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Cyprus: A Divided Civil Society in Stalemate

Esra Çuhadar and Andreas Kotelis

The conflict on the island of Cyprus is long-standing, intractable, and currently at a stalemate. In this chapter we explore the functions of civil society in the Cypriot conflict, tracing its historical background, providing an overview of the status of civil society on Cyprus, and presenting findings about peacebuilding-oriented civil society. Then, following the theoretical framework developed by Thania Paffenholz and Christoph Spurk (see Chapter 4), we elaborate on the peacebuilding functions that are performed by Cypriot civil society.

Context

Located in the eastern Mediterranean, Cyprus is the third largest island in that sea; it lies south of Turkey and is strategically positioned near the Middle East. Its population is currently slightly more than 1 million, mainly Greek (748,217 concentrated in the South) and Turkish (265,100 concentrated in the North),¹ with minorities of Armenians, Maronites, and Latins. The Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities are the main adversaries in the conflict, although the conflict cannot be separated from the broader conflict between the countries of Greece and Turkey.

It is difficult to summarize the conflict in a few paragraphs, especially when considering the historical narratives adopted by the parties (Dodd 1998; Hannay 2005; Müftüler Baç 1999; O'Malley and Craig 1999; Bölükbaşı 2001; Arım 2002; Chrysostomides 2000; Papadakis 1998; and Volkan 1979). Below we describe the conflict in the context of peacebuilding and civil society.

Even though intercommunal violence became rampant in the 1960s, for some scholars the conflict dates to British colonialism, when the seeds of ethnocentric nationalism were sown (Anastasiou 2006; Hasgüler 2000). At one

level, the conflict is the result of competing Greek and Turkish nationalism, relying on the historic claims of *enosis* (integrating the island with mainland Greece) and *taksim* (partitioning the island into respective Greek and Turkish political entities). At another level, the conflict is about power-sharing between two ethnic identity groups, as well as statehood. After 1974, other issues arose, such as the property of Greek Cypriot refugees and the presence of the Turkish military on the island.

The state of Cyprus was established in 1960 after the British withdrew, ending colonial rule. The new state was founded with the Zurich and London Treaties under the guarantorship of Greece, Turkey, and Britain.² The new constitution and the political system adopted proportionality for all ethnic groups: political offices were arranged on the basis of a 7:3 ratio (of Greeks to Turks), with the president being a Greek Cypriot and the vice president a Turkish Cypriot. The state soon became dysfunctional because of disagreements over its functioning and the constitution. Civil war broke out in 1963. For the Turkish side, the situation was an attempt at *enosis* perpetuated by attacks from the Greek guerrilla organization *Ethniki Organosi Kiprion Agoniston* (EOKA). In 1967, the legitimacy of the state was in danger of collapsing, with many Turks being pushed into enclaves; even the Greek Cypriot community divided between those who were in favor of *enosis* and those who wanted to maintain independence from Greece.

In 1974, a colonels' junta in Greece undertook a coup that toppled the Greek Cypriot president, Makarios, and replaced him with a former EOKA militant. The coup led to the military "intervention"³ of Turkey in 1974. The northern part of the island was occupied by the Turkish military and was left to the Turkish Cypriot community, which in 1983 resulted in the founding of the internationally unrecognized Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). Many Greek Cypriots became refugees after 1974 and fled to the South, leaving their property behind. The troubles created many displaced peoples who formerly lived in mixed cities and villages. In addition to displacement due to violence, a population exchange was initiated soon after 1974, allowing Greek Cypriots in the North to go South and Turkish Cypriots in the South to go North.

The events following the watershed years of 1963 and 1974 created the major issues of contention during ongoing negotiation and mediation efforts led by the United Nations. The Turkish side sees the division of the island, with the establishment of an independent Turkish state in the North, as the logical way to end the violence; the presence of Turkish troops is a safeguard. For the Greek Cypriot side, the situation is perceived as a violation of sovereignty and victimization of Greek Cypriots, who suffered displacement and property loss after 1974.

Status of the State and Economy

Before detailing the political and economic conditions of both Greek and Turkish Cypriots, we must stress Cyprus's complicated and unique status. In

the international arena, the Republic of Cyprus (RoC) in the South is the formal legal successor under the founding treaties: the Treaty of Guarantee, the Treaty of Alliance, and the Treaty of Establishment. It is recognized by the international community, but not by Turkish Cypriots or by Turkey. Since 1974 the presence of the Turkish Army and the declaration of the TRNC have created a *de facto* situation in the North, which has the full characteristics of a state but is dependent on Turkey for its administration and finances. In this chapter, we examine the status of the state based on the *de facto* situation; thus there is an overlapping assessment of both societies in regard to the status of civil society on Cyprus.

According to the RoC constitution, Cyprus is an independent democracy with a presidential system. The executive power is vested in the president, elected by universal suffrage to a five-year term of office (Cyprus Government Web Portal 2006). The RoC's is a liberal constitution in which the basic liberties and rights of citizens are described. The constitution, however, has not changed since 1960, to manifest that the RoC is the only legal state on the island and the only one recognized by international treaties. According to the Greek-Cypriot Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the RoC has consistently pursued policies promoting human rights, the rights of women and children, and others (Greek-Cypriot Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2008).

As far as economic status, estimates for the Greek Cypriot state show a GDP of US\$18 billion, or US\$23,000 per capita. According to EUROSTAT data, Cyprus's per capita gross domestic product–purchasing power standards (GDP-PPS) for 2006 was 21,900 euros, reaching 93 percent of the GDP-PPS average for the twenty-seven members of the European Union (EU-27) (Eurostat Yearbook 2006–2007). The RoC also rates “excellent” on combined averages under the Freedom House Index for 2006, being rated as having the highest degree of freedom (Freedom House 2006).

On the Turkish Cypriot side, the TRNC constitution is a newer document, prepared after the TRNC declared independence on November 15, 1983. The TRNC constitution guarantees human rights and liberties and includes detailed provisions on protecting basic human rights and freedoms as compared to the 1975 Constitution of the Turkish Federated Republic of Cyprus (Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus Presidency 2008). The Turkish Cypriot side has a president and a multiparty political system.

Economic conditions in the North show important differences, despite improvement. The per capita income had a ratio of 2:1 in 2006 (Greek Cypriots to Turkish Cypriots), which improved from 4:1 in 2001 (Nami 2006). Overall, GDP for the Turkish Cyprus is US\$1.865 billion, or \$11,800 per capita, for 2006 (World Factbook CIA 2009). The growth rate in the North is a fast 11 percent annually from 2001 to 2006. During the same period, the economic growth rate in the South was reported at 3 percent (Platis 2006). The Turkish Cypriot economy is highly dependent on support from Turkey.

Stages of the Conflict

Historically, the Cypriot conflict reached a climax in terms of destruction during the 1960s and 1970s, when violent armed conflict was waged between the two parties. The two communities are currently segregated, but hostility continues absent the daily violence on the ground. Today the conflict is waged in legal and political arenas, such as the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR), and within various international institutions such as the European Union and the United Nations.

There are three important features. First, this is an intercommunal conflict characterized by low levels of violence and an interminable stalemate. The violence subsided after 1974, except for a few instances at the UN-controlled Green Line. Second, Cyprus hosts one of the longest-lasting UN peacekeeping missions, even though the effectiveness of the mission is debatable. Third, although the conflict is intercommunal, it is dependent on and influenced by the internal situations in Greece and Turkey. The conflict is in fact closely linked to Turkey's negotiations for EU accession.

The latest developments include a round of UN-led negotiations over the Annan Plan in 2004, just before the Republic of Cyprus joined the EU. These negotiations failed to result in an agreement. In a referendum on April 24, 2004, the Turkish Cypriots accepted the plan by 65 percent, but the Greek Cypriots rejected it by 76 percent (Alexandrou 2006, 25). The change in the Turkish Cypriot leadership just before the referendum, with the replacement of the pro-status quo Rauf Denktaş and the support of the Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi—AKP) government in Turkey for the Annan Plan, were important factors in the Turkish Cypriot community. The hard-line nationalist Greek Cypriot president, Tassos Papadopoulos, did not support passage.

Since the 2003 opening of checkpoints along the Green Line, for the first time since 1974 there have been increasing exchanges and crossings between the two sides. On February 24, 2008, during research for this chapter, the Republic of Cyprus elected Dimitris Christofias, the leader of the Communist Party (AKEL), as president. The 2008 election results were a surprise, and many interpreted Christofias's victory as a strong indication that Greek Cypriots were willing to find a solution. At the same time, the loss by the hard-line Papadopoulos was interpreted as a turn toward moderation and conciliation.

Regardless of the reasons behind the Greek Cypriot vote, for the first time since 1974 there are two leaders on the island who simultaneously express an interest in solving the impasse, coming from similar ideological backgrounds. Only weeks after the change of leadership in the South, Christofias and the new Turkish Cypriot president, Mehmet Ali Talat, met and agreed to open the Ledra Street crossing in Nicosia, closed since 1963. They also agreed to restart the stalled negotiations. The technical preparations for negotiations are completed and talks between the two Cypriot leaders are under way.

Peacebuilding in the Context of Cypriot Conflict

Although there has been an ongoing peace process for decades under UN sponsorship, different stakeholders and actors have different interpretations as to peace, peace agreements, and the process that achieves peace.

Political parties interpret peace and peacebuilding differently. All mention the need for negotiations, but they differ in expectations. In both communities, there is a division along a moderate-to-hard-line continuum. In the North, the National Unity Party (Ulusal Birlik Partisi—UBP) and the Democrat Party (Demokrat Parti—DP) traditionally support a confederation or else maintenance of the status quo (Tocci 2002, 111). The Communal Liberation Party (Toplumcu Kurtuluş Partisi—TKP) and the Republican Turkish Party (Cumhuriyetçi Türk Partisi—CTP) have been more open to a federal solution based on a bizonal and bicomunal state (Tocci 2002, 112). Overall, it can be argued that regardless of differences, the baseline in the Turkish Cypriot community is that a solution needs to recognize Turkish Cypriots as equals, not as a minority, and needs to introduce a centrally weak federal state that is bizonal and bicomunal.

On the Greek Cypriot side, moderates are traditionally represented by the Reformist Workers Party (Aristera Nees Dynameis—AKEL) and the United Democrats (Enomenoi Democrates—EDI), which have been supportive of a federal solution. The Socialists (Kinima Sosialdemocraton—KISOS) and Tassos Papadopoulos's Democrat Party (Democratiko Komma—DIKO) traditionally opt for hard-line positions and are more skeptical of federal solutions that recognize Turkish Cypriots as a nonminority (Tocci 2002, 115). A survey among Greek Cypriot teenagers investigating the “most preferred” and “most feasible” solutions to the conflict found the most frequently mentioned preferred solution to be the creation of a federal state dominated by Greek Cypriots; the least preferred solution was the creation of a federal state with two equal communities. The latter was also considered to be feasible least often; for the majority of the sample, maintaining the status quo was perceived as a feasible way forward (Pahis and Lyons 2008). Thus, it can be argued that the baseline within Greek Cypriot society is a federal state; however, contrary to Turkish Cypriots, Greek Cypriots are inclined toward a centrally strong federal state in which Turkish Cypriots are assigned minority status.

Greece and Turkey are important, as both countries have leverage over their kin communities; policy preferences have changed over time (Loizides 2002; Çarkoğlu and Kirişçi 2004). Greece in the 1990s shifted toward a cooperative model; the Greek government (Nea Demokratia, or ND) and the main opposition party (Panellinio Sosialistiko Kinima, or PASOK) supported the Annan Plan, which adopted a federal solution (Evin 2004; Loizides 2002, 438; Anastasiou 2007, 199). It should be pointed out, however, that the support of ND was not as clear as the support of PASOK. Turkey, after 2002 and the ascension to power of AKP, changed its pro-status quo position on Cyprus and

made concessions on confederation-oriented solutions (Çarkoğlu and Rubin 2005; Stavrinides 2005, 83).

International actors also see the peace process from different angles. The UN and EU perspectives on peacebuilding differ especially in their approach to the peace process (Çuhadar-Gürkaynak and Memişoğlu 2005). The UN understanding of peacebuilding in Cyprus is summarized in the Annan Plan: a federal government with two equal constituent states and a single Cypriot citizenship (Alexiou et al. 2003). The UN has been careful about taking an impartial role. EU impartiality is dubious. The EU position evolved from uninterested third party in early 1990s to a secondary party at the end of the accession talks with Cyprus (Eralp and Beriker 2005; Yeşilada and Sözen 2002). Although the EU does not have a specific plan for an agreement, the membership process has been used as a tool to facilitate reconciliation between the two communities (Eralp and Beriker 2005, 180–181; Tocci 2004).

This suggests that most actors in Cyprus are hoping, or could “live with,” a federal solution, more or less confined by the principles in the Annan Plan. However, disagreements arise over structure, power-sharing, and organization within a federal state, as well as procedures to reach the final goal. One could argue that civil society functions to prepare Cypriots for a federal state, such as confidence-building and citizenship-building initiatives, are relevant to the conflict.

Status of Civil Society

Civil society in Cyprus, in both the North and the South, is weak, not quite independent from the state, politicized, and a recent development. An independent civil society, albeit an ineffective one, began to emerge in the Turkish and Greek communities only after 1974. Historically, civil society was dominated by the political society in both communities and, in particular, by the Greek Orthodox Church in the South (Kızılyürek 2004). In both communities after 1974, civil society tried to thrive within a patronage system; independence from the state remained very limited (Kızılyürek 2004, 50–51). In the South, civil society has been tied organically to political parties, in which almost all civil society formulations, including sports and youth associations, have functioned as party extensions. In the North, the part of the civil society that rejected the idea of *taksim* was excluded by the pro-status quo governments (Kızılyürek 2004, 51).

The patrimonial and nonindependent characteristics of civil society in both Cypriot communities are also reflected in the CIVICUS report of 2005, which shows that the status of civil society in Cyprus is weak: although civil society is considered developed in Cyprus overall, it is still far from levels seen throughout Western Europe. The CIVICUS study assessed Cypriot civil society on four dimensions: structure, the environment in which civil society is located, the extent to which civil society promotes positive social values, and the impact of civil society at large.

The exact number of civil society organizations (CSOs) in the South is difficult to configure exactly, but based on the information from the *Civil Society Organizations Directory* as well as civil society leaders interviewed for this study, it is estimated to be around 2,000 total. However, among registered CSOs, only a fraction are active or include a significant membership. The main civil society actors in the South are trade unions, charity organizations, the Greek Orthodox Church, and sports clubs. According to the *Civil Society Organizations Directory*, about 60 percent of organizations are based in Nicosia; the rest are scattered mostly in other big cities, indicating urban concentration. The opportunities for citizen participation are limited in rural areas partly because CSOs are not actively organized in local communities.

In the South part, the CIVICUS report suggests, civil society structure is ranked “slightly weak.” This means that the level of public participation, through volunteer work, is low (CIVICUS 2005, 4–5). The report also suggests that prejudice and discrimination are widespread in regard to certain ethnic or linguistic minorities and foreign workers. Rural dwellers are also largely excluded from membership and leadership in CSOs (CIVICUS 2005, 4–5). Furthermore, according to the report, cooperation and communication among different sectors of civil society are limited. The majority of the organizations operate at the local or national level, but it is more common for trade unions and employers’ organizations to be linked to international organizations (CIVICUS 2005, 5). Overall, data from the CIVICUS report show that only 43 percent of the population in the South belong to a CSO, and only 17 percent belong to more than one. Moreover, data reveal that 60 percent have taken some form of nonpartisan political action, such as signing a petition (CIVICUS 2005, 53).

In the North, the number of Turkish Cypriot CSOs is about 1,200. However, as in the South, only a fraction are active. According to the *Civil Society Organizations Directory* and interviews, the number of active CSOs in the North is around 200. The key actors are trade unions and sports clubs. Roughly 70 percent of CSOs are based in Nicosia (Lefkoşa); Famagusta (Gazimağusa) is another active community. Thus, as in the South, civil society in the North is also in urban areas.

The structure of civil society on each side is similar. The CIVICUS report suggests that it has been relatively weak, except for the period of mass demonstrations for and against the Annan Plan in 2004 (CIVICUS 2005, 9). The findings from the CIVICUS study suggest that the proportion of Turkish Cypriots belonging to a CSO, or who may have undertaken some form of nonpartisan political action and volunteerism, is fairly low. Participation in bicomunal events together with Greek Cypriots is also low. On the Turkish Cypriot side, there is prejudice and discrimination toward certain minorities, poor people, workers, and settlers from Turkey (CIVICUS 2005, 132). The extent to which civil society promotes positive social values, and the impacts of civil society at large, in the Turkish Cypriot community are akin to the Greek Cypriot side.

Overall, the problems faced by civil societies in both communities (i.e., the rural-urban gap, the dominance of family ties as opposed to individualism, prejudice and discrimination toward certain social groups) are similar. One major difference is that the Greek Cypriot civil society has more resources (human, financial, infrastructure, availability of external funds) and better access to international umbrella organizations that support local civil society compared to Turkish Cypriot civil society.

Peacebuilding-Oriented Civil Society

These general characteristics—that is, civil society is not independent of the state and political society, reflects a low level of volunteerism and civic participation, as well as dominance of Greek and Turkish nationalisms—also shape peacebuilding-oriented activities on the island. Participation in bicomunal meetings is common among moderates or those who are predisposed to dialogue. Often, people who engage in dialogue are alienated in society by mainstream nationalist actors, such as the Greek Orthodox Church on the Greek side or pro-*taksim* groups on the Turkish side. Political parties and their preferences still determine people's actions in the Greek Cypriot community. Such was the case during the referendum for the Annan Plan, in which people followed party lines when voting. We elaborate on these characteristics below.

During the history of peacebuilding in Cyprus, we see three types of actors. The first one is formal CSOs, which function in various issue areas, from the environment to women's issues to mediation. The second type of CS actor is citizens (local and international) who are involved with various bicomunal activities. The third type, social movements and ad hoc public campaigns, sometimes galvanize support for or against negotiation processes and usually operate around social networks. Therefore, in discussing the functions of civil society in peacebuilding we focus on CSOs (not limited to those that define only peacebuilding in their mandate), citizens (foreign and local), and networks that organize social movements and campaigns. Religious organizations are important CS actors, especially in the Greek Cypriot community, but their peace-support activities are limited or nonexistent. Historically, the Greek Orthodox Church has been associated closely with nationalist struggles for *enosis* and Hellenism and disregarded the fears and needs of the Turkish Cypriot community (Hadjipavlou 2007, 354). Recently a few Greek Orthodox bishops recognized the suffering of Turkish Cypriots, challenging the close association between the Church and the Greek nationalist movement (Hadjipavlou 2007, 355). In the next section we provide a general picture of CSOs in Cyprus before discussing their functions in detail.

In order to provide an overall picture of the status of CSOs in Cyprus, we gathered a list based on the *Civil Society Organizations Directory*, a two-volume work published in 2007. This is to our knowledge the most comprehensive and up-to-date civil society directory published in both the North and the South. It

provides information on all CSOs in Cyprus—peacebuilding and otherwise, a total of 418 active CSOs (271 Greek Cypriot and 147 Turkish Cypriot). We then coded CSOs according to their interests (sports, charity, professional associations, etc.), gender and youth focus, year of establishment, level of operation, and whether they have a special interest in peacebuilding or not.⁴ We present the findings from this analysis below.

Among CSOs in Cyprus, 65 percent are Greek Cypriot and 35 percent are Turkish Cypriot.⁵ On the Greek Cypriot side, 21 percent of these work on issues related to peacebuilding; on the Turkish Cypriot side 45 percent work on such issues, more than double that of the Greek Cypriot side. The number of Greek Cypriot CSOs interested in peacebuilding (fifty-seven) is less than Turkish Cypriot CSOs (sixty-six). This is significant given the fact that the total number of Turkish Cypriot CSOs is much smaller. Thus, we can say that CSOs that work toward peacebuilding form a significant proportion of the Turkish civil society as opposed to the Greek Cypriot civil society.

Another difference in peace-oriented civil society emerges when we look at dates of establishment. Figure 9.1 shows dates of establishment for Turkish Cypriot CSOs, comparing trends for all CSOs (total), and trends for peacebuilding-related CSOs and general-interest CSOs. Figure 9.2 shows the same trends for both general-interest and peacebuilding CSOs for the Greek Cypriot side.

Figure 9.1 Turkish Cypriot CSOs According to Dates of Establishment

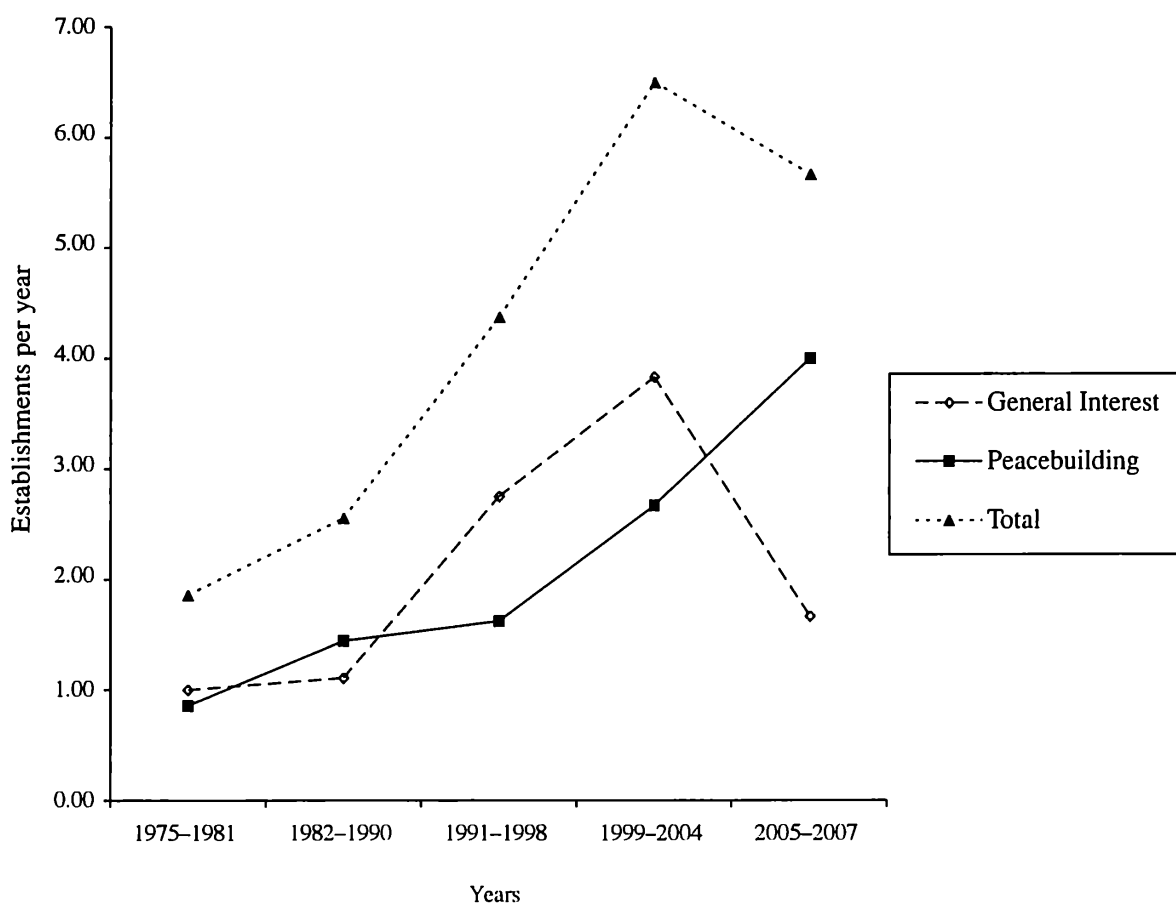
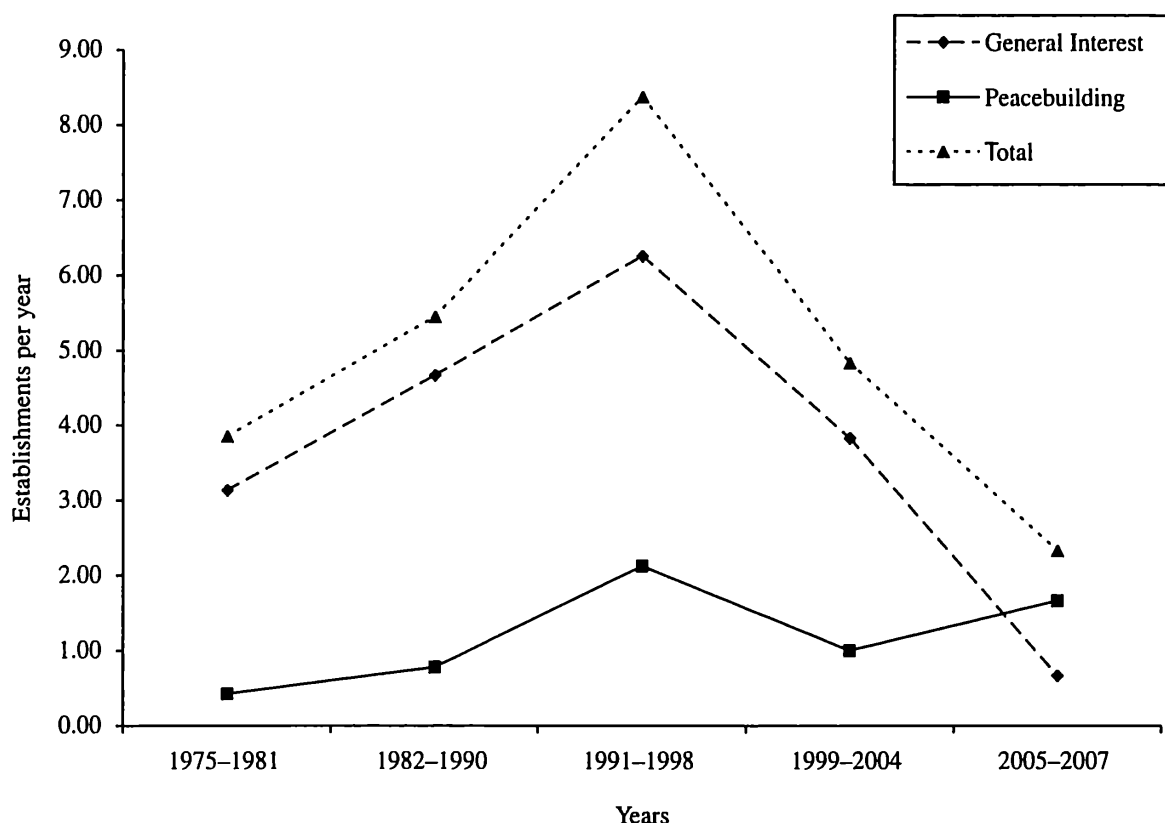


Figure 9.2 Greek Cypriot CSOs According to Dates of Establishment

The time periods reflected in Figures 9.1 and 9.2 follow the major turning points in the conflict. The y-axis indicates the number of CSOs established during that period, divided by the number of years within that period.⁶ A comparison reveals patterns in the evolution of CSOs in general and the evolution of peacebuilding CS in particular. Beginning in 1975, the Turkish Cypriot community saw a steady increase in the number of peacebuilding CSOs. A similar but less significant increase in peacebuilding CSOs is also observed on the Greek Cypriot side after 1975. A decline in the number of new CSOs is observed in both communities beginning in the late 1990s. Another striking similarity is that the 1990s were boom years for peacebuilding CSOs in both communities; the numbers increase during these years compared to previous periods. Overall, the data suggest that peacebuilding CSOs are young in Cyprus; on the Greek Cypriot side there is a decline after 1998 in the number of new peacebuilding CSOs, while the upward trend continues on the Turkish Cypriot side.

As for any focus on women and youth, we see that women's associations show differences between the Greek CS and Turkish CS. Turkish Cypriot women's organizations are common and widespread, accounting for slightly more than the 25 percent of all CSOs. This includes prominent associations such as Hands Across the Divide and the Turkish Cypriot Women Association. In contrast, the Greek Cypriot CS performs poorly on gender issues. The percentage of women's associations, or associations dealing with gender issues,

is only 9.59 percent. Numerically, there are thirty-seven Turkish Cypriot women's organizations compared to twenty-six on the Greek Cypriot side. A common finding with regard to gender is that the number of peacebuilding CSOs focusing simultaneously on gender is higher than for other CSOs that address gender issues exclusively. This indicates that in both communities gender issues are incorporated into the peacebuilding agenda, but tilting in favor of the Turkish side. Finally, this is an indicator that women take an active role in peacebuilding work on both sides, again tilting in favor of the Turkish Cypriot side.

Maria Hadjipavlou and Cynthia Cockburn (2006) provide information about women's involvement in civil society and argue that early peacebuilding initiatives failed to address gender aspects of the conflict and lacked training and discussion on issues of gender. Thus, Cypriot women themselves had to take the first steps in organizing women's groups to address gender issues that resulted from the conflict. This led to the creation of a small group of Greek and Turkish Cypriot women who became leading figures in civil society.

As for youths, in both communities the percentage of youths' and youth-related organizations exceeds 50 percent (52.3 percent for Turkish Cypriots and 53.1 percent for Greek Cypriots). The picture is positive when we take into account CSOs that specialize in peacebuilding but simultaneously work with youths and their issues. This indicates that youths are an important part of peacebuilding activities in both communities.

Peacebuilding Functions

In the following sections we examine the functions performed by civil society in peacebuilding, following the framework in Chapter 4. We discuss the types of actors, their activities, and the relevance and effectiveness of each function.

Protection

In conflicts where violence is a daily phenomenon, protection is an urgent and important function and means providing safety and security to the victims of conflict. In Cyprus, where daily violence is nonexistent, the protection function in this classic sense is not applicable. Thus, any protection function provided by civil society in Cyprus is virtually absent. The conflict is a long-lasting stalemate, in which interaction between the two communities and violence are minimal.

Any protection function has come from non-CS actors, such as the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), deployed before 1974 to maintain the cease-fire between the parties and to surveil the Green Line buffer zone (UNFICYP 2008). For Turkish Cypriots, the Turkish Army in the North is the main protector, but Greek Cypriots do not perceive it as such.

Therefore, any protection function means protecting the interests of individuals whose well-being may have suffered during the violent period of conflict.

This includes protecting abandoned private property and the cultural heritage in combination with advocacy and monitoring.

Some CS actors protect people in danger, unrelated to the conflict. The Turkish-Cypriot Human Rights Foundation in the North and the Association for the Prevention and Handling of Violence in the Family deal with human trafficking, domestic violence, child abuse, and refugees from other countries. Even though these activities do not directly address peacebuilding, it is not uncommon for Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot CSOs to cooperate on such general protection matters. Such cooperative protection of human beings generates contact between individuals from the two communities and thus serves as an entry point to social cohesion.

Monitoring

Monitoring is also a lower priority in the violence-free context of Cyprus, focusing mainly, if not exclusively, on specific issues emanating from the conflict rather than on violence and how violence affects citizens.

Our research has shown that CS actors providing monitoring are not very common and can be assigned to two categories: monitoring of institutions' properties (especially religious institutions) and monitoring of private property for the purpose of protection or compensation.

The Greek Orthodox Church actively monitors its property in the North, some 500 Christian churches. The Church of Cyprus has also published a booklet titled "The Occupied Churches of Cyprus" (2000). Citizen groups organizing through the Internet also monitor churches in the North (Kypros-Net—The World of Cyprus 2008). Turkish Cypriots monitor mosques in the South, a function assigned to a formal state actor, the Religious Affairs Directorate (Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı). These actors have easier access to monitoring than nonstate actors. CSOs often have to confront the state actors to do monitoring. Organizations that are known as credible, representative, and neutral in the eyes of the public can perform this role more effectively.

Monitoring private properties focuses on claims to lands left behind in the South and the North after the population exchange. The issue was highlighted after 2002 when the ECHR, in *Loizidou v. Turkey*, found Turkey to be in breach of the Human Rights Convention and granted the Greek Cypriot applicant (Loizidou) the right to her property (Gürel and Özersay 2006, 363; Necatigil 1999; Loizidou vs. Turkey Overview 2000). Since then a number of Greek Cypriots have followed the same course, claiming compensation from Turkey. Soon after, Turkish Cypriots followed, claiming their rights to properties in the South through international legal channels. The Human Rights Foundation provided limited assistance to individuals who filed two pilot cases at the ECHR. The issue of private property has become a legal issue, where the role of civil society did not go beyond providing legal counseling. This service hardly serves a peacebuilding goal but instead escalates the conflict into an international legal battle.

Ancient cultural heritage is an important issue that receives monitoring. Greek Cypriots claim a need to protect the many antiquities in the North. However, monitoring is done by the Department of Antiquities of the RoC rather than CS actors (Republic of Cyprus Department of Antiquities 2008).

A unique monitoring activity by civil society is the Landmine Monitor, an international NGO that monitors the demining process following the implementation of the Land Mine Ban Treaty signed by the RoC in 1997. Landmine Monitor has produced several reports describing the progress of the demining processes undertaken by the RoC and the Turkish Army in the buffer zone (International Campaign to Ban Landmines 2009).

Advocacy and Public Communication

Civil society actors carry out advocacy functions to promote resolution of the conflict and to advance peace efforts. In addition, advocacy is pursued to advance the rights of those victimized by conflict. In this sense, advocacy is prevalent, as various CS groups understand how negotiations should proceed.

Advocacy as a CS function can be divided into two categories: advocating for ideas and proposals at the policymaking and decisionmaking levels to influence the negotiation agenda in peace talks, and public advocacy, which focuses on the public sphere through demonstrations, public campaigns, and media.

Many CS actors perform public advocacy and communications on both sides of the island. Every CS actor may have its own system of beliefs (ranging from moderate to extreme nationalist) that it communicates, consciously or not, to the public. Below we identify some CS actors that see advocacy as their main function and that are propeace; they carry out activities that facilitate the peace process and protect universal human rights.

One of the most important is the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) Cyprus Center. PRIO is one of the main international CSOs with a significant field presence in Cyprus, engaging in advocacy during the turning points of the conflict. PRIO “contribute[s] to an informed public debate on key issues relevant to an eventual settlement of the problem . . . through the establishment and dissemination of information and by offering new analysis . . . and through facilitating dialogue.” Its research should always be of public interest and be disseminated in understandable language, alongside academic publications. PRIO does not advocate for a specific solution to the Cyprus conflict but rather facilitates dialogue and cooperation.

Public advocacy campaigns, and some of the first examples of bicomunal cooperation, have been organized by left-wing sectors such as labor unions. The left wings in both communities shared a common ideological agenda for the Cypriot state, and their involvement and interests went beyond labor issues to include the peace process as well. Important examples of advocacy work were undertaken by the Cyprus Turkish Secondary Education Teachers’ Union (Kıbrıs Türk Orta Eğitim Öğretmenler Sendikası—KTOEOS) and the Cyprus

Turkish Teachers' Union (Kıbrıs Türk Öğretmenler Sendikası—KTOS). Although these are labor unions, they also worked toward a peaceful solution to the Cyprus conflict. KTOEOS activities range from national issues, to human rights issues, to EU-related issues.

Several social movement campaigns galvanized by civil society have been important, beginning in the 1980s. One of the first examples formed after a meeting in Berlin, the Movement for Peace and Federation in Cyprus (Kızılyürek 2004, 52).

Other public campaigns were organized to mobilize people for the Annan Plan, especially on the Turkish Cypriot side. One of these, called *Bu Memleket Bizim* ("This Country Is Ours"), organized nearly ninety organizations to rally in support of the referendum. A public demonstration was held on January 14, 2003, when thousands of people gathered in İnönü Square in Nicosia to demonstrate in support of the Annan Plan and to voice dissatisfaction with the attitude of the Turkish leader, Rauf Denktaş, toward negotiations. Similar rallies were organized before and after this event. The organization of the rallies in the North was a result of cooperation among different civil society actors (e.g., trade unions, bus drivers) whose participation was crucial.

Public advocacy efforts were also organized by those who opposed the Annan Plan, eventually leading to a confrontation between the two blocs and deepening the polarization in each community. The "yes" platform, especially for the Turkish Cypriot side, included a wide variety of CS actors. After the change of political leadership in the TRNC, the new leadership campaigned for the Annan Plan and managed to unite business, academia, and NGOs within a coalition (Akçakoca 2005). The Greek Cypriot mobilization for approval was not very effective. The opposition platform was formed mainly by right-wing civil society, as well as actors close to political authorities in the South. For example, a demonstration opposing the Annan Plan was organized by Democratic Rally (Demokratikos Sinagermos—DISI) on April 21, 2004, a few days before the referendum. The Greek Orthodox Church was also active during the referendum process and advocated against passage. One of the leaders of the opposition was the bishop of Pafos, Chrisostomos (who later became archbishop of Cyprus). The bishop even claimed that people voting "yes" would go to hell; other members of the clergy denounced the plan as a "US-Zionist" plot (Gorvett 2004). The only bishop who supported the plan was the bishop of Morfou, Neophytos (Alexandrou 2006, 37).

Public advocacy work is also undertaken by human rights organizations to protect individuals whose rights were violated because of the conflict or because of conditions the conflict created. For example, the newly established Pancyprrian Steering Committee Claiming the Rights of Refugees and Sufferers (Pankipria Sintonistiki Epitropi Diekdikisis Dikaiomaton Prosfygon kai Pathonton) acts on behalf of Greek Cypriots. The organization argues that Greek Cypriots who fled the North after 1974 are at a disadvantage compared to the

nonrefugee Greek Cypriots and that the government should protect and assist them because of these disadvantages. Other organizations are the Pancyprian Refugee Union (Pankipria Enosi Prosfygon—PEP), the Pancyprian Organization for the Rehabilitation of Sufferers (Pankipria Organosh Apokatastashes Pathonton), and the Greek Pancyprian Refugee Union—Cyprus 1974 (Pankipria Enosi Prosfygon Elladas—Kipros 1974), established by Greek Cypriot refugees who fled to Greece after 1974. The International Association of Human Rights in Cyprus is another CSO doing advocacy work in the human rights tradition. The association is concerned with protecting Greek Cypriots whose human rights were violated after 1974 (International Association of Human Rights in Cyprus 2009).

On the Turkish Cypriot side, advocacy work for human rights is not as well organized as in the South. A few civil society actors struggle for the rights of Turkish Cypriots victimized due to conflict. The Human Rights Foundation protects and defends the human rights of the individuals living in the North (Turkish Cypriot Human Rights Foundation 2009). It has also addressed issues concerning the property rights of Turkish Cypriots who fled the South before 1974. The foundation works through legal channels to demonstrate that the RoC's policies do not meet acceptable human rights norms.

The CIVICUS report mentions that 62 percent of the Greek Cypriot population believes that civil society is “active” or “somewhat active” in influencing public policy. In the South, 64 percent of survey respondents said that civil society has an impact on the Cyprus problem and related policies (CIVICUS 2005). Nonetheless, the report does not mention the direction and intensity of this impact, such as whether or not the impact is propeace.

Other advocacy efforts aim directly and exclusively at decisionmaking. These initiatives are organized in a Track 2 setting (discussed in the section on social cohesion), where key individuals from both sides come together to discuss possible solutions and then advocate for solutions at the decisionmaking level. Advocacy is one of the major strategies used by the Track 2 participants and by organizers to influence decisionmakers and negotiations.

In-Group Socialization

In-group socialization as a civil society function supports the practice of democratic attitudes and values within society, realized through active participation in associations, networks, and democratic movements. In Cyprus, two factors make this function essential and important. The first one is various rounds of negotiations that advocate for a bizonal and bicomunal federal state. When the end goal is defined as a federal state with citizenship for Greek and Turkish Cypriots, one expects civil society to work hard toward socializing each community in democratic and civic values to facilitate a transition. For many years youths in each community have been educated along nationalist lines, in a way that disregarded the needs and fears of the other side. Greek

Cypriot children were socialized with the idea that the island was and “will always be Greek”; Turkish Cypriots learned that “the island is Turkish and should go back to Turkey” (Hadjipavlou-Trigeorgis 1987; Papadakis 1998).

The second factor is the low level of volunteerism and civic participation. Despite its relevance and importance in the successful transition to a federal state, in-group socialization does not receive the attention it deserves. Still, some civil society initiatives are undertaken to this end.

In Cyprus, CS actors contribute to the development of a democratic attitude, meaning the socialization required to participate in a democratic political life. Examples are the youth organizations of political parties, such as the DISI Youth (Neolaia Demokratikou Sinagermou—Ne.Di.Si.) and the AKEL Youth (Eniaia Demokratiki Organosi Neolaias—EDON). However, these organizations do not always aim to lay the groundwork for a functional bicomunal federal state; some also serve as schools for political parties’ future recruits and voters.

Besides democratic attitudes, in-group socialization includes learning about the peaceful management of conflicts and strengthening an in-group identity that facilitates peacebuilding. Many initiatives provide conflict resolution training and peace education exclusively to one community or both simultaneously. The Media Symposium organized by Hasna brought to Washington, D.C., a group of ten journalists working in the Greek-Cypriot media to learn and practice conflict resolution skills (HasNa 2009). The Fulbright Foundation also supported conflict resolution training for each community separately. During 1994–1995, Benjamin Broome met for several months with Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot groups separately. Later, Marco Turk, another Fulbright scholar, offered workshops for each community, which included exercises, discussions, role-playing, and the like to teach problem-solving and conflict resolution skills. The groups that received training included youths, a Turkish-Cypriot women’s group, the Cypriot Police Academy, and others (Broome 2005a, 278). Another example is the Cyprus Mediation Association (CYMEDA), which apart from professional mediation aims at educating the public on issues of peaceful conflict resolution via mediation (CYMEDA 2009).

In regard to strengthening in-group identity to facilitate peace, to our knowledge there are no CS actors that deal with this. “Cypriotism” never existed as a concept of shared common identity before or after 1974 (Asmussen 2003). Even before 1974, when the RoC was an independent state and the two ethnic groups coexisted in mixed villages, each ethnic group showed more loyalty to the “motherland” than to the state of Cyprus; a culture of independence and power-sharing never developed (Hadjipavlou 2007, 357–358). Yet, this highlights the importance of strengthening in-group identity in the Cypriot context. Establishing a federal state will be impossible to implement without it.

Intergroup Social Cohesion

Intergroup social cohesion is about building ties between conflicting parties. In Cyprus this means organizing various bicomunal activities across the Green Line. Such initiatives are significant for eliminating distrust and for maintaining communication and contact. In a 2002 survey conducted by Maria Hadjipavlou (2007, 13), 70 percent of Greek and Turkish Cypriots alike thought that lack of communication contributed to the conflict. Therefore, bicommunal contact and communication are seen as the best mechanism to overcome the problem.

In Cyprus, the intergroup social cohesion function has been overwhelmingly performed by CS actors and has been the most frequent civil society function performed (at least until the Green Line opened in 2003 and the referendum of 2004). There are dozens of initiatives organized by citizens, CSOs, scholars, and practitioners, all aimed at bringing together various groups from the two communities.

Cooperation among CSOs across the divide. During the preparation of the *CSO Directory*, CSOs were asked whether or not they cooperate with organizations from the other side. The findings are important because they indicate cooperation between Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot CSOs and, thus, peacebuilding activity. Cooperation occurs in areas such as the environment and charity work, as in the case of the Laona Foundation for the Conservation and Regeneration of the Cyprus Countryside. The data are positive, especially for the Greek Cypriot side. The percentage of Greek Cypriot organizations that cooperate across the Green Line is 54.6 percent; it is higher for peacebuilding CSOs (59.6 percent). Approximately 40 percent of all Turkish Cypriot CSOs have some type of cooperation with Greek Cypriot CSOs. For Turkish Cypriot peacebuilding organizations, the percentage is 54.5 percent.

In the same survey, CSOs were also asked whether or not they intended to cooperate with the other side in the future. The results are encouraging. Among Greek Cypriots, 179 of 271 organizations (66 percent) said they would be interested in cooperating with CSOs in the North, such as the Cyprus Consumers Association and the environmental NGO Green Shield. Among peacebuilding CSOs, the percentage is 77 percent. For Turkish Cypriots, the respective percentages are 64 percent and 86.3 percent. The results suggest further cooperation is likely between Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot CSOs in general and for peacebuilding.

Bicommunal activities. Bicommunal meetings and initiatives, rare during the 1970s and 1980s, became common after the mid-1990s; by late 1997 at least one bicommunal group was meeting every day of the week (Broome 2005a, 268). Beginning in the 1980s and throughout the 1990s, a group of Fulbright

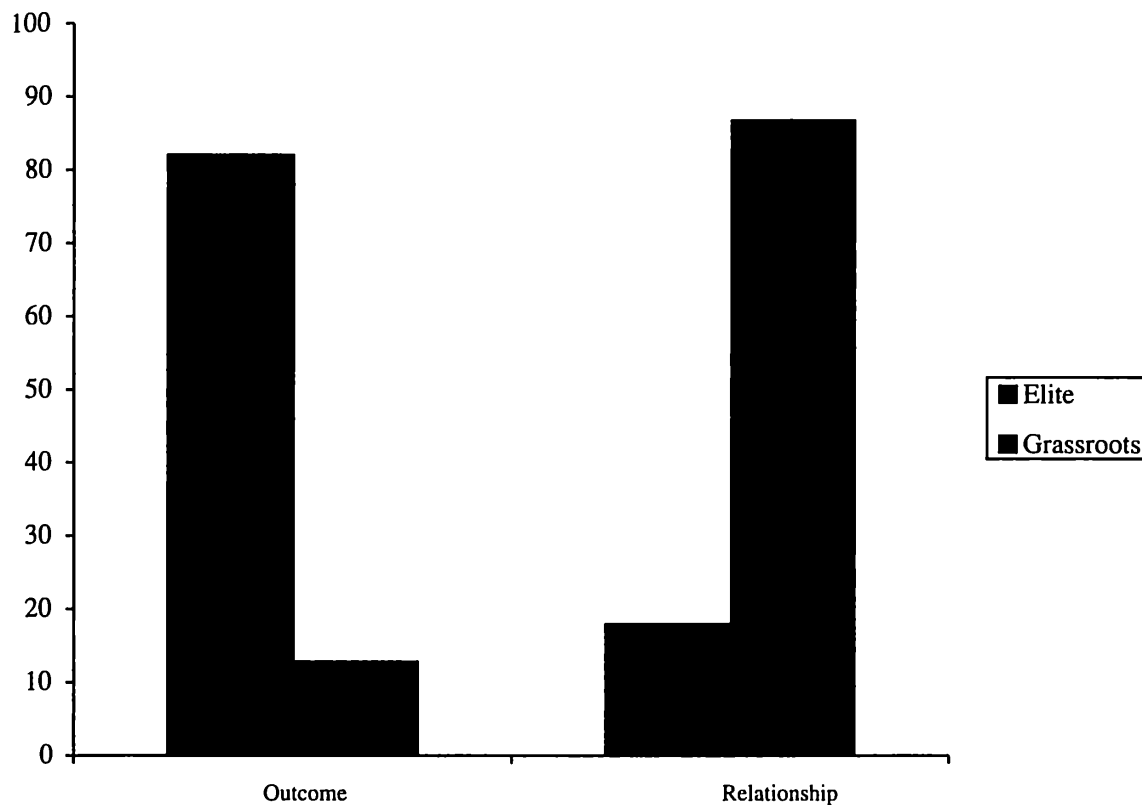
and international scholars initiated a series of bicomunal activities, including conflict resolution training, dialogue groups, and problem-solving workshops. From the mid-1990s onward, there was a boom in peacebuilding activities on Cyprus. Eventually some 2,000 individuals became involved in these initiatives (Broome 2005b, 14). According to Hadjipavlou, between 1993 and 2001 more than sixty different interethnic groups were formed, and the participants received, among other things, formal training in conflict resolution, intercultural education, mediation, and negotiation (Hadjipavlou 2004, 202).

Bicomunal contacts can be grouped into six categories: political contacts, business and professional projects, citizen gatherings and exchanges, conflict resolution activities, ongoing bicomunal groups, and special projects (Broome 2005b, 15). These activities prevailed until the referendum for the Annan Plan in 2004. However, after the plan was rejected, the number of bicomunal activities dropped significantly. Therefore, 2004 constituted a turning point for bicomunal meetings and projects. After the referendum, there was a shift in the approach toward peacebuilding and types of activities. Most CS actors seem disenfranchised, and it is not clear if a new orientation has been adopted. Thus, after 2004, civil society moved toward internal strengthening and coalition-building; intergroup social cohesion activities reduced in number overall.⁷

Challenges to bicomunal peace activities included the closure of the Green Line by the Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denктаş following the rejection of Turkey's membership application at the EU Luxembourg Summit in 1997. Individuals who had been participating in those early meetings, especially before the early 1990s, claim that to some extent bicomunal meetings engaged only the intelligentsia and other limited groups to overcome the obstacle of a common language. Only individuals with good command of English participated.

We gathered a comprehensive list of bicomunal initiatives organized by citizens, CSOs, and scholar-practitioners, ranging from the grassroots to the elite level. The list includes sixty-two initiatives that were organized in a bicomunal setting, mainly after 1990, but also includes some important activities prior to that. The initiatives were then coded along two dimensions: first, to see whether they were relationship-oriented or outcome-oriented, and second, whether they were undertaken at the grassroots or elite level. Relationship-oriented initiatives aim at bringing people together and focus on the process of communication, with the hope that relations among individuals will improve; outcome-oriented initiatives also aim at generating an outcome such as a proposal, negotiation framework, and so on (Çuhadar and Dayton 2008).

The analysis, as seen in Figure 9.3, shows that the grassroots initiatives (e.g., village meetings, youth festivals $n=40$) were predominantly relationship-oriented (87.5 percent), whereas the initiatives including elite and influential individuals (e.g., academics, policy people $n=22$) were mostly outcome-oriented (81.8 percent).

Figure 9.3 Types of Intergroup Social Cohesion Initiatives (in percentages)

Source: Çuhadar and Kotelis files, 2008.

The relationship-oriented initiatives have been organized by various local and international CS actors: citizens, CSOs, and international scholars. Most of the time, these projects were held at a Green Line checkpoint, either at the Ledra Palace or the mixed village of Pyla. The initiatives ranged from bicomunal workshops and youth camps to joint celebrations and music festivals. For instance, several bicomunal youth festivals and workshops were organized by youth organizations such as Youth Encounters for Peace. Youth Promoting Peace organized workshops with Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots in which participants could talk about the future of the conflict. Another prominent example is the project titled “The Civil Society Dialogue on Intercultural Cooperation in Cyprus,” organized by the European Academy of Bolzano/Bozen and the German Cypriot Forum.

Sometimes these grassroots initiatives were organized by political parties. An example was the Festival of Mutual Understanding, organized in 2002 by political parties like AKEL, KISOS, PUM, CTP, and TKP; 7,000 Cypriots from both sides attended.

Similar activities were also organized and funded by international organizations such as AMIDEAST, UNDP, and USAID. UNFICYP organizes an annual bicomunal meeting on the Global Day of the United Nations (Broome 2005b, 21).

There have been many outcome-focused initiatives, distinguished by two categories: those that included influential people, and others that included citizens from the grassroots such as women. In the first group are several Track 2 groups that have met over the years. For instance, the Harvard Study Group that started in 1999 in Cambridge, Massachusetts, included former ministers, key international actors, and university professors. The group met six times to generate ideas that would contribute to the peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem. Other outcome-oriented elite-level groups are the Westminster Educational Group, which met in 1995; the FOSBO workshop in August 1997 (Broome 2005a); and the Cyprus chapter of the Greek Turkish Forum.

The Greek Turkish Forum (GTF) is a Track 2 initiative formulated in the late 1990s to discuss Greek-Turkish relations. However, after the political rapprochement between Turkey and Greece, the forum shifted to the Cyprus problem (Kotelis 2006). GTF is currently meeting two or three times per year and includes prominent Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot academics and politicians.

The US Embassy in Cyprus also invited a group of Greek and Turkish Cypriots, including journalists, low-ranking politicians, and university professors, as a “decisionmakers’ group.” It tackled different perceptions of conflict resolution, the history of the Cyprus problem, and methods of communication.

The so-called Oslo Group put together by Marco Turk is well-known. Although the initial plan was for mediation training, participants became interested in tackling specific issues such as property rights, human rights, and missing persons.

It should be emphasized that most of the outcome-focused elite-level Track 2 meetings were organized by international CSOs and scholar-practitioners like PRIO, Fulbright, the Fondation Suisse de Bons Offices, and Benjamin Broome, Ronald Fisher, and Louise Diamond. Local CSOs and scholars were more involved in organizing at the grassroots level and relationship-focused social-cohesion activities.

The final category of intergroup social cohesion initiatives meets to achieve social cohesion with objectives other than peace per se. For example, representatives of sixteen trade unions gathered two times (once on each side of the buffer zone) to discuss internal issues and to hold debates on issues such as Cyprus’s entry into the European Union (Broome 2005a, 271). Likewise, the Pancyprian Public Employees Trade Union (PASYDY) has organized a series of meetings since 1995, the All Cyprus Trade Union Forum, attended by representatives of PASYDY, SEK, PEO, TURK-SEN, DEV-IS, and KTAMS (PASYDY 2008). Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot business leaders have also met as the Brussels Business Group, coorganized by Richard Holbrooke and PRIO.

We observe a reduction in the number of bicomunal activities after the opening of the Green Line in 2003 and after the referendum in 2004. Opening

the Green Line made it possible for every Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot to visit the other community. Thus, organizing grassroots-level meetings via third parties became less relevant, as communications between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots became easier, no longer monopolized by those who participated in bicommunal meetings. Dissatisfaction with the defeat of the referendum among Turkish Cypriot CS activists especially (but also among Greek Cypriots) also led to fewer bicommunal meetings.

Intermediation/Facilitation

In Cyprus, the intermediation/facilitation function is connected to the issue of mutual nonrecognition of state bodies. Thus, any attempt to mediate is characterized as conspiracy or treason. Furthermore, intermediation and facilitation between key decisionmakers have usually been carried out by official UN, US, and EU bodies. Even when direct negotiations were not under way, UN special envoy Alvaro de Soto merely listened to the parties like a “fly on the wall.” Therefore, most intermediation between political actors is led by international organizations.

However, some intergroup social cohesion initiatives (especially the outcome-oriented ones) are related to this function. As participants tried to get proposals and ideas accepted by the decisionmakers, they consulted and communicated with Track 1 people. Furthermore, some participants assumed key policymaking positions inside government and in working groups. Participants in Track 2 initiatives also play an intermediation role. Scholar-practitioner Benjamin Broome communicated conciliatory messages between the two sides when intercommunal violence broke out in August 1996 (Wolleh 2001, 16). Broome facilitated communication between the participants of the bicommunal Conflict Resolution Trainer Group when all direct communication between the two communities halted due to the events (Wolleh 2001, 16–17).

Service Delivery

In Cyprus, a number of CS actors deliver services to people, especially when the state cannot meet social needs. These services include charities for disadvantaged groups, such as the work of St. Spyridonas Special School in the South, which promotes donations and charities for children with special needs. In addition, medical services and psychological counseling are offered by some CS actors, such as the I Live with Diabetes association in the North.

But service delivery is almost nonexistent otherwise. One notable example is the Cypress Tree Project: An Initiative for the Rehabilitation of Cemeteries, which allows Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots to rehabilitate cemeteries that have become inaccessible due to the division (UNDP/UNOPS Bi-Communal Development Programme 2005). The initiative is funded by UNDP and USAID and also performs monitoring of cemeteries.

Assessment

CS actors in Cyprus have performed some civil society functions more than others. To sum up, advocacy and intergroup social cohesion functions are widespread, whereas protection, monitoring, in-group socialization, facilitation, and service delivery are generally ignored. Below we explain why some functions have been preferred over others and which variables determine the relevance of functions in the case of Cyprus. These variables are grouped as structural and actor related.

The first structural explanation includes the low level of violence and the long-standing stalemate. The separation of the communities since 1974, coupled with the presence of a UN peacekeeping force for more than forty years, created a peculiar situation. Even at its worst, Cyprus's was not a very violent conflict. Individual well-being is not in danger, thus the irrelevance of the protection function.

Human rights violations are a part of the history, and basic security needs of citizens are being met. Therefore, no monitoring of armed conflict is necessary at the moment. The conversion of the conflict from an armed one to a legal and political one in the last decades led to limited relevance for protection, monitoring, and service delivery.

The second structural variable—the strong and functioning state structures—explains why some functions are irrelevant in Cyprus. Monitoring of the past violations of human rights is provided by political authorities that each party considers legal. Hence, civil society has little to offer by providing monitoring tasks, apart from the status of property and cultural and religious sites. As part of their remit, political authorities address past human rights violations. The absence of violence and the presence of a functioning state also have an impact on the service delivery function. The state not only has the capacity to offer these services, but also there is reduced need compared to a conflict that is waged in a failed state.

Actor-related variables can be attributed to individual and institutional actors rather than to the structural characteristics of conflict. The most important is the attitude of one party toward the “other.” The RoC claims to be the legal successor of the state that was founded by the 1960 treaties, while it considers the North part as illegally occupied by the Turkish Army. Furthermore, many Greek Cypriots believe that bicomunal activities would give the impression that the Cyprus conflict is “only” an interethnic conflict, while the official line has been that this is an international problem. This attitude has an impact on the functions of civil society, particularly on facilitation and intermediation. It is difficult for Cypriot CS actors (mostly for Greek Cypriots) to organize activities, for fear of being accused of treason (Wolleh 2001, 9). This is not uncommon in other conflicts.

The tradition of peace-building is another actor-related variable that has vastly influenced the civil society functions in Cyprus. It is common to hear

from a civil society actor that it does things the way it does “because this is what the Americans brought to us,” when asked why bicomunal meetings dominated the peace-building activities. Indeed, the history of bicomunal meetings shows that the number of meetings and civil society actors organizing them increased in the 1990s, most likely emulating the practices introduced by international scholar-practitioners. This period chronologically coincides with the presence of scholar-practitioners like Benjamin Broome and Louise Diamond on the island and with funding from AMIDEAST and USAID.

Apart from these variables, funding is a secondary factor that influences CS functions. (It is secondary because the main funders of civil society working in Cyprus [USAID, UNDP, and the EU] do not undertake their own initiatives but fund proposals that are submitted by third parties.) Not all initiatives are funded; bicomunal projects were more likely to get funding than in-group socialization projects. Between 1998 and 2005 over US\$50 million was allocated by USAID and UNDP to intergroup social cohesion initiatives under the bicomunal development program.⁸

The case of Cyprus supports most of the propositions put forth by the Paffenholz and Spurr framework in Chapter 4. The relevance of the protection function is reduced in cases of nonviolent conflict. The relevance of monitoring, too, is reduced during the stalemate stage of the conflict and when the level of violence is low. The function is limited to specific issues only, such as property. Thus, the proposition that monitoring is not equally relevant during all stages of the conflict seems true.

Advocacy is not only relevant but also one of the most frequently performed functions in Cyprus. In times of agenda setting and political turning points, advocacy becomes more relevant and intense. It was effective during the referendum when all the bodies politic on the Turkish Cypriot side were in convergence toward the same goal. The AKP government in Turkey and the new Turkish Cypriot leadership by President Talat supported the passage. There was more overlap between the goals of the new Turkish Cypriot leadership and the goals of the peace activists.

On the contrary, during the referendum campaign, the actors of bodies politic were in disarray on the Greek Cypriot side. The propeace civil society could not effectively organize a campaign. Civil society activists we interviewed from the Greek Cypriot side argued that the time they had to prepare for a “yes” campaign was not enough. At the same time the opposition had already been working when the first Annan Plan was declared. Furthermore, the Greek Cypriot government under the presidency of hard-liner Tassos Papadopoulos used all instruments, including the media, to oppose the plan. On the Greek Cypriot side, people who had been key activists in peacebuilding were identified, legally pursued, or brought in front of a parliamentary ethics committee. They had to bear accusations such as improper use of UNDP funds in order to advocate in favor of the Annan Plan. Finally, unlike the previous

PASOK government that supported the Annan Plan, the Greek government of the time did not state a clear preference. Therefore, those in the civil society and government that were against the passage managed to garner a more effective coalition and had a bigger impact than the propeace camp. Nonetheless, advocacy has become especially important and relevant as a function during this crucial juncture more than at any other time in the conflict.

In-group socialization has been somehow neglected by civil society in Cyprus, often at the expense of intergroup social cohesion, even though it is extremely relevant and important. Without it a transition to a federal state and a common citizenry will be deemed to fail again. Recently, there were some important projects, such as one aimed at eliminating derogatory terms about the other group from history textbooks (Papadakis 1998). Yet, it still remains too early to comment on their overall effectiveness. It takes many years of work for the propeace camp to replace the negative attitudes people acquire through traditional means of political socialization.

Intergroup social cohesion is still relevant, however, after the disappointment following the referendum and the opening of the Green Line in 2003; motivation to continue these activities has diminished. The effectiveness of intergroup social cohesion meetings is difficult to assess, but there are points to be made for and against their success. Before these points for success and failure, we find it useful to talk about some criteria for the evaluation of such initiatives. Cuhadar (2004, 2009) identifies three directions of “transfer” to assess the impact of Track 2 initiatives at the macro level. These are upward, downward, and lateral. While upward transfer is concerned with impact on negotiations and policymaking, downward transfer is the impact on public opinion. Lateral transfer is the impact on other Track 2 and peacebuilding initiatives. In upward transfer, the impact can be on the process or on the outcome. In the former, the initiatives have input on the process of negotiations even though they do not impact the outcome of the negotiations. Input on the process can take various forms. One example is input of human capital, as in the case of the transfer of people with improved negotiation skills to negotiation teams. Another is input of ideas into the negotiation process even if they are not adopted.

In the Cyprus case, intergroup social cohesion workshops were successful in having input on the process in the upward direction. Ideas from Track 2 workshops were successfully transferred to the policymaking level, which was possible mainly due to the capacity of the participants. Influential individuals used their personal networks to transfer knowledge and ideas generated in these meetings. Participants who were active in the bicomunal activities became mayors and took roles in the government and in the current negotiation working groups preparing for the upcoming Track 1 negotiations.⁹

Bicomunal activities managed to achieve downward transfer as well. Participants from intergroup social cohesion activities took on active roles in the civil society campaigns, especially during the events leading to the 2004

referendum. The Turkish Cypriot participants played an important role in triggering a change in the Turkish Cypriot leadership. They organized demonstrations against the Denktaş regime and policies. Finally, these people served in leadership positions in civil society organizations. For instance, the executive director of the Management Centre of the Mediterranean was part of Benjamin Broome's group. The president of the Human Rights Foundation was a participant of the Oslo Group. All of these efforts resulted in creating a group of Cypriot activists who would later become community leaders in civil society both in the South and in the North.

However, in the upward direction, these activities have not managed to impact the outcome of negotiations. In the downward direction, they were not very successful in generating islandwide support for a peace plan. Without a common strategy jointly envisioned by civil society activists across the Green Line, the isolated activities of community leaders in their own societies were not very effective in changing the outcome. In addition, reduction in the number of initiatives seeking to enhance the intergroup social cohesion function was not followed by other peacebuilding functions.

The function of intermediation and facilitation is relevant especially because the conflict is managed by negotiations and third-party assistance. However, international governmental actors dominate this function rather than civil society.

Finally, service delivery in the context of Cyprus cannot be considered a function on its own as far as peacebuilding is concerned. This function has, however, offered an entry point to civil society related to monitoring in a non-peacebuilding dimension.

Conclusion

The Cypriot civil society has assumed a more active role in peacebuilding beginning in early 1990s. The most important actors who took part in peacebuilding activities have been citizens, CSOs, citizen networks, scholar-practitioners, and labor unions. Although different actors perceive peacebuilding in different ways, the bottom line is a peaceful solution through dialogue that eventually leads to a negotiated agreement with an arrangement for a bicomunal and bi-zonal federal state.

The advocacy and intergroup social cohesion functions are prominent and receive the bulk of funding. Among the more neglected functions, in-group socialization and intermediation/facilitation are most relevant. Therefore, in-group socialization should become a priority for future funding. This function lays the groundwork for values (e.g., pluralism, democratic citizenship) necessary to implement a negotiated peace agreement. Intergroup social cohesion initiatives are relevant at the elite level in negotiation processes. However, because of the opening of the Green Line in 2003 and increasing exchanges at the

grassroots, certain types of intergroup social cohesion initiatives have been put aside. Advocacy has been and continues to be an important function after the defeat of the Annan Plan and the regime change in the North. Funders and CS actors need to pay more attention to developing a joint advocacy strategy for both communities.

Structural and agency-related variables influence functions performed by civil society: low violence, stalemate, the separated nature of the communities, strong state structures, the predominance of other actors, the tradition of peacebuilding, and funding preferences. All of these can lead to a more or less vibrant civil society on the island of Cyprus.

Another obstacle is declining interest in establishing new civil society organizations. There is some cause for optimism, however, especially after the last round of Greek Cypriot elections, along with the prospect of restarting negotiations.

Civil society in Cyprus has the potential to continue growing positively into the future, especially because civil society capacity-building has become more frequent and accepted by the conflict parties.

Notes

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1. The populations of the South and the North are based on the RoC Statistical Service estimate for 2007 and the TRNC general population census of 2004.

2. These 1960 treaties are the founding treaties and are also known as the Treaty of Alliance, the Treaty of Guarantee, and the Treaty of Establishment.

3. While most of the international community defines this military intervention as an “invasion,” Turkish authorities use the phrase *peace operation*. Here, we simply use *intervention* as a neutral term.

4. Note that we defined *peacebuilding* broadly in our coding in a way that includes any activity that would contribute to peacebuilding, even though the organization did not define itself as a peacebuilding organization. Thus, activities listed, such as building of a democratic citizenship, promoting universal human rights, and cultural diversity, were some examples that were coded under “peacebuilding interest.”

5. The analysis does not take into account the size or strength of these organizations, as data were not available.

6. The six time intervals chosen are the period before 1974, between 1975 and 1981, 1982 (declaration of the TRNC) to 1990 (the arrival of scholar-practitioners), 1991 to 1998 (closing of the Green Line in 1997), 1999 to 2004 (referendum), and the postreferendum era.

7. This was done to make comparisons between periods possible, as the number of years in each interval is different.

8. This is a conclusion that was derived after interviews with key civil society activists.

9. See <http://mirror.undp.org/cyprus/projects/sectorsubsector.pdf>, accessed September 10, 2008.