CYPRIOT WOMEN AND PEACE NEGOTIATIONS:

PERCEPTIONS OF THE PROCESS

AND ISSUES OF CONCERN

By

Saori Takahashi

Submitted to the

Faculty of the College of Arts and Science

of American University

in Partial Fulfillment of

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Master of Arts

In

Sociology

Chair:

Gay Young, Ph.D

Mohamed Abu-Nimer, Ph.D.

Dean of the College of Arts and Science

Date

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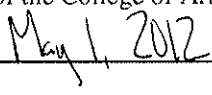the Requirements for the Degree of

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ABSTRACT

The international community recognizes as problematic the failure to include women's perspectives in post-conflict peace negotiations. In Cyprus, it is fair to question whether women's voices are heard by the leaders of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. This study investigates how Cypriot women activists perceive the inclusiveness of the peace negotiations and the importance of discussing women-specific issues connected to the conflict, in particular, the multiple rape incidents that occurred in 1974. Qualitative interviews were conducted with the ten Cypriot women; the interviewees were recruited through a snowball sampling procedure from among women who have engaged in civil society peace activities on the island. The interviews illuminate the clear importance these women attach to the inclusion of women at the negotiating table and their overriding sense that the patriarchal system accounts for their exclusion. What the women consider to be their priority topics for the official political negotiations varies; their views on whether or not people in Cyprus should confront the

issue of the 1974 rape incidents were divided. These women's perceptions fit squarely in the liberal feminist frame, concerned with women's subordination in the public, political sphere. And their views cohere with other research on what prevents women's participation at the negotiating table. They are somewhat more ambivalent about confronting gender based violence than in other places where actors in civil society have pushed for the implementation of justice systems to deal with rape incidents during conflicts. Drawing on the perceptions of women from both ethnic communities, this study adds complexity to the understanding of women's substantive concerns in post-conflict peace negotiations in Cyprus.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

This study holds the issue of gender inequality in the process of peace-making and peace-building as an overarching concern. Gender inequality is perpetuated by patriarchal social structures. Gender equality is strongly connected to achieving positive peace, which not only includes absence of violence but also accomplishing inclusiveness and fairness in the post-conflict societies (Galtung, 1996). Theory, other research, and United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 all argue that women should be part of the post-conflict negotiations and that gender based violence during conflict must be addressed. Thus, the problem for investigation in this study is how Cypriot women peace activists from various social locations perceive the importance of including women in the ongoing post-conflict negotiations and the necessity of addressing gender based violence, in particular, multiple rape incidents in 1974, in these negotiations and in the larger public sphere. These concerns rest on the fundamental assumption that without the inclusion of women and women-specific issues in post conflict negotiations the subordination of women will continue in post conflict society. As of January 2012, the negotiating table is occupied by male members representing governance bodies of the Turkish Cypriot community and the Greek Cypriot community. Demitris Christofias from the Greek Cypriot community and Derviş Eroğlu from the Turkish Cypriot

community are positioned at the top of each governmental body. While the issue of

gender inequality at the peace negotiating table is getting more attention from peace

practitioners and scholars, the Cypriot case has not been addressed as profoundly as cases

in some other parts of the world where peace agreements have been made. For this

reason, this study's focus on the Cypriot case adds significantly to the analysis of post

conflict societies. Cypriot women's efforts in achieving positive peace deserve systematic

scholarly attention. In response to this gap in research, this study aimed to reveal

complexity in Cypriot women's perceptions of certain key concerns through interviews

with women who differed in terms of their ethnicity, age, and experiences with activism

on gender equality and/or peace. The women's responses bring to light differences

among interview participants that cross-cut belonging to the Turkish- or the Greek-

Cypriot communities.

In order to increase gender equality in post conflict situations, the process of

women's inclusion in the political negotiations as well as attention to the issue of gender

based violence should be analyzed. Some analysts argue that women are more oriented to

peace and more prone to make the compromises necessary for making peace (Anderlini

2007). Well beyond the context of Cyprus, including women's perspectives in peace

negotiations is a key objective in United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and

one of the elements of inclusive peace. In addition, only through women's participation

in the various sectors of peace processes can the issue of gender based violence be fully

addressed, employing an inclusive gender perspective. Although UNSCR 1325 was endorsed unanimously by the United Nations (UN) member states, it has not been fully implemented in peace negotiations concluded in recent year or in those currently in progress. Women activists are positioned in the forefront of the advocacy movement and peace processes in conflict affected societies. Researchers and policy makers should consult those who know how peace is forming in a given society, which means consulting women.

The findings of the study illustrate various aspects of Cypriot society regarding gender relations, women activists' perceptions of the negotiating table and their participation in the negotiation process, and their concern with the specific issue of discussing rape incidents during the 1974 conflict. Ethnic origin does not create any meaningful divergence in their views on how women should be considered in these processes. They point out the pervasiveness of the patriarchal system on the island and within the negotiations as problematic, and they are frustrated by the lack of gender initiatives by the leaders.

Almost unanimously, they assert that women must be included as participants at the peace negotiating table, and they maintain there has been insufficient outreach in terms of   including women's different perspectives. However, they state they would not be satisfied with just any woman at the table; what is important is including a person – or persons - who has gender sensitivity and will consider topics through a gender perspective. It is worth noting that some of the interview participants accept the idea of male participants in the negotiation representing women's perspective as long as women's concerns receive attention and are addressed. Some of the interviewees believe

strongly that men and women are equally capable of conducting gender sensitive actions and of representing the gender perspective, which is the basis of their accepting men representing issues relevant to women of the community.

Because rape is a potent form of gender based violence during conflict, the interview involved finding out participants' views on how, if at all, past incidents of rape should be dealt with in the context of justice and healing. Some participants, especially Turkish Cypriot women, were not comfortable talking about these issues and did not have a clear vision of how to respond to the victims of rape from either community more than thirty years beyond the ceasefire. While some participants firmly advocated victims' rights to justice, more thirty years of silence and absence of public discussion about rape in the conflict, appear to have left women unprepared to push for action on this issue.

Lastly and most importantly, the participants articulated the necessity of having women at the negotiating table because they perceive greater willingness in the part of women to consider issues concerning other marginalized groups. The groups they identify include ethnic minorities, other than Greek and Turkish Cypriots, youth in both communities, and sexual minorities. Although some of them are thoroughly open to gender-sensitive men representing them in negotiations, they believe that the promotion of women representatives would be a breakthrough that would transform the negotiations making for a much more inclusive and minority friendly process.

This research on women's perceptions of the peace process in Cyprus is significant in several ways. It adds knowledge of the Cyprus case to the study of peace and gender; more knowledge about the Cypriot case allows re-articulation of the importance of attending to the issue of gender inequality at the peace negotiating table in

post conflict settings and of attending to the problem of gender based violence in conflict.

By uncovering the extent to which Cypriot women activists are concerned about

women's inclusion and about attention to past gender based violence, the study can shed

light on gendered elements of inclusive peace in Cyprus and suggest possible directions

for change in the process.[1]

The remainder of this chapter focuses on the background of the conflict in Cyprus.

The chapters to come are organized as follows. Chapter 2 presents previous research

literature in order to grasp what is currently known in terms of the interpretation of

UNSCR 1325, women's inclusion at the negotiating table, and ways of confronting

gender based violence in the conflict and post conflict societies. This chapter also

discusses liberal feminist analysis as the study's theoretical framework. Specifically

relevant are liberal feminists' concerns with women's public, political participation and

women's inclusion in political decision making processes. The study's methodology is

elaborated in Chapter 3. In-depth interviewing was employed as the method of

observation for the study; the chapter discusses the sampling strategy that led to the ten

interview participants and reviews the interview process. The chapter also presents

understandings of fundamental analytical concepts - reconciliation, gender based violence

and rape. Chapter 4 communicates the findings of the interviews, drawing on participants'

own words in answer to the interview questions. Chapter 5 presents the analysis of the

women's responses. This process involved interpretation of women's responses

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[1]   As of January 2012, Republic of Cyprus officially suggests federation under united nation with Turkish Cypriot community. Accordingly, United Nations and other affiliated organizations showed their agreement and assistance to spread information sessions on federation as one option for reconciliation. However, the research stresses that reconciliation includes broader elements such as cultural and social reconciliation.

[grouping based on the difference of the opinions and the participants' social locations.] The chapter concludes by connecting the study's findings to previous research the liberal feminist analysis that framed the study.

BACKGROUND ON THE CYPRUS PROBLEM

This section of the study introduces the history of conflict in Cyprus which involves not only the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities but also third parties such as United Kingdom, Turkey and Greece. The intervention and interests of parties outside the two communities is an integral aspect of this political conflict. Negotiation between the leaders of the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities can be systematically be undermined because they are not wholly in control of the negotiations. Recent history tells how complex the peace process has become. Although the negotiation process is mainly conducted by Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot men, the other stakeholders introduced in this section by and large complicate the dispute between the two parties.

The purpose of this section is to illustrate and clarify how the conflict of the 1960s and in 1974 involved multiple stakeholders and how that history shapes the current social setting of Cyprus. The history of the politicized conflict and negotiations reveals the context that has constrained the local leadership. This discussion also intends to locate the women of the island in this history. Asking: How have women served the main characters of the historical stories? How has this contributed to setting aside the issue of gender inequality and women's experiences?

Coughlan (2003) is an especially useful source for analysis the history of Cyprus as a target of international political struggle. Due to the geographical location of the island, it has long been "the island that everybody wanted." Through the 1950s, under British colonization, the Greek Cypriots' nationalistic spirit, represented in the slogan of *enosis* ('union' with the mother country, Greece), was emerged and later became prominent armed forces, and Turkish Cypriots comprised a minority ethnic group on the island. Consequently, a Greek military-supported nationalist group, EOKA (*Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston* - National Organization of Cypriot Fighters in Greek) organized guerilla movements and wanted independence from British colonization and unity with their motherland Greece (Coughlan 2003). Greek Cypriots' desire to become independent from British colonial rule existed across the entire island (Richmond 1999). As a consequence of the uprising of EOKA in 1955, Turkey demanded a division of the island with a demarcation zone running from the east to the west across the island to protect Turkish territorial rights and sovereignty but failed to do so. This incident made it clear that the Turkish Cypriot side would not cooperate with the Greek Cypriots fighting for independence from the United Kingdom (Feron and Lisaniler 2009).

Finally, the long British ruling was put ended in August 1960 by signing of Zurich agreement and a new system took an effect in an independent island of Cyprus. Although the long British rule - in place since 1878 - terminated, the divergence between the Turkish Cypriot side and Greek Cypriot side remained (Papadkis, Peristianis, and Welz 2006).The agreement set up a system in which a Greek Cypriot representative held the position of President and a Turkish Cypriot was in the position of Vice President (Ker-Lindsay 2009). From this moment an unbalanced distribution of power became

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prominent. Imbalance also existed in terms of the number of people in each ethnic group: Greek Cypriots, the largest ethnic group, consisted of 78% of the population; Turkish Cypriot comprised 18%, and the Armenians, Latins and Maronites made up 4% of the population (Ker-Lindsay 2009).

The declaration of independence did not satisfy Greek Cypriots because the constitution completely denied the possibility of that segment of Cyprus uniting with the motherland, Greece (Markides 1977). Since the constitution and political system of the new state did not satisfy both ethnic communities, the political animosity between the two communities, especially among the nationalists, increased in the 1960s. The ethnic 'motherlands' of Greece and Turkey retained a military presence on the island, and nationalist mentality eventually fueled disputes about the unequal balance of power. The prominence of the nationalistic moment continues its influence over the main agenda for current peace negotiation.[2] While the country became independent, unification was not completed due to suspicions between Greek and Turkish nationalists about the others' intentions of territorial expansion. At the same time, it is noteworthy that these tensions existed primarily in the political and security sectors whereas Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots co-existed and shared the same island for their everyday purposes.

Eventually, the growing nationalist movement triggered antagonism between Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriot minority on the island (Coughlan 2003). When the bi-ethnic government of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots failed, armed conflict between the two communities erupted in 1963. This event allowed the British army to

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[2] United Nations Good Offices Missions' website is offering the press releases in which they publicize what the leaders mainly talked about in political negotiation.

prevent the breakout of serious casualties but called for the establishment of United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) (Ker-Lindsay 2009). Since this event, UNFICYP has been patrolling and occupying the demarcation zone and restricting civilian entry to the area. EOKA revolted against the Greek Cypriot President Makarios on July 15th, 1974 and staged a coup d'etat supported by the Greek military forces.

In reaction to the Greek uprising on the island, Turkey invaded Cyprus and occupied the northern part of the island with Turkish military bases. Since Turkey's invasion in 1974, the island has been divided into ethnically-based Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities. The Turkish Cypriot governing body welcomed the Turkish military and established the independent Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in 1983, which is only recognized officially by Turkey (Papadakis, Peristianis, and Welz, 2006). An influx of Turkish immigrants to the Turkish controlled part of island followed.

As a result of the conflict in 1974, Greek Cypriots who were living in the North and Turkish Cypriots living in the South fled those parts of the island and became refugees. According to Coughlan (2003), 160,000 Greek Cypriots and 45,000 Turkish Cypriots abandoned their homes. There are villages in rural parts of the island with empty barracks and no human presence – Greek Cypriots who used to live in the North abandoned their homes and fled to the South in 1974 and vice versa. Some of them were ethnically mixed villages and now taken over by refugees from the other community and became single ethnic villages. In other words, murky "exchanges" of houses took place between refugees from the two communities who made their way into in the homes of other refugee families. Therefore, the issues of refugees and property ownership became major topics of the negotiation. In addition, some Turkish Cypriot families left the island

due to the conflict and became diaspora refugees. While it would be hard to identify these émigrés, Loizides and Antoniades (2009) specifically argue that their status should be taken into consideration at the negotiating table in relation to refugee issues. The return of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot refugees who left the island, that is, whether or not these émigrés would like to come back to the island and under what conditions, adds another issue to discuss and represents another complicating concern.

The Greek Cypriot community, the Republic of Cyprus made a bid to be part of the European Union, and its accession was completed in May 2004. The EU originally demanded the unification of the island as a precondition for the Republic's accession, yet this unification was not accomplished. EU standards and conventions were not acceptable to the Turkish Cypriot side, which wanted instead a UN mediated peace agreement. With strong opposition from the Greek Cypriot side, the Turkish Cypriot's plan failed (Nugent, 2000, Kaymak and Vural, 2009). However, through the process of their denial of EU accession, the Turkish Cypriot community got from the international community a *de facto* legitimacy for the Turkish republic of Northern Cyprus (Kaymak and Vural, 2009).

Cyprus showed a glimpse of hope in 2003 when the two communities decided to open the checkpoint in Ledra street in the central city Nicosia. From 1974 to the opening of the checkpoint on April 23, 2003, the 'frozen conflict' situation was in effect, and there was no official direct interaction between the two political leaders. This event is recognized as a historic moment of Cypriot history. It was widely reported that people from both communities could visit their friends and former neighbors from whom they had been separated. On the other hand, the recognition of the common space was minimal.

Papadakis, Peristianis, and Welz (2006:2) still describe the island as having "complete absence of common ground between the two sides."

In 2004, the United Nations took the initiative and brought forward a plan for political settlement and reunification of the island. Two separate referenda were conducted about whether or not the Annan plan, as it was called, should be implemented. The results of the referenda were that it failed to receive support from the majority of Greek Cypriots while Turkish Cypriots indicated their willingness to reunify the island as one nation. Lordos' empirical survey (2009:40) found that it was rejected in Greek Cypriot community "because of the plan's provisions on security, property, settlers and legal status." Greek Cypriot politicians failed to reverse the public's unwillingness to share the island with 'the other,' which was prevalent in the post-conflict society. Economic incentive gave Turkish Cypriots hope that joining with the Greek Cypriot side could make their economy develop faster, but the Annan Plan proved to be an unworkable provision for reconciliation of the two communities (Lordos 2009).

According to the United Nations Good Offices Mission in Cyprus, bi-communal working groups and technical committees were established through the leaders' agreement on March 21, 2008. Working groups were supposed to discuss the issues of governance and power sharing, European Union matters, security guarantees, territory, property, and economic matters. Since the agreement, four technical committees, working on crime and criminal matters, cultural heritage, health matters, and environment, have continued meeting to address the issues that involve both communities. Two primary committees whose initiatives include collaboration on economic and commercial matters and humanitarian matters are not active. In one positive example, a team from the

technical committee on cultural heritage worked on the conservation of a bi-communal

village called Kontea, where multiple cultural heritage sites, including a Greek Orthodox

church and a mosque, were built next to each other. Their bi-communal initiative to

restore the historical and cultural heritage in Kontea was recognized as one of the most

successful bi-communal activities of this technical committee. However, other matters

such as women's issues and missing persons issues coming under the humanitarian

committee are not part of such initiatives. Thus, collaborations among the government

administrators and politicians could promote committees concerned with different topics

and pursuing other initiatives.

History also reveals that women in Cyprus played unique roles in the conflict, and

their experiences were not the same as those of Cypriot men. The current political

struggle seems to be beyond the reach of Cypriot women's influence. However, as

mothers, wives and daughters, they suffered from the loss of their family members, and

had to struggle to maintain households under conditions of limited income and security

(Porter 2003). They were also targets of gender based violence. Although militaristic and

nationalistic histories largely erase and exclude women from the political domain, they

have been members of the conflict society. Although Cypriot women have made positive

strides in terms of education and professional fields, women have struggled to voice their

different experiences and gendered concerns in the post conflict reality (Hadjipavlou

2010).

In 2002, an organization called "Hands Across the Divide" was established as a

first bi-communal civil society group dedicated to working toward reconciliation on the

island. Due to procedural difficulties on the island itself, Hands Across the Divide is

registered as an official non-profit organization in the United Kingdom., Members of the organization have been active in a variety of gender mainstreaming activities. For example, they conducted multiple bi-communal orchestra where they brought musicians from both communities for concerts and invited a speaker from overseas to discuss women's inclusion in peace processes. Despite the absence of a social movement specifically for women, increasing numbers of women have become interested in participating in the work of civil society organizations (Hajipavlou 2010). Such women have an analytical basis for evaluating the weight accorded to gender related issues and to promoting a gender perspective on the post-conflict society of the island. Just as initiatives like recovering the missing parts of the island's cultural history are undertaken, this study intends to address a small piece of the gendered social – political history of the island as well.

This overview of Cypriot history provides the backdrop against which to address the institutional subordination of women in the peace negotiation process. Including women's voices and different perspectives in political decision making processes would move toward reducing their subordination and beginning to build inclusive peace on the island. Chapter 2 discusses liberal feminist theory as a framework for considering women's public, political participation and women's inclusion in political decision making processes. This theoretical discussion is followed by a presentation of what is currently known regarding the interpretation of UNSCR 1325, women's inclusion at the negotiating table, and ways of confronting gender based violence in the conflict and post conflict societies.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW

OF LITERATURE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The study employs liberal feminist theory as the theoretical framework. This is

because the larger goal framing this study, accomplishing gender mainstreaming as

defined by UN, can be located in liberal feminist thinking, which is also termed

emancipatory feminism (Beasley 2005, Lorber 2012). Liberal feminists call for the

revision of inequality in political process like the structure of the peace negotiating table.

It is concerned with women's participation in the public domain. Despite critiques of

some elements of liberal feminist analysis, the contribution in advocating women's rights

is clearly important for the purpose of this study.

For emancipatory liberal feminists, taken-for-granted social inequality between

men and women is problematic. They are concerned with "what is universal about society

and power relations within society" and with conceptualizations of "power as negative

and top-down" (Beasley 2005:28). Structural arrangements that limit or deny women's

access to educational opportunities and the right to own property are examples of

predetermined social inequalities. At the same time, liberal feminists refuse to accept the

notion of powerlessness attached to women (Lehrman 1994). Therefore, liberal feminist

theory is specifically applicable to women who experience gender inequality and also

struggle to make a difference with their subordinated positions in often-times patriarchal societies.

Liberal feminism's approach to rights and justice aligns closely with the UN approach to gender inequality. Various UN declaration and UN Security Council resolution affirm women's participation in the process of peace and conflict resolution. UN conventions on basic human rights have addressed gender inequality from the perspectives of peace-building, security and human rights. Liberal feminists' voices contributed to the establishment of the United Nations International Women's Decade 1975-1985 (Reardon 1993, Olsson 2007). Reardon (1993) reports that the United Nations Declaration on the Participation of Women in Promoting International Peace and Cooperation officially acknowledged that the international community must make an effort to increase women's political and civil society participation, expressing strong concern regarding men's dominance in decision making processes and the political sphere.

Following various efforts of the UN and the international community including the liberal rights-oriented shift beginning in the women's decade, calls for women's participation in peace processes increased. Women basically were not only seen as victims but also agents to seek inclusive peace (Anderlini 2007). Since then, the struggle has been ongoing advocating women's rights as basic human rights and pushing for relevant UN resolutions and agreements to ensure that governments become accountable for the protection of these rights (Reardon 1993).

Reflecting the broad concerns of liberal rights-oriented feminism as sketched here, UNSCR 1325 asserts that women are particularly vulnerable in armed conflict and post conflict societies. In the resolution, the Security Council is:

> Expressing concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements, and recognizing the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation, (United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, 2000)

The Security Council understands that women and girls are targets of physical as well as social power in the armed conflict. Regarding the latter, it is also implied that durable peace and reconciliation are not accomplished as long as gendered social experiences are not addressed fully. In this context, women are to be included in post conflict society with full citizenship as equals with men.

In a different paragraph of UNSCR 1325, the Security Council directly addresses the importance of the positive participation of women in decision making processes. That is, the Security Council is:

> Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution, (United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, 2000)

Beasley (2005:20) claims that "[Emancipatory feminists'] stance is concerned with removing barriers to women's full social participation, enabling women to participate and be recognized in social world as men are." As Beasley describes, the spirit of liberal feminism promotes participatory activities of women who are seeking gender equality in society.

Liberal feminism also fits with the structure of the United Nations and the role of the Security Council. First, liberal feminism sees women as a collective social group acting to reform the current status quo. Therefore, proponents of liberal feminism take a reformist approach to state structures that call for social justice in the political realm (Beasley 2005). Standing by this important aspect of liberal feminist thoughts on reformist approach, Groenhout (2002: 55) argues that:

> (l)iberalism operates with a view of human nature that assumes that some political structures are needed to prevent humans from mistreating each other. This is not the only role the state can play, but it is a fundamental one. Liberalism thus must reject anarchic theories and utopian Marxist theories that advocate an overthrowing or withering away of the state. Liberals instead operate with a firm conviction that some political structure is a necessity in any well-ordered society.

In contrast to libertarianism and Marxism, liberal feminism still requires a political structure within which to work for gender equality and other issues of their concern.

The spirit of the United Nations has the same orientation, urging nation states to take responsibility for the public well-being of their citizens. In the case of UNSCR 1325, the focus is conflict affected nation states which should take responsibility for the social inclusion and public participation of women citizens. From this feminist point of view, gender inclusion is has not been fully achieved by either the Turkish or the Greek Cypriot governing bodies.

Some critics claim that liberal feminists undermine women who take the private role of care givers and housewives through focus on women's progress in public sphere their strong aspirations for equal relations with men in the public sphere (Brenner 1987, Lorber 2012). The aspect of the theory that puts emphasis on equal opportunities for women in locations such as work and political decision making suggests to some that

women should "act like men" to be equal. In response to this critique, liberal feminists have countered that they do not degrade the roles of mothers and caregivers in domestic spaces but that men's control of the public sphere has placed higher value on positions in that realm and deprived women of rights by confining them to the devalued domestic sphere (Lorber 2012). Liberal feminists point to the patriarchal system as preventing women from making progress toward equality in society. They argue the system perpetuates the taken-for-grantedness of men's domination over women in public and in private.

There are also critiques of liberal feminists' reformist approach as not radical enough to achieve the social changes required for equality between men and women. Multiculturalism and feminist theory are often times viewed as contradictory due to the exclusion of minority women in feminist movement (Ponzanesi 2007). For example, Poor women of color including women from the Global South have challenged liberal feminism for its white, middle-class and Western framework for analysis of gender inequality (Thompson, 2002). They argue this 'hegemonic feminism' has not paid sufficient attention to the realities of women of varied racial/ethnic, sexual, economic, and national backgrounds in its program for social change. Maintaining the current political and economic system, while promoting women's achievement in that system will not bring about the radical transformation they seek (Brenner, 1987). In response to this critique, feminist philosophy accomplished in establishing *all* women's rights as human rights and bringing awareness to gender inequality as a world-wide and cross-cultural phenomenon occurring in all social systems, especially in the context of post-colonial development.

The analysis and the aims of this study align with the liberal feminist framework. Liberal feminist analysis offers a context for addressing the gender mainstreaming activities conducted by the United Nations, in which the understanding of gender inequality focuses on the removal of obstacles to women's social advancement. The theory specifically challenges taken-for-granted structural inequalities between men and women. UNSCR 1325, in particular, articulates women's greater structural vulnerability in the context of armed conflict and identifies oppressive social structures that create gender inequality. Also significant is the liberal feminist framing of the Resolution's call for women's equal participation in the political arena. Thus, the next section focuses on what is currently known regarding the interpretation of UNSCR 1325, as well as women's inclusion at the negotiating table, and ways of confronting gender based violence in the conflict and post conflict societies – the central elements of the study's problem for investigation.

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

DISCUSSION OF UN SECURITY COUNCIL

RESOLUTION 1325

The impact of the inclusive standpoint of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 is reflected in the widening perception of the importance of the women's participation at the negotiating table. Part of the Resolution's historical significance lies in the acknowledgment of the differential impact of armed conflict on men and women (Porter 2010, Charlesworth and Wood 2001). Moreover, scholars increasingly argue that a cease fire no longer represents the end of the conflict; the achievement of inclusive

peace means the creation of less hierarchical and more equal societies. UNSCR 1325

aims to abolish institutional gender inequality in various spheres in conflict affected areas.

Scholarly analysis of UNSCR 1325 has begun to recognize its utility for inclusive peace.

The strategy for the integration of women adopted in the Resolution is referred to

as "gender mainstreaming." The official UN definition of gender mainstreaming is:

> Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality (United Nations Economic and Social Council, 1997).

Although UNSCR 1325 was unanimously endorsed by UN member states in 2000,

the actual implementation to the practice is not completely gender sensitive. Various

peace agreements have recognized the gendered experience of conflict, and many

scholars point to its delayed implementation into actual political peace negotiations

(Borrows 2009, Sorensen 1998). Obstacles are lack of financial resources (Sorensen 1998,

Olsson 2007), minimal gender awareness in the political arena (Sorensen 1998), and lack

of political will (Sorensen 1998, Olsson 2007).

Some say that UNSCR 1325 is too tepid to eradicate the gender inequality

between men and women in conflict settings. Not only do the social systems and social

conditions in post conflict settings stay patriarchal, but also the Resolution presents some

inherent problems for use by practitioners. For example, Borrow (2009) discusses that

UNSCR 1325 does not do a lot for the implementation of the actual gender

mainstreaming programs because of its unclear statements and lack of important

components in post conflict situations such as negotiating reparations for female victims. At the same time, Borrows (2009) is also aware that the Resolution actually speaks for something that is not written. In other words, the resolution can stretch to include reparations for a broad range of sexually harmed women because reparations are not specified or denied in the Resolution.

Cyprus has endorsed the UNSCR 1325, but to this date, the reconciliation negotiations in Cyprus have not been concerned with women's differential experience during or after the conflict. Therefore, it is beneficial to study the perceptions of women activists about the extent to which they would like to see more of a response to the initiatives called for by UNSCR 1325. In addition, it is useful to learn what obstacles may exist that prevents Cyprus from implementing UNSCR 1325. This study of the Cyprus case is informed by scholarship on women at the negotiating table and on the importance of attending to gender based violence during in conflict.

WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE

In order for the implementation UNSC 1325 in various stages of post conflict reconciliation, it is important to include women's voices and increase women's representation at the peace negotiating table. However, various studies have indicated that women's participation is minimal and their perspectives are ignored due to continuing subordination based on gender inequality in post conflict areas (Nakaya 2003). Specifically, patriarchal social structure prevents women from participating in official peace negotiations (Sorensen 1998, Bell 2005). This is because leaders and representatives at the negotiating table are mainly drawn from military officials who are

overwhelmingly men. Kaplan (1996) argues that war and conflict are patriarchal social phenomena grounded in masculinist values and that women's role as care-takers serves to keep them in their subordinate place in the patriarchal social system. The oppression of women in war is part and parcel of the patriarchal system and women's situation in post conflict society is a taken- for-granted aspect of the patriarchal system as well (Johnson 1997). When framing war and conflict and the situation in post conflict societies as "patriarchal" it is important to understand that patriarchy is a system; as a system it is an interrelated whole and cannot be reduced to the people – the men and women – who participate in it (Johnson 1997). The system's core values are masculinist control and domination. Socialization shapes individuals who then learn the patriarchal system, in particular, its relationships and shared understanding of masculine superiority and feminine devalorization. While people's actions maintain patriarchy as a complex system, this happens largely because both men and women participate in the system in an unreflective, taken-for-granted manner. All people are in the patriarchal system even if unknowingly and unwillingly. A crucial question is how can people see new ways of participating in the system or even resist the system and collectively make it work differently (Johnson 1997)?

This argument suggests the difficulties of bringing women's experiences to the negotiating table in ways that will challenge the patriarchal system in post conflict societies. However, scholars recognize that conflict brings the possibility of a breakthrough, such as the destruction of old patriarchal regime (Turshen 1998). Turshen (1998:20) writes that conflict "also destroys the patriarchal structures of society that confine and degrade women. In the very breakdown of morals, traditions, customs, and

community, war also opens up new beginnings." Thus, women's participation at the negotiating table is crucial because the negotiating table is where people start to recreate society and reconstruct the relationships and shared understandings among members of communities. The potential of women's participation in peace building to contribute to remaking a social system that works differently should not be dismissed.

Women activists in conflict affected areas are generally energetic advocates for women's inclusion at the negotiating table. In collaboration with the UN and other international civil society organizations, local women's groups have managed to conduct gender mainstreaming activities in many conflict affected societies. UNSCR 1325 was welcomed by various civil society organizations as their organizational mandate. Nakaya (2003) introduces cases in which women were made parties to negotiations based on their experiences and advocacy for inclusion at the table in Burundi (2000), Afghanistan (2001-2002), and the Inter-Congolese Dialogue (2001-2002). In the case of Somalia, women petitioned for one woman representative for every three male delegates. And Somali women's mobilization process also enabled women to connect across different classes (Nakaya 2003). Although invisible to many, Cockburn (2003) describes how women from Bosnia also mobilized through their social relations across the ethnic boundaries. International organizations offered training to women about how to negotiate their priorities with the political leaders and supported their overall capacity building when necessary. Although the motivation is not necessarily limited to women's organizations, multiple studies exist on how women's organizations have been engaging the gender perspective in peace initiatives.

When women are present at negotiating tables, they change the political

discourses of negotiation. Although women take back seats at the tables, they try to

bridge divided stakeholders and offer encouragement to achieving peace (El-Bushra,

2007). Some women's presence makes women's voices heard. While the number of

women was fewer than men, women representatives at the Inter-Congolese Dialogue

proposed a letter that asserted their commitment to UN Security Council Resolution 1325

(Whitman 2005). Most notably, the head of the Humanitarian, Social and Cultural

Commission, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf implemented the rehabilitation centers for

traumatized women and girls in Congo (Whitman 2005). Marina Paez, the sole woman

representative of the EARC (Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces), co-established a

women's forum to include the wider public into the discussion of the negotiations (Rojas

2004). She is widely perceived as an initiator of the peace in Colombia.

Women activists from conflict affected societies may decide not to advocate for

their inclusion in the negotiation processes if the perceive little possibility of influencing

the prevailing system. Anderlini (2007) introduces some cases, including Colombia,

where women's groups are against interacting with the government and reject contact

with any form of official political organizations. The immorality of the negotiation is

considered a main reason why women boycotted the process. Anderlini (2007) concludes

that this is because women perceive it is immoral for the political authorities to make

their decisions without even considering women's presence, and thus they refuse to

participate in a process they believe they cannot influence.

Even if women call collectively for gender mainstreaming, recent studies also

stress that women are concerned a variety of different issues. Bell (2005) asserts that

diversity among women is one of the obstacles in implementing women's idea and concerns at the negotiation table. Thus, it is not automatic that women representatives will advocate for attention to some specific gender experience, such as gender-based violence. In Burundi and Guatemala, women asked to obtain the right to land ownership, access to credit, and participation in the political process, which have been granted legally granted to Cypriot women in most cases (UNIFEM 2004). Women's understanding of the biggest obstacles to their inclusion in negotiations may also differ.

Although women's presence at the negotiating table is necessary, it is not sufficient to ensure that women's concerns carry the same weight of substantive influence in the negotiations as the concerns of other representatives. Karman (2000:18) warns that "it is not simply the inclusion of women per se (i.e. the quantity of women), but the ideology of women (i.e. the quality)." Yet, representing women's experiences of the conflict and voicing women's grievances so that they are heard at the negotiating table are formidable tasks. Substantial research speaks to the issue of women's advocacy efforts focusing not only on increasing the number of women representatives but also ensuring the substantive influence and "quality" of women's voices as they call for what they want (Karman 200).

There are clearly a variety of complex forces that support or discourage women's calls for inclusion at the negotiating table. In Cyprus, the patriarchal system is set up to prevent women from participating in the public sphere. Lynos (2011) explains that in the Turkish Cypriot community, girls were traditionally called "kiz" until they marry and only then it is acceptable to lose her virginity. Once they get married, married women are called as kadin. This indicts that marriage and domestic work of women has been playing

a role in defining women. While Lynos (2011) argues that Turkish Cypriot women are more welcome in the public sphere in response to the Turkey's liberalization, the way in which the patriarchy operates there deserves systematic study.

Moreover, the level of development on the island, especially that of the Greek Cypriot community, is higher than that in many other conflict-affected areas. Important social indicators, including the literacy rate, show that the island's leadership can focus on different priorities than in post conflict zones where the political leaders face much lower levels of social and economic development. Because the situation is not one in which the vast majority of population is struggling to survive day by day, social issues such as gender equality should have a legitimate place on the negotiating table in Cyprus.

In Cyprus, the women's organization, Hands Across the Divide, has called for the inclusion of a gender perspective at the negotiating table. However, the negotiations are highly politicized, and there seems to be little room for a bi-communal advocacy movement to intervene. In 2008, Hands Across the Divide submitted letters to the leaders of the two communities, Mr. Eroğlu and Mr. Christofias, in which they called for the women's participation and insisted on conducting an analysis of the Cypriot conflict using a gender perspective (Hadjipavlou 2010). Their subsequent attempt to meet the leaders of the two communities was canceled abruptly by government officials (Georgette 2003). The situation in which media coverage discloses little of the complexity of the two communities and failure to shed light on the multiple perspectives emerging behind the scene has not made it any easier to draw public attention to or garner public support for including women and gender issues in the negotiations (Bailie and Azgin 2009).

CONFRONTING GENDER BASED VIOLENCE IN

CONFLICT AND POST-CONFLICT SETTINGS

The international community has begun to pay attention to gender based violence during conflict. Most prominently, sexual violence and rapes targeting women is recognized as one of the weapons of war. For example, Korc (2006), Linos (2009), and Carlson (2006) argue that gender based violence occurs in order to "cleanse" hostile ethnic groups. Raping women of an ethnic group is one of the pervasive types of violence occurring during times of conflict when "others" were categorized as an "ethnic collective, (which) transformed women as symbolically important targets" (Korc 2006:513). Harming men's and women's genitals was one way of reducing reproductive ability and representing the eventual extinction of the ethnic groups. Terrorizing victims is another purpose of sexual violence against women (Human Rights Watch 1996). This is also considered to be a strategy of war which increases the vulnerability of the victimized population. In this regard, some analysis specifically considers cases of gender based violence during conflict as a war crime.

Studies of such violence indicate that the voices of victims and survivors are not well represented. Although the studies on gender based violence should be encouraged, scholars who are focusing on gender based violence face difficulties in collecting reliable data. In general, rape is under-reported and poorly addressed even by humanitarian organizations (Shanks, Ford, Schull, and de Jong 2001). Women in conflict zones are not readily outspoken about their experience of sexual violence (Porter 2003). Stigmatization is another element of the experience that silences the victims of rape (Shanks, Ford,

Schull, and de Jong 2001). In post conflict societies, gender based violence is typically excluded from history given the prevalence of patriarchal social relations (Jacob, Jacobson and Marchbank 2000). DeLeat (2008) states that even though UNSCR 1325 is promoting the gender mainstreaming process around peace negotiating table, it is harder to bring the issue of gender-based violence than other gender related issues to the table. All in all as Skjelsbæk (2009) asserts researchers who provide data on sexual violence to political actors often have to rely on health practitioners and supporters of the actual victims for their information.

As an example of the extent and nature this issue, in Rwanda, the estimated number of victims of rape was between 250,000 and 500,000 (Human Rights Watch, 1996). A Human Rights Watch research group (1996) reported that during the 1994 genocide, multiple military actors including the Presidential Guard, Hutu military groups, and soldiers of the Rwandan Armed Forces committed rapes of women. Tsuti women were typically targeted as victims and captured as personal sexual slaves in the military groups. They also went through sexual mutilation of the vagina and pelvic area by brutal means such as acid, fire and knives.

Men's sexually violent activities are also prevalent in post conflict areas where women are socially subordinated by men. In turn, women's submission to male power perpetuates violence in post-conflict areas. For example, in post-civil war Guatemala, young men who were witnesses to violence have joined gangs in the city they reproduce sexual violence as well as commit robbery (Moser and McIlwaine 2001). World Health Organization (2003) reports that women are forced into prostitution to survive in post conflict situation in which their bodies have already been subjected to gender based

violence. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNCHR) asserts that refugee women are vulnerable to sexual violence when they pass boundaries in seeking asylum and in refugee camps where authorities and security guards are among the perpetuators of sexual violence against women in such "post-conflict" settings. In Burundi, many women continue to suffer from sexual violence perpetrated by male ex-combatants years after the peace accords (Zicherman 2007). The difficult process of reintegration into the post-conflict society may induce men to substance abuse which combined with their experience with abusive use of power triggers men to intimate partner violence and sexual violence against women (Zuckerman and Greenburg 2004).

In the aftermath of multiple rapes, sexual violence and other forms of gender based war crimes, justice has been sought through judicial processes in conflict affected societies. In post conflict settings, settlement of war crimes has typically been brought through Truth and Reconciliation Commissions (usually termed as TC), where truth-telling takes place. The case of South African after apartheid is one in which the truth and justice seeking orientation of TC was replaced truth-telling (Millar, 2012). This gradual shift of TC to truth telling allows the process to serve a role in judicial system as well as in the healing of victims.

Accordingly, there are numerous reports from various conflict societies on the difficulties of gaining justice for victims of gender based violence. Jason, Jacobson and Marchbank (2000) point out that the feminists who are investigating the truth of the rape incidents express concern that their findings are sometimes used in ways that seem to absolve societies of responsibility for the actions of men. Considering the sensitivity of the issues and hesitance of those involved to make public testimonies, it is challenging to

bring justice that is fair and responsive to the victims of gender based violence. Moreover, women's testimonies regarding gender based violence are seldom gathered systematically, and thus other issues – of crucial importance, such as genocide and crimes against humanity – eclipse rape in conflict as priorities of tribunals (Human Rights Watch 1996). In this regard, it is also important to have full and fair media coverage of gender based violence in conflict to bring the issue into public awareness (Millar 2012). All of this is made more challenging by the system of patriarchal control and domination that prevail societies and serves to devalue women's experience and ultimately prevents women's testimonies from receiving thorough-going attention by the public (Human Rights Watch 1996).

In South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission presents an example of the problems and importance of defining who is a victim of gender based violence. Some physical harm can be defined as torture or as injury. Information regarding cases and a poorly developed legal definition of rape limited the power of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to judge the cases appropriately (Boer, 2009). In Uganda, where people have gone through twenty-four years of civil war between the government and Lord's Resistance Army, more than a million people have sought the settlement for their individual war crime related cases (Anderson, 2009). With an overwhelming number of cases brought to the tribunal system, their struggle was to maintain their ownership of the local tribunal system. Efforts were made to maintain the functioning of local tribunal systems. But at this level women's voices and cases were dismissed, affecting self-respect and their feelings of agency (Anderson, 2009). Anderson (2009: 77) firmly argues that "such a decentralized process should include education on mediation

and negotiation skills for both men and women, with an emphasis on women's involvement and agency in these processes."

It is crucial for victims of rape and sexual violence to receive therapeutic treatment in order to promote healing their psychological trauma. However, there are also obstacles and difficulties with addressing the victim trauma. Skjelsbæk (2009) found that in Bosnia, professional health workers were unprepared when faced with the need to deal with the victims of sexual violence because they had not encountered systematic sexual violence before the conflict; the situation was not a 'normal' social reality any more. Ultimately, these health workers who had to work relied on their own experience as victims of the same conflict in order to treat others. As Mckay (1998) pointed out, younger women and girls were affected by sexual violence more and considered more vulnerable to the conflict. In order to address community-wide rape incidents, Mckay (1998) also argues that the healing of victims should attend to the 'social' not only the 'psychological.' The approach additionally requires to raising the level of awareness and reducing the stigma attached to the victims of sexual violence in the community in question. In order to address the trauma of victims, the quality of the professional psychologists is important but also important for the victims' process of healing is acceptance by their families, communities and the society at large.

Supported by religious beliefs and institutions of Greek orthodox and Islamic rules, patriarchy is a forceful presence in both Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities (Cockburn 2004). On the island of Cyprus, the issue of gender based violence has not been discussed in the context of the reconciliation of the two communities. There are only organizations that are working on the issue of interpersonal violence in the current

post-conflict context on the island. However, the European Commission of Human Rights has documented that Turkey was responsible for cases of rape during the 1974 political confrontation (European Commission of Human Rights 6780/74). And, Turkey has not shown any sign of official recognition of those victims. Although official reports of similar incidents of rape of Turkish Cypriot women Greek Cypriots are not available, some journalists are beginning the process of documenting rape and sexual assault of Turkish Cypriot women in the context of conflict.

In order to address gender based violence in conflict settings these issues should be brought to the negotiating tables. Bell and O'Rourke (2007) point out that tribunal systems put in place to deal with gender based violence in conflict are conventionally produced through peace negotiation process. If women are excluded from the negotiating table, it is much harder to ensure that the issue of gender based violence will be discussed and in turn that tribunal systems will be implemented to bring justice to victims.

Reflecting what has been analyzed previously by other scholars, the study tries to address a nexus of Cypriot society: the conflict between the two communities and gender based violence related to the conflict. Focusing on how women understand the importance of discussing issues of rape and gender based violence indicates the ways in which women contribute to the prospects for the settlement of multiple incidents of rape in 1974.

The next chapter presents the methodology employed in this study, in particular, the methods used to uncover how women think about their own participation in peace negotiations and about the issue of gender based violence in Cyprus where the actual fighting ended more than thirty years ago.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter introduces qualitative in-depth interviewing as a method of observation, discusses the process of developing key informants for interviews, reviews the substance of the interview questions, and summarizes the procedures for analysis of the data generated by the interviews. Also presented are conceptualizations of terms that figure significantly in the interviews, that is, inclusive peace, gender-based violence and rape. These key concepts are discussed in terms of the frameworks employed by international organizations and international development agencies. Although the methods employed in the study have limitations, the analysis of the qualitative interviews of purposefully chosen Cypriot women, serving as key informants, offer valid insights into the issue of Cypriot women's involvement in peace negotiations.

QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWS AS
A METHOD OF OBSERVATION

The study employed in-depth interviews carried out by the researcher with key informants in order to address the research questions regarding Cypriot women's perception of the importance of women being at the negotiating table and the specific concerns that should be discussed in that process. In-depth open ended interviews have characteristics that allow the researcher to align with a feminist theoretical framework in the following ways.

First, in-depth qualitative interviews promote an exploration of the views of the informants and add complexities that are not characteristic of quantitative studies (Reinharz 1992). In-depth qualitative interviews are valuable for studies that aim to address a variety of different views with attention to nuances that can be missed when quantitative data are generalized from survey samples. In particular, in-depth qualitative interviews specifically align with feminist researchers' commitments to recover subordinated voices of women. For example, studying the daily lives of women provides a different sense of social reality than do generalizations based on population statistics (Sexton 1982).

Second, the in-depth interviewing method permits the interview participants to speak in their own words in contrast to survey research which employs limited and preset choices for answers to survey questions. This method also fits within the framework of liberal feminist theory by intentionally articulating and advocating women's perceptions and experiences that are not reflected in dominant masculinist discourses. Historically, in-depth qualitative interviews have been the basis for calls for social reform, and there are numerous studies on vulnerable populations including working class women and women from racial/ethnic minority groups that employ this method to challenge the status quo. The voices of Cypriot women have been muted in the peace negotiation process and yet these women have relevant insights into the process of transforming post conflict society. The in-depth interview methods enabled those women to have an agency and space to articulate their views in their words.

In-depth interviewing has also been characterized as an especially appropriate strategy when women researchers study other women. Reinharz (1992: 20) argues that

"asking people what they think and feel is an activity females are socialized to perform, at least in contemporary Western society." Moreover, in-depth interviews can be conducted in an egalitarian manner wherein the interviewer relinquishes a degree of control in order to allow interviewees to more actively engage in the interview by constructing their own answers in their own words or by framing the questions in ways most relevant to their experiences. In this study, the in-depth interview method worked well for that very reason: because the key informants knew a great deal about the issues of the study, they actively engaged with the interviewer making deliberate efforts to instruct the researcher on various topics covered in the interview.

Thus, in-depth interviewing, especially within a feminist framework, is more versatile and responsive to interviewees than large scale survey studies (Reinharz 1992). In-depth interviews allow for adjusting the interview questions or the interview length in contrast to surveys that strive to maintain exactly the same interview conditions among all participants. The style of in-depth interviews which encourages participants to question the interviewer in order to clarify the meanings of concepts or questions is oriented to enhancing the validity of interview responses.

Some investigators employing in-depth interview methods seek to maintain the professional "distance" between the researcher and the subject but as employed in this study the researcher's friendliness and engagement with key informants has promoted intersubjectivity – common understanding. This study follows Oakley's initiative of believing in the participants (Oakley 1981). The study attempted to allow maximum space for the interview participants to talk about their perceptions and to have their voices heard by making them feel believed and trusted by the researcher. Just as Oakley (1985)

has asserted that feminists want to be heard and understood by other people, this study open the space for the key informants to talk about themselves, their views and experiences based on the assumption that the researcher, considered to be a "fellow fighter" for inclusive peace, would hear and understand.

While this study concedes limits of in-depth interviews with key informant, namely the inability to generalize study findings to the broader population of Cypriot women, the in-depth interview method offered the appropriate strategy to answer the research questions at hand. Quantitative data exist on general issues of peace and reconciliation generated by island-wide surveys (a recent example being the survey carried out by Cyprus 2015 which was funded by the United Nations). Qualitative accounts collected through in-depth interviewing have been less frequently developed in the Cypriot context. Therefore, the analysis of the qualitative interviews presented here should fill a substantive gap in studies on women, negotiating peace and building post conflict society.

DEVELOPING KEY INFORMANTS

Key informants were selected for the study using a snowball sampling technique, that is the group of key informants interviewed was generated through referrals. Snowball sampling is especially useful in studies that do not require a large number of subjects but require participants who are knowledgeable and willing to discuss their views. Snowball sampling also helps build rapport between the researcher and interviewee since each key informant was contacted – referred – by someone who was informed about the interview process. The first two women who participated in the interviews were selected through

the investigator's personal contacts following a summer working in the peace building context of the UNDP in Cyprus. The investigator asked these contacts to introduce her to at least two people as potential interviewees.

In addition to being women from Cyprus, including women from both Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities, the women had to meet one of the following criteria as well: Women had to have prior engagement in civic activities for peace on the island of Cyprus, or they had to have prior engagement with civic activities for gender equality on the island of Cyprus. Women meeting either of these criteria were eligible for the interview.

Three Turkish Cypriot women and seven Greek Cypriot women who come from various social locations – based on the intersections of age and professional/occupational background – make up the group of key informants.   The social attributes of age and occupational background were originally expected to have influence on the views expressed by the key informants in the interviews. The degree of engagement in the civic activities also varied among the interviewees. . The kinds of civic activities that "qualified" as the women for the interview included both volunteer work and professional jobs at non-profit organizations and other civil society organization as well as educational institutions and government organizations. The study did not limit interviewees to women who were currently residing on the island of Cyprus, Cypriot women who were currently working for non-island based organizations were also included in the study.

TABEL 1: THE INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS'

CHARACTERISTICS

	Greek Cypriot Women	Turkish Cypriot Women
Born before 1974	4	0
Born after 1974	3	3
Experience with gender focused work	4	2
Experience with peace focused work	3	1
Total	7	3

It is very important to note that most participants identify themselves as Cypriot when asked about their ethnicity. In some other cases, they choose to say "I'm a Greek speaking Cypriot," or "I choose to be a Turkish speaking Cypriot." What was prevalent in the comments of most participants was the fact that they explained their ethnic origin as an intentional political choice. Not differentiating themselves from 'the other' side of the ethnic group, they choose to claim that the island consisted of one group of people, Cypriots. They aspire to a future in which all Cypriot people, regardless of cultural or ethnic origin, live on a unified island. Identifying themselves as Cypriot represents a positive choice after their struggle with ethnic origin. In recruiting participants, I used the terms 'Turkish Cypriot' and 'Greek Cypriot,' to illustrate their ethnic identities. However, to be true to the terms used by the women in the study their identities should be framed as 'Greek speaking Cypriot' and 'Turkish speaking Cypriot.'

By choosing those who have engaged with civic activities related to peace and gender equality on the island, the study aimed to collect information from those who have

a depth of understanding and a well developed point of view on the inclusion of gender perspectives in peace negotiations and the importance of confronting gender-based violence. In doing so, the study reveals the extent to which Cyprus has been progressing in terms of the inclusion of gender perspectives at the negotiating table and attention to issues of gender based violence. The fact that some of the interview participants have close access to negotiation leaders provides an important angle on the inclusion of women and gender issues in the ongoing negotiations.

In addition, some members had years of professional experience teaching about gender, while some were studying gender at university. Therefore, the study maintains the variance in how knowledgeable the informants are in terms of gender. However, all the interview participants had graduated from university at the time of the study. Ultimately a group of ten knowledgeable Cypriot women, speaking from the perspective of peace activists, engaged in interviews concerning the inclusion women and gender issues at the negotiating table.

Some of the initial key informants – willing to discuss their perceptions of the negotiations – were associated Hands Across the Divide, a women's organization concerned with the reconciliation of the two communities As noted earlier, Hands Across the Divide has been active in facilitating gender mainstreaming activities. (See http://www.handsacrossthedivide.org/ .) Accordingly, the members of the organization are knowledgeable on the topics of gender and peace. Recruiting women from this organization helped to ensure representation of both ethnic groups among the interviewees because the membership comprises women from the Greek Cypriot and

Turkish Cypriot communities. This organization was also a source of interview

participants who had engaged in professional activities on peace and/or gender.

THE INTERVIEWS

All the interviews were conducted through an online calling application, Skype,

and lasted between 45 minutes to an hour. Since the study did not limit the country of

residence of the participants, the online call method provided the best option to conduct

interviews with Cypriot women in various locations in the world. All the interviewees

had Skype accounts; there were no technical problems. A digital voice recorder was used

to record the conversations.

The topics for the interviews were intended to uncover any differences in the

interviewees' perceptions of the importance of women's participation at the negotiating

table, and any differences in the importance they gave to discussions of gender-based

violence as part of the reconciliation process on the island. Therefore, the interviews

included three subsections eliciting the interviewees perceptions on: first, women's

gendered experiences during the conflict and in the post-conflict period on the island;

second, women's participation at the negotiating table; and third, the importance of

confronting the history of gender-based violence in the Cypriot conflict.

The substance of the questions revolved around the following topics: the issues

the interviewees would chose to discuss if they were at the negotiating table; how

women's representatives at the table might change the process to make it more inclusive

of women; the possible steps leaders might take to address the multiple incidents of rape

during the conflict; and the extent to which interviewees would be willing to discuss rape

incidents and to engage the public on behalf of rape victims. The interview guide is presented in the APPENDIX.

As Reinharz (1992) argues, the process of conducting multiple in-depth interviews helped to polish the questions developed as the original interview guide. As the researcher experienced multiple interviews, it became easier to pinpoint where the more profound thoughts about the issues raised in the research questions occurred, and which questions were most successful at inducing them. Therefore, the interview questions stated in APPENDIX were used as the guide for the interview; gradually, the interviewer adjusted the order and nuance of the questions to allow the participants to more thoroughly address the concerns of the study in their answers.

CENTRAL ANALYTICAL CONCEPTS

This section presents understandings of important concepts that are fundamental to the analysis of the peace negotiation process and the issues under discussion in those negotiations; the intent is to provide conceptual background for meanings elaborated in the analysis of the interviews. The three concepts are: reconciliation, gender-based violence and rape.

First, the idea of "reconciliation" in the context of a "frozen conflict" includes not only "ice breaking" between the political leaders from the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, but also the creation of more social interaction among people on the island. Lederach (1997:30) argues that "reconciliation must be proactive in seeking to create an encounter where people can focus on the relationship, and share their perceptions, feelings and experiences with one another, with the goal of creating the new

perceptions and a new shared experience." Using Lederach's framing of reconciliation, Cypriot society has not yet reached the point where people from the two communities actively interact to share common experiences and feelings. The UN-patrolled buffer zone, which runs from the west to the east side of the island, creates a situation in which direct interaction between civilians of the two communities rarely occurs. This situation was reinforced by the fact that until 2003, neither the Greek Cypriot nor Turkish Cypriot leadership was willing to open up the gates to interaction between the two communities.

Second, the meaning of "gender-based violence" as understood in this study must be delineated as well. The definition of gender-based violence adhered to here "includes any form of violence or abuse that targets men or women on the basis of their sex" (U.S. Agency for International Development, 2009).

Although this understanding of gender-based violence includes both female victims and male victims, the concern in this study is with gender based violence targeting Cypriot women. The specific actions that constitute gender-based violence against women are enumerated in the definition of violence against women presented in the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women. The Declaration prohibits: "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life" (48/104. Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women,1993). This declaration goes on to introduce examples of the violence: physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in a family or a community by individual actors or

states. This international framework forms the basis for understanding the concept of gender-based violence in this study.

Finally, in addition to gender based violence, the conceptualization of rape in this study also requires specific explication. This study employs the World Health Organization's definition of this concept. According to the World Health Organization (2003: 149), rape is defined as "physically forced or otherwise coerced penetration − even if slight − of the vulva or anus, using a penis, other body parts or an object. The attempt to do so is known as attempted rape. Rape of a person by two or more perpetrators is known as gang rape." Rape as conceptualized here constitutes a form of gender-based violence given that female victims of rape are targeted explicitly because they are women.

These three concepts are foundational in the analysis to come. Given that peace negotiations are intended to achieve reconciliation, the key question this study addresses – the importance of women's participation in negotiations for achieving inclusive peace – speaks directly to that goal. The related question of the significance of confronting rape – as a form of gender based violence perpetrated during conflict – in the context of peace negotiations represents a necessary condition for achieving reconciliation as well.

ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEWS

The audio recordings of the ten interviews were transcribed for analysis by the researcher. In all cases, personal identification information associated with the interviews was coded in a way that protects the confidentiality of the interviewees. Since the community comprising peace activism in Cyprus is relatively small, personal identification, including the names and organizations of participants, was intentionally

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separated from the interview transcripts. The initial categories for coding the transcribed interview, used to "reduce" the textual data compiled through the interviews, included: quality of the women's representative; women's different experiences; Turkey's military presence; rape; making public the issue of gender based violence; truth and reconciliation commission; and civil society.

Initial coding organized the answers to the common questions of the interview. For example, by searching for the keyword "rape," it was possible to find the relevant answers from multiple transcripts to the question of how Cypriots could address the issues of sexual violence occurring some 40 years ago. This analytical strategy worked to locate the various relevant comments interviewees made d at different points in the interviews. When a keyword was found in multiple transcripts, the transcripts were compared to uncover any similarities or differences in views and to take into account the context of the comments.

In the analysis process, it was also productive to compare answers given by interviewees to the same question. For example, as described in the following chapter, the question, "What are the qualities of women's representatives in the negotiation table?" was asked of all the participants. In these cases rather than looking for predetermined keywords new coding categories, such as "strength" or "gender sensitive", emerged through immersion in the transcripts.

Interviewees' demographic characteristics were utilized to determine what influence they carried in terms of perceptions of various topics. For instance, participants' perceptions on the prevalence of the patriarchy at the peace negotiating table was compared based on age, experiences with gender related peace activities and community

of origin. By summarizing the background information for each participant then organizing and comparing their views on patriarchy, a relationship emerged between ethnic origin and the perceived weight of patriarchy prevalent in the negotiations.

The next chapter presents the findings resulting from the analysis of interviews with ten Cypriot women. The words of these key informants speak to the issues of women's place at the negotiating table and the gendered issues that must be considered there to achieve the goal of inclusive peace.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

This chapter presents the findings of the qualitative interviews with of the ten interview participants. The findings are organized around interview participants' perspectives on three broad concerns: Women's and men's different – gendered – experiences of the conflict; the need for and nature of women's participation at the negotiating table; and how, if at all, contemporary Cypriot society can confront the history of rape that marked the conflict. The women's responses in the interviews add nuance and complexity to the issues raised by the research question.

PERSPECTIVES ON GENDERED EXPERIENCES OF

THE CONFLICT

The interviewees specified crucial differences in women's and men's experiences during the conflict of 1974. Regardless of their personal background or cultural origin, they identified gender as a defining difference in terms of experience during conflict. And they all focused on particular ways in which women's experiences and men's experiences differed during the Cypriot conflict. In addition, the majority of interviewees also perceived differences in the nature of women's and men's suffering as a result of the conflict, which, in their view, links to gender differences in the experiences of men and women in post conflict society. Their views also speak to how a gendered perspective arises from the different experiences of the conflict.

To begin, the interviewees pointed to the conventional re-arrangement of gender in war time in which Cypriot women took the temporary role of head of the household while male members of the family were away fighting in the war. For example, Alexis, a Greek Cypriot woman in her fifties who has been actively engaging with gender mainstreaming activity across the two communities, pointed explicitly to the standard roles and different experiences of women and men during the conflict in Cyprus:

> Alexis: Men are the front line, women stay at home and keep the family together. They take ownership at household… there was not support for the family because [men] were fighting. They both suffered, male and female. The level is different. I cannot way which one is higher or lesser. But I think they are different.

Her sentiments about "different" suffering on the part of women and men were widely shared and get explicit attention below. But here note the similarity the view put forward by Nurhan, a Turkish speaking Cypriot consultant in her thirties, who claims that women's role;

> Nurhan:…is different than men. Not being in the actual fighting. Not actually taking part in the actual violence. I'm not saying whoever takes the gun got the motivation…women don't have the motivation or even if they do, they don't go to the actual fighting… and they try to handle everything [at home]…[the experience of conflict] is more domestic in their lives.

As has happened time and again throughout history, the interviewees describe Cypriot women being left at home to take care of children and elderly and having to take on the role of the head of the household during the conflict. Men's patriarchal family roles as providers and protectors take another form during war, and thus women's roles must expand to include both men's and women's activities in households during conflict. Interviewees recounted personal memories of their women relatives who took on as the responsibilities of head of the household. But the extent to which women's increased responsibility for handling the affairs of households in the absence of men moved women

in Cyprus to transcend the domestic boundaries of their care giver role in post conflict society appears limited and is a subject taken up in the discussion.

The interviewees also illustrated women's different perspective on the experience of the conflict. For example, Nurhan contrasts how women recall their experience with the way men recount their experiences of war. Although the conflict occurred before she was born, Nurhan re-tells a story her grandmother told her to illustrate the different way women relate their experiences during war.

> ST: Can you give me an example of one or two women's experiences or roles during the conflict
> Nurhan: I can talk about my grandmother. Because when we were asking to men, they'd talk about who shot who, where they fought, but my grandmother focused on a different story… She never talked about war blaming anybody… [in her stories] I cannot tell who's Greek Cypriot or Turkish Cypriot. There is a story I was told when I was very very young and I got amazed and couldn't get my head around. My cousin was like one at that time and [the family members] were hiding under the ground. And there is this Greek Cypriot soldier who knew them before the war and who knew there was a young boy. He was bringing milk, soldier from the opposing army, to the boy every day for two months! All the aunties also told me when they ran away from a probably massacre, Greek Cypriot soldier risked his life against Greek Cypriot soldiers to save everybody's life, a hundred people from the massacre and they were saved. So these were the stories I've heard from women. They have a different eye and opinion.

These stories represent her intention to show how women saw a different side of the Cyprus conflict. Not only did they have different roles – since they did not actually fight in the conflict but also women's perspective on the conflict contrasts with that of men. Men talk about fighting the enemy whereas women's focus is on humanitarian responses of the supposed enemy. In addition to asserting gender differences in the roles/experiences and the perspectives on the conflict, as noted above, some women also indicated differences in the ways in which men and women suffered in the aftermath of the conflict in Cyprus. In particular, physical suffering and social-psychological suffering

are ascribed differently by gender. Yeter, a Turkish Cypriot woman in her thirties

working in a non-profit organization and a member of the bi-communal women's

organization, articulates this difference:

> Yeter: After the conflict, the post conflict period, I think women's suffering and men's suffering are different. Men are like I said physically fighting so they are injured, while women took the emotional burden of the war especially, you know, they lost sons and husbands in the war. We have more than two thousands, three thousands missing [men] and most of these missing [men] have wives, sisters and mothers. They are still waiting for them to come home and that has a huge huge huge psychological impact on women.

Another interviewee explained how the Cypriot issue of "missing persons" was

understood as mainly a women's issue since those who are missing were men who fought

in the conflict. Zoe, a Greek speaking Cypriot, who is a currently a law student focused

on human rights, reports that women have been cast as victims, as those who suffered the

pain of the conflict, when the families of missing persons called for cooperation with 'the

other' in the efforts to settle missing persons cases.

> Zoe: For example, the pain women used to have particularly in Cyprus was different from that of [men]. Women are shown more in the media and focusing on motherhood. Particularly what I have seen is this - women are usually mothers or sisters. We have given a lot of attention and the pain was sort of amplified through their faces and emotions and what they were saying, because a lot of women got together and created this organization on missing persons...
> ST: So were these groups including men as well or women specifically?
> Zoe: They were including men but a lot of those who were involved was women because husbands were missing and a lot of sons were missing as well. So there were mothers as well. So people got to see female members a lot more just because they would express their emotions more.

Some interviewees recognized as severe the physical injuries suffered by men but

argued that women had been left with psychological damage that has been neglected in

large measure. They understood the psychological victimization of women as an

unresolved phenomenon in contrast to men's physical victimization which was

recognized and treated even if there was not always full recovery. Thus, through the interviewees' descriptions of women's suffering in the aftermath of conflict and of women's changed household roles during war and of their perceptions of fighting a gendered picture emerges of the conflict in Cyprus, differential 'gendered' experiences of conflict was revealed in Cyprus.

PERSPECTIVES ON WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION AT

THE NEGOTIATING TABLE

The interviewees want Cypriot women's direct inclusion in the peace negotiations; nine out of ten called specifically for the presence of at least one woman at the negotiating table. Their perspectives on this issue encompassed a number of themes: removal of Turkish military bases, implementation of gender neutral constitution, and environmental challenges.

Interviewees explicitly identified patriarchy as a system preventing women from having access to the negotiating table. The taken-for-grantedness of the patriarchal system contributes to leaders' lack of interest in considering issues through a gendered perspective. There were some differences, however, in women's ideas about the qualities of the person who can represent women's perspectives at the negotiating tables – the person's gender being one of them. The women also raised a variety of issues as important and urgent for inclusion in the discussions at the negotiating table – some of which were explicitly identified as gender issues, some of which were not. An unanticipated finding was the argument made by some interviewees that women's presence at the negotiating table will push leaders to engage with multiple perspectives of

other cultural and ethnic groups as well as sexual minorities. This perspective suggests an intersectional approach to the analysis of how to achieve inclusive peace.

THE INFLUENCE OF PATRIARCHY

The interviewees' perceptions were mixed regarding the power of patriarchy in their communities. While the explanations given for women's absence from the negotiating table varied among the interviewees the influence of the patriarchal system in the Turkish Cypriot community, in particular, was highlighted as a crucial factor.

Nurhan perceives Turkish involvement with the peace negotiations as the biggest obstacle to accomplishing gender inclusiveness in the political settlement. Turkish political interference and military presence on the island maintains the power of the patriarchal system in in the Turkish Cypriot community. In her view, Turkish troops based on the island "brainwash" young Turkish Cypriot men through the draft system, which requires about two years of military service. Nurhan expressed her exasperation with Turkish influence in response to the question of why she thinks Cypriot leadership is not interested in gender issues:

> Nurhan: Well, I think they are totally ignorant and patriarchal. At least if I have talk about Turkish Cypriot leadership, Turkey, is experiencing one of the worst time in the history with the current government there not only because their militant origin but when they are violently patriarchal and they are publicly talking about women's roles; Turkish prime minister came to Cyprus and said that women should have at least three children. And their main target should be bringing up their own kids with the [proper] religious manner and this also has an influence to Cyprus. We are going backwards in that sense...It has an effect when it comes to doing politics… because they don't want women to participate and they don't see the need or they don't even talk about it as long as women can work with equality and balance.

The perception is that Turkish Cypriot leaders' immersion in the patriarchal system has the direct result of ignoring issues of gender and the different experiences of women when it comes to peace negotiations. According to Nurhan, Turkish control over the leadership of the Turkish Cypriot community keeps them from being sensitized to gender issues and thus blocks any possibility of implementing a gender sensitive perspective. She does imply that Turkish Cypriots were on the right track to make progress on gender issues, but Turkish involvement in Turkish Cypriot politics has pulled them backwards. It is also noteworthy that Nurhan's reference to women working with "equality" indicates that Turkish Cypriots accept gender inclusiveness in the public space of the economy but not the public political space of peace negotiations.

Alexis's explanation for why women's issues and different experiences are not discussed at the negotiating table is even more pointed. Negotiators "laugh at those things"

> Alexis: Because it's patriarchal society, because in last 30 years, only thing that's discussed is the ethnic issue. That's Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot. And of course, it's always been male dominated and it's always male discussed.

This frustration with the patriarchal system that prevails at the negotiating table was shared by interviewees from both communities. Some of these women are actively engaging in advocacy for women's rights and equal opportunity to become political leaders, and their views are based on a degree of insider knowledge. The comments from the younger interviewees reflect their genuine frustration over the exclusive character of the political negotiations.

THE QUALITIES OF WOMEN REPRESENTATVES

When it comes to the inclusion of women at the negotiating table, the interviewees have clear ideas about the qualities women representatives should possess. One idea that permeates most of the interview interviewees'' comments is that simply a random woman who has not commitment to a gender perspective is not acceptable. Women who participated in the interviews were clear that specific the qualities of the women representatives at the negotiating table matter. For example,

> Selin: I would like to say something. Yes, I would like to see some woman who is representing us in the negotiation table but I don't want to see women just because [male leaders] want to create some equalities. When it comes to positive discrimination, that is something I am completely against because it is becoming a little bit skeptical when they are not ready to take some authority or leading position. But just because it looks nice, people are filling roles. That I am completely against.

As illustrated in the research literature on the impact of women's participation in negotiations, the women interviewed want to see the inclusion of women who will represent women-specific issues and interests and are prepared to take a stand for gender equality at the negotiating table. One of the basic criteria for women representatives about which the interviewees are insistent is explicit acknowledgement of their understanding of gendered perspectives on and experiences of conflict. As Nurhan asserts,

> Nurhan: [i]t's not about women going. It's not about sex. It's about really talking about gender issues, because we have [international] women on the table but still not talking about gender issues. So, it's really important that we have women who are aware of this issue.

Nurhan articulates the shared view that the interviewees are not interested in a random person that fills a female quota and makes the negotiating table look better.   Her reference to having ''women on the table'' makes clear that women present as observers

with the United Nations is not the kind of women's representation they seek. Women

with gender sensitive understanding who will give voice to women's concerns possess

the qualities expected of women representatives. In addition to this basic characteristic,

Selin elaborates other criteria:

> Selin: I would like to see a very strong woman, a leader for example. I would like
> to see a very strong leader who is able to do everything like male-counterpart. I do
> believe that in the future we might have it. I just don't want to see someone just to
> fill female quota.

> Whereas Selin emphasizes the strength element of a strong woman, Alexis shifts

the weight to the gender analysis strong women must engage in when they are at the

negotiating table:

> Alexis: I would like to [see women at the table]. They must be. But they must
> be… I don't want Condoleezza Rice or Hillary Clinton. I just remember that they
> are women. She has to remember that she has… not only she discusses the gender
> issues but everything thus has gender issues, gender dimension. I see Condoleezza
> Rice everyday, and they talk with men and they forgot they are women. They are
> in a good place. They forget to bring [gender] forward or create awareness.
> People aren't at the good place.

> Alexis views the type of women who have headed the U.S. State Department

negatively. While she might agree that women's representative must have leadership

skills, she appears skeptical of powerful women who become "one of the boys" Her

concern centers on who can represent ordinary women's perspectives and experiences.

> In a similar vein some of the women think that it is important for women's

representatives to be able to bridge multilateral institutions and grassroots organizations.

Yeter describes the kind of women she wants at the table:

> Yeter: I think someone who knows enough about women's experiences during the
> conflict; I think that the person who knows UNSCR 1325 and 898. I would expect
> if someone has a connection to some of grassroots organizations and knows what
> women in the streets are actually thinking. I think that's important. Of course it's

difficult for a person to represent all the communities and groups but I think variety of women from different background would be helpful.

Some interviewees emphasized that there is no fundamental gender difference in people's ability to adopt a gender sensitive perspective. This means that being a woman does not automatically bring awareness and understanding of how women's experiences and interests differ from men's. In response to the question of whether or not women are better at using a gender lens when focusing on particular issues in the negotiations, Alexis asserts:

> Alexis: Not necessarily. As I said before, women got to realize their obligation. It cannot be they get there and realized that they were women. It's got to be battled to be there. It doesn't mean that she is a woman thus she has sensitivities. But we do, I know that I sound like contradicting myself. I always say I'm a mother that doesn't mean I'm a better parent. I don't share that all the mothers automatically become good mothers. But, you do have better chances of having sensitivities and bring those issues that men don't think about if women are at the negotiation table...

While conceding the importance of Cypriot women with knowledge of gender issues for bringing a gender perspective to the negotiations, Alexis still believes that women's gender alone does not guarantee their ability to confront the issue of rape in conflict in a gender sensitive manner, for example.

A representative's gender neither ensures nor precludes a gender perspective on issues at the negotiating table; rather, what is crucial is the person's commitment to do the work of developing gender sensitivity. Political experience and knowledge are important in women's representatives, but their allegiance to political power over working for ordinary women's well- being is suspect.

In response to the question, "If you were at the negotiation table, what would you like to discuss?" interviewees, whether non-profit staff members or students, articulated a varied range of issues – not all of which would be defined specifically "women's issues". The interviewees were not restricted to identifying women's issues or taking a gender perspective in their answers, and in fact they were told they could identify any issues as priorities independent of the conversation so far. Thus, some women claim the most important issues to address are the ones preventing attention to gender issues, which must be addressed before moving forward and others did not specify the gendered dimension of their priorities for the negotiations.

Here the topics most frequently mentioned by the women are divided into two categories: *indirectly-gendered issues* and *gender specific issues*. When interviewees did not mention the gendered aspects of their priorities, their concerns are categorized as "indirectly gendered." Issues that are identified explicitly as women's concerns or overtly engage with a gender perspective are categorized as "gender-specific."

Women's priorities categorized as indirectly gendered include environmental sustainability of the island, refugee issues, property ownership and demilitarization. For instance, Lara, a university professor who was a young adult in 1974, chose demilitarization of the society as her priority:

> Lara: At the negotiation table, I would like to raise…What is the vision of the society? And one of the major issues at least from my view is that I don't want a militarized society. Not just saying that I want to remove Turkey overall… Who wants our children to become soldiers? Why do we train men and women to learn how to use guns to want to have that desire as part of who they are as people. So I want to raise that question.

Lara was especially interested in the removal of Turkish bases from the island. Nurhan also wants to see an end to the militarization of Cyprus, which she connects to patriarchy.

> Nurhan: First, thing is demilitarization of the island and removing compulsory military service would be my first discussion point…military service is the machine of patriarchy. Maybe it's everywhere but in Cyprus, it's the best tool for them and they will keep using it…Everything is lest empty fear. Since 2003, 2004 when the checkpoints are open, nobody is killing each other actually. So having this compulsory service to create this divide creates the patriarchy.

Nurhan also believes the presence of Turkish military bases on the island deliberately serves to create fear among Turkish Cypriots that without the bases Greek Cypriot will attack them which then prevents Turkish Cypriots from interacting with Greek Cypriots. .

The issue of sustainable development was mentioned by Selin makes the point that environmental issues are fundamental to everyone and deeply connected to the next generation:

> Selin: I would like to discuss more about the sustainable future of the island, not just economical issues but I would like to discuss more about environmental issues. I would like to see what kind of future we are preparing for our children. And are there any water, lands, or unpolluted natural resources for us to keep giving them. So I think the issue is very much neglected.

This perspective arises from the need for cooperation between the two communities - across the divide - if they are to accomplish sustainability on the island. Despite the artificial line dividing the island, the two communities share the same land, water, and various natural resources. The United Nations Development Programme and various bi-communal groups have launched peace projects featuring the two communities' grassroots cooperation for environmental sustainability. Selin would take these projects

to the level of leaders' negotiations in order to gain more cooperation in terms of the

island's environmental challenges.

Although the women who prioritized these issues did not explicitly refer to the

gendered aspects of militarism or environmental degradation, other issues were

prioritized because women identified them as comprising specific gender dimensions.

Nurhan's priority of implementing a truth and reconciliation commission is one exmaple.

> Nurhan: …that's never happened in Cyprus. And South Africa and South American where even more people are killed and tortured but they were able to talk about this. Here when talking to people of authority and they say that it's impossible in Cyprus and why? Why? Let's name [them] or even if we can't name [names] let's name the crime and let's shame them so next generation knows that this is totally unacceptable. As long as we do this, we have murders and rapist walking in our communities freely.

Specifically, Nurhan believes that the leaders should implement a truth and

reconciliation commission in order to bring justice to victims of rape in the conflict. She

wants this women-focused issue on the negotiating table.

Sonya, a university professor in her sixties, articulates the importance of gender

sensitivity and gender- inclusive language in all agreements and in any new constitution

that unites the two communities in one nation in the future.

> Sonya: I think one of the first things is to acknowledge that gender perspectives should be included and we should be very very careful about the language we use. Both sexes are represented in the language. Secondly, women's rights are specifically articulated, for example, law. Legal document needs to be gender sensitive. Only men's experience should not be represented in the legal understanding.

While also recognizing that the Republic of Cyprus's accession to EU has

removed some of the gender bias in the legal framework, Sonya insisted that the

implementation of the framework was not yet accomplished at the societal level. Thus,

discussions that move from gender bias to gender sensitivity in a new constitution must

be part of negotiations.

Some interviewees argued, however, that certain gender-specific issues are better

resolved by non-profit organizations of civil society rather than at the negotiating table.

Incidents of rape in the conflict is a case in point. Selin's comments imply that justice for

rape victims should be pursued in a context other than the negotiations between the two

communities' leaders:

> Selin: But the negotiation table, it's not to discuss such thing [rape] but the
> negotiation table is to find the good solution to the Cyprus conflict and that
> incidents have nothing to do with the six chapters of the negotiations we are
> aware of. Negotiation has to be away from those incidents but those that we need
> to find settlement, whether it's unification of the island or the separation.

The issues that interviewees prioritize include issues of gender inequality and

women's neglected experiences as well as issues in which the gender dimensions are

often unrecognized, including by these interviewees themselves, but which are urgent

issues in women's view for both communities of the island.

INCLUDING WOMEN MEANS INCLUSION OF

OTHER MARGINALIZED GROUPS

When discussing women's representation at the negotiating table there was also a

call for the inclusion of other marginalized groups - ethnic minorities, youth, and sexual

minorities. Although specified by only a few interviewees these views are worthy of

examination because they bring to light others' exclusion and suggest the potential for

solidarity among groups. Women's concerns are not limited to their social location as

women only but include dimensions that cross cut gender and make for multiple axes of

exclusion from the negotiating table and mainstream public discourse. As Alexis argues:

> Alexis: When you are discussing, general principles, constitution, meaning, equality in every level. You don't focus on ethnic only… there is no such issues that doesn't have gender dimension. Equality of gender, sexuality, religious orientation, color, but be quite specific about that. We have to be very concise and careful about the equal access means because there isn't as a part of civil society, or working in civil society that does not have gender aspect. Actually it's so!

> Alexis's concern with multiple dimensions of inequality is complex. She is not

arguing that increasing the number of individuals who identify with various marginalized

groups would settle the issue of exclusion. She is pointing out the pervasiveness of

gender as an organizing principle of societies and the way in which all systems of

inequality shape and bolster one another as dimensions of domination intersecting with

gender. Such an analysis calls into question the quality of ongoing discussions at the

negotiating table.

Yeter sees potential for changing the negotiations with the inclusion of women,

whose perspectives go beyond just the Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot divide and

encompasses ethnic minorities and youth:

> Yeter: …So far, we don't have any breakthrough. To be honest with you, I don't think it is just the issues of involving women's issue but I think it's an issue of minority groups, other unheard voices and minority issues. Basically what's happening is that this is the political process which is led by [privileged] men, and the majority of population is excluded. They need to involve with variety of voices in the peace process and they need to interact with civil society more closely. I think they need to listen to all the people. But in particular, adopting gender focus and involving more women . . . could also unlock some of them, could kind of undo some of the intractabilty and inability to move forward, because women could make suggestion and bring new perspectives and give ideas and cause the breakthrough…

Women can potentially accomplish the breakthrough if one recognizes that the category "women" is multiple and encompasses all ethnic and age groups - all "Other" voices on the island. And as Lara argues, these others include sexual minorities as well:

> Lara: …(G)ender is not just about women or men. It's also about let's say heterosexual - men who are not heterosexual. So this becomes a bit more complicated because things are happening not just because these are women. Gays and lesbians and transsexual and transgender people[are included]…

These comments on sexualities push the concept of gender beyond women (or men) to attend to the multiple elements of one's identity and social location that intersect to create cross-cutting oppressions requiring inclusive struggles for social equality.

These interviewees see the benefit of including women at the negotiating table as a complex process that involves more than having a "woman's" perspective on peace. The value does not stem simply from the inclusion of women's perspective but the multiplicity of perspectives that would ultimately embrace all marginalized groups on the island, including men who are marginalized due to their ethnicity, their age and/or their sexuality. Recognizing the complexity of Cypriot women as a group and the intersection of gender with other dimensions of inequality in Cyrpiot society reveals inclusion of women to be just the beginning of more inclusive negotiations for truly inclusive peace.

CONFRONTING INCIDENTS OF RAPE IN THE CONFLICT

All the interviewees recognized that there were women victims of rape during the conflict and understood the sensitivity of the issue. Some of the women interviewed had heard only about the incidents that happened in their community – that is, some Greek

Cypriot women had only heard stories of Greek Cypriot victims and some Turkish

Cypriot women has only heard stories of Turkish Cypriot victims.

Most interviewees claim to feel comfortable talking about the issue of rape in the

conflict with friends and family members, although some do express reservations about

discussing this history with men in their families and older friends in the community –

the gender and age of the people with whom they talk about such issues matters. The

women may feel comfortable talking about the issue, but others' reactions to such

conversations vary. Nora, a Greek speaking Cypriot teacher in her thirties, recounts the

following with regard to discussing incidents of rape in the conflict:

> ST: Do you expect that your friends accept what you say? Or believe what you say?
> Nora: I don't think all of them. But most of them, yes.
> ST: So the rest of your friends who might react in a different way, what do you think they feel about the fact that you tell the story?
> Nora: If it's that the incident happened to Greek Cypriot, the would just agree… if I said that this incidents happened to Turkish Cypriot, most probably they will say either "you are a traitor", or "you are brainwashed" or they would just get angry with me or the person who tell me that. They would not accept it.

Nora seems resigned to the fact that some of her friends would believe what she

says about rape only if the victims were Greek Cypriot women not Turkish Cypriots. In

contrast, Sonya appears determined to address the issue of gender based violence

regardless of how others react. Asked about discussing such issues with male friends and

family members she says:

> Sonya: Yeah, yes we do[talk about gender based violence]. I always sensitize them, Especially the way we use language. Sometimes the language can be extensively offensive to women. It's not just physical but also verbal. And psychological that we need to be aware of.

Sonya makes the important point that men in her own network need to be sensitized

regarding how to talk about the issue of rape without being offensive to women.

The interviewees expressed discomfort about their ability to handle the issue of rape publicly while at the same time affirming their capacity to discuss other women's issues in public settings. The interviewees perceive that public discussion of incidents of rape during the conflict is not socially acceptable, but they seem unsure about how to account for this situation. Some interviewees mentioned that only recently has the issue of rape in the conflict emerged as a topic in the media as the result of the investigative work of liberal journalists and activists. Even women who in their daily lives have been publicly engaged with ordinary citizens working for the reconciliation of the two communities do not feel comfortable talking about the issue of rape during the conflict with members of their own communities.

Interviewees attached the word "taboo" to the discussion of sexual violence and rape. Asked about why people in the Turkish Cypriot community do not talk publicly about the incidents of rape in the conflict, Yeter explains:

> Yeter: Umm, I don't know about Greek Cypriots but Turkish Cypriots are Muslim it's like a huge dishonor. You know it's like you are labeled after that. So people feel huge shame and they feel now stigma attached to them. And it's not something openly discussed because of culturalism.

While accepting the importance of the public discussion of rape in the conflict, interviewees' views varied on how to deal with victims, perpetrators, and the different publics regarding this issue. Relative to women's assertions about priority issues they want to see on the negotiating table, their discussion of this issue was muted. Their tone of voice was less energized and, they took more time to answer questions regarding the issue of rape. This struggle to find satisfactory answers extended to replies to questions

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about what strategies would work best for healing the victims and achieving justice on

this issue.

The women were evenly split in their views on whether or not time and energy

should be dedicated now to responding to the victims of the rape during the 1974 conflict.

Some of the women argue it is too late to offer any psychological support to victims

almost 40 years after the end of the conflict. In terms of trauma experienced by victims,

Agnes, who is in her twenties and active in film making, dismisses the idea that the issue

of psychological support for rape victims belongs on the table now.

> Agnes: But that happened like 40 years (ago), you know. I mean (if) they have an intention to provide psychological support, they would have done it. (laugh)

In Agnes's view the leaders cannot be bothered to spend any time on the issue of

rape during the conflict. She also asserts that victims will never overcome their

psychological trauma even if some sort of support for their healing existed. Her talk

about the healing of victims stood out for its unremitting cynicism regarding the

possibility of any positive outcome for rape victims.

Alexis, who is an energetic grassroots activist for more equality in society,

struggled to respond to the question of how the justice can be served in the context of the

incidents of rape that occurred in 1974:

> Alexis: I honestly think it's too old. At this point, I don't think anything can be done now.
> ST: Hmm, would you still like to make a move to deal with it? Or do you think it's inevitable to let it go?
> Alexis: I think if there is a way to deal with this after whatever years later, I'm not sure at this stage what we can do.
> ST: What should we have done?
> Alexis: Well, this should have happened while ago at the stage… I'm not sure. One of the few times in my life, I'm actually not sure.

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The vibrancy that marks Alexis's approach to public discussion of incidents of rape and how that can heal those who have gone through difficulties since 1974 turns ever more hesitant as she tries without much success to come up with a strategy to support the victims of rape in the conflict.

However, other interviewees assert it is not too late to discuss the issue of rape in the conflict and they suggest something of a path forward for responding to these incidents Zoe's remarks follow along those lines:

> Zoe: Umm, I think I need to say that it's not too late considering it needs to happen sometime soon before these women start dying. If those rape incidents happened 25 years (ago,) this woman won't be here to tell the story. So if these women come out like this happened in South Africa in post-Apartheid system. And these are stories for the whole community and shape up the community history. This is why I think the stories need to be told.
> ST: How about those women's sensitivity? What if they don't want to come out?
> Zoe: That's definitely something that we need to respect. Umm, it doesn't mean necessarily though, that women raped should come out and talk. There were incidents where the rapists come out and talk whereas the mothers of the victims come up and talk… But I think because of the specificity of the conflict in Cyprus was covered up in silence, I think these things have to come out slowly one way or the other.

Zoe alone mentioned the importance of shared history and the significance of communities' acknowledgements of past events. Her purpose in confronting rape during the conflict is not only for the sake of healing and justice but also for sharing the story with other members of the community. Because of the time that has passed and the age of those involved, she is concerned that it may soon be too late in practical terms to heal victims and strengthen community through public acknowledgement of this aspect of the island's conflict history.

The interviewees' struggles to devise a comprehensive strategy for responding to rape in the conflict seemed to suggest they were looking to one strategy that would fit

every single case and at the same time take into account the sensitivity of the issue.

Yeter's comments suggest a range of ways to respond to the history of rape:

> Yeter: I think it depends on the actual issue. Various methods that they could use… You know sometimes persons actually come out and publicly apologize to the family and the victim. I don't know it really depends, and Cyprus has to have a few options so that people come forward and move forward with cases of victimization.

> Yeter suggests flexibility in terms of how a post conflict society can move justice

and healing for a range of community members. No more specific strategies were

offered on how communities can come to terms with the history of rape during the

conflict. Even Yeter's comment does not address how guidelines for the responding to

victims might take shape.

Many factors are at work in how these women see coming to grips with the

history of rape in the Cypriot conflict. Some of the women think too much time has

elapsed since the incidents occurred to offer psychological support to the victims. Other

do not agree, yet they too struggle with how to bring justice and closure to these cases of

victimization. Interviewees divide on the issue of the value to the two communities of

pursing public discussion of rape in the conflict almost forty years on.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The main findings can be summarized as follows. First, the interviewees

recognize women's 'gendered' experiences in conflict and consequent differences in the

nature of women's suffering in conflict and its aftermath. Women's need to expand the

traditional domestic role in their households during conflict to include obligations

typically assigned to men was reported by most of the interviewees. Second, the women

were virtually unanimous in calling for women's participation at the negotiating table. The influence of the patriarchal social system on the political leadership was perceived as the key obstacle to that inclusion. The interviewees laid out a variety of issues as requiring attention in the negotiations, which were not limited to explicitly gendered experiences and concerns. Noteworthy is the "intersectional" perspective taken by some interviewees who argue that women's participation at the negotiating table opens up the arena for the inclusion of multiple perspectives of others as well. Lastly, the findings reveal that not all interviewees are convinced of the need for confronting the issue of past incidents of rape in the conflict. In addition to the substantial length of time that has passed since the incidents occurred there was little clarity on the appropriate manner or mechanisms for addressing the victims or the crimes.

In the next chapter, the discussion of the findings is filtered through different social locations including experiences with gender and peace activities and ethnic origin. The conclusions connect previous studies on other conflict societies to the case of Cypriot women's understandings. Throughout the discussion and conclusions, liberal feminist theory provides the framework for analyzing the women's responses and locating this study in the context of other scholarship.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

DISCUSSION

The women interview participants articulated a consistent understanding of the

Cypriot social system: patriarchy is in place. Almost without exception, the ethnic origin

of the interview participants did not lead to any substantial differences in their view of

patriarchy. This finding fits with Hadjipavlou's argument on women's role in Cypriot

society. Hadjipavlou (2009:247) conducted a focus group discussion with women of

Cyprus including ethnic minorities and found that "women are still struggling to establish

a space for the self" and to get beyond the narrow confines of traditional roles as

domestic care taker without feeling guilty. The single exceptional view on the power of

patriarchy comes from Selin. She sees Turkish Cypriot families in which mothers and

other women members have more power than men in the domestic sphere. Few analysts

would count this as a thoroughgoing weakening of patriarchy, however. As far as

women's absence from the public, political arena Selin attributes this not to patriarchy

but to the trauma of the conflict.

The Discussion section tries to analyze the data with sociological lens. As stated

in Chapter 3, the interviewees' social locations including age, ethnical origin, and the

experience with gender or peace civic activities are employed as variance to find the

relationship with certain answers to the questions. However, it is important to note that

the relationship cannot be generalized to the Cypriot female population. Especially since

the group of key informants only consists of three Turkish Cypriots, the interpretation of the relationship between their ethnic origin and answers was conducted carefully not to make an overstatement.

Involvement in civic activities for more gender equality appeared to be a condition that leads to recognition of the power of patriarchy. Indeed Nora, who has not engaged in gender oriented activities pointed to the increasing number of women participating in Greek Cypriot political parties and argued those women's voices are heard. She also asserted the legitimacy of their participation since they achieved their positions through democratic elections. In this context the current negotiating table does not have to include any women representatives on gender specific issue in Nora's view. However, Nora was quite insistent in protecting subordinated people in Cyprus because she strongly advocates youth representatives at the negotiating table due to the nearly complete absence of youth in the political arenas. Tellingly her activist experience has been as a bi-communal youth camp leader. No other interview participant was as sanguine about men's patriarchal domination at the peace negotiating table – although older men dominating younger men (and all women) is part of the traditional understanding of patriarchy.

Thus, experience with gender activism and professional work focused on women's inclusion in the peace negotiation led women to highlight patriarchy in relation men's taken-for-granted domination of the negotiating table. Younger interview participants in their twenties and thirties were somewhat more likely to acknowledge a

narrowing of the gender gap in public, the general view of the women was of strongly felt presence of a patriarchal system impacting their lives.

One consistent feature of the interviews that is potentially troublesome is that many interview participants only referred and reflected on their own communities. As an example, Nurhan only talked about the impact of the Turkish military presence on the island in relation to the patriarchal system of the Turkish Cypriot community. Sometimes the women apologized because they only knew about the reality in either the Greek Cypriot or Turkish Cypriot community. That they were very hesitant to criticize "the other" community or to speak for "the other" community is not in itself a bad thing. But this hesitancy extended beyond talk about patriarchy in the other community to a genuine lack of knowledge about the other community. For example, when discussing the incidents of rape in the conflict, some of the participants clearly indicated that they knew only of the stories from their own community. Not confined to this one issue the study suggests that interviewees' understanding of various aspects of social life is often limited to their own community.

The understanding of "self"' strongly tied to the ethnic and kin network may explain this narrowing of the social world. In an analysis focused on the Greek Cypriot case, Herzfeld (2006) argues that Greek Cypriots grow up to have a sense of self linked to kin group, home and territory. He refers to the case of other men entering the village and raping the women as representing Greek Cypriots' personal sense of invasion. These stories are narrated in the schoolbooks and passed down the generations reinforcing the sense of outsiders as "others."

This uncertainty about "the other" is even prevalent among the interview participants whose work is focused on peace on the island. That is, even those who were supposed to be more knowledgeable about the other community and have daily interactions with people from both communities were hesitant to make comments about the other community. One interviewee with years of experiences in the peace-building on the island carefully labeled her comments as one sided.

Of course not claiming to speak for another is laudable; but not knowing about the lives of people in other communities is problematic. The findings raise the question of how much people on the island know about each other and what gaps there may be in the knowledge the two communities have of one another. Lack of understanding of cultural, socio economic, and political dimensions of "the other" community suggests that information exchanges on various dimensions should take place and would play an important role in the reconciliation process. Uninformed or misinformed people can be misled or manipulated by forces who do not wish to see the reconciliation and co-existence of the people in the two communities on the island.

The issue of the qualities and the quality of women representatives at the negotiating table is complex. Simply being a woman is not sufficient for being a representative with leadership ability - a central issue for the interview participants. On critique of women in power is that their own experience of working in politically powerful institutions diminishes their sensitivity to gender perspectives and issues (Hadjipavlou 2009). Multiple interview participants mentioned the so-called "gender focal points." Both Mr. Eroğlu and Mr. Christofias have appointed women as gender focal point for their offices. The women were assigned as gender focal points through the

efforts of a gender advisory team, an informal advocacy group of women. Yet, the interviewees argued that the two women were not effective in promoting gender perspectives to the leaders. As in Barrow's study (2009), which showed the ineffectiveness of Cambodian peace negotiations even with women representatives at the table, interviewees were concerned that women's representation does not necessarily means that their voices will be heard. This study reaffirms the complexity of the issue of the quality of women's representatives.

Nonetheless, the potential of women bringing multiple perspectives – from multiple marginalized groups – to the negotiating table was articulated by some interview participants. Selin's assertion of the gender perspective as a "more humanistic way to look at" issues on the island indicates that a gender perspective means "bringing inclusiveness" in multiple senses. Yeter contends that "involving women" at the negotiating table "unlocks" the possibility for others who are left out of the process as well. These ideas connect to Martin's (2003) notion that implementing concern for sexual differences allows for a larger culture of differences to emerge. This position recognizes that gender cannot adequately be represented simply by attending to differences between women and men because gender intersects with ethnicity, sexuality, age and other social locations such that multiple differences must be included in negotiations for inclusive peace.

The interviewees prioritized a range of issues to be included in negotiations; their priorities flow from their work, their passions, their family backgrounds and their personal experiences. Women activists working for gender inclusion at the negotiating table prioritize gender-specific issues but also think there are other issues to be taken up

if the negotiations are to accomplish inclusive peace on the island. For example, the three issues Lara identified have varying degrees of gender specificity: sexual violence, demilitarization, and neoliberalism on the island. This indicates the breadth of issues these women care about – beyond gender-specific concerns to concerns with political power and the political economy of the island.

This range of concerns does not mean that these gender activists do not have strong desire to bring women representatives to the negotiating table or that they lack passion in their calls for a gender perspective in the discussion of various social and security issues. Rather, the findings suggest that these women are frustrated by the slow process of the negotiation and by leaders' ignorance of what these women see as pressing issues.

Among the interviewees, the women peace builders who have less involvement in gender activism tend to focus more on *indirectly-gendered issues*. Their concerns are connected to their personal experiences and family backgrounds in addition to research and volunteer activities. For example, Agnes humbly confessed her priority topic at the negotiation topic as refugee issues. Her family is originally from a village called Verosha, where Greek Cypriots used to live but abandoned to escape the military conflict in 1974. She recognized that her choice was "selfish" to a degree, but refugee issues are common issues that could be shared with wider public. Moreover, the fact that women activists, who have not been involved with the women's organization, gender studies, and activism on gender gap, do not identify issues as explicitly gendered does not mean the issues they identity are not gendered – as refugee issues clearly are.

Interview participants' varying views on discussing rape incidents during the conflict to some degree reflect cultural differences in the acceptability of discussing such issues privately or publicly. While interviewees expressed willingness to advocate about the issue, they doubted the willingness of friends to talk about the issue with them. Some women noted that conservative Turkish Cypriot society limited such discussions even if women themselves felt comfortable talking about the issue with members of their community. The stigmatization of rape victims was cited as a crucial obstacle, making it hard for people to hear about the issue of rape in conflict especially in Turkish Cypriot communities. Few women expressed confidence in their ability to confront the issue publicly; only some activists with an extensive experience advocating for women on the island asserted the capacity to take their dedication to the issue into the realm of public discussion.

Nearly half of the interviewees specifically said it is too late for a public response to victims of rape and/or the perpetrators of rape. There is no pattern among the women (by ethnicity or the focus of their activism) as far as who was more likely say it is too late to address the issues publically. The reluctance of peace and women's activists to make this a public issue does not bode well for the issue ever coming up in the larger society. It is noteworthy that some of those who have dedicated much effort to social justice for women and minority groups on the island do not see any prospect and/or value in acting on this issue 40 years after the conflict.

Interview participants' comments affirmed the extent to which the issue of rape incidents remains in the realm of whispers among people in both communities. They talked about a documentary clip, an "underground" resource, which reported about

victims of rapes on the island. Greek Cypriots supposedly banned the airing of the video. Until this documentary, done by male journalist, surfaced it seems fair to say that most interviewees' knowledge of rape in the conflict was largely limited to stories recounted in their families.

Drawing together the findings from the interviews, the last section of this chapter connects that analysis with previous research and the liberal feminist ideas framing the study to suggest the value of the research for understanding women and peace. Next section also discusses how the study constructed the knowledge of what the women activists think about their own peace processes and participation through the method and theory employed by the study. For example, the qualitative methods that were employed by the study helped to reach the core perceptions of the female peace activists. At the same time, the study could have been able to explore more if the study additionally conducted focus group discussions among the interview participants.

CONCLUSIONS

This study addressed the research question: how do Cypriot women peace activists from various social locations perceive the importance of including women in the ongoing post-conflict negotiations and the necessity of addressing gender based violence, in particular, multiple rape incidents in 1974, in these negotiations and in the larger public sphere. In addressing these issues the study is located in the larger concern of gender inequality in various stages of peace-making and peace-building processes. In Cyprus where the leaders from the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities are men and women's involvement is not prominent concern with gender inequality is especially

relevant. Moreover, despite official reports done by EU on rape incidents during the conflict, local leaders have not addressed the issues publicly and the reaction to these issues on the part of the public in general is quite muted. The fact that social condition in Cyprus has not produced a feminist movement notwithstanding bi-communal women's organization, Hands Across the Divide, was established to push for gender mainstreaming in the peace process. Systematic study of what it is that women, engaged in activities promoting peace on the island, want from peace negotiations, contributes to understanding the role of women in peace building.

The prevailing social structures in Cyprus are the context for the investigation. And the intention of the research has been to inform the work of Hands Across the Divide as well as other organizations working within the dominant patriarchal system to promote inclusive peace on the island. Bringing out the voices of women that have so far not been taken into consideration by the leaders of the two communities contributes to their ongoing efforts to bring pressure to bear on the leadership for a more gender sensitive approach.

The study employed liberal feminist theory which focuses on taken-for-granted masculine domination in society and the patriarchal social structure. The organization of interactions and institutions is set up to treat women unequally relative to men. The liberal feminist approach to ameliorating this situation is to increase women's public voice and participation in the political decision making process. They take a reformist approach to the structural changes that need to be made in political institutions to foster more equality. This liberal, reformist approach also characterizes United Nations and United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. Liberal feminism does not ignore

women's oppression in the domestic sphere but links that situation to the exclusion of women from participation in the public domain. Their interest is in the elimination of gender inequality in social institutions not the radical destruction of those institutions.

The reformist agenda of liberal feminism is but one approach to seeking women's inclusion at the peace negotiating table, but it offered an appropriate framework for conceptualizing the interviews with women professionals engaged in working for peace in Cyprus. None of the interview participants were seeking radical change in the political system or the structure of the negotiations but rather they articulated reforms that should be made in the decision making process. Some of the Greek Cypriot women pointed to the more gender aware system of the European Union as a model system of laws and governance for their own society. The interview participants shared many of the concerns outlined by liberal feminists, and their calls for women's participation the negotiation process resonated with liberal feminist discourse.

Numerous scholarly studies on women's participation at the negotiating table have identified multiple obstacles to the representation of women as a group. These impediments enumerated in case studies conducted in a variety of conflict states include: political leadership being disinterested, constraints of traditional roles, and lack of knowledge about how to mobilize women as an advocacy group. The findings of the current study resonated with previous studies on the barriers to women's inclusion in peace negotiations. For example, the interview participants, in particular Turkish Cypriot women, pointed to the patriarchal system and the complete lack of gender awareness on the part of leaders from the two communities. Nonetheless, these interview participants were still willing to engage with the negotiation process; they were far from dismissing

the process as has been found in other post conflict societies. They are motivated to work to send a representative of women's interests to the negotiating table, and despite the obstruction of their efforts they pay close attention to the official negotiation process and outcomes. Many observers have argued that gender based violence during conflict and post conflict societies, specifically the rape of women, is used as a tool of ethnic cleansing. The struggle to combat and confront the issue of rape in conflict often faces difficulties in identifying victims and finding ways to bring perpetrators of rape to justice. This is the case not only for practitioners on the ground but also for researchers whose intentions are to inform advocacy and action through the study of issues related to rape victims, rape crimes, and the social reactions to rape in conflict. The sensitivity of the issue dominates almost all efforts to conduct academic research, provide psychological treatment, and afford justice to the victims.

Interview participants offered personal, family stories of women's victimization of gender based violence in the conflict. As in previous studies, these women activists also struggled with how to respond to rape victims as well as rape crimes committed in 1974. Some women expressed great frustration because neither the Greek Cypriots nor the Turkish Cypriots have ever publicly recognized the crimes, unlike the relatively successful implementation of justice systems in other post conflict societies. This study, in a context where more than 30 years since the cease fire there has been no public resolution of the incidents of rapes across the two communities, adds a cautionary note to the argument for confronting gender based violence in conflict.

While this research gleaned much about women's participation and gendered concerns in the peace process from the use of in depth interviews with key informants

other methods of observation could have been fruitful as well. The information sharing among the participants that occurs in focus group research might have brought to light more complex ideas and nuanced perceptions as participants "process" the thinking of others in the group. Including participants from other ethnic communities such as Armenians, Maronites and Latins would also lead to a fuller picture of what women want in the peace negotiations on the island. In future studies, the perspectives of men, in particular men from other minority groups, would add to understanding gender issues that were likely not included in this study with women form the two main Cypriot communities. An inclusive study with men from various groups on the island would add to the understanding of issues of power sharing among groups, for example, and would allow for comparisons with women's views to illustrate the gap and the overlaps in the perspectives of women and men on the peace building process.

One overarching analytical point that emerged from this study on women's participation at the negotiating table and the issues to be discussed there is that the ethnic groups from which women originate do not seem to affect in any systematic way the perceptions women voiced about how people in Cyprus ought to progress toward inclusive peace now. But neither do the women engage in (even positive) commentary about the community that is not their own. Various cultural and political obstacles seem to prevent even women activists from reaching out to learn more about the community of "the other." In general, Turkish speaking Cypriots live in the north of the island, and Greek Cypriots live in the south. This separation appears to limit their knowledge of the society of the neighbor in ways that do not conform to their (more abstract) vision of a just and inclusive society.

This study reveals the commitment among Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot women to seek inclusive peace, and thus it is appropriate to call for a change in persepcitve on the part of the leadership of the two communities and the influential stakeholders including, that is, the nations of Turkey and Greece: they should recognize that collaboration between the two communities is genuinely possible and is happening even if only in small ways now. The interview participants' insistence on women's participation at the negotiating table and their interest in making negotiations beneficial to everyone on the island should not be dismissed. United Nations organizations and the political leadership should lead the way to assist women activists' in raising their voices on the island and giving them more space in which to participate.

Thus, this study adds its call for the change in political peace negotiation in Cyprus. Arguing how the Cyprus negotiation should change, Economidou (2002:133-136) emotionally stressed that

> "(i)t is up to us to shift from the amateurish sentimental participant to an articulated constructive agent whose contribution will constitute and influence some of the major transformations required for the peace process to be legitimized and effective. These transformations must take place simultaneously both institutionally and discursively".

In response to women's raised voices, the leaders should be ready to take action in promoting an inclusive environment. The island of Cyprus appears to have moved on since the cease fire; there is limited need for humanitarian assistance to Cypriot victims who were harmed physically and psychologically in the conflict some thirty years ago. However, until Cyprus finally constructs inclusive peace, the international community should not shift its attention away completely to other conflict- affected societies. There is still much peace building to do on the island of Cyprus.

APPENDIX: INTERVIEW GUIDE

- Personal affiliation
    - How would you describe your ethnicity?
    - Which part of the island you are living in?
    - What is your occupation?
    - Do you have any other occupation to the public? Such as volunteering?
    - What is your highest education?
    - Do you mind if I ask your age?
    - Are you married?

- Gender difference in conflict
    - Do you think women's experiences in the conflict and in the post conflict society differ from those of men's?
    - Would describe how the experience differs from that of men's?
    - Do you think the women's different experiences deserve more attention from the society?
    - Why do you think so?
    - Do you think Cypriot women comply with the unequal system of the gender relations?

- Participation to the women's peace negotiation
    - Would you like women to be represented at the negotiation table?
    - Do you think women's specific concerns are discussed at the negotiation table adequately?
    - Do you think representatives at the negotiation table are willing to discuss women's specific concerns regarding peace and conflict?
    - Why do you think they are (not) willing to do it?
    - If you were at the negotiation table, what would you like to discuss?
    - Why do you think so?
    - What do you think should be needed to have female representation at the negotiation table?

- Gender based violence

- Are you aware that EU has reported that there were multiple rape incidents committed by Turkish Cypriot soldiers?
- Are you comfortable talking about gender based violence with your female friends?
- How about with your male members of the family?
- Are you aware of any other gender based violence during the conflict of 1974?
- Do you think the leaders at the negotiation table should discuss the issue of rape in 1974 at the negotiation table?
- What strategies do you think there are to have the issue more public?
- Do you think the issue of (the answer to the last question) is discussed adequately in the public?
- Why do you think the issue of rape is not discussed?
- Do you think it is too late to discuss the issue of rape incidents now?
- What strategies do you think there are to have the issue more public?

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