In addition, does it meaningfully empower citizens to seek change? 3) What can we do to help?

Concerning the first question, we can, to an extent, say something about the level of gender equality in Cyprus by looking at the legal system, the practices it adheres and the way it distributes social benefits. Looking more specifically at the three clusters of cases that we have examined, we can determinately conclude that there is a deep differentiation between the way genders are treated and the social positions they are allocated. More specifically, we have seen how women are portrayed as the weaker gender, unable to support themselves or their children on their own; ultimately, a dependent upon her male partner and in need of support from him.

In turn, men are portrayed as the stronger gender, the bread winners, those who (should) take on the whole weight of the family, by supporting themselves, their wives, and their children. What should be noted is that this kind of patriarchal stereotype does not necessarily always benefit the male gender, even if they are portrayed as more socially integral for the family. On the contrary, this kind of story actually leads to arbitrary distinctions, which may benefit either of the genders, but rarely both of them.

Thus, from the cases we have explored, we have seen how when it comes to a survivor's pension, married women are assumed to be dependent upon, and supported by, their spouse and they qualify merely by living with him at the time of his death. Married men, on the other hand, who are assumed to be the supporters of the family, would have to prove that they were declared by the State as incapacitated and that their spouse was (financially) maintaining them. So, in this practice, men are actually put in the disadvantaged position. Because men are seen to be the stronger gender, and as supporters, they are less likely to receive support from the State for their own needs.

On the other hand, when it comes to the refugee cards, the opposite outcome was promoted. Exactly because displaced females were seen as less likely to utilise property or finances to build something capable of supporting children and a whole family, they were left out from this collection of benefits. The government, as it was argued in the *Vrountou* case, believed that women would escape the effects of being displaced merely by marrying someone to support them and, as such, their children needed less support from the State. Their children would just be supported by, and inherit from, their father.

Displaced males, on the other hand, were portrayed as more disadvantaged by the effects of displacement, since they found themselves without a financial capital capable of supporting their future wives and families. In this way, the children of male displaced persons received a line of benefits that the children of female displaced person did not. From this perspective, we can conclude that the level of gender equality in Cyprus is quite low and, from what the government argued in the *Vrountou* case, the administration of Cyprus does not seem to be aiming for gender equality at all.

This result in part can be attributed to the *Dias United* precedent and the treatment art.28 has been receiving in Cyprus; which brings us to our second question. As was already explicated, societies do not begin with gender equality, they slowly

develop to achieve it every time to a greater degree. Many times, this development is initiated from the bottom-up, starting from the citizens. Legally speaking, this usually happens by asserting the violation of constitutional rights; and, when it comes to gender equality, art.28 the right to equality or prohibition of discrimination is the most crucial tool.

The *Dias* precedent, though, prevents art.28 from activating; and this right has thus failed to contribute to the development of gender equality in Cyprus for at least the last 20 years. In this way, efforts for gender equality in Cyprus have lost one of their most, if not the most important tool at its disposal. Without art.28, there are very few, if any, avenues left within the Cypriot legal system that a victim of gender discrimination could follow. The applicants in the cases we have examined have certainly failed to find another avenue, and most of them, until today, were left without an effective remedy.

Only in the case of *Vrontou* was the applicant compensated, although she had to file a complaint with the ECHR – something that the rest of the applicants did not, unfortunately, do. The fact remains that even after the ECHR conviction, the Supreme Court continues to assert the *Dias* precedent which again leaves us at a dead end. While this conviction is a valid reason for the court to depart from its precedents, the Supreme Court in *Καλακούτης* failed to see a relation between the *Vrontou* conviction and every other case that asserts the *Dias* precedent.

And this brings us to the third and last question: ‘what can we do about it?’. Well, legally speaking, there is not much that can be done. Constitutionally guaranteed rights, such as the right to equality, together with the separation of powers³⁷ are meant to perhaps ensure the only safe and unbiased legal avenue for citizens to seek change in their legal system. The neutralisation of this right, by the *Dias* precedent, in effect blocks this avenue; and the courts are denying an obligation they have *qua* the position they occupy within the separation of powers.³⁸

As such, it is the primary obligation of these separated powers, and above all the legislative and judicial branches, to do something about this. The courts should either change their stance by diverging from their precedent, or the legislator should create a change in the structure of the Cypriot legal system. The Cypriot lawyers, though, should continue to fiercely assert art.28 without regard to the *Dias* pre-

³⁷ This has been examined in Hadjigeorgiou (no 14).

³⁸ *Ibid.*

edent – as they do – but they should also take on the responsibility of filing yet another complaint at the ECHR.

The fact that the rationale of this precedent has already been examined and was found to be a violation of art.13 and entails that whichever judgment, which asserts the *Dias* precedent, and taken to the ECHR will necessarily come out victorious, where Cyprus is in a clear breach of judgment. The fact that, till today, the supreme court judgments that have asserted the *Dias* precedent, after the *Vrountou* conviction, have not been submitted for examination at the ECHR is truly unfortunate; however, this might be attributed to the little attention this precedent, and cases of gender equality, have received legally and academically.

From this perspective, while the present examination raises certain red flags around the way genders are treated by the Cypriot legal system, it also identifies a clear problem and a solution. The *Dias United* precedent takes out of the fight the issue of gender equality, the most powerful legal weapon, and citizens are left without an effective remedy to the discriminatory treatment they receive due to their gender. The solution is in itself simple, yet difficult to achieve.

The *Dias United* precedent is a systemic problem of the internal, procedural rules, which enable the supreme court to function and exercise constitutional review. This is a fault, not of society *per se*, but of the Cypriot legal system. A fault, which, nevertheless, creates problems within society and allows problems within society to remain unaddressed. As long as this precedent is allowed to roam freely, uncritiqued and unchallenged, the legislator will continue to treat genders arbitrarily, as she/he sees fit, regardless of whether this entails an equal or differentiated treatment.

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**BOOK
REVIEWS**

Securitization and Desecuritization Processes in Protracted Conflicts: The Case of Cyprus

CONSTANTINOS ADAMIDES

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pp. xxiii + 196

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This book is a very welcome contribution to first, the literature on the Cyprus conflict, and second, to the security studies literature and specifically, securitization. More broadly, it offers a sophisticated and novel understanding of how in situations of protracted conflict, in this case non-violent, perceived threats can be routinely securitized with the inevitable consequence that negative perceptions of the ‘enemy other’ are habitually reiterated and reinforced and the conflict rather than being resolved, is perpetuated. Conversely, the book also explores how horizontal and bottom-up securitization processes create an environment where conflict fatigue can lead to de-escalation and desecuritization attempts by elites and the multiple audiences involved, even if those very same groups, very often, hinder the realization of such efforts in practice.

The central theoretical claim of the book relates to securitization theory, and specifically the further deepening and development of the concept of institutionalised securitization. To this end, the main assertion in the book is that it goes beyond the notions of routine securitization, persistence of threats and the urgency this brings with it associated with the Copenhagen School, to capture ‘instances where the entire process of securitization, including the referent objects, the source of threat, and the intersubjective process between actors and audiences, evolve into a state of permanency becoming inevitably part of the society’s political and social routines.’ (p. ix). Indeed, such a claim is central to the core argument of the book, that routinized and institutionalised processes of securitization can emerge from top-down, ad hoc elite-driven processes under certain conditions, creating new modes of securitization that are involuntary, horizontal and bottom-up in nature.

To this end, and to articulate the above argument, the author separates the book in to 7 chapters and an Introduction. Chapters one to four seek to set the theoretical (securitization, chapters 1 and 4), conceptual (the characteristics of protracted conflicts, chapter 2) and empirical (historical) context (the Cyprus case, chapter 3),

whilst chapters five and six offer a rich empirical analysis of the modes of securitization (chapter 5) and desecuritization (chapter 6) observable within the protracted Cyprus conflict. Particularly interesting from a conflict resolution perspective is the discussion of ontological security in chapter four; indeed, whilst the research agenda opened up by ontological security in the context of conflict is not the central focus or driving conceptual frame of the book, it is clear how such a research agenda can provide further added value in understanding the psycho-social spoilers and enablers in any given conflict situation where securitization and desecuritization dynamics are observable. The final chapter then offers thoughts on a more contemporary but, nevertheless, critical issue that has impacted on the securitization/desecuritization dynamics in the Cyprus conflict; that of the discovery of energy hydrocarbons.

There are several important implications that stem from the analysis offered in the book with regard to routine securitization and indeed achieving de-escalation and desecuritization in the case of Cyprus. There are also broader implications with regards to extending the research agenda further, in particular in relation to desecuritization processes, conflict transformation and ultimately the creation of ontologically secure, resilient and adaptive citizens in protracted conflicts that can facilitate the movement to sustainable solutions rather than further reinforcing and perpetuating negative identity perceptions and conflict. What the analysis in the book points to predominantly, in the case of Cyprus, is the 'stickiness' of routine and institutionalised securitization. Even, it seems, where top-down and bottom-up de-escalation and desecuritization efforts are observable through a focus on de-politicised and low-cost (political, economic and psychological) low-salience issues such as utilities and cultural heritage, the Cyprus case shows the difficulty of overcoming ingrained and embedded identity perceptions in relation to high-salience issues and thus in moving from an 'us' and 'them' narrative to a 'we' narrative. It also demonstrates how new issues such as energy (Hydrocarbons) can add to the existing stickiness of routinized and institutionalized securitization if not accompanied by the necessary changes in the broader conflict framing and framework.

This structure of the book offers a clear logic for the argument to unfold, but one aspect that would have been welcomed –and this is a minor quibble– is an overall Conclusion (and Concluding sections in the actual chapters). I agree with the author that the Concluding chapter should not simply 'focus on reiterating the main arguments of the book' (p.166) but a separate concluding chapter would have provided a platform through which to pull together the different elements and many valuable

insights of the book. This would have helped to further reinforce the central implications of the analysis offered with regards to the value of the theoretical contribution and the critical lessons and potential way forward with regards to desecuritization and sustainable solutions and peace in relation to the seemingly 'intractable' Cyprus conflict. Indeed, whilst the author does an excellent job of flagging the main implications throughout, this reader would have appreciated a consolidated final chapter offering reflections on the theoretical and empirical claims made and what this all means first, for the relevant literatures discussed in the context of the Cyprus conflict, second, the cooperation and convergence of the multiplicity of stakeholders often involved at different levels in conflict resolution and promoting peace in protracted (securitized) conflict environments, and finally, on the advancement of the research agenda relating to securitization, desecuritization and indeed ontological security in protracted conflicts in and beyond Cyprus.

Overall, this book offers critical insight on the conflict in Cyprus that will be of value to multiple audiences: students and scholars across the (sub) disciplines of (critical) security studies, peacebuilding, and conflict management and resolution that seek a deeper understanding of how conflict dynamics can be perpetuated through processes from above and below; and diplomats and the broader policy, civil society and NGO communities involved in negotiations and peacebuilding initiatives, that wish to further understand how, where and through which processes conflict dynamics are reinforced, and in turn, to think further about how targeted interventions can subsequently be constructed and implemented that enable desecuritization processes created from above and/or below to create sustainable 'we' dynamics and ultimately, more virtuous pathways to reconciliation and peaceful coexistence. This is no easy task in any conflict given their often complex, multi-level, multi-issue and multiple stakeholder nature. This contribution certainly provides an intellectual platform for a deeper understanding of the underlying conflict psychology and social and political dynamics and processes related to the protracted Cyprus conflict, but also of valuable lessons that can be learnt from this for conflict transformation and peacebuilding scholars more broadly in violent and non-violent conflict environments.

GEORGE CHRISTOU

***The United Party/‘Eniaion’ (Ενιαίον Κόμμα
Εθνικόφρονος Παρατάξεως. Στα σπάργανα της
σύγχρονης κυπριακής πολιτικής ζωής)***

MICHALIS STAVRI

Nicosia: Rizes Publications, 2019

pp. 291

ISBN: 9789963243426

This monograph by Michalis Stavri, a junior researcher, details the history of the Eniaion (loosely defined in an English translation as the ‘United Party’) is an excellent contribution, which covers a vacuum in the scientific study of the development of political life in the Republic of Cyprus.

As is well-known, other than AKEL, the communist party, there was a lack of political parties in the Greek-Cypriot community, following the 1960 Independence. The great majority of the representatives in the House of Representatives had been elected under the wider coalition of “Patriotic Front”, which, however, did not exist as a political party, but simply comprised of the various political forces that supported the first President of the Republic, Archbishop Makarios. The Patriotic Front comprised was heterogeneous, comprising EOKA fighters, right-wing, centrist or even leftist politicians, from the subsequent historical founder of the right-wing DISY (Democratic Rally) Glafcos Clerides to the subsequent historical founder of EDEK (Movement for Social Democracy) Vassos Lyssarides.

Whereas a number of well-researched academic studies have been undertaken for AKEL (see more recently Y. Katsourides, *The History of the Communist Party in Cyprus*, London: IB Tauris, 2014), this has not been the case for other political parties that defined the modern history of Cyprus. Other than the helpful general book by Soula Zavou, *Τα Πολιτικά Κόμματα της Κύπρου στον 20ο Αιώνα*, Λευκωσία: Επιφανίου, 2002), there has been a dearth of secondary sources assessing the contribution and ideology of the major political parties of the island. Indeed, there had been so far no specialized contribution regarding Eniaion and it is fortunate that Stavri’s book is both comprehensive and meticulously researched.

The author correctly notes that the study of the political history of a country cannot be completed without a proper examination of the activities of the political par-

ties. The Eniaion was founded by three of the leading personalities of the modern history of Cyprus: Glafcos Clerides, the historical leader of DISY (1976-1993) who served two terms as President of the Republic (1993-2003) and was the longest serving President of the House of Representatives (1960-1976); Tassos Papadopoulos, who was also President of the Republic (2003-2008), and President of the House of Representatives in 1976, as well as the second President of the centrist DIKO (Democratic Party) between 2000-2006; and Polycapros Georkadjis, the powerful first Minister of Interior of the Republic of Cyprus (1960-1968), who for four years was also the Minister of Defence (1968), before he was forced to resign because of the assistance he had offered to Alekos Panagoulis in his attempted assassination of dictator Georgios Papadopoulos of the Greek junta.

The monograph by Stavri is therefore detailing not only the history of one of the most historically significant political parties of Cyprus, but also of the political activity of three leading politicians of the island during between 1969-1976. The Eniaion was formed in 1969 and participated in the 1970 parliamentary elections securing a 15 out of the 35 Greek Cypriot seats in the House of Representatives. It had received more seats than any other political party in the 1970 parliamentary elections, because of the majoritarian electoral system that was in force, despite the fact that AKEL had received a largest share of the votes. It self-dissolved in 1976, when Clerides decided to form DISY and Tassos Papadopoulos eventually opted to not join the new political party and to remain independent.

Eniaion was unlike modern political parties. It mainly acted within the House of Representatives, without the wider political and social action normally associated with political parties of our era. I had partly assessed the role of Eniaion and its leading personalities within the House of Representatives in my book *Πορεία προς την Καταστροφή. Κοινοβουλευτική Ιστορία 1970-1976*, Αιγαίον, 2007. However, Stavri's book has a much wider framework of research, effectively assessing the totality of the history, ideology, work and acts of Eniaion. To achieve this he has relied not only on a comprehensive list of secondary sources, but also to sources such as archives, oral interviews and newspaper articles of the era. The material has been critically evaluated so as to assess the opposing interpretations, where such exist, in an objective manner, but also to enable the reader to appreciate the ideological underpinnings of a debate and to have an opportunity to form his/her own views. The book is not a narrative, but a well-researched historical analysis.

The book is split into five main parts, adopting a chronological analysis. The first

part serves as a historical introduction to the study by briefly analyzing the political participation during the British rule of Cyprus. The second part details the founding process of the Eniaion, including its founding conference, whereas the third assesses the ideological identity and political activity of the party, including the 1970 parliamentary elections. The fourth part elaborates on the parliamentary work of the Eniaion following the 1970 elections, and refers to specific important instances of parliamentary debates. The first part details the final years of the Eniaion, the coup d’etat and the Turkish invasion of 1974, and its aftermath that led to the gradual decision for self-dissolution of the party. The book includes an assessment of the relations of Eniaion with Makarios and with other political parties, the assassination of Georkadjis and the internal conflicts within the party and especially the relationship between Clerides and Papadopoulos. The book is highly recommended to all scholars of Cypriot history.

ACHILLES C. EMILIANIDES

Cyprus and the Roadmap for Peace: A Critical Interrogation of the Conflict

MICHALIS S. MICHAEL AND YUCEL VURAL (EDS.)

Cheltenham: Elgar, 2018

pp. XV + 273

ISBN: 9781786430489

Michael and Vural's edited volume represents an ambitious undertaking in terms of what it aims to contribute to the voluminous literature on the topic of the Cyprus conflict. It brings together academics, practitioners and decision-makers from both sides of the ethnic divide in order to shed new light on an old conversation. As the co-editors outline in their opening contribution to the volume, this innovation lies in the usage of Oliver Ramsbotham's (2010)¹ notion of agonistic dialogue, which is essentially the dialogical engagement of disparate – even opposing – sides to a conflict, as well as the inclusion of heretofore-marginalized groups such as settler, refugee and diasporic communities. The lofty stated goal of the book is to use this theoretical mechanism in order to provide answers to a series of overarching questions such as why has there been negligible progress in the intermittent process of negotiations, what can third parties contribute realistically to the process, and what does the future hold for the conflict and its participants, among others. The book's ultimate contribution has to be judged in juxtaposition to these stated aims.

Michael and Hadjipavlou's contribution on locating the conflict within the literature on conflict resolution is a highlight of the volume. It provides a very comprehensive overview of the literature on conflict resolution as well a historical timeline of the connection between the academic sphere and its application – both in terms of case study as well as on-the-ground implementation – to Cyprus. It should constitute required reading for anyone interest in the topic, as it presents not only a sobering analysis of the results of past attempts, as well as the potential for contribution in future attempts. If anything, in a self-deprecating act, the chapter does not cite sufficiently Hadjipavlou's² own contribution to the area.

¹ Oliver Ramsbotham, *Transforming Violent Conflict: Radical Disagreement, Dialogue and Survival* (Oxford: Routledge, 2010).

² See, inter alia, Maria Hadjipavlou, 'The Cyprus Conflict: Root Causes and Implications for Peacebuilding' (2007) 44(3) *Journal of Peace Research* 349-365; Maria Hadjipavlou-Trigeorgis and Lenos

Part II of the volume presents a review of Greek, Turkish, and Turkish Cypriot perspectives and approaches to the issue and it is here that the biggest shortcoming of the book becomes evident. With the exception of the chapter by Heraclides, which provides a number of preconditions and possible avenues for Greece's contribution to the resolution of the conflict, the other chapters do not attempt to address the major questions posed by the editors as the overarching aims of the entire project. Nevertheless, the remaining chapters are very well-written and do contribute to the literature despite this general shortcoming. Gunal provides a comprehensive and meticulously documented overview of the various sub-components of Turkish motivation for involvement in Cypriot affairs, and Moudouros analyses the evolving patterns of the Turkish geopolitical vision of Cyprus while including various possible Turkish contributions to a solution. The chapter by Vural, Sonan and Michael situates the Turkish Cypriot position within the potential for settlement while presenting the dilemmas faced by the ethnic community really well.

Part III presents a variety of new roles of and engagements with additional actors and stakeholders to the conflict. Ekenoglu and Loizides shed light on the issue of refugees and internal displacement in addition to two of the most understudied elements of the conflict with an in-depth treatment of the usually contentious issue of the post-1974 settler and immigration dynamics, and an emphasis of potential contribution to the settlement of the conflict by diasporic communities. The remaining chapters shift the focus to the prospects of engagement with external actors with two chapters focusing on the role of the United Nations (UN) and two on the European Union (EU). As with Part II, these chapters make interesting and valuable contributions to the literature on the topic, but do not engage with the project's stated aims in any systematic way with minor exceptions as indicated below. Sozen focuses mainly on the missed opportunity of the pursuit of confidence building measures as proposed in the 1990s; the author concludes with the presentation of a set of recommendations for better utilization of UN resources in the pursuit of a negotiated settlement to the conflict. Adamides and Kontos present Greek Cypriot perceptions of the UN and analyse the reasons for which they tend to gravitate towards skepticism, as well as the resulting preferences over various potential idealized forms of resolution to the conflict. A common issue with this approach is the conflation between preferences and outcomes that is by no means warranted by the strategic interaction among pri-

Trigeorgis, 'Cyprus: An Evolutionary Approach to Conflict Resolution' (1993) 37(2) *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 340-360.

mary actors. The chapters by Christou and Icener present respectively Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot perspectives on the role and influence of the EU on the conflict. Both present excellent historical overviews of the topic and a juxtaposition of the two contributions illustrates the disparity of perspective between the two ethnic communities on the role, the extent of influence, and the possibility of contributing towards reconciliation by the EU. At the same time, neither makes any concrete recommendations on harnessing the power of the EU in ways that will facilitate further convergence towards a mutually agreeable form of conflict resolution.

Parts IV and V are a distinct departure from the preceding character of the volume. In the two chapters of Part IV, the two editors present two binary strategy positions: Michael for the Greek Cypriots and Vural for the Turkish Cypriots in collaboration with Ozejder. Both chapters cover various possible approaches to the issues of transitioning to federalism, security and guarantees, settlers, territorial adjustments, property and refugees, restrictions on fundamental freedoms, and lastly, forms of power sharing in a federal framework of governance. While the listing of topics is fairly comprehensive, the coverage of each is restricted to a very concise – and conceptually narrow – definition of each position. While it is understandable that in-depth coverage of all of these aspects in terms of the possible options, the associated necessary constitutional provisions and their political ramifications would require massive additions to the edited volume, the mere listing of all these complicated and highly technical issues does not contribute to their understanding in any meaningful way.

Part V is both a very interesting inclusion in the book as well as a missed opportunity. In applying the aforementioned explanatory framework of agonistic dialogue, the editors have solicited reflections by some very important political actors including two leaders from each side. George Vassiliou and Demetris Christofias respectively served as Presidents of the Republic of Cyprus and chief negotiators to the peace talks between 1988-93 and 2008-13, while Mehmet Ali Talat and Dervis Eroglu led the Turkish Cypriot community and were likewise chief negotiators to the peace talks respectively between 2005-10 and 2010-15. Additionally, there are contributions by Yiannakis Omirou, the President of the Parliament of the Republic of Cyprus in 2011-16, and Turkish Cypriot journalist Aysu Basri Akter. In all cases, the contributions are structured as responses to the various elements of a possible political settlement presented in the two strategic position papers of Part IV. As a result, all contributions are very short (they vary in length between three and six pages), and do not usually present much if any justification for the position that is presented in each case.

Taking additionally into account that the political and ideological foundations of the authors – especially in the cases of the political leaders – are widely known, it is to be expected that there are no surprises in the positions that the authors advocate. As a result, there is no significant value added for those already familiar with the basic tenets that tend to characterize the dominant positions within the two communities. On the other hand, the combination of Parts IV and V can serve a quick and effective primer for new students of this research area. Ultimately, this more generally constitutes the contribution of the entire volume as it can serve as an excellent introduction to the topic both as a presentation of historical overviews of different aspects as well as a general statement on the positions of different actors and stakeholders.

ODYSSEAS CHRISTOU

Cyprus Before 1974: The Prelude to Crisis

MARILENA VARNAVA

London: I.B. Tauris, 2020

pp. 270

ISBN: 9781784539979

Cyprus' turbulent post-independence period is marked by inter- and intra-communal violence, intense (para)military activity, assassinations and assassination attempts of prominent political figures. All of the above culminated in Greek Junta's coup d'état and the subsequent Turkish invasion of July 1974. Dr Marilena Varnava's book focuses on this crucial period of the Cyprus problem (1964-1974), examining mainly the diplomatic developments of an era marked by a series of events whose consequences are still well tangible in the public conscience of Cypriots.

As a starting point, the author concentrates on Galo Plaza's mediation after the Turkish Cypriot reaction (December 1963) towards president Makarios' proposal for constitutional amendment. The tumultuous events that followed between 1964 and 1974 turned the island into "a simmering cauldron", as Varnava vividly describes. In an effort to ensure regional stability, as well as the peaceful and proper function of the bicomunal state inaugurated in August 1960, UN Security Council adopted the Resolution 186 (4 March 1964), which consists "one of the most important diplomatic victories for Greek-Cypriots" (p. 18). Moreover, in order to safeguard the island's security, the Organization decided to establish the United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP). Following the aforementioned Resolution, Galo Plaza arrived in Cyprus as the second UN Mediator (September 1964-March 1965), undertaking the task to find a solution to the Cyprus problem. The author provides a detailed analysis of Plaza's attempt, of the subsequent Greco-Turkish dialogue (1965-1967), and concludes with an examination of the Cyprus-based inter-communal negotiations of 1968-1974 and the failure of the interlocutors to reach an agreement.

Putting the subject in a wider perspective, Varnava's introduction offers an outline of several factors that formed the context of the Cyprus issue; i.e. Cold War rivalries, the island's colonial legacy and the contemporary decolonization wave, political/governance inexperience and pre-existing intercommunal mistrust. A brief yet comprehensive historical background of the island and the national movement of Greek Cypriots in contemporary times is also provided.

The first part of the book (chapters 1-4) examines the period from 1964 until 1967, whereas the second part (chapters 5-7) presents the aftermath of the bicomunal dispute of the said era until the Turkish invasion of 1974.

The first chapter examines the mediation of Galo Plaza (1964-1965) on behalf of the UN. Plaza's report was submitted on 26 March 1965 as a guideline for a settlement of the Cyprus problem. Despite Plaza urging for immediate negotiation between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, the gap between the two communities deepened, causing "a 'comfortable' impasse for both leaderships" (p. 23) which enhanced their separate socio-political evolution. As Varnava illustrates in this chapter, Plaza's strategy was to shift the epicenter of the negotiating attempts, rendering the issue as primarily of Cypriot interest rather than a Greco-Turkish affair.

The second chapter deals with the aftermath of Plaza's failure and the consolidation of the then status quo in the island. The determination of president Makarios to implement constitutional reformation, exploiting the UN Security Council's Resolution 186 for this cause, provoked immediate Turkish reaction. Hence, the Turkish Cypriot leadership set up the infrastructure of a de facto separate administration, whereas the Turkish population of the island was withdrawn in enclaves. At the same time, the Greek Cypriots governed and reorganized the Republic of Cyprus, founding new institutions and extending their authority on the state mechanism on the basis of the Doctrine of Necessity. Varnava illustrates how the alienation of the Turkish community from their Greek counterparts enhanced their dependency on Turkey, forging the latter's role as their motherland and protector: "After 1963 Turkish-Cypriots were totally dependent, both politically and economically, on Ankara, which provided them with at least the minimum resources needed to prevent their capitulation to Greek-Cypriots. By the same token, the official Turkish-Cypriot leadership came progressively 'dance to the tune' of Ankara" (p. 49).

The economic situation of the island between 1960-1967 is depicted in chapter three. Makarios used the economy as leverage in his pursuit of the Turkish Cypriot leadership capitulation. As already stated, Makarios' policy urged the self-isolated Turkish Cypriots to align themselves with Turkey. Varnava highlights the different financial status of the two communities, along with the divergent business paths they followed. As a result, an economic gap between Greek and Turkish Cypriots emerged throughout the 1960s (i.e. the era of Greek Cypriot community's rapid urbanization). It appears that the said economic inequality between the two main elements of the population induced Turkish Cypriots' mistrust and insecurity. Furthermore, financial

instability affected the island's economy on the whole, as the situation hindered international investments and the inhabitants were burdened by more taxes.

The first section of the book concludes with chapter four, which examines the diplomatic activity of 1965-1967. After Plaza's mediation failure, an intervention on behalf of the UN, UK, US and NATO attempted to secure that all interested parties would be engaged in a dialogue, in order to overcome the occurred diplomatic impasse. Varnava underlines the difficulties for such an initiative, due to the divergent perspectives of the two Cypriot communities' leadership. Subsequently, in May 1965, a direct negotiation between Greece and Turkey emerged as the proper way to surpass the stalemate, despite the apparent political dissidence between Makarios and the Greek government of the time. However, neither the Greco-Turkish process nor a new UN initiative resulted in deadlock resolution.

Because of this development (and after the November 1967 clash in the Kophinou/Ayios Theodoros area), a new process of inter-communal dialogue was launched. The fifth chapter regarding the November 1967 crisis and its immediate aftermath introduces the second part of the book. After the failure of the bilateral negotiations at Evros (September 1967) and the armed dispute of November, Greece opted to withdraw about 7.000 Greek troops, until then stationed in Cyprus, in order to avoid a direct clash with Turkey. This indicated the priorities of the military Government of Greece, namely the preservation of a peaceful relationship with its neighbour. The disengagement of the Greek regime from the Cyprus problem in the context of the aforementioned policy, facilitated the proceedings towards a direct dialogue between the two communities in Cyprus. The fifth chapter serves also as an introduction for the next two, as the author summarizes the objectives of the two sides in the then forthcoming process of inter-communal talks.

The last two chapters of the book, chapters six and seven, are dealing with the negotiations between Greek and Turkish Cypriot representatives, Glafkos Clerides and Rauf Denktash, during 1968-1971 and 1972-1974. In particular, the negotiation process commenced on 3 June 1968 and ended with the disastrous events of July 1974. After June 1972, an expanded round of negotiations began in the presence of the representatives of Greece and Turkey, as well as of the special representative of the UN Secretary General. In this part of the book Varnava presents in detail the proposals, objections and "red lines" of each side, and the internal situation in the concerned communities. What is worth to mention here is that Varnava presents a rather different image of Rauf Denktash than the one cultivated in the Greek Cypriots' con-

science. In spite of Denktash's reputation as intransigent and radical, in this section of the book the Turkish Cypriot interlocutor appears to be moderate and ready for concessions (at least during the first phase of the negotiations) but unable to proceed because of the reactions and disagreement of several hardliner politicians of his community. Finally, the author points to the impact of Panayiotis Pipinelis' intervention. The Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs exerted great influence over Clerides and had a vital role in the proceedings.

Besides the extensive use of secondary literature, the author utilizes a great number of archival sources to enrich her work and underpin her argumentation. British National Archives and State Archives in Nicosia, as well as US Department of States FRUS archival collection consist the backbone of her research, along with a thorough study of the Cypriot press.

The author proves to be a meticulous researcher, who does not merely track and connect the historical events, but also dares a direct interpretation in the context of domestic, regional, and international developments. Varnava's work sheds light in various aspects of the examined period. The book is insightful regarding the Cyprus' internal situation, the dominance of Makarios in the island's politics and his role in shaping the events, even emphasizing on his cabinet members' stance and influence. Furthermore, the relations between Athens and the Cyprus government, the several political crises in Greece, and the stance of the western world vis-à-vis the expectations and objectives of all the interested parties are in the epicenter of the research.

While the majority of Greek researchers tend to focus, for various reasons, on the developments and consequences of the Greek Cypriot side, Varnava offers sufficient analysis and sharp insight of the Turkish Cypriot attitude and viewpoint. As stated on the back cover of the book, the presented work is an "essential reading for all those who study the Cyprus problem and conflict resolution".

MICHALIS STAVRI

CALL FOR PAPERS

The Cyprus Review (Spring 2021)

The Cyprus Review invites submissions
for its upcoming 2021 Special Issue on

COVID-19 in Doctrinal Context: Analysing, Theorising, and Surpassing the Pandemic Crisis

Responding to the ongoing planetary crisis due to the spread of the COVID-19, *The Cyprus Review* opens the present call to all interested academics, scholars, and practitioners who are willing to contribute to the ongoing scientific debate about the foundational questions raised by the pandemic, the threats, challenges, and possibly opportunities created, and the doctrinal assessment of the systemic responses provided vis-à-vis this latest predicament.

The *Review* invites all interested authors to consider submitting original contributions primarily in the fields of International Relations, Politics, Social Welfare, History, Public Administration, Law, Sociology, Anthropology, Social Sciences, Economic, and Life and Health Sciences, critically approaching the pandemic crisis in theoretic or practical milieu. It should be pointed out that the contributions must be, at the broadest possible sense, pertinent to Cyprus in order to be considered for publication.

Following below is a highly indicative list of topics:

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- Social distancing and the social science
- Human rights in the COVID-19 era
- Legal, social, and political notions of the State of Exception
- Biopolitics, necropolitics and State regulation during the crisis
- International organisation and international crisis management
- Humanity, solidarity, and sociability in the times of COVID-19
- EU policies and the pandemic

- Economic, commercial, and financial aspects of the crisis
- Poverty, social exclusion, and the Welfare State during the pandemic
- COVID-19 and the environment
- Spatial and temporal aspects of the pandemic crisis
- Legal and political dimension of the preventive policies implemented
- Threats, challenges, and opportunities for scientific debate in the times of the pandemic

This is not an exclusive list. On the contrary, we urge prospective authors to think out of the box, endorse bold new ideas, and research the various aspects the current crisis. Articles should have a relevance to the case of Cyprus, thus enhancing Cyprological studies and research.

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