



Quality in Gender+ Equality Policies

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Report Analysing Intersectionality in Gender Equality Policies for Cyprus and the EU

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Analysing intersectionality in gender equality policies in Cyprus

1. Introduction

Intersectionality refers to a very old social phenomenon under a very new name, through which we try to form a whole new analytical approach. There is obviously a long history of recognising the importance of differences among women in different parts of the world and in different historical periods, at the same time as recognising differences between women according to social class, race, and ethnicity. To the above we could add age, disabilities, sexual orientation and religion. This recognition derives from the critique against the essentialist character of the notion “women”, initiated in theory through philosophy, history and social anthropology studies, and in politics mainly via the discourse of black women feminists in the US.

The scholarly environment is obviously very important in influencing which inequalities, in their intersections with gender, seem to be of interest during different periods. Thus, today, with the discourse on class being on the decline, questions addressed in the 1970s and 1980s as to how gender shapes class relations and how class shapes gender (Stanworth 1984) receive relatively less attention. With the end of states of “existing socialism”, a problematic centred on capitalism is not in vogue anymore, and the same largely applies to the study of capitalism’s repercussions on women’s lives. Class seems not to matter any more in analysis, being replaced by less ideological concepts such as exclusion, marginalisation, and poverty. As for the main inequality intersecting with gender which is addressed now, it is by far ethnicity. An important contributing factor to that is the importance of what is appropriately called by Walby (A review of theory and methodology for the analysis of the implications of intersectionality for gender equality policies in the EU, D13 and D14, WP16, STRIQ) “a canonical text, that of Crenshaw (1991) ...as a common point of reference to frame and delimit the current development of debates. The use of this text has repositioned ‘intersectionality’ as a terrain of debate that is primarily about gender and ethnicity (rather than gender and class or gender, class and ethnicity), about politics and culture (rather than economics), and as a debate with identity politics.” Obviously, globalisation, as well as the large migrations in Europe after 1989, played an important role in this choice, which for some countries, including Cyprus (with one million recent immigrants), created a whole new social reality.

There is no doubt that social subjects live their identities as a total, constituted of multiple inequalities which are not only additive, but mutually constitutive. And this has always been so, regardless of whether “inequality” has been conceptualised as such. The main reason that political theories and movements were as a rule “mono targeted” was because gender was under-estimated, perceived as “natural”, not necessitating specific measures in order to confront what we now view as gender

oppression, or because the critical approaches to other social inequalities (namely class) have often underestimated the specificity of gender inequality in its various forms and the diversity of gender relations around the world, reducing it to a by-product of capitalism. The same applied to ethnic inequalities, considered a by-product of imperialism. An additional disadvantage of this type of simplistic “Marxist” approach is that while it was expressed by scholars that were profoundly critical of an unequal social reality, it did not promote a perception of the complexity of inequalities and specifically of the intersection of gender with other inequalities referring to class and to different “modes of production” as producers of different forms of gender regimes.

Intersectionality, apart from a social phenomenon, inevitably existing in societies with multiple inequalities, has been recently structured as a *concept* to facilitate a specific approach. An approach with the object to help perceive how, as Walby (ibid,) explains:

“Each complex inequality has ontological depth across the full range of domains of economy (market and domestic), polity, violence and civil society. This also means that within each domain (economy, polity, violence, civil society), there are multiple sets of social relations (e.g. gender, class, ethnicity or race, disability, religion or belief, sexual orientation, age). Rather than confining class to the macro level, ethnicity to the meso and gender to the micro level, all complex inequalities are constituted at all of the macro, meso and micro levels. Within this model, it is necessary to analyse intersectionality within each of the domains of economy, polity, violence and civil society as well as examine the intersections of these domains.”

Thus, intersectionality is also a tool for analysis, as well as policy development, that addresses multiple discriminations and helps us understand how different sets of identities impact on access to rights, life conditions, opportunities, and even dreams. As an analytical tool for studying, understanding and responding to the ways in which gender intersects with other identities and how these intersections contribute to unique experiences of oppression and privilege, intersectionality starts from the premise that people live multiple, layered identities derived from social relations, history and the operation of structures of power. All are members of more than one group at the same time, and can simultaneously experience oppression and privilege. It also posits that we should not understand the combining of identities as additively increasing one’s burden but instead as producing substantively distinct experiences. In other words, the aim is not to show that one group is more victimized or privileged than another, but to reveal meaningful distinctions and similarities in order to overcome discriminations and put the conditions in place for all people to fully enjoy their human rights.

It is clear that as a tool of analysis intersectionality is oriented towards action. That is, towards policy intervention. And obviously, on a theoretical level (to answer the key question for this report: *What are the implications of the intersection of multiple*

inequalities for the quality of gender+ equality policies?), the implications of the intersection of multiple inequalities for the quality of gender+ equality policies are significant. It must be stressed that to confront gender inequality substantially, gender policy must take into account intersections of gender with other inequalities, and also educate policy makers on the importance of the variety of gender inequality which is linked to other inequalities. Indeed, it is imperative to pay attention to other structural inequalities in the making and implementing of European gender equality policies in Cyprus. In the labour market, measures to combat gender inequalities and the pay gap must be diversified to cover the needs of immigrant women; also with regard to social policy measures. Women of different social classes have different needs. Thus, in considering measures to combat women's unemployment, specific measures for the specificity of their social subordination are required, and the same applies to disabled women etc. It seems increasingly the case that measures to combat gender inequality become too vague and superficial, referring to a past reality, if they are not targeted to different ways of being and living one's gender.

Usually, while the assertion that women are not a homogenous group is widely accepted by policy makers, the implications of this observation seem to get quickly lost in its application. The tendency is to merely note that "poor women are especially impacted" or that "foreign women form a vulnerable group", while many legal approaches at best conceptualise each component of discrimination as additively increasing the overall burden of inequality. Thus ignoring that something unique is produced at the intersection point of different types of discrimination.

To choose to speak in terms of intersecting inequalities and to promote intersectionality policies in order to confront social inequalities means that we think in a specific (subversive) way about identity, equality and power. It requires that we focus on complexity, dynamic processes, and the structures that define access to rights and opportunities, rather than on defined categories or isolated issue areas. Analytically, it requires that we see the eradication of discrimination and the celebration of diversity as fundamental to societal development and the enjoyment of human rights by all.

2. The Cypriot case

Until Cyprus's EU pre-accession period, gender equality policies in Cyprus were subsumed by dominant politics. There were not gender policies but policies about women. Until 1974 (Cyprus's de facto ethnic division after the Turkish invasion) policies 'about' women were driven by the rhetoric of economic development. In the early post-independence period the discourse of developmentalism was prevalent in the discussion of "women's issues." Women have been portrayed as symbols of productivity, tradition and family ethic (e.g., the figure of the Cypriot Female Farmer, "i Kypria Agrotissa"). After 1974, the image of the Cypriot woman becomes nationalized as an image of displacement, suffering and endurance. Despite the

persistence of traditional ideologies of good womanhood, the sudden and abrupt political, social and economic changes in the Greek Cypriot community acted as catalysts in regards to women's status, particularly their employment. For first time after 1974, the traditional family stereotype that women do not work came into conflict with the urgent family need for women's employment and women's wages to support the family (before '74 most Cypriot women were working as farmers, but this was viewed as an aspect of the village life than as participation in the labour force). Most labour surveys of the late 70s and 80s show a tremendous increase in women's participation in the labour force. What remains invisible in these surveys, however, is that (a) women joined the formal economy as low wage employees and (b) nothing had changed in the gender distribution of labour either in the private or the public domain. Interestingly, the same myopia to working women's exhausting and exploitative situation is repeated today. Small increases in women's employment rates in 2002 and 2003 were over-emphasized in many national and international reports to support the view that women's employment status in Cyprus is very good, even better than the European average rate. Lack of gender disaggregated data on employment renders invisible the fact that women are more likely than men to work in low-wage jobs and part-time jobs (the latter is causally related to low social insurance and compromised maternity benefits).

As Cyprus' joining of the EU becomes clear in the mid 90s, gender equality policy takes a new turn. Harmonization with the Acquis will be the mobilizing force behind many legal and institutional gender equality policies. During the period of the accession negotiations (between March 1998 and December 2002) most of the important gender equality laws were enacted, such as Equal Pay Between Men and Women for the Same Work or for Work for which Equal Value is Attributed (Amendment) Law No. 177(I) of 2002, Law No. 205(I) of 2002 on Equal Treatment Between Men and Women in Employment and Vocational Training, and The Equal Treatment of Men and Women in Professional Social Insurance Schemes Law, 2002 (L. 133(I)/2002). Though these are state-of-art laws in regards to gender equality, their implementation has been very loose, non-systematic, inconsistent and generally ineffective. Because harmonization with EU law and conformity with the EU were identified in the eyes of the public as a national achievement which would also contribute to the solution of the Cyprus National Problem, no public debates in relation to EU harmonization and legal reform took place. The lack of public debates means that legal reform proceeded without obstacle. It also means, however, that traditional norms and stereotypes on gender were not challenged in the public sphere. These stereotypes extend beyond and despite equality laws, permeating the culture of the workplace, political culture, and the gender distribution of reproductive labour between women and men and violence against women. Mechanical legal reform has not challenged these cultures. The foundation of the National Mechanism for Women's Rights has been an important event. Unfortunately, strengthening the Mechanism has become identical, in the eyes of the government, with an annual increase in the Mechanism's budget. The Mechanism continues to be an advisory

only body and its major decision taking body, the executive council, is presided by the Minister and the General Director of the Ministry of Justice and Public Order (posts which have so far always been occupied by men).

The strongest and most crucial source for policy change has been the Ombudswomen's Office. The Ombudswoman's annual reports, special reports about complaints submitted directly to her Office and inquiries enacted *propio motu* by her Office have always stimulated debates in both the Parliament and in the media. Crucial state actors have also been two particular Parliamentary committees, the Committee on Equality in Employment and Training and the Committee on Equal Rights. Discrepancies between the views of different Parliamentary committees on issues of gender policy (such as the discrepancy between the Criminality Committee's view that there is no trafficking, only voluntary participation in prostitution, and the Human Rights Committee's view that there is trafficking in Cyprus and this is an issue of violation of human rights) indicate the absence of systematic gender equality policy at the level of government.

Civil Society actors have been few but very effective in some issues. NGOs are a relatively new phenomenon in Cyprus. Most NGOs have been very recently (since the late 1990s) established. Political life in Cyprus has been dominated by party life and party politics. Women in the party leadership positions have been very few and the parties have not demonstrated systematic attempts to promote gender equality policies besides establishing quotas for women candidates and being very vocal on particular issues (the left, for example, has been very vocal in promoting child-care reform and questioning the gender inequality built into some of the new forms of part-time and flexible employment; the right has been very vocal in promoting women's entrepreneurial initiatives and flexible forms of employment). Because of the parties' power in political life, however, the parties' women's groups are becoming by default established as representatives of women's issues. This privileged power to represent and speak for women enjoyed by Party women's groups has sometimes worked against the participation of NGO's in decision making fora.

This discontinuity between legal reform and policy becomes more visible in the case of the strategic development plans and the national reports for employment and social inclusion. In both the Strategic Development Plan for 1999-2002 and the Strategic Development Plan for 1999-2003 there are no policies for promoting equality for women. In both plans, women become visible only in a small section entitled Women's Status under the category of social policy. Improving women's status is identified in both reports with increasing women's participation in the labour force and (related to this) promoting the development of child-care facilities and increasing the school age range to include younger children. The policy trend to connect causally the provision of child care with the promotion of women's participation in the labour force has been dominant in the National Plan for Employment, 2004-2006.

In regards to the issue of *non-employment*, women's participation in the labour force has been treated at the national level (and projected in the international for a while) as the dominant indicator for gender equality. Equal pay, gender desegregation in the workplace and reconciliation of work with family life are some of the most important policy issues. Gender disaggregated data in employment surveys have been only recently systematized, mostly as a result of the remarks made during the presentation of the CEDAW reports. When such data are studied, it shows that participation in the labour force is not a good indicator of gender equality; the participation of women in the "new technologies" jobs and in businesses is very low, and the unemployment rates are much higher for women than men, especially among older age groups. Terms such as "reconciliation of work with family life" and "flexible schemes of employment" have become very frequent in the discourse of politicians over the last two years. Used more as European jargon than policy frames, these terms have not intensified or helped redefine gender equality policy. "Reconciliation of work with family life," for example, is narrowly understood as improving maternity benefits (maternity leave, however, is still limited to 14 weeks and parental leave, because it is unpaid, is scarcely used by women and almost never by men). The provision of child-care has increased in terms of schooling, but after school child-care is still a big problem for women. This problem becomes invisible in numerical representations of women's participation in the labour force because the gender work of child care and care for the elderly is done by the large numbers of migrant women from the Global south who work for extremely low wages under exploitative conditions.

The EU has been the major actor promoting policy change in the field of gender equality in Cyprus. However, EU driven legal reform and institutional change does not suffice to change deeply rooted patriarchal structures and cultures unless it is accompanied by citizen mobilization and public awareness. Information campaigns and workshops carried out by the Government actors have not been very effective because they are usually addressed to civil servants in high status positions, that is, employees who already experience certain employment privileges and thus are less likely to understand structural gender discrimination. Such campaigns and workshops are also usually constructed (and perceived) as didactic deliveries of information about the European state of affairs rather than as issues related to personal and group interests. Public debates stirred up by the interventions of the Ombudswoman's Office and NGOs have been most effective both in terms of promoting reflective policy change and in terms of introducing a new rhetoric and a new policy framing of gender issues.

With regard to the issue of *intimate citizenship*, little change has taken place during the QUING period. With the enactment of the new family law in 1994 and the modernization of family law (the authority passed from the church to the state) many positive changes were enacted. The definition of family, however, continues to be

very conservative as it acts as a guardian for the norm of heterosexuality in all aspects of life. In Cyprus there is no legal frame for same-sex relationships or civil partnerships. The decriminalization of homosexuality in the 90s was a big step but it has not been followed by any gay rights' movement or civil society action. Also, because the legal definition of homosexuality referred to male homosexuality only, female homosexuality remained outside the scope of the law and its prohibition but also outside the scope of public discussion and public sensitization.

Abortion has not been an issue of legal reform and public debate in Cyprus. It is legal when the mother's health is at risk and also in the case where prenatal tests show that the foetus bears genetic anomalies or "Mediterranean Anaemia". Abortion in the case of unwanted pregnancies is freely practiced in private clinics. In order to conduct a wedding, partners need to provide a certificate from the Government Lab of Makarios Hospital that verifies they that they do not bear, at least not both of them, the Anaemia gene ("the stigma of Anaemia"). The loose legal frame regulating abortion and the lack of intervention by the Church have their roots in the post-74 months, when many abortions were conducted for pregnancies that occurred because of war-rape. Assisted reproduction (IVF) has been conducted for decades in Cyprus but there is still no legal frame regulating it besides the decision of the government to subsidize the first IVF attempt for infertile couples. The issue, however, has not been framed as an issue of "intimate citizenship" or linked to demographic policy, except very recently when the idea of providing a Government grant for the birth of a third child was considered as a measure for combating the problem of the low fertility rate.

In fact, public discussion about this last issue has marked the emergence of private life and procreation as an issue of "intimate citizenship." The low fertility rate is becoming framed as a demographic problem during the beginning of 2007. At the same time, low fertility is framed as a national problem by being linked to the increasing migration of migrant workers to Cyprus and the national fear that the increased population of people of Turkish origin in the north is changing the demographic profile of Cyprus and subsequently influencing the distribution of power between the two ethnic communities in the face of a possible solution of the political problem. The announcement by the Government at the beginning of the year that the birth of a third child would be subsidized with a grant of 20.000 CYP, stirred up reaction from multi-children parents and also infertile couples who argued that they should be the first to be subsidized in the context of policy to promote a higher fertility rate and not couples with two children considering to have a third child. Interestingly, though these groups disagreed with the consideration of the new demographic policy, they adopted the same arguments as the government on the need to increase fertility rate, that is, they subscribed to the nationalist argument that Cyprus's national demographic character is at risk. The only two agents to question this policy and the framing of the problem were the Mediterranean Institute for Gender Studies (MIGS),

who argued that the reasons for low fertility should be located in the failure to reconcile work with family life, and the Economics Unit of the University of Cyprus.

The EU has not been a policy actor in the area of Intimate Citizenship, mostly because the modernization of family law was completed before the beginning of the Accession negotiations. Because the pressure for harmonization with EU legislation has not been a policy force however, local actors were not able to appeal to EU Directives and European norms in order to promote change. More and more NGOs, however, such as the Mediterranean Institute for Gender Studies and the Family Planning Organization, have been articulating EU discourse (such as “reconciliation of work with family life”) in order to challenge the dominant framing of family life related issues.

In relation to the issue of *gender-based violence*, family violence and human trafficking have been the central policy issues. The enactment of new laws for combating family violence and trafficking has provided crucial instruments and stirred up political discussion and public awareness. We must note, however, that the framing of the social problems of family violence and trafficking (and subsequently the framing of implementation strategies) is focused more on children and juveniles and less on women. Furthermore, to the extent human rights are often conflated with citizen rights, gender based violence against migrant women workers often remains outside the scope of the national attempt to combat violence against women. Excluded from the framing of human rights and respect for human dignity, women migrants constitute what Giorgio Agamben has called “bare life,” that is, an area of life and violence exempted both from the dominant understanding of humanity and the legal framing of human rights.

State discourse on human trafficking in general and trafficking in women in particular is one of those examples that show how new (i.e. EU) policy frames can be adopted without at the same time promoting social change because these new frames are mediated through old discourse. Several Parliamentary discussions on the issue of trafficking replicated rather than challenged the conceptual conflation of trafficking with prostitution. NGOs and the Ombudswoman’s Office are, for the moment, the only actors which can promote a more complex understanding of trafficking, distinguish trafficking from criminality and prostitution, reclaim the framing of the issue from the grasp of the Police, and reintroduce it as an issue of human rights violation.

3. The range of the meanings or frames concerning gender equality in gender+ equality policies

I) General gender + equality legislation

The selection of documents aimed to enable an analysis of the dominant government discourse on gender equality as well as to allow three kinds of comparative analysis at the national level (a) a comparison between gender frames developed in the context of CEDAW reporting and gender frames emerging in policy documents developed with reference to EU directives (b) a comparison between state discourse and civil society discourse, and finally (c) a comparison between state discourse and gender frames used in the policy documents produced by the Commissioner for Administration.

In the absence of a basic founding law on gender equality we have chosen two Governmental policy documents: the Address by the Law Commissioner of the Republic of Cyprus, Leda Koursoumba, as head of the Cyprus Delegation at the consideration by the Committee on Elimination of Discrimination against Women of the combined Third, Fourth and Fifth periodic reports of Cyprus submitted under article 18 of the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women, New York, 25 May 2006; and the Strategic Development Plan of 2004-2006. Regarding the parliamentary debate, we focused on the speeches by the Party Representatives of the Parties represented in the House of Representatives on the occasion of a special session on 'Woman's Day' (March 8, 2008). Finally, in regards to Civil Society we analyzed the Shadow Report on the Cyprus 2004 CEDAW Report, produced by the Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies, the most active Gender Equality NGO in Cyprus.

Two **additional documents** are the Refugee and Displaced Mothers' Movement, "Memorandum. Displaced by matrilineal descent children and their Refugee Identification" [ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑ. Τα εκ μητρογονίας Προσφυγόπουλα και η Προσφυγική Ταυτότητα] and the Equal Treatment in Employment and Occupation Law of 2004 (Law No 58(I)/2004). The first additional document is produced by the Displaced Mothers' Movement, a civil society organization that was established with the specific purpose of combating the discrimination in the definition of refugee children on the basis of patrimonial descent. An analysis of this document will enable us to examine how issue oriented NGOs, without a feminist ideology and without a comprehensive gender equality policy, frame discrimination problems and gender equality objectives.

II) Non-employment

The following documents were selected to trace the implementation of a gender mainstreaming approach to social welfare policy. In the case of Cyprus, welfare

policy is based more on the idea of providing assistance and benefits for “vulnerable” social groups rather than providing tax-benefits.

i) Tax-benefit policies

Two laws are coded, The Public Assistance and Services Laws of 1991 to 2003 (Law 8/91, Law 97(I) and Law 74(I)/2003) and the Equal Treatment for Men and Women in Occupational Social Insurance Schemes Law 133(I)/2002. The selection of these texts allows us to analyze the interpretation of the harmonization obligation with reference to Directive 79/7/EEC and Directive 86/603/EC. The analysis of Law 133(I)/2002 enacted in 2001 and extending the principle of equal treatment to self-employed workers and their assisting spouses (generally female) will further enable us to study the extent to which the framing of female employees as “spouses”, “dependents” or “beneficiaries” compromises their right to equal pay.

Regarding Governmental policy, we chose to focus on two passages from the National Action Plan for Social Inclusion, 2004-2006. In the absence of Parliamentary debates on this sub-issue, we analyze a Report submitted by the Parliamentary Committee of Labour and Social Insurance on The Persons with Disabilities Law, discussing the option of adopting positive action (quota for employment in public service). Finally, regarding civil society, we analyze a policy text produced by Panos Pasiardis, Professor of Economics at the University of Cyprus and Founding Member of the Centre of Studies in Economics, University of Cyprus.

ii) Care work

The documents analyzed were selected to enable us to examine whether gender mainstreaming has been introduced to the theorizing and framing of social inclusion policies, particularly in the field of care provision where the gender distribution of care labour between men and women is highly unequal. We also want to examine the relationship between care policy and the exploitative regime regulating the employment of female migrant domestic workers.

The speech by Sotiroula Charalambous, MP of the AKEL party and president of the Parliamentary Committee on Equality between men and women, in one of the rare Parliamentary debate texts where gender equality policy is critically evaluated with reference to neo-liberal ideology and neo-liberal reforms in Europe.

Finally, in regards to civil society, we analyze a text by Nikos Trimikliniotis and Mihaela Fulas-Souroulla where they map policies affecting female migrants in Cyprus (Report conducted in the context of the 6th Framework Program “Integration of Female Immigrants in Labour Market and Society, Policy Assessment and Policy Recommendations,” carried out by FeMiPol).

iii) Policies for the reconciliation of work and family life

The documents under this sub-issue were selected to enable us to analyze the interpretation of maternity policy and the harmonization of parental leave law with EU

Directives. Further, the particular selection of documents aims to investigate the hypothesis whether in the case of Cyprus the EU Equality Policy Pillar on “reconciliation of work with family life” is narrowly framed only as “maternity policy”.

The Parliamentary speech by MP Andros Kyprianou, member of the Communist Party AKEL, was selected because we were particularly troubled by the use of the term “suggitio” to depict the close tie between mother and child and, on this basis, to argue for the extension of maternity leave.

Finally, the civil society text, a Press Release by the Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies (28.06.2007), was selected because it is a rare case of a policy document by a feminist NGO which troubles and contests the gender regime of maternity that obscures the gender equality principles which are supposed to guide the reconciliation of work and family life policy.

iv) Gender pay gap and equal treatment in employment

These documents under this sub-issue were selected to enable us to examine whether gender equality policies in different fields (employment, care, etc.) are coordinated and mutually enhancing or whether they are based on different understandings of gender and gender equality policy. The Law analyzed (pending) is Equal Pay of Men and Women for Equal Work or Work of Equal Value Law, 2002 (L. 177(I)/2002) and the Governmental policy text is a passage from the National Action Plan for Employment, 2004-2006 with emphasis on Guideline 6 (Gender Equality) of the *European Employment Strategy*.

The temporary gap created by the pending status of the analysis of the Equal Pay law is tentatively covered by the analysis of a second Government policy text, a passage from the Gender Equality 2007 NAP on the gender gap. In relation to the civil society text, we chose to analyze the executive summary of a study conducted by the Cyprus Employers’ and Industrialists’ Federation (OEB) on equality of employment in the banking and business field. In order to expand the range of non-governmental policy texts, we have also analyzed a Report by the independent Authority for the Combating of Racism and Discrimination with reference to the employment situation of Single Parent Families (Nicosia, May 7, 2007).

III) Intimate citizenship

The sub-issues originally covered by the Issue History report were family law and sexual orientation discrimination. Further investigation, however, revealed that the sub-issue of medically assisted reproduction actually implicated much ‘thicker’ policy texts than we originally assumed. Although medically assisted reproduction still remains unregulated by National law, rendering Cyprus a desirable destination for medical tourism, several intimate citizenship policies are implemented.

Although these policies affect citizens' intimate life in general and women's control of their bodies in particular, they have not been problematized by public debates or gender equality reform. And though these policies fall exactly in the area of biopolitics and governmentality, as defined by Foucault, they have been naturalized as policies of public security and the state's way to promote the public good. The policy texts originally selected focused on issues of pre-natal care and mandatory haematological tests before marriage (in the case of religious marriage which is still the most prominent form of marriage in Cyprus). Though these texts were interesting as singular paradigms of normalizing governmentality, they were not representative of Government policy texts. For this reason, we chose to focus on policy texts relevant to medically assisted reproduction since we were able to locate policy texts for this sub-issue in most types of text (i.e., Law, Governmental policy and Parliamentary debate).

On the sub-issue of medically assisted reproduction, as in the other sub-issues under the QUING Issue of Intimate Citizenship, we were not able to locate any texts by civil society actors, an absence which testifies to the chameleonic packaging of these policies by the state as gender neutral policies of health care rather than as policies of bio-control.

IV Gender-based violence

i) Domestic violence

Gender-based violence policy texts were selected to enable us to analyze the framing of "domestic violence" by various policy actors in Cyprus and to compare both the framing of domestic violence and policies to those of other EU countries. The Law selected is Violence in the Family (Prevention and Protection of Victims) Law 119(I) of 2000 AND 212(I) of 2004 (consolidated). The Protection of Witnesses Law, 2001 (L. 95(I)/2001), which complements Law 119(I)/2000, has been selected as an additional text.

As a Government policy text we chose the Ministerial Decision No. 43.652, dated 24.1.96, on the establishment of The Violence in the Family Law Advisory Committee because this Decision is cited in almost all reports on domestic violence in order to draw attention to the need for inter-departmental cooperation in combating gender violence. Whether this Decision combats the problem of communication and policy gaps in inter-departmental action to combat gender violence or exacerbates the problem is something we hope to be able to analyze through the comparative analysis of the texts.

In the absence of any real Parliamentary debates on domestic violence, we selected a report by the Parliamentary Committee of Labour and Social Insurance on the issue "Problems ensuing from the non-satisfactory implementation of the law for the prevention of violence in the family and the protection of the victims and the need for

infrastructure necessary for the protection and support of the victims”, As a civil society text we have selected the research “The range and forms of violence against children in the Cypriot Family”. The research was commissioned by the Advisory Committee for the Prevention and Combating of Violence in the Family and conducted by Economarket Ltd, Economic and Statistical Surveys Office in cooperation with Frederick Institute of Technology (September 2004).

ii) Sexual assault

Documents selected under this sub-issue aim to enable us to compare and contrast frames of gender-based violence used by the Government and frames of gender-based violence used by the Mediterranean Institute for Gender Studies (The Institute has carried out several projects on gender violence and through the dissemination of the national reports and press releases it has established itself as a critical feminist voice which draws attention to the gendered nature of violence and exposes the inertia implicated by the state’s use of gender-neutral discourse on gender-based violence).

As a Law text we have selected Criminal Code CAP.154: Sections 144, 145, 153 and 154. As a Government policy text we have selected a passage from the Ministry of Justice and Public Order, National Action Plan for the Equality between Men and Women, 2007-2013. In regards to Parliamentary debates, no texts were located on sexual assault. In regards to civil society texts we chose a press release by MIGS on the Media Coverage of Rape. Finally, to the revised selection of texts for coding we included the National Report on Date Rape, released by MIGS on March 5 2008.

iii) Trafficking for sexual exploitation

The documents under this sub-issue were selected to enable us to compare different definitions of “trafficking” by different policy actors and to explore the ramifications of these different understandings for the formulation of relevant laws and action plans (for example, whereas the Police and the Parliamentary Committee on Crime tend to conflate trafficking with prostitution, the European Affairs Parliamentary Committee stresses the need to address trafficking in the frame of human rights).

We also want to analyze the impact of the independent Authority of the Ombudswoman’s Office on revealing the immense dimensions of the problem of trafficking in Cyprus, tracing the deficits in the legal system and exposing the sanctioning of trafficking by state mechanisms. The selected documents also enable us to examine the intersectionality between citizenship, ethnicity and gender-based violence and to trace the ways the construction of women as a homogeneous social category has had a negative impact on the implementation of anti-trafficking policy.

The National Report by the Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies, “Mapping the Realities of Trafficking in Women for the purpose of sexual exploitation in Cyprus,

Final Report, October 2007” and the National Action Plan on Combating Trafficking were added to the selection of texts for analysis later since they were not available during the initial selection of texts.

3.1 The range of the meanings or frames of gender equality in general legislation and machinery

Gender inequality itself is not frequently cited as a **problem**, though insufficient implementation of equality policies is often cited as a problem, mostly by civil society. Discrimination in the labour market (discriminatory criteria for candidates, discrimination in employee social insurance and medical plans, discrimination against pregnant women, loss of benefits) and absence of women from decision making political posts are the most frequently cited problems. It is interesting that discrimination in the workplace is usually understood with reference to terms of employment, benefits and chances for promotion but with few references to the gender pay-gap or gender segregation in employment. MIGS is the only civil society actor to emphasize the existence of a high gender pay gap in Cyprus and to frame that as an inequality issue. MIGS is also the only actor who talks about “opportunities to enter political life” and frames the absence of those opportunities for women as a problem of structural inequality rather than a problem of social mentality.

Though the coding of the texts has shown that almost none of the policy text makes reference to budgets, an insufficient budget is not cited as a problem or linked with the problem of weak implementation of policies. Also, none of the texts analyzed identifies the legal framework as problematic or insufficient (some of them just point out to the lack of knowledge about equality laws). Finally, it is interesting to note that discussions of equality policies, particularly in regards to employment, frame women employees as mothers-and-employees.

In identifying the nature of the problem (**why** this is a problem) most **diagnoses** point out that the policy under discussion contradicts or violates the principle of equality (primarily) and human rights (secondarily).

In most cases the **norm group** is men/male and on some occasions non-pregnant employees or candidates are also referred to as a norm group. The most prevailing underlying norm in diagnosis is equality (equality between women and men in regards to ...)) and less prevailing but still frequent, democracy. Efficiency and transparency appear only once, whereas “gender mainstreaming”, “strong civil society” and “involvement of NGOs in policy” emerge as norms only in civil society texts.

In terms of **causality**, the most frequent **type** is **social causality** and the second frequent is **policy impact**. However, if we apply “type of text” filters to the analysis of causality we notice that Government texts refer more frequently to social causality

whereas civil society texts refer more frequently to policy impact. We consider this finding very important, given the prevalent quotation of patriarchal social norms as the source of the problem of continuing gender inequality in Cyprus (CEDAW Report, Beijing Report). The possibility to differentiate between **types of causality**, a possibility enabled by the software used to analyze the texts, enabled us to think more critically about the causality types identified by policy actors. It seems that the widespread attribution of gender inequality in Cyprus to social causality is a problem in itself, as it assumes that change will only come slowly since there is no fast way to change social norms and attitudes. In contrast, types of diagnosis that identify policies (their existence or absence, their effectiveness or ineffectiveness) and policy impacts as possible can point to specific directions in terms of policy reform and improvement in policy implementation.

Another interesting finding with regard to **causality**, something which in a way contradicts the attribution of inequality to social causality, is that it is the state and the government (or governmental actors or authorities) and not the society which is identified as the in-actor (perhaps this can be attributed to the fact that we have filtered general gender equalities which are more likely to be related with the state and the Government).

Another seeming contradiction is that while **diagnoses** point to many problems with policy implementation, **past policies** are often evaluated as important/very important and efficient/very efficient. We could attribute this seeming contradiction to the same cause as we would concerning the overall poor diagnosis in Government policy texts across all the QUING issues, i.e. the politics of the production and circulation of these texts. Most official policy texts are produced either because the EU requires state members to produce and present such policy texts, with follow-up progress reports, or because of some obligation to produce periodic progress reports on the implementation of the articles of international conventions. In Cyprus, these reports are prepared by state actors who often frame this task as a patriotic duty, i.e. they perceive these reports or NAPs as a political trial for Cyprus and they take up the responsibility to secure positive comments on Cyprus' progress. This might be another instance where the EU conditionality for a new member state such as Cyprus functioned like a looking glass instead of creating the conditions for self-reflection, critical evaluation of past actions and thoughtful diagnosis of gender equality problems.

Finally, some remarks on **prognosis**. Prognosis seems to be very general and goals usually refer to norms and desired states of social being (e.g. inequality, combating violence/discrimination/equal pay) rather than to policies, actions, measurable results, etc. Target groups are usually "men and women", "adults", "employees" and "people". Women are framed as a target group only in cases of labour or social vulnerability, i.e. "rural women" or "pregnant women". This trend becomes more obvious in the issue of non-employment where we notice that most policy texts target

“vulnerable groups” (gender equality policy is conflated with general welfare or social inclusion policy).

3.2 The range of the meanings or frames of gender equality in non employment

We found it quite difficult to identify patterns in the problem statements in the non-employment supertexts. Most problem statements are actual descriptions of women’s working conditions (“low pay”, “illicit work”) or research findings (e.g. “low rate of women who climb into managerial positions”). The most acute identifications of problems are found in civil society texts and in reports produced by the independent authority of the Ombudswoman’s Office. The ‘why’ codes, like the problem statements, are more descriptive than explanatory are often phrased in a negative matter (absence of ..., against ..., contradicts) in reference to norms (“against/contradicts principles of equality” is the most frequent **why** code). Diagnosis becomes less descriptive and more explanatory when we search for the codes in-activity in regards to causality. In that field we can locate more specific references to policy operations, inefficiencies, and absences (e.g., “absence of a comprehensive and well-designed policy framework”, “absence of flexible working hours”, “absence of qualitative goals in Social Inclusion NAP,” “division of domestic work based on gender”, “places of work traditionally female are nowadays limited because of the technology”, “child allowance according to number of children only, single-parent family status not taken into consideration”). Even in this field, however, we encounter very general and genderless descriptions of problems, such as “childcare services” and “problems with child care”.

Although the selection of policy texts was balanced among the four different non-employment sub-issues, it appears that policy texts on the pay gap, care work and tax benefits are still focused on the sub-issue of reconciliation of work with family life (lack of child care and unequal distribution of domestic work between men and women). We have two hypotheses for this. Our *first hypothesis* is that government policy actors focus on issues of child care and the “double burden” of working women because they can easily reconcile these framings of women with conservative traditional views on the ‘nature’ of women (i.e. mothering women). This is in fact reinforced by the narrow meaning implied by the phrase “reconciliation of work with family life” i.e. it is viewed as another ‘women’s thing’ rather than as a policy that aims towards the transformation of parenting roles, the transformation of masculinity and the transformation of women’s social roles. Our *second hypothesis* is that the focus on “reconciliation of work with family life” is an outcome of the prevalence of this kind of discourse as ‘the EU way to do gender equality policy’. In either case, a preliminary analysis of our findings suggests that the extreme focus on “reconciliation of work with family life” can actually have a negative impact on the foregrounding of other problems related to gender equality such as low pay and the privatization of

care (both in terms of its understanding as an ideal and in terms of its actual provision).

In relation to causality, one particular finding must be emphasized. There is a clear split of actors regarding the types of causality they identify. Government/State actors always refer to social causality (National Plans and Reports). There is not a single reference to policy impact or policy process. On the other hand, civil society actors and the Ombudswoman always locate causality in policy impact and policy process. This finding coincides with our findings in the analysis of general equality policies and confirms our view that one of the major weaknesses of gender equality policy in Cyprus is the inability of state policy actors to critically examine current policies. Attributing problems of inequality to social norms and customs is an easy way to exonerate the Government and to decline the responsibility to take up serious gender equality actions.

In terms of **diagnosis**, in many cases active actors are not identified and the identification of government as **active actor** (frequent in the general equality policies) is not noticeable. When we search the findings under **in-actor**, however, the government becomes prevalent again. The Government becomes even more prevalent as a responsible actor (**prognosis**). Surprisingly, employers and/or men are nowhere identified as **in-actors** with regard to diagnosis. A strange contradiction which seems to emerge at this stage of the analysis is the following: the Government is identified as the responsible actor for gender equality policy in non-employment yet the analysis of the Government policy texts shows that the Government does not know how to do policy, fails or refuses to identify problems, conflates women with families or as passive actors, and frames them only as vulnerable mothering employees and working mothers (as opposed to discriminated workers) when it identifies them as passive actors.

In the texts analyzed within non-employment policies, the economy constitutes the prevailing **location** where problems are identified. Welfare and polity are locations identified by some texts. Interestingly, despite the frequent reference to problems such as the double burden and the unequal distribution of domestic work between men and women, the family or the home are not identified as **locations** of problems.

Regarding location of solutions, “economy” is again main field where objectives are outlined. Intimacy is interestingly identified by three texts.

With regards to **problems**, the dominant **norm** is “equality”. There are also singular references to transparency, social justice and non-discrimination. The explicit identification of equality might express the force of this ideal but it might also express the opposite, i.e. an inability to qualify what we mean by “equality.”

With regards to **prognosis**, “equality” is again the prevailing **norm**, with a considerable number of references to “democracy” as well. There are also some singular references to “protection of maternity” and “decent family life.”

3.3 The range of the meanings or frames of gender equality in intimate citizenship

In relation to the issue of *intimate citizenship*, little change has occurred during the QUING period. With the enactment of the new family law in 1994 and the modernization of family law (the authority passed from the church to the state) many positive changes were enacted. The definition of family, however, continues to be very conservative as it acts as a guardian for the norm of heterosexuality in all aspects of life. In Cyprus there is no legal frame for same-sex relationships or civil partnerships. The decriminalization of homosexuality in the 90s was a big step but it has not been followed by any gay rights’ movement or civil society action.

Abortion has not been an issue of legal reform and public debate in Cyprus. It is legal when the mother’s health is at risk and also in the case where prenatal examinations show that the foetus bears genetic anomalies or “Mediterranean Anaemia”. Abortion in the case of unwanted pregnancies is freely practiced in private clinics. In order to conduct a wedding, partners need to provide a certificate from the Government Lab of Makarios Hospital that verifies they that they do not bear, at least not both of them, the Anaemia gene (“the stigma of Anaemia”). The loose legal frame regulating abortion and the lack of intervention by the Church have their roots in the post-74 months, when many abortions were conducted for pregnancies that occurred because of war-rape. Assisted reproduction (IVF) has been conducted for decades in Cyprus but there is still no legal frame regulating it besides the decision of the government to subsidize the first IVF attempt for infertile couples. The issue, however, has not been framed as an issue of “intimate citizenship” or linked to demographic policy, except very recently when the idea of providing a Government grant for the birth of a third child was considered as a measure for combating the problem of the low fertility rate.

In fact, public discussion about this last issue has marked the emergence of private life and procreation as an issue of “intimate citizenship.” The low fertility rate is becoming framed as a demographic problem during the beginning of 2007. At the same time, low fertility is framed as a national problem by being linked to the increasing migration of migrant workers to Cyprus and the national fear that the increased population of people of Turkish origin in the north is changing the demographic profile of Cyprus and subsequently influencing the distribution of power between the two ethnic communities in the face of a possible solution of the political problem. The announcement by the Government at the beginning of the year that the birth of a third child would be subsidized with a grant of 20.000 CYP stirred up a

reaction from multi-children parents and also infertile couples who argued that they should be the first to be subsidized in the context of policy to promote a higher fertility rate and not couples with two children considering to have a third child. Interestingly, though these groups disagreed with the consideration of the new demographic policy, they adopted the same arguments as the government for the need to increase the fertility rate, that is, they subscribed to the nationalist argument that Cyprus's national demographic character is at risk. The only two agents to question this policy and the framing of the problem were MIGS, who argued that the reasons for low fertility should be located in the failure to reconcile work with family life, and the Economics Unit of the University of Cyprus.

The EU has not been a policy actor in the area of Intimate Citizenship, mostly because the modernization of family law was completed before the beginning of the Accession negotiations. Because the pressure for harmonization with EU legislation has not been a policy force, however, local actors were not able to appeal to EU Directives and European norms in order to promote change. However, an increasing number of NGOs, such as the Mediterranean Institute for Gender Studies and the Family Planning Organization, have been articulating EU discourse (such as "reconciliation of work with family life") in order to challenge the dominant framing of family life related issues.

3.4 The range of the meanings or frames of gender equality in gender based violence

A continuing trend throughout the supertexts produced for the different QUING issues is that the diagnosis is very weak, particularly in government texts. In the issue of gender-based violence, however, the diagnosis by civil society actors becomes very specific, particularly in reference to trafficking. Another distinguishing feature of the supertexts in this issue is that intersectionality becomes more prominent, particularly with reference to the intersecting axis of citizen/non-citizen (migration). The identification of migrant women as victims of gender-based violence in these texts would be problematic if the diagnosis replicated the characteristics of gender-based violence (that is, to accuse the victim than the perpetrator). In fact, we see this happening in a number of texts, such as the speech of Erotokritou or EUROKO (right wing conservative party) and the views of the Ex Minister of Justice and Public Order, Doros Theodorou, who actually support the view that there is prostitution and not trafficking and that, as a corollary to this, the prostitutes are active actors in illegal activity and not passive actors of trafficking (e.g. problem as framed by Erotokritou, "women not considered a guilty part for the crime"). This **diagnosis** is actually framed as **problem** by the MIGS Report on Trafficking, one of the best if not the best policy document we coded.

When we analyze diagnosis with reference to **why**, we actually find some of the sharpest and more complex explanations of problems. To cite a few of these **why**

codes: “Absence of programs for reintegration of victims of trafficking in the society”, “no provision for relevant funds in budget” “economical and political instability create conditions of exploitation,” “traffickers exploit weak marginal, poor”, “frames emotions of perpetrator (“jealousy”) in same way defence lawyers appeal to rape offenders’ emotions to justify crime”, “Legal frame of migrant entry obscures illegal regime of employment (sexual exploitation)”, “there is no adequate legislature to combat trafficking”, “various departments work in isolation and in fragmented ways to address the problem, are not trained or ignore government’s obligations which are ensuing by the law.”

Finally it is worth noting in terms of prognosis that the Law and Parliamentary debate texts focus on the punishment of trafficker and protection of victims whereas civil society texts focus on policy reform and improvement of the Law.

Two findings seem to be the most interesting in relation to the diagnosis of **active actors**. First, men are nowhere identified as **active actors** (though “agents” and “employers” are identified as **active actors** on several occasions, they are not gendered). Second, the “Government” is identified as the primary **active actor** in reference to trafficking.

Foreign women are identified as victims and passive actors in reference to trafficking, whereas in reference to rape only the victims or rape are identified as passive actors. The emphasis on foreign women who are victims of trafficking is more acute when we search for out-actors. Other women, the non-victims, are not identified as **out-actors in prognosis**. We argue that this is a consequence of the framing of gender-based violence as a **problem** of violence only and not a problem of gender inequality (equality is still referred to as a norm but there is also a normative emphasis on justice, law and human dignity).

In the prognosis, the policy texts almost always identify the government as responsible actor, which is very problematic for two reasons: first, the government remains general as an actor (many Government documents refer to the “relevant authorities” without always explaining which relevant authorities) and second, the government is the actor identified in several instances as **active actor** and **in-actor** in the diagnosis by NGOs.

Another important finding with regard to the framing of **in-actors**, with particular reference to trafficking, is that the Law always refers to “perpetrator” (singular) and not to “perpetrators” or “traffickers”. This ‘itemizing’ approach to perpetrators, an inherent characteristic of the legal discourse, has ramifications for the identification and analysis of the problem, since in the case of trafficking there are multiple and interconnecting perpetrators.

3.5 Summary and comparison

Gender inequality itself is not frequently cited as a **problem**, though insufficient implementation of equality policies is often cited as a problem, mostly by civil society. Discrimination in the labour market (discriminatory criteria for candidates, discrimination in employee social insurance and medical plans, discrimination against pregnant women, loss of benefits) and absence of women from decision making political posts are the most frequently cited problems. It is interesting that discrimination in the workplace is usually understood with reference to terms of employment, benefits and chances for promotion but hardly ever in relation to the gender pay-gap or gender segregation in employment. MIGS is the only civil society actor to emphasize the existence of a high gender pay gap in Cyprus and to frame that as an inequality issue. MIGS is also the only actor who talks about “opportunities to enter political life” and frames the absence of those opportunities for women as a problem of structural inequality rather than a problem of social mentality.

4. The range of intersecting inequalities

The most important ethnicised, racialised, linguistic and religious divisions politically are: 1) nationality/ethnicity: Greek-Cypriot (south)/Turkish-Cypriots (north) and 2) ethnicity/race: citizens (perceived as white)/migrants (most from “Global South”). Nationality/ethnicity has been the most important in the development of gender+equality policies (gender policies are developed only in reference to Greek Cypriots).

In the National Action Plan for employment, singular references are made to the following kinds of intersecting inequalities, but no problems are diagnosed and no policies are proposed:

- Gender/age: “problematic access” to the labour market among women in the age group 45-60 because they have limited contact with the labour market and also “because of other problems and discrimination”.
- Gender/special needs. Women carers of people with special needs benefit less than men from family.
- Goals characterized by “thin intersectionality”: To improve the living conditions and quality of life of women who belong to different and «vulnerable» social groups (single-parent families, elderly women, migrant women, women refugees. etc., who are exposed to “poverty risk”)

How does intersectionality work in civil society organisations? Is there organisation by strand or do civil society organisations take into account multiple inequalities? Is there a 'hierarchy' amongst the equality strands and are some combinations (e.g. gender and ethnicity) more common than others?

Thinking about intersectionality and the way it is absent or present, would you say that civil society organisations are 'better' at 'doing intersectionality' than state bodies? If so, why do you think this might be?

Civil Society organizations do not take into account multiple inequalities, and are not necessarily 'better' at doing intersectionality than state bodies.

5. What are the implications of different versions of intersectionality for the meaning and practice of gender+ equality?

What are the most 'visible' intersections in the issue/country?

Ethnicity, age and nationality are most often mentioned in texts on non-employment, sexual orientation and marital status in texts on intimate citizenship, and ethnicity and nationality/migrant status in texts on gender-based violence.

Is intersectionality central to the policy? Is it marginal? Is it merely a reference to such groups being consulted?

Usually intersectionality is simply a reference and not central to the policy.

Is there a tendency for intersectionality to be present in particular types of documents?

Policy texts and civil society texts tend to mention less intersectionality, though the limited number of texts in some cases makes it hard to verify this tendency.

While there may be increased focus on some groups at intersections, is there at same time a tendency to de-gender (discursively or non discursively) (e.g. lone parents)?

Yes, there is a tendency to de-gender certain groups.

Does intersectionality enter the equation when particular groups represent a 'barrier' to reaching gender equality goals? E.g. full employment. Or is intersectionality forced onto the agenda by civil society groups? E.g. gender-based violence. Is it raised only or largely by NGOs?

No.

Are there intersections which you see as absent because they may carry a stigma for already marginalized people, or axis? E.g. gender-based violence in Crenshaw's analysis.

It is difficult to assess based on the evidence.

5.1 Inequalities in general gender equality legislation and gender machinery

Is the equalities legislation consistent with the equalities machinery (e.g. separate legislation for each strand, separate equality bodies, or integrated legislation, integrated equality body)? If not, do you know whether there are any changes planned to make the legislation and machinery consistent?

Does the gender / equality machinery take into account all or some (which) categories? How do they relate categories – do they use the concept intersectionality, others?

Until 2004, when the Equality Authority («Αρχή Ισότητας») and the Antidiscrimination Authority («Αρχή κατά του Ρατσισμού και των Διακρίσεων», “Authority for the Combating of Racism and Discrimination”) were established (under the administrative umbrella of the Ombudswoman’s Office), the Ombudswoman combined authorities relevant to enforcing/monitoring gender equality with authorities relevant to enforcing/monitoring other equality issues. Since 2004, issues of gender equality are dealt with by the Equality Authority. The scope of the Equality Authority is not limited to issues of gender equality. It examines complaints regarding discrimination in employment on grounds of disability, age, etc.

Issues of intersecting inequalities are also examined by the Authority for Combating Racism and Discrimination (for example, a woman of Greek-Pontian origin submitted a complaint to the Authority against the decision of the Ministry of Health to reject her application for a fertility treatment subsidy on grounds of not being a Cypriot citizen). A review of the Authority’s Annual Report for the year 2005 suggests that such cases are dealt with as cases of ethnic or racial discrimination and not as cases of intersecting inequalities (and intersecting discriminations).

5.2 Intersections in non employment

Is there a focus on different employment rates amongst women by minority ethnic or religious group? If so, how is this framed (e.g. choice, discrimination) and by whom (e.g. equality body, government)?

No

Is there a focus on different employment rates amongst women and amongst men by ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation (or family status), disability (or mobility, strength, physical features), age (or social/employment status) etc.? If so, how is this framed (e.g. choice, discrimination) and by whom (e.g. equality body, government)?

No

5.3 Intersections in intimate citizenship

Where is gender in the issue of intimate citizenship?

In regards to the issue of *intimate citizenship*, little change has occurred during the QUING period. With the enactment of the new family law in 1994 and the modernization of family law (the authority passed from the church to the state) many positive changes were enacted. The definition of family, however, continues to be very conservative as it acts as a guardian for the norm of heterosexuality in all aspects of life. In Cyprus there is no legal frame for same-sex relationships or civil partnerships. The decriminalization of homosexuality in the 90s was a big step but it has not been followed by any gay rights' movement or civil society action.

How is gender constructed in these debates: gay men, male homosexuality, lesbians, others? Does race, class, age, disability, class figure? Regarding which issue, and by whom?

Because the legal definition of homosexuality refers to male homosexuality only, female homosexuality remains outside the scope of the law and its prohibition but also outside the scope of public discussion and public sensitization. Other inequalities do not figure.

Have issues been discussed in relation to immigration, i.e. the axis of race? Does "race" figure elsewhere as well?

Assisted reproduction (IVF) has been conducted for decades in Cyprus but there is still no legal frame regulating it besides the decision of the government to subsidize the first IVF attempt for infertile couples. The issue, however, has not been framed as an issue of "intimate citizenship" or linked to demographic policy, except very recently when the idea of providing a Government grant for the birth of a third child was considered as a measure for combating the problem of the low fertility rate. In fact, public discussion about this last issue has marked the emergence of private life and procreation as an issue of "intimate citizenship." The low fertility rate is becoming framed as a demographic problem during the beginning of 2007. At the same time, low fertility is framed as a national problem by being linked to the increasing migration of migrant workers to Cyprus and the national fear that the increased population of people of Turkish origin in the north is changing the

demographic profile of Cyprus and subsequently influencing the distribution of power between the two ethnic communities in the face of a possible solution of the political problem.

Are marriage/partnership policies framed relating to any category? Which one? With which effects? E.g. class and divorce/separation regulations, race and immigration?

Are there discussions around the legitimacy of legal recognition of intimacy, as in “fake marriage”? Which categories are raised?

n/a

5.4 Intersections in gender based violence

Where does gender violence begin? What is defined as gender violence in which country, and in which policy context, and by whom?

Who is discussed as victim or perpetrator of which kind of gender-based violence? E.g. are men (when?) victims? Are women perpetrators and when?

In relation to domestic violence, in many cases the victims are not named, and often it is the children or the family in general that are discussed as victims. Women are never seen as perpetrators but only as victims, and in the majority of cases they are grouped together with children rather than being identified as a group on their own. Foreign women are identified as victims and passive actors in reference to trafficking, whereas in reference to rape only the victims or rape are identified as passive actors. The emphasis on foreign women who are victims of trafficking is more acute when we search out-actors. Other women, the non-victims, are not identified as **out-actors** in **prognosis**. We argue that this is a consequence of the framing of gender-based violence as a **problem** of violence only and not a problem of gender inequality (equality is still referred to as a norm but there is also normative emphasis on justice, law and human dignity).

Are causes of violence related to specific categories, e.g. racialised?

No

More specifically, which inequality feature around which type of violence, like trafficking, prostitution, forced marriage, honour crimes, FGM, domestic violence, rape, sexual assault, harassment

The only explicit case where one inequality feature is related to a certain type of violence is trafficking, where migrant women or foreign women are identified as victims of trafficking.

Are services around gender based violence directed at specific groups, people related to categories? Which ones?

No

Do your findings on intersectionality support or contradict Crenshaw's analysis?

There is insufficient evidence to support or contradict the analysis.

5.5 Summary and comparison

Is the focus on intersectionality largely ephemeral? Or is it becoming embedded in gender+ equality policy?

Largely ephemeral

To what extent does a focus on equalities other than gender produce a detriment to the development of the gender+ equality policy?

Compare the definitions and practice of gender equality and the definitions and practice of intersectionality – how do they relate, do the meanings of intersectionality change the meaning of gender equality?

To what extent is there commonality of a specific policy issue across several strands, or inequalities, that leads to enhanced and constructive attention to the issue? Or are differences between inequality strands a source of controversy and division?

Is intersectionality a source of controversy and debate in gender+ equalities policies or not? If yes, what is the nature of this controversy and debate?

If responsible for more than one country, can you compare and contrast intersections between countries?

If there is an absence of intersectionality in the documents analysed, are there explanations for this? Why would such a finding be surprising or expected?

The above questions hardly apply to the Cypriot case, and therefore cannot be answered.

6. Identifying changes and the relevance of different forms of intersectionality

6.1 Changes in general legislation and machinery

Have there been changes in the structure of the equalities machinery to take into account multiple inequalities and intersectionality (e.g. becoming an integrated equality body)? If so, what consequences has this had for gender equality policies?

6.2 Changes in non employment

Has the issue of demographic change done something to the presence of gender, sexual orientation, race, or class?

No

6.3 Changes in intimate citizenship

During the period of legal reform for decriminalization of homosexuality (with critical turning points in 1993, 1995, 1998 and 2000), the Christian Orthodox Association against decriminalization managed to influence many social groups and many MPs. The only Women's NGO to support the Gay Liberation Movement was the Family Planning Association.

6.4. Changes in gender based violence

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6.5 Summary and comparisons

The above were answered, where possible, in previous parts of the report.

7. Conclusions

- *What are the implications of different versions and forms of intersectionality for the quality of gender+ equality policies?*
- *How are inequalities and their intersections conceptualised in terms of their structure and mechanisms?*
- *To what extent does context matter in the (re)production of inequalities across Europe? How important is institutional context, legal tradition, issue history (even beyond the period we focused on in QUING)?*
- *What attention must be paid to other structural (in)equalities, in the making and implementing of European gender equality policies?*

In conclusion, we could say that gender equality policy in Cyprus is one field of policy that has suffered because of the nationalization of political life in Cyprus. Harmonization with EU legislature has been the major force behind many equality policies during the pre-accession period. Whether the EU will continue to be an influential policy actor towards the implementation of gender equality policies is something which will depend on the emergence of the civil society as a local force for policy change. NGOs have been crucial in terms of translating EU gender equality discourse in ways that help citizens understand that gender equality policy affects the quality of their private life, their rights as employees and their freedom and agency as active citizens. The foundation of a gender studies centre at the University of Cyprus (in-process), along with the emergence and strengthening of NGOs, seem for the moment to be the two sources for future policy change. To the extent that the mechanical and legalistic harmonization with the Acquis has promoted legal reform but failed to promote effective implementation of gender equality policies and public awareness, the challenge and responsibility for NGOs and academic spheres of public debate is becoming more pressing. Between EU driven institutional change and policy implementation, NGOs and academic fora promoting social dialogue are emerging not only as new actors but also as a new *form* of actors. Their major job is not to announce or propose policy change but to introduce a new public language on gender equality which makes possible the identification and documentation of structural gender discrimination and puts forth the implementation of gender equality policies as a major political and social project rather than an unavoidable adaptation to externally imposed policy forces. In short, it is difficult to assess the ways in which intersectionality is conceptualised and the different versions and forms of intersectionality in Cyprus since intersectionality is largely absent from public debate.

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