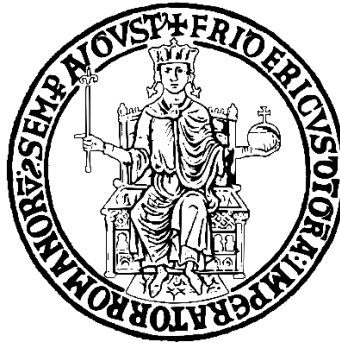


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A Structural Analysis of Social Representations of “Reconciliation” in Cyprus: An Empirical Contribution

Dissertation submitted in fulfilment for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

In the Cyprus peace process, the efforts of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) facilitate the practices of co-existence, or intergroup contact between the Turkish Cypriot (TC) and Greek Cypriot (GC) communities. Considering this context, the original contribution of this study is to employ the theoretical framework of social representations (SRs), to understand the internal structure SR of reconciliation in Cyprus. Moreover, this study intends to explore the reconciliation SRs of those taking part in CSOs ($n=30$) and of the laypeople ($n=40$). This study analyses power relations in both competing and convergent SRs between different groups of actors. It presents insights drawing upon fieldwork that was carried out in Cyprus using a convenient and purposive sampling method. Methodologically we choose the Central Nucleus Theory (Abric, 1976). This oft-used methodological approach is based on the Hierarchised Evocations tool: a task of word association-starting from the inductor “Reconciliation”, followed by a justification questionnaire (Galli, Fasanelli & Schember, 2018) as well as a classification of the associated terms (Vergès, 1992). Data were analysed using both prototypical and similitude analyses processed by IRaMuTeQ, an interface of R, and through the perspective of iterative factorial cluster analysis for binary data (iFCB). The results indicate that the structure of the social representations of reconciliation demonstrated by all subsamples reflects their social construct. It appears that, due to their activism, the CSO subsample has a higher degree of quality and quantity of collaboration in both the in-group and the intergroup, compared to the laypeople. The CSO subsample engaging in in-group and intergroup collaborations tends to show trust and a more tolerant attitude for engaging in collaborative work. Their representation of reconciliation reflects the line of activism and positive attitudes towards cooperation for a shared future. Meanwhile, the TCC and GCC laypeople subsamples have a shared hope for peace, looking forward to having a more comfortable life. They highlight the coexistence contributed to by emotional efforts (forgiveness, empathy, and the spread of love to reconnect and come to an agreement). Moreover, all subsamples share the common representation that reconciliation corresponding to peace as a common goal.

Keywords: social representations, central core theory, iFCB, reconciliation, the Cyprus problem

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHDR	Association for Historical Dialogue and Research
CATI	Computer-assisted telephone interview
CFA	Correspondence Factor Analysis
CNT	Central Nucleus Theory
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
EEA	European Economic Area
EOKA	National Organisation of Cypriots Fighters
EU	European Union
GCC	Greek Cypriots Community
H4C	Home for Cooperation
iFCB	Iterative factor clustering of binary data
IRaMuTeQ	<i>Interface de R pour les Analyses Multidimensionnelles de Textes et de Questionnaires</i>
MCA	Multiple Correspondence Analysis
MCM	Management Centre of the Mediterranean
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PRIO	Peace Institute Research Oslo
RoC	Republic of Cyprus
RR	Russel & Rao scale
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SR	Social Representations
TCC	Turkish Cypriot Community

TMC	Turkish Resistance Organisation
TRNC	Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus
UN	United Nations
UNFICYP	United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the research: Cyprus reconciliation discourse

Reconciliation is a widely discussed topic in Cyprus as leaders of both Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots have made several attempts to reunite the island. This research investigates the result of these ongoing talks and the reaction of Cypriots to the discourse of reconciliation. This study relies on the hypothesis that there is a discrepancy in knowledge about reconciliation between Civil Society Organisation (CSO) actors and the laypeople based on the degree of the ingroup, intergroup contact and discussion platform. Reconciliation, therefore, is taken to be a dynamic object of social representation determined by various news outlets, word of mouth, and other non-verbal forms of communication such as graffiti and other artworks. The study explores the object of social representation through structural analysis (Vergès, 1992). It carried out by deconstructing knowledge of reconciliation in order to understand its internal structure. To obtain insights, empirical research was employed, utilising a mixed qualitative and quantitative research methods.

The study of social representations is one of the disciplines in the field of social psychology concerned with the construction of knowledge in society through communication systems. In Moscovici's book, *Social Representations, Explorations in Social Psychology*, he described two communication genres in society:

Conversation is the primary genre of communication in which I suggest from the start, common-sense knowledge is formed. The other three 1) diffusion; 2) propagation; 3) propaganda are the second genre of communication' (Moscovici, 2000, p.274).

The progress of reconciliation in Cyprus has been widely discussed following several reunification attempts over the years made by both leaders of the islands. CSO actors are playing their role by organising projects that push for concrete action towards reconciliation; they contribute to the dissemination of peace messages. This coexistence has led to the development of

knowledge of the CSO activism community's efforts toward reconciliation centred in the United Nations (UN) buffer zone, Nicosia. This dissertation discusses the internal structure of social representations of three different subsamples: the activism community, the laypeople from the Turkish Cypriot Community (TCC) and the laypeople from the Greek Cypriot Community (GCC). The theory of social representations is concerned with the construction process of individual representations through different communication channels, leading to the formation of societal common sense. Moscovici (2000) elaborated that ideas, metaphors and images appear as the dynamic point of view of social representations.

To provide a brief background on the societal conditions of Cyprus, I incorporate my own personal experience during my four months stay (2018 and 2019) with some relevant pieces of literature. The ongoing conflict and the memory of the ceasefire have had a significant psychological effect on Cypriot society, which may contribute to the construction of social representations in Cyprus, especially amongst the older generation. How the memory of war influences society and how it creates new ideologies and either unites or divides society. The newly born country is vulnerable to both internal and external challenges, thereby creating a breeding ground for separatism or groups with radical ideologies and political disputes. From a socio-economic point of view, the island also is also facing problems with scarcity of clean water and infrastructure (Sofroniou & Bishop, 2014). Public transportation is in need of improvement since Cypriots are preferred private over public transportation¹. This condition is not ideal for the continuity of the development of the island. The number of vehicles on the street has increased over time in parallel with population growth.

Moreover, the buffer zone dividing the island may also lead to disproportionate development. It restricts people's movement, which also creating an obstacle for the future of reconciliation. Cities in both the southern and northern part of the island are not well connected. Due to a lack of public transport, crossing the checkpoint from Famagusta (North Cyprus) to Larnaca (South Cyprus), a distance of only 45 km, was not possible until late 2018 when a new checkpoint opened in Dhyrenia and Lefka Apliki. Before this checkpoint opened, travellers were required to travel to

¹ A report published by the Republic of Cyprus Statistical Service in 2010 shows the distribution of trips by type of transportation: 84.3% were made by motorised transport modes, 14.8% by non-motorised transport while the rest 0.8% by public transport.

the west to cross the checkpoint in Nicosia (Ledras Street or Agios Dometios) and travel back east to reach Larnaca.

1.1.1 Historical overview of Cyprus colonisation

As a result of British colonialism which ended in 1960, Cyprus has struggled to recover from the power change and continues to face postcolonialism challenges. One major challenge facing the young nation was the emergence of ethno-nationalist groups and the intervention of foreign powers, which resulted in the division of the island. In 1963, the first president, Makarios III, who was a Greek Cypriot archbishop, made a political manoeuvre.² Representing approximately 80%³ of the population, President Makarios attempted to reform the state's constitution and facing rejection by the minority Turkish Cypriots. Later, the southern part of the island, which is also one of the member states of the European Union, was proclaimed as the Republic of Cyprus. Cyprus is, therefore, a country with a turbulent history, one that is both culturally divided and physically divided by the UN buffer zone or green line. The buffer zone separates the northern Turkish Cypriot and southern Greek Cypriot communities of the island. The United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) has been patrolling the buffer zone since 1964, a task which was extended following a ceasefire in 1974. In 1983, with the support of Turkish military operation, the other half of the island declared its independence under the flag of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC).

In the west, the 'ethnic border' extends from Yeşilırmak of the Northern Cyprus to Kato Pyrgos on the southern side of the green line. The length of the border is approximately 180 km to the eastern part of the island, with Yiğitler on the northern part and Oroklini on its southern part. The UN green line also divides the shared capital city Nicosia. There are some parts of the green line or buffer zone that are interrupted, such as the British Sovereign Base Area of Dhekelia and Varosha, which is under the control of Turkish military. According to the UNFICYP mission, there are villages located in the buffer zone with as many as 10,000 inhabitants. In some parts, the size of the buffer zone ranges from just a few meters to several kilometres wide. Records on the

² The GCC was in favour of the island unification with Greek (Enosis)

³ Population proportion at that time is 80% GCC and 18% TCC. Complete paper can be accessed on <https://digital.sandiego.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1004&context=solesmalscap>

UNFICYP website stated four permit schemes could be obtained to conduct activities in the buffer zone, such as for construction, farming, work and access. The district office issues the permit with approval from UNFICYP's Civil Affairs Section. There are nine checkpoints⁴ along the green line connecting north and south Cyprus. The first checkpoint is Ledra Palace, which has been in operation since 2003; the opening of this checkpoint was seen as an important step towards reconciliation and a blow to the ethno-nationalist groups on both the TCC and GCC sides. The busiest checkpoint is in Metehan, Nicosia, while the most recent checkpoint opened is in Dherynia, which has been in operation since late 2018. Furthermore, after the value of the Turkish lira fell as low as 70% to 1 Euro in early 2018, more GCC (81%) have been crossing the border to shopping or purchase petrol. In contrast, the TCC visits to the south has declined by 14% (Cyprus Mail, 2018).

1.1.2 Cyprus demographic profile

Demographically, according to Republic of Cyprus (RoC) demographics report (2017), the total estimated population is estimated at 947,000. The population consists of several major ethnic groups, with the GCC representing the highest percentage (74.6%), followed by TCC (9.8%) and a mixture of other ethnic groups(15.6%). The population has increased by 0.8% compared to the previous year. Recent research has shown that Turkish immigrants outnumber Turkish Cypriots in the north. A migration of Turkish labour between 1975 and 1979 brought around 25,000 settlers to Northern Cyprus (Hatay, 2017). The south is not only economically more developed, but it is also open to the international world with two international airports. At the same time, the northern part heavily relies on funding from Turkey; this can also be seen as part of Turkey's geopolitical strategy.

Interestingly, some of the TCC holds both Republic of Cyprus and Turkish passports. In 2003, a referendum facilitated by the UN under the 'Annan Plan' showed that the TCC is more

⁴ There are two more crossing points planned to be opened (Pygros – Kokkina & Kokkina – Pachyammos) as available on <https://www.mof.gov.cy/mof/customs/customs.nsf/All/05AEEF243C9BFC8BC22572BF002D0A28?OpenDocument>

open to the idea of reconciliation. The majority (65%) voted in favour of the reconciliation. Meanwhile, GCC rejected reconciliation by over 75% (Lönqvist, 2008).

1.2 The ongoing reconciliation process

The Cambridge English Dictionary describes reconciliation as ‘the process of making two opposite beliefs, ideas, or situations agree.’ In addition, one of its synonyms includes ‘making and accepting apologies.’ This definition refers to proactiveness and efforts made in the process of reconciliation. Acknowledging the cause that creates the tension, accepting and show openness to reconcile. According to Borneman (2002), to reconcile means ‘to render no longer oppose.’ In the report published by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), *Reconciliation. Theory and Practice for Development Cooperation*, reconciliation is described in a more proactive way, including the act of cooperation in its materialisation.

Reconciliation is a societal process that involves mutual acknowledgement of past suffering and the changing of destructive attitudes and behaviour into constructive relationships toward sustainable peace. (Brounéus, 2003)

Acceptance and forgiveness are often understood as a state of being once reconciliation has been achieved. However, the definition of reconciliation as previously discussed, acceptance and forgiveness are viewed as passive actions unless the journey of both is explored further. Acceptance and forgiveness are preceded by repeated tensions, involving complex variables, multiple groups, and individuals with different thought processes. Hence, it is appropriate to translate reconciliation as a proactive process that re-establishes the ideal condition between contrasting ideas or beliefs. Nevertheless, if there is no state of peace prior to the current conflict (referring to the lengthy ongoing turbulence), an end to the tension becomes the goal of the reconciliation.

There are several variables worth looking at when discussing reconciliation. Brounéus (2003) has shown there are six essential variables in theory and practises of reconciliation: the religious, socio-cultural, economic, political, psychological and, finally, the juridical aspects of reconciliation. Another important insight from the report and also needs to be highlighted is the

assertion that ‘local and national initiatives for reconciliation should be supported, not imported.’
Would this also be applicable in Cyprus?



Figure 1. 1 Picture of graffiti ‘Break Down the Wall’ (left) and ‘No Future’ (right) are taken in the southern part of old town Nicosia

1.3 Ingroup and intergroup contact in Cyprus

As discussed in the previous section, some CSOs focus on promoting peace through intergroup contact that is centralised within the buffer zone. The buffer zone is located between TCC and GCC checkpoints, cutting the capital city of Nicosia into two. The Home for Cooperation (H4C) has housed several CSOs. It also hosts events such as a workshop, language courses, conferences, craft classes, yoga class, etc. Some intergroup contacts supported by foreign embassies and the UN are also conducted in H4C.



Figure 1. 2 Intercommunal initiatives promoting peace located in the UN buffer zone Nicosia⁵

Some of these initiatives include the following:

- 1) The Bi-Communal Technical Committee of Education and Association for Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR), through Project Imagine, has consistently promoted intercontact and cooperation between students and teachers from both sides of the island. The programme was implemented to promote peace and non-violent education. The AHDR has continued its efforts by providing training for teachers throughout Cyprus. The training is the first stage of the programme and designed to prepare school teachers on topics such as stereotypes and racism prior to the voluntary meetings of students and teachers from both the TCC and GCC. They actively support coexistence between the two sides of the island. The project has now reached 3,665 students and 397 teachers and is still growing.⁶
- 2) Another inter-communal initiative is the Bi-Communal Choir for Peace, established in 1997. The choir consistently communicates peace through the songs they sing. They sing songs in both Turkish and Greek and often participate in both local and international concerts. The choir has faced some challenges; they were rehearsing in a mixed community village of Pyla due to some

⁵ Pictures are taken from various sources on www.google.com

⁶ The number related Project Imagine can be accessed on <https://www.ahdr.info/news/119-imagine-2018-2019>

difficulties. The choir meet after work for a weekly recital and the members include not only those from the TCC and GCC but also other ethnic groups living in Cyprus such as the Maronites, the Romanians and other ethnic minorities. Every Wednesday, they practice in the Ledra Palace Hotel, which also located in the buffer zone. Some of their members have been participating in the choir for over 15 years. The choir is one example of a non-formal bi-communal group in Cyprus. Since the members of their group consist primarily of adults over 30 years old, the choir hopes that the younger generation will be interested in joining.

3) In the economic sector, CyprusInno focuses on connecting dedicated entrepreneurs in the midst of the uncertain future of their island. CyprusInno offers start-ups business incubators, courses and mentorship programmes networking, etc. CyprusInno aims to address unemployment in both communities and encourage intergroup collaboration that will eventually build trust between the two communities, which eventually builds trust between the two communities. Another collaborative work in this sector is Colive Oil. Colive itself means “To exist together in a world where we all cooperate for peace” (Colive Oil, 2020). The work originated from a deeply rooted tradition of olive oil consumption in Cypriots food staple. Colive Oil missions are to connect the consumers with olive farmers. Which also means connecting communities in Cyprus through foods.

“You are disconnected.
We all are.

You are disconnected from humanity, the global community.
You are disconnected from the earth, nature.
You are disconnected from the source of your food.

That is why we started Colive.
We exist to connect.” (Colive Team, 2020)

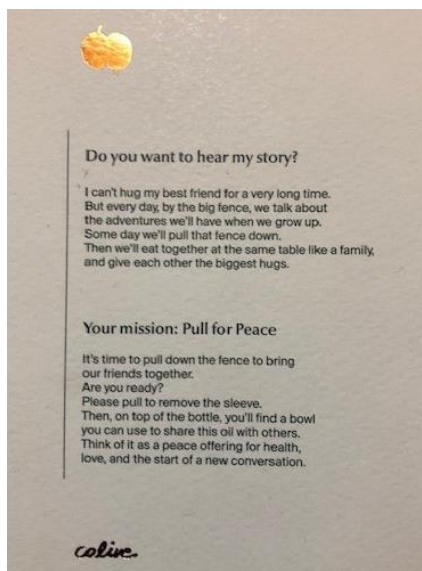


Figure 1. 3 Peace messages printed in Colive Oil packaging

4) Peace Players is a multinational organisation focusing on bridging the divided communities through sports. Peace Players also facilitates voluntary meetings between the two communities through Project Imagine.

The collaborative activities are expected to nurture collective awareness, learning about each other and healing memory of the war to build trust. This initiative allows individuals to interact in one platform such as activism; interpersonal friendship progress based on attraction, common interest and affinities (Sherif, 1967). A Greek Cypriot person I met aware that it is not wise to use certain words that may offend his Turkish Cypriot acquaintances, such as 'occupied land' or 'pseudo-state' are better to be avoided

1.3.1 Prejudice and discrimination in Cyprus

As stated in Article 3 of the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus 1960, the official language of the RoC is Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot. However, Turkish Cypriots began to face discrimination once Greek became the only official language of the republic (Trimikliniotes, 2006). The opening of the first checkpoint in 2003 has provided Turkish Cypriots access to employment and public services, leading to ongoing discrimination due to the language barrier.

As seen in the following images from North Cyprus, both Turkish Cypriot and English are used for the road signs, while South Cyprus uses both Greek Cypriot and English.



Figure 1. 4 Road sign in North Cyprus (left) and South Cyprus (right)⁷

The island of Cyprus is home to foreign workers from several African and Asian countries, including the Philippines, Vietnam and Nepal. According to the Trafficking in Persons Report published in 2014⁸ by the United States Department of State, women, primarily from Eastern Europe, Vietnam, India, and sub-Saharan Africa are subjected to sex trafficking, which occurs in private apartments and hotels. Many older males are often seen sitting in their parked cars in the nearby square or park every Sunday where the workers spend their day off. A threat for the migrant community facing discrimination, being vulnerable, and falling victims to criminals. Moreover, the power structure places migrant workers in a difficult situation due to racism (Trimikliniotis, 2004). Sherif (1967; 1961) has highlighted that issues related to intergroup prejudices and stereotypes are related to the hostilities and images shared by individuals within the group. These attitudes emerge and are triggered by the experience of competition, conflict and different values between the groups.

In addition to word of mouth, images and social media, the circulation of information is also influenced by the mainstream media. The Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) Cyprus Centre has identified how media represent their political stance:

⁷ Pictures are taken from various sources on www.google.com

⁸ A full report (tier 2, p.148) can be accessed on <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/271339.pdf>

... newspapers projected the notion that the Greek Cypriot side was the victim of the conflict [...] in contrary to the 'others.' (PRIO Cyprus Centre, 2010, p. 26).

Public opinion in Cyprus is also directed by the use of particular semantics such as the 'occupied' area when reporting about the 'pseudo-state' Northern Cyprus by some media. The influence was seen when a checkpoint officer warned the researcher about crossing into the 'occupied' area – depicting the unpleasant conditions of the 'occupied' area in comparison to the Republic of Cyprus. A foreign worker who owns an electronics shop in the southern part of Nicosia also expressed negative sentiments toward Northern Cyprus, describing it as dirty and where people spit in the street; as a result, he had no interest in visiting the 'other side.' In 2017, the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) representative working with TCC and GCC journalistic communities promoting journalistic ethics code in Cyprus to tackle this issue.

Related to prejudice, Moscovici (2000) characterised representations which include presupposing that arise from societal interactions, whether its interaction between two individuals or inter-group interactions. The concept of inter-ethnic relations comprises a broad range of encounters between people and groups of diverse origins that take place in contemporary societies (Westin, 2010). This topic is often closely related to marginalisation, social exclusion, racism, injustice and inequality. Intergroup conflict occurs and intensifies when the values within a group or society are imbalance (Deaux & Wiley, 2007). A multicultural and multilingual society, like Cyprus, is prone to intergroup prejudice and hostility. Those differences are one of the necessary factors leading to the rise of intergroup conflict (Sherif, 1967). The use of derogatory adjectives (Sherif, 1961) is one example of how these prejudices have incubated within the group or society; it mirrors the nature of intergroup prejudice. On the other hand, ethnic interactions also contribute to assimilation, acculturation and economic stability in the island. Furthermore, intergroup conflict also plays a role in the genesis of social representations.

1.3.2 Cyprus Civil Society Organisations (CSOs)

In response to the silent conflict, Cyprus has become ripe with CSOs. There are numerous organisations with a focus on accommodating the aspirations of society. The Civil Society Index study phase 2011 defined a CSO as ‘the arena – outside of the family, the state, and the market – which is created by individual and collective actions, organisations and institutions to advance shared interests’ (CIVICUS, 2011). The CSOs in Cyprus have legal status as either an association, foundation, charity, non-profit organisation. They have only been recently established in Cyprus. According to a capacity assessment report published in 2015, many CSOs have been established during the last 20 years, focusing on issues such as human rights, environmental protection and gender equality. These activities are supported by funding from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the European Union (EU), the UN, The European Economic Area (EEA) and Norway Grants, among others. The development and intensity of reconciliation attempts have attracted new CSOs to establish themselves primarily around the buffer zone or green line. Many members of the CSOs are part of more than one. The ideological initiatives in Cyprus can be clustered into three camps: pro-reconciliation, communitarianism and ethnonationalism (Tziarras, 2018).

The Non-Government Organisation (NGO) Support Centre is a non-governmental and non-profit organisation founded in 1999. The support centre is based in South Cyprus and acts as a support system for the development of civil society and promotes active citizenship. The support centre is also involved in peace talks, reconciliation attempts and youth and education development. The NGO database records approximately 30⁹ combinations of both CSOs and NGOs. In contrast, the Management Centre of the Mediterranean (MCM) is a TCC based non-profit organisation established in 2003. The MCM provides management services and includes several focus areas, including civil society and reconciliation, institutional and professional development, communication and languages and management centre research unit. The CSO directory recorded 137¹⁰ CSOs and NGOs in their database. Both directories consist of business and professional associations, trade unions, research centres, cultural centres, charities, education,

⁹ A list of registered CSOs can be found on <https://www.ngosincyprus.org/All-NGOs>

¹⁰ Details of the CSOs can be found on <http://csodirectory-cyprus.eu/main-menu?id=313>

NGOs and CSOs. To mention some, both NGOs and CSOs are registered with the legal status either as a foundation, non-profit, association, and chamber.



Figure 1. 5 ACTIVISM according to participants of the Structured Dialogue Conference Activism & the Cypriot Issue organised by Youth Exchange and Understanding (Nicosia, April 2019)

Formal or established CSOs and grassroots movements play a role in the reconciliation process. While some CSOs are often more formal, the informal grassroots movement targets those who are out of reach or not attracted to a formal set up. The informal grassroots movement is self-sustainable, and they usually meet in a common meeting room around the buffer zone or coffee shop around the green line. This form of movement towards peace can be seen in bi-communal activities such as choirs, sports, cultural festivals or as simple as weekly meetings at the coffee shop. During September 2018, three bi-communal cultural events were conducted in Nicosia's old town: 1) Halk Danslari, an International Nicosia Folk Dance festival that was held in Buyuk Han; 2) the Open-Door Festival hosted in two cities; in Nicosia (September 15th, 2018), with 37 CSOs participating, and in Famagusta on October 13th, 2018, with 33 CSOs participating. The activities included music concerts, dance shows and activities for children; and 3) the Yuka Blend Street

Festival¹¹ held on September 10th – 16th, 2018 in the old town of Nicosia. One of the ‘coffee shop level’ discussions is hosted at Büyük Han (The Great Inn), which is located in the northern part of Nicosia, close to the Ledra Street checkpoint. The Han was built in 1572 by Governor-General Muzaffer Paşa shortly after Cyprus’s conquest in 1571 by the Ottoman Empire. The two-storied Han consists of 68 rooms that are open for craft galleries and souvenir shops, as well as one restaurant and one coffee shop where the ‘coffee shop’ community gathers every Saturday morning. They meet at the Han to talk politics and to get away from politics (Christofides, 2016). The two major communities have been living together in 9.241 m² island; yet, due to the failed reconciliation attempts remain divided.



Figure 1. 6 *Büyük Han* hosting a weekly informal intercommunity social event in one of its coffee shops

There are three checkpoints in the capital city of Cyprus, Nicosia: Ledra Palace, which is reserved for diplomatic vehicles and pedestrians; Ledras street, which is the most popular tourist crossing and is pedestrian-only; and Agios Demetios/Metehan, which serves both vehicles and pedestrians. Operating since 2003, Ledra Palace was the first checkpoint and seen a breakthrough towards reconciliation. The Nicosia buffer zone is a safe contact zone for those who are not comfortable crossing the green line. Like-minded people with welcoming attitudes play a

¹¹ www.yukablend.com

significant role in building confidence, especially among the younger generation, who have not experienced the ceasefire firsthand. Younger people who obtain knowledge about the past from their family, peers, school or the mainstream media.

Furthermore, the buffer ‘safe’ zone is not only available for facilitating intergroup contact through CSOs programmes; some CSOs are located within the buffer zone itself. Two buffer-zone venues that are often used by the CSOs are the Ledra Palace and H4C. The ongoing peace talks have resulted in a push for more checkpoints to open. The most recent checkpoint to open was in Dherynia in late 2018 and seen as another step closer to reach reconciliation.

While Ledra Palace used to be a hotel, today it houses the UN peacekeeping force. The palace’s meeting hall is frequently used as a venue for various conferences and intergroup activities. One of its regular residents is the Bi-Communal Choir for Peace. At the same time, the Home for Cooperation houses several CSOs that are working toward a wide array of intergroup contact. Furthermore, those CSOs are focused on multidimensional coexistence programmes. These projects promote both ingroup and intergroup contact, which primarily benefit those who have never interacted with anyone from outside their community. The activities conducted in the buffer zone is aiming to build confidence in intergroup contact. Because of its casual setting, there are many reasons to visit the Home for Cooperation, which offers language classes, yoga classes and coffee in its mini-library café. By bringing individuals from different ethnic groups to the same place and involving in the same activity, it can ‘...reduce hostile attitudes and images’ (Sherif, 1967, p.86) amongst Cypriots.

1.4 Research objectives

As previously mentioned, this research studies social representations of reconciliation in Cyprus. Many sources contribute to the discourse regarding reconciliation. Moreover, one of the sources was initiated by the CSOs through their coexistence initiatives, which are currently centralised in the Nicosia buffer zone. Therefore, in addition to laypeople, it is important to understand this topic from the point of view of activists.

As Moscovici notes:

Many contemporary studies in social psychology take as their paradigm a group of a like-minded tending to have similar opinions and tastes and anxious both to avoid conflicts and to accept the *status quo*. But what they overlook is the fact that such a group is an objectification of traditional, mythical notion of an ideal community (Moscovici, 2000, p.73)

This study is expected to deliver insights on social representations towards the much-discussed subject of reconciliation in Cyprus. From the initial stage of the research, the following hypothesis and assumptions can be made:

- 1) Intergroup contact exercised by CSOs produce stronger solidarity within the group itself and between the groups;
- 2) Presumably, those who are involved in CSOs have different representations towards reconciliation than laypeople due to different information content and media touchpoints.

Many formal and informal CSOs were founded in order to engage in inter-communal participation. The communities are using culture to spread love, peace and togetherness to reunite the island. Having travelled to rural areas in Northern Cyprus, Turkish Cypriots are sufficient enough in English to engage in conversations with foreigners. They have also shown a willingness to help even without understanding a single word. This may point to the inaccuracy of the argument that the language barrier and ethnic differences have limited interactions between the TCC and GCC.

Thus, this study intends to contribute to the current literature on the discussion related to reconciliation in Cyprus. It reconstructs the psychosocial-behavioural mapping of the Cypriots in order to 1) identify structure of the object of the representation (reconciliation), its elements and relationships; 2) identify and profile the community from the perspective of social representations; 3) understand their aspirations towards the much-discussed topic, reconciliation, including presupposing the future of reconciliation. This study empirically investigates how the Cypriots identify themselves in response to reconciliation through specific representational structures. The differences between media habits amongst all subsamples were examined to better understand if there were any discrepancies. This study has also examined how messages are communicated and how they contribute to the reconciliation discourse. Finally, this study aims to understand how the

‘Cyprus problem’ impacts people in their daily lives (e.g., checkpoints, the existence of military bases, conscription, etc.). Consequently, the following goals can be outlined as follows:

- To understand how both communities (the TCC and GCC) represent reconciliation.
- To understand how social representations of active participation are essential to reconciliation compared to the laypeople.

The ‘Cyprus problem’ is complex not because of the intervention of foreign powers but also because both the TCC and GCC have different understandings of what has caused the problem. Therefore, it is essential to understand how knowledge about reconciliation is formed in both communities and what sources of information have contributed to this knowledge formation. Prior to Moscovici, Durkheim was also discussing individual and collective representations in which later developed by him to a more dynamic approach.

1.5 Summary

This chapter introduced the background of the study by elaborating a brief overview of the silent conflict in Cyprus, its demographic and participation in activism promoting ingroup and outgroup co-operations. The research objectives were also defined in this chapter. In sum, the main objective of this research is to investigate the internal structure of social representations of reconciliation in Cyprus by utilising the theoretical and methodological framework of social representations of the Central Nucleus Theory (CNT), developed by Abric (1976). More specifically, it employs a hierarchical evocation task (Abric, 2003) and adds a statistical perspective of a computational cluster analysis that studies the structure of the collected data. The following chapter presents the theoretical framework adopted for the research in more detail. The chapter will further elaborate on the theory of social psychology, highlighting its theory of social representations.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 From (in/inter) group contact to social representations

Communication is a prominent characteristic of the theory of social representations. Consequently, communicative interactions develop cognitive capacities (Hardman, 2011) within individuals and society. Mass media has the capacity to influence a broader audience in the creation of social representations. However, facilitated by online platforms, individuals who have the ability to influence their peers also play a role in creating a “buzz” to generate opinion in regards to the particular object of a given social representation. The individual “buzzer” may be seen as a credible actor amongst their peers or as a more relatable figure for their audience. On the other hand, their personality or the message they deliver can potentially be resisted. Furthermore, these actors use their communications infrastructures to enhance and contribute to public discourse.

Social representations are strongly related to public discourse and how individuals access information, receive and share their representations. It is a ‘loud’ thing, not a quiet and static process. Social representations are formed in and through dialogues (Marková, 2007); they emphasises the function of meaning and examines how knowledge is circulated amongst a group or a society (Deaux & Wiley, 2007). The medium of communication varies, and of course, language is the prominent medium. Sociolinguistics highlights the genesis of social identity through discourse (Gumperz, 1983), as well as its role in the genesis of social representations (Moscovici, 2008). The use of language over another mode of communication is seen to be more convenient; a relatively instant mode of communication. However, in a multilingual society, the use of a language is limited to its ingroup audience. Moreover, the message can be conveniently delivered on multiple platforms through the use of language (verbal communication).

Moreover, Moscovici (2008) highlighted that being able to qualify social representations is not merely done by identifying the actors; whether it is the process within the individual or through interaction between individuals in a social setting. However, studying the reason behind why those actors produce representations would serve better to emphasise the function to which the representations correspond. He specifies the said function as:

“This function is specific to it to the extent that the representation contributes exclusively to the process that shapes social behaviour and orient social communication.” (Moscovici, 2008, p. 29-30)

In other words, social representations can be understood as a study process on how individual representations are collected and form common sense in society.

2.1.1 Conflict and Intergroup contact

Barlett (1923) views a group as a living system composed of social interactions aiming to establish a balance within the system. Sherif et al. (1961) summarised intergroup relations as the interaction between two or more groups collectively or between their respective members. This interaction can be intergroup or between their respective members. Both intergroup and ingroup interactions produce group attitudes. Moreover, intergroup contact contributes to the objectification process of social representations. Intergroup contact can also reduce prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination (Allport 1964), especially in a society with a history of violence or conflict. The presupposition is a base of social perception and prejudice (Moscovici & Marková, 2006), which originated in individuals. The presupposition then discussed, objectified on the broader audience (group or society), which later defining groups through both similarity and dissimilarity of thought process. Group discussions transform individuals to make them more active compared to those who listen individually (Moscovici & Doise, 1994).

The “Robbers Cave experiment” conducted by Sherif et al. (1961), studies group formation, intergroup conflict and the reduction of intergroup conflict. From there, it can be understood that interaction processes are not void. Individuals’ attitudes and motives are communicated and transformed through interaction both within the group and the intergroup, thus producing a functional interdependence between group members (Sherif et al. 1961). Sherif et al. (1961) assumed that if some measures applied to increase cooperativeness and harmony within the groups, it would increase the level of cooperativeness in their intergroup relations. One of the measures that can be introduced is the creation of a “common enemy” (Sherif, et al., 1961, p. 202). However,

introducing the common goal is seen to be more appropriate for the case of the Cyprus problem. Under these conditions, intergroup interactions will not be seen as something offensive, and the “traitor” label will slowly fade.

Another perspective used to examine conflict in intergroup interactions suggests the introduction of a common enemy can increase solidarity within the group and tighten the bonds between members of the group (Sherif, 1967). Intergroup conflict cultivates and distributes the shared feeling of carrying the same burden between group members. The group members contribute to shaping the group’s representations, and the group’s leadership also has a prominent influence. Moreover, the sharing of common goals also strengthens the relationship. Common goals are appealing and embody the relatable value that is within the group and the intergroup.

2.1.2 The characteristic of Cypriot society

According to the population census of 1946, the proportion between the Turkish Cypriot Community (TCC) and the Greek Cypriot Community (GCC) is 80:18 leaving the rest a mixture of ethnicities from neighbouring areas. Both communities lived peacefully until the 19th – 20th century when ethno-nationalist projects were imported to Cyprus from both Greece and Turkey (Psaltis, 2012). The first inter-communal conflict broke out during the anti-colonial movement organised by the National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA) of the GCC following a unification attempt with Greece. On the other side, the Turkish Resistance Organisation (TMC) was aiming for Taksim – a partition of Cyprus into two; Greek and Turkish divisions (Attalides, 1979).

A study conducted in Cyprus portrays three clusters: the *pro-reconciliation*, *communitarianism* and *ethnonationalism* of both the TCC and the GCC. The characteristics of *pro-reconciliation* can be identified as a critique of *ethnonationalism*. It has a higher level of trust, contact (both quality and quantity), forgiveness, perspective taking and positive feeling. In contrast, the *pre-reconciliation* cluster had fewer threats (Realistic, Distinctiveness) and less intergroup salience/anxiety. Additionally, this cluster had a high level of Cypriocentrism. Meanwhile, *communitarianism*’s characteristics can be described as having a lower level of trust, contact (quantity), forgiveness, perspective-taking, and positive feelings. It has a higher level of threats

(realistic, distinctiveness) and more intergroup anxiety. Another characteristic of this cluster is having a moderate level of intergroup salience. Having said that, this cluster has a moderate level of Cypriocentrism. The last cluster, *ethnonationalism* has similar characteristics when compared to the *communitarianism*. It has a lower level of trust, contact (quality and quantity), forgiveness, perspective-taking, and positive feelings. The characteristic of this cluster has a lower level of Cypriocentrism.

Within the TCC (see table 2.1), *communitarianism* has the highest percentage (43%), followed by *ethnonationalism* (37%) and *pro-reconciliation* (20%). The *communitarianism* cluster identified themselves for having equal weight; for being more Cypriot than Turkish (11%) and being more Turkish than Cypriot (18%). *Ethnonationalism* has a higher percentage (26%) for being more Turkish than Cypriot and lower percentage (6%) for being more Cypriot than Turkish. Lastly, *pro-reconciliation* amongst the TCC has a higher percentage (25%) for being more Cypriot and only three per cent mention being more Turkish.

TC-C1 : Pro-reconciliation Critic of ethnonationalism (20% of sample)	TC-C2 : Communitarianism (43% of sample)	TC-C3 : Ethnonationalism (37% of sample)
<p>Higher: Trust, Contact (quality and quantity), Forgiveness, Perspective taking, Positive feelings</p> <p>Lower: Threats (Realistic, Distinctiveness), intergroup salience/anxiety</p> <p>Identification: 25% more Cypriot than Turkish 72% equal weight 3% more Turkish than Cypriot</p> <p>Higher Cypriocentrism Lower Turkocentrism</p>	<p>Lower: Trust, Contact (quantity), Forgiveness, Perspective taking, Positive feelings</p> <p>Moderate: Quality of contact</p> <p>Higher: Threats (Realistic, Distinctiveness), intergroup anxiety</p> <p>Moderate: Intergroup salience</p> <p>Identification: 11% more Cypriot than Turkish 71% equal weight 18% more Turkish than Cypriot</p> <p>Moderate Cypriocentrism Higher Turkocentrism</p>	<p>Lower: Trust, Contact (quality and quantity), Forgiveness, Perspective taking, Positive feelings</p> <p>Higher: Threats (Realistic, Distinctiveness), intergroup salience/anxiety</p> <p>Identification: 6% more Cypriot than Turkish 68% equal weight 26% more Turkish than Cypriot</p> <p>Lower Cypriocentrism Higher Turkocentrism</p>

Table 2. 1 The three clusters identified in the TCC (Psaltis, 2012, p.95)

Compared to the TCC, the GCC clusters have a relatively equal distribution (see table 2.2). The highest frequency (37.7%) is *communitarianism*, followed by *pro-reconciliation* (33.4%) and *ethnonationalism* (28.9%). The *communitarianism* cluster members identified themselves as being more Cypriot than Greek (54%), and fewer felt more Greek than Cypriot (3%). In contrast, *pro-reconciliation* has significantly higher (61%) Cypriotness compared to those who identified as being more Greek than Cypriot (2%). The *ethnonationalism* cluster shares an equal weight of identity between being Cypriot and Greek. However, a higher percentage (16%) identified as being more Greek than Cypriot and a lower percentage (14%) identified as being more Cypriot than Greek.

GC-C1 : Pro-reconciliation Critic of ethnonationalism (33.4% of sample)	GC-C2 : Communitarianism (37.7% of sample)	GC-C3 : Ethnonationalism (28.9% of sample)
<p>Higher: Trust, Contact (quality and quantity), Forgiveness, Perspective taking, Positive feelings</p> <p>Lower: Threats (Realistic, Distinctiveness), intergroup salience/anxiety</p> <p>Identification: 61% more Cypriot than Greek 37% equal weight 2% more Greek than Cypriot</p> <p>High Cypriocentrism Low Hellenocentrism</p>	<p>Lower: Trust, Contact (quality and quantity), Forgiveness, Perspective taking Moderate: Positive feelings</p> <p>Higher: Threats (Realistic, Distinctiveness), intergroup salience/anxiety</p> <p>Identification: 54% more Cypriot than Greek 43% equal weight 3% more Greek than Cypriot</p> <p>Moderate Cypriocentrism Moderate Hellenocentrism</p>	<p>Lower: Trust, Contact (quality and quantity), Forgiveness, Perspective taking, Positive feelings</p> <p>Higher: Threats (Realistic, Distinctiveness), intergroup salience/anxiety</p> <p>Identification: 14% more Cypriot than Greek 70% equal weight 16% more Greek than Cypriot Low Cypriocentrism High Hellenocentrism</p>

Table 2. 2 The three clusters identified in the GCC (Psaltis, 2012, p.91)

Representations of the Cyprus problem have polarised understandings within the TCC and the GCC. It derived from the fear of Turkish expansion over Cyprus and was represented by the Turkish Cypriot rebellion in the 60s (Psaltis, 2012). At the same time, others believe it is caused

by the Greek reunification attempt (see EOKA) and the political and economic suppression of the TCC being silenced.

The various sources of information related to reconciliation in Cyprus play a role leading to the sociogenetic process of social representations. The memory of the cease-fire, economic struggles, discrimination and the on-going peace talks created both trust and mistrust in the society. Thus "...media and educational system either strengthen or weaken legitimising myths that sustain inequalities or conflict" (cf. Sidanius & Pratto et al., 2001). In the following section, we discuss the topic from the social psychology perspective in the social setting, and we explicitly explore how the theoretical framework of social representations is a relevant approach for the study.

2.2 Relevance and aim of the theory of Social Representations

This chapter introduces the theoretical framework of social representations, which guides this research project. The structure of this chapter allows for an in-depth discussion of both the theoretical and methodological frameworks used in this study. The theoretical examination of social representations lets us identify the essential aspects (Moscovici, 2008) of 1) the description of the formation process; 2) the study of the cognitive system related to social representations. The area that we are investigating is related to communication processes and specifically, its content as it relates to reconciliation in Cyprus. The aim of applying the theoretical framework in this research is to dissect the internal structure of reconciliation as the object of social representations. We deconstruct the social representations of reconciliation by understanding their structure. We can also understand their network and relationship between the semantics associated with reconciliation.

This chapter also explores how social psychologists utilising the theory to a similar setting of the topic, which is the journey of Cyprus and the on-going conflict. Many social psychology studies discuss teaching methods and intergroup contact in Cyprus in response to the on-going dormant conflict. As discussed in the previous chapter, intergroup contact is being widely disseminated through social activities, cultural, academic, and sports, including grassroots economic initiatives. The civil societies have their share in promoting peace through multi-sector

projects. At the same time, mass media also contributes to the discourse. The Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) identified media over-representing their political stance.

“... newspapers projected the notion that the Greek Cypriot side was the victim of the conflict [...] contrary to the ‘others’”. (PRIO Cyprus Centre, 2010, p. 26)

Public opinion in Cyprus is also directed by the media’s use of specific words when reporting about the ‘pseudo-state’ of Northern Cyprus such as the ‘occupied’ area. In his dialogue with Marková, Moscovici (Moscovici, 2000) emphasises the word “social”, related to social representation, referring the clear notion of society to an idea of differentiation, and interaction within the society.

“The use of images and of words that have become common property through the diffusion of reported ideas enlivens and fertilises those aspects of society and nature” (Moscovici, 2000, p.36).

The study of social representations is particularly relevant when intergroup conflict arises. As Baeur and Gaskell (1999) highlighted, the application of social representations theory is closely related to both the design and the conduct of empirical research. Having said that, there are several reasons for working on this particular topic within the theoretical framework of social representations. Through its formation of social representations, it involves disagreements, years of unresolved dispute between both sides of the island, and media narratives portraying the conflict, contributing to the genesis of social representation on reconciliation in Cyprus. In addition, the topic of reconciliation has been widely discussed over the years.

In summary, the theoretical framework of social representations is appropriate for this study, as the theory studies the process of how the representation itself is constructed. It examines the dynamic of interdependence through cognition, communication and behaviour.

2.3 The development of social psychology

People tend to seek answers or reasoning behind their own or their community's actions and thoughts. Social psychologists scientifically study and experiment with human behaviour to rationalise why people behave and think the way they do in society. Moscovici (2008) described social psychology as taking a position between sociology and social anthropology. In the field sociology of knowledge, Durkheim explored how thought, science, and logic can be influenced by the sociological sphere. And within the sociological sphere, he discussed religion as the centre of knowledge. Moreover, he added religion is a society which makes knowledge is also social.

One of the prominent theories in the field of social psychology is Lewin's field theory, which was significantly influenced by Cassirer's theory of knowledge and relativity (Moscovici & Marková, 2006). The first social psychology conference in Europe was held in 1963 and took place in Sorrento, Italy. The participants came from several European countries, including American social psychologists acting as observers (Moscovici & Marková, 2006). The American social psychologists influenced European social psychology due to their involvement in the early European social psychology conferences. While the American social psychologists influenced the European method and models (Moscovici & Marková, 2006), the two had their own interests. The American branch was interested in the factors of balance, similarity and conformity; meanwhile, the Europeans leaned towards difference and change (Moscovici & Doise, 1994).

After a series of conferences conducted in conjunction with the American Social Psychology community and scholars who later became members of the European Social Psychology community in Italy, Moscovici was elected the first president of an ad hoc committee in Frascati, Italy; which later proposed the foundation of the European Association of Social Psychology (Moscovici, 2000). During its first meeting in Sorrento, Italy, Moscovici presented the theory of social representations for the first time (Moscovici, 2000), which sparked further discussion, and spread across Europe.

At the 1974 Visegrad conference, Moscovici spoke about the two views of social conflict. He gave a note on the traditional perspective in which a group is formed based on shared interests and a common goal. He later illustrated:

“...it is precisely the subversive action of group members who are divergent or in the minority that serves ... to move the group away from stasis and towards social change. Social psychologists must study not only conflict resolution but also conflict arousal¹².” (Moscovici & Marková, 2006, p. 173).

The conference consisted of working groups discussing 1) assumptions and methods in the social psychology study of change; 2) social change and socialisation; 3) social psychology of organisational change; 4) Social change and cognitive behaviour. Moreover, above all, social psychology must take an interest in the movement of forms of reflection and its order, compared to other factors such as interaction and culture (Moscovici & Marková, 2006). In many pieces of literature, the theory of social representations is often classified under the sociological perspective of social psychology.

2.4 The concept and process of social representations

The theory of social representations originated in and developed from Durkheim's (1974) individual and collective representations. However, Moscovici distinguished the specification of *social* in the theory of social representations; as opposed to individual thought (Moscovici, 2008). He defined representations as expressions developed through a relationship with the object of social representations; the perspective aspect implying the existence of the object itself. Social representations are a construction process of concepts and perceptions; they are interdependent and generate each other. The construction process of social representations brings expressions to circulate them in the social setting in the form of vocabularies, concepts and modes of behaviour (Moscovici, 2008).

The theory of social representations is a socio-behavioural construct representing the object of an individual's representation, which subsequently forms a common sense in its development. Moscovici defines the understanding of the theory of social representations as:

¹² Jenness's report on Visegrad, SSRC Archives, Acc. 2, Series 1, Subseries 101, box 619, folder 7556, RAC.

“System(s) of values, ideas and practices with a twofold function; first, to established an order which will enable individuals to orient themselves in their material and social world and to master it; and secondly to enable communication to take place among the members of a community by providing them with a code for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of their world and their individual and group history.” (Moscovici, 1973, p. xiii)

The theory of social representations offers a framework for studying the knowledge of political and societal constructs in the midst of the on-going discussion on reconciliation. The phenomenon of social representations is subject to debates, struggles, and conflict, which involve the process of social change.

A simple definition of human behaviour is the notion that positive or negative reinforcement is all it takes for a human being to behave one way or another (Sammut, et al., 2015). Social representations capture collected information in the society; shared knowledge consists of social components. This can be expressed verbally, behaviourally, or in written or symbolic form. Moscovici proposes that a minimum of three conditions must be satisfied: 1) a social object must be ambiguously defined; 2) people should feel the need to interfere with it; 3) different aspects of that object must be salient for different groups (1961, 1976). Additionally, the object of representation must be polymorphous, referring to a general class; the intergroup context has occurred and intergroup opposition; and the object of representation must be linked to a stake for the group, and threaten their identity (Moliner, 1993).

Social representations are the product of a mass cognitive process involving presupposing, active participation between individuals and groups. Social representations are socio-cognitive principles in decision-making situations (Duveen, & Lloyd, 1990); re-constructing processes instead of reproducing or re-duplicating them (Moscovici, 2008). The two main processes in the construction of social representations are *anchoring* and *objectification*. The theory focuses on the circulation of knowledge in society; studying the content of knowledge the way society constructs knowledge according to its interest or agenda (Moscovici, 2008). His perspective focuses on the circulation of knowledge through society as the medium; how society constructs the knowledge

commensurate with its own interest. Hence, so-called knowledge depends on its epistemic community.

Social representations presuppose the transformation of one kind of knowledge (science, technical competences, etc.) into another one (common sense). The transformation of various kinds of knowledge is pertinent to specific socio-historical and cultural conditions (Marková, 2017). Furthermore, the study of psychoanalysis which Moscovici used to study social representations, had considerable affinities with common sense thinking. Therefore, the general population had their own view of it.

Moscovici (1961) organised social representations into three dimensions: attitude, the field of representation and information. The dimensions are related to each other in that they establish connections. The field of representation is relative and depends on the information circulated and organised. Meanwhile, the attitude towards the object of representation takes part in the selection of the available information. The following is Moscovici's three-dimensional representation of knowledge, which involves attitude, information, and the field of representation.

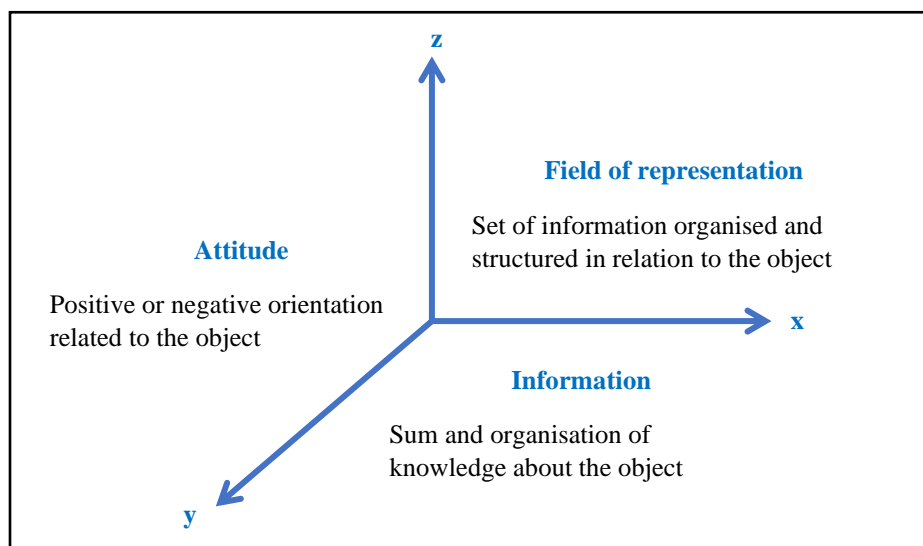


Figure 2. 1 Three-dimensional representation of knowledge derived from the theory of social representations (Moscovici, 1961)

Moscovici (2000) describes the theory as a *semiotic triangle* with vertices, each indicating *ego*, *alter* and *object*. The vertices illustrate a symbiotic relationship and do not functionally separate the subject from the object (see figure 2.2), Bauer and Gaskell (2008) proposed that the relation of the object is not merely about individual information processing. They further elaborate on the communicative unit:

“The minimal unit of analysis is a communicative unit, Subject to Subject pays attention to and jointly references an object. The unit of analysis of social representations is not an isolated organism, but the Ego and Alter unit of communicating people, taking each other into account, and being coordinated by the “we” intentions. The subject of social representations is thus a ‘we.’” (Bauer & Gaskell, 2008, p. 343)

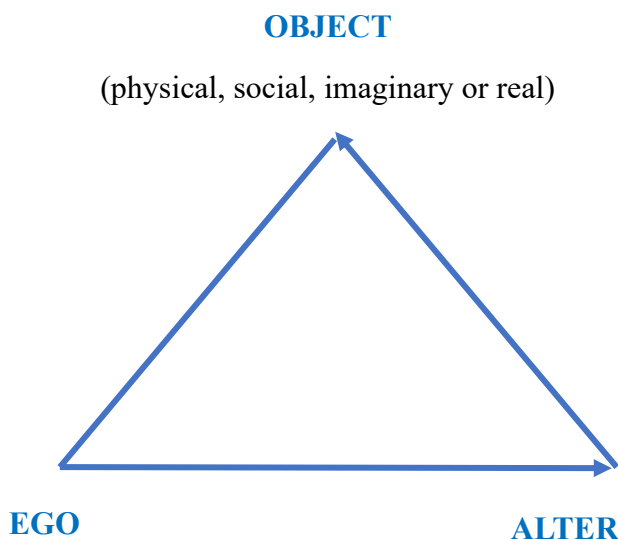


Figure 2. 2 Semiotic triangle of social representations

The triangle’s model of mediation provided an extraction of Bauer & Gaskell’s reading of Moscovici’s work in “*Psychoanalysis - Its Image and Its Public*”. As visualised in the Toblerone model (see Figure 2.3), representations are multi-modal phenomena, subject, object and project (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999).

“The elongated triangle serves as an image to capture the triangular relations in the context of time. The apexes of the triangle stand for subject one, subject two and the object O in the sense of a brute fact, the referent. The elongation is the past and the future that is implied in the joint project P. A section though the Toblerone at any particular time is a surface that denotes the common-sense meaning [the representation] of that object at that time”. (Bauer and Gaskell, 1999, p.171)

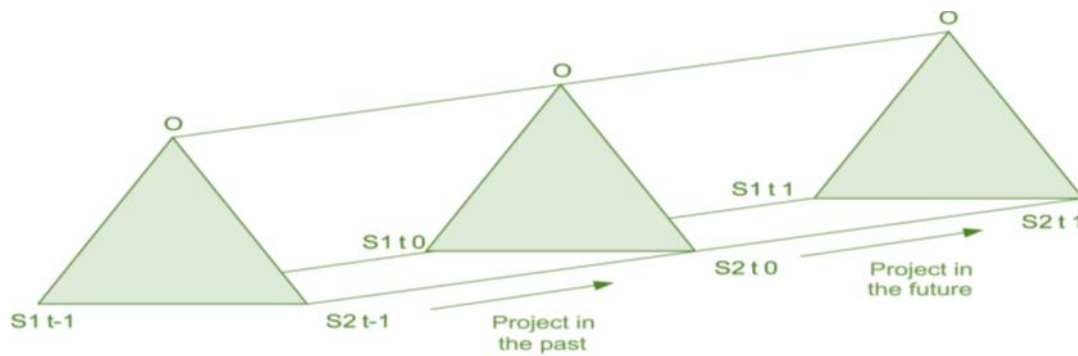


Figure 2. 3 The Toblerone model of common sense (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999, p. 171)

Representation is characterised by three elements: the object of representation, subject one and subject two. In this study, the object represented is reconciliation, the individual who constructs the representation, and the group or society to which the individual belongs. Social interactions among the members of the group are part of the genesis process of social representations, and the social representations themselves are dynamic, in constant change. The pros and cons toward the object of the representation, the circulation of knowledge, and the collective cognition of the group members shape the representation.

In earlier decades, Durkheim formulated concepts of individual and collective representations that were seen as being less dynamic compared to Moscovici's approach. Furthermore, Moscovici argued it was more pertinent to speak of social representations rather than collective representations, due to the plurality of representations existing in contemporary public spheres (Jovchelovitch & Priego-Hernandez, 2015). This condition is termed as cognitive polyphasia; it refers to the co-existence of different and potentially distinctive representations

within the same public, or an individual (Sammut et al., 2015). The hypothesis of cognitive polyphasia is outlined by Moscovici in his book “*The Psychoanalysis, Its Image and Its Public*”. He characterised cognitive polyphasia with tension, conflict, and constraints rather than equilibrium and adaptation:

“Since its inception, the theory of social representations has rightly insisted on the deep link between cognition and communication, between mental and linguistic operations [...] also of enriching the possibilities of analysis by means of the opening which the concept allowed towards the history of knowledge, anthropology, and semantics” (Moscovici, 2000, p. 160).

The concept of cognitive polyphasia social representations surround everyday thinking and is characterised by the different and contradictory forms of thinking present in one individual.

Researchers have seen this theory as a flexible conceptual framework that enables us to understand how individuals and groups elaborate, transform and communicate their social reality (Abric, et al., 2012). Moscovici (2008) defined two essential processes in the genesis of social representations: *objectification* and *anchoring*. The two processes are thought mechanisms:

- 1) The anchoring process serves to make something less foreign by anchoring it with something that society thinks is suitable and more familiar. The anchoring is where “society uses the process of anchoring to change a social object into an instrument it can use, and to insert that object into existing social relations on a preferential basis” (Moscovici, 2008, p. 104).
- 2) The thought process of *objectification* serves to make something abstract to become more concrete by objectifying it. The objectification processes contribute to the development of the figurative image of social representations. (Moscovici, 2008)

Moscovici (2008) concluded that figures and expressions are characteristic of all representations. Social representations organise communication mediums in both verbal mediums (the use of language) and non-verbal mediums (images, symbols, artworks, etc.) in the social setting that already is common or will become common in the future. Social representations study

a journey of organising collective attitudes, which potentially lead to actionable agendas. It is incorporated and adjusted by the elements available wherein the journey or process is taking place.

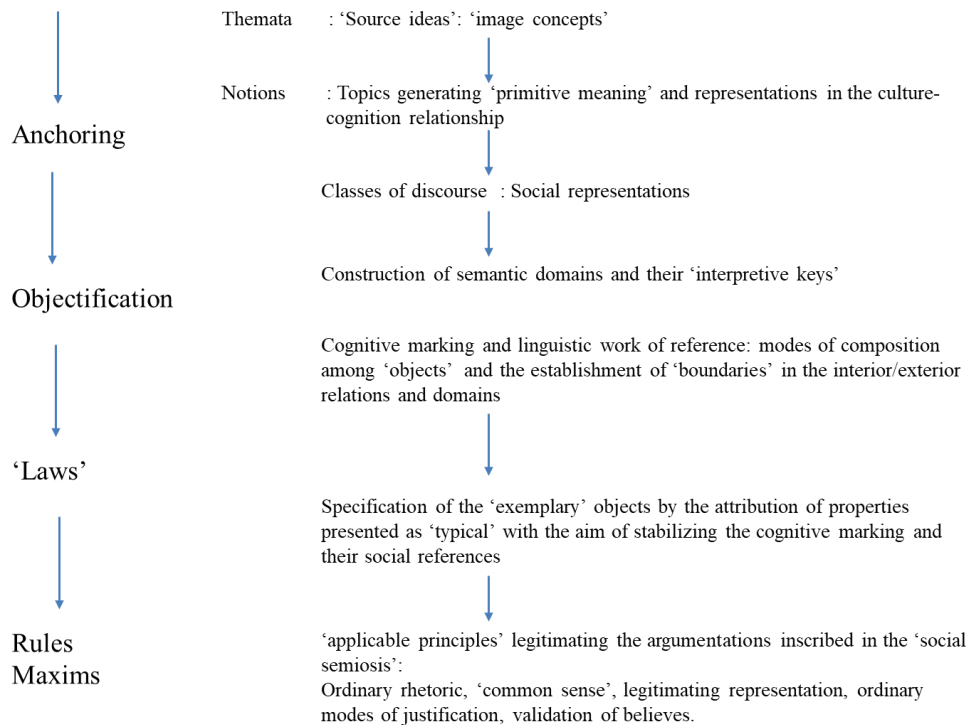


Figure 2. 4 The generative function of themata (Moscovici, 20002 p.108)

Baeur and Gaskell (1999) elaborated on three characteristics of representation: 1) the cultivation in the communications system; 2) structured contents that serve functions for the communications systems; 3) embodiment in different modes and mediums.

2.4.1 The genre of communication

Three communication systems determine both the content and form of the actively communicated messages: *diffusion*, *propagation* and *propaganda* (Moscovici, 2008). All three modes of communication produce social representations.

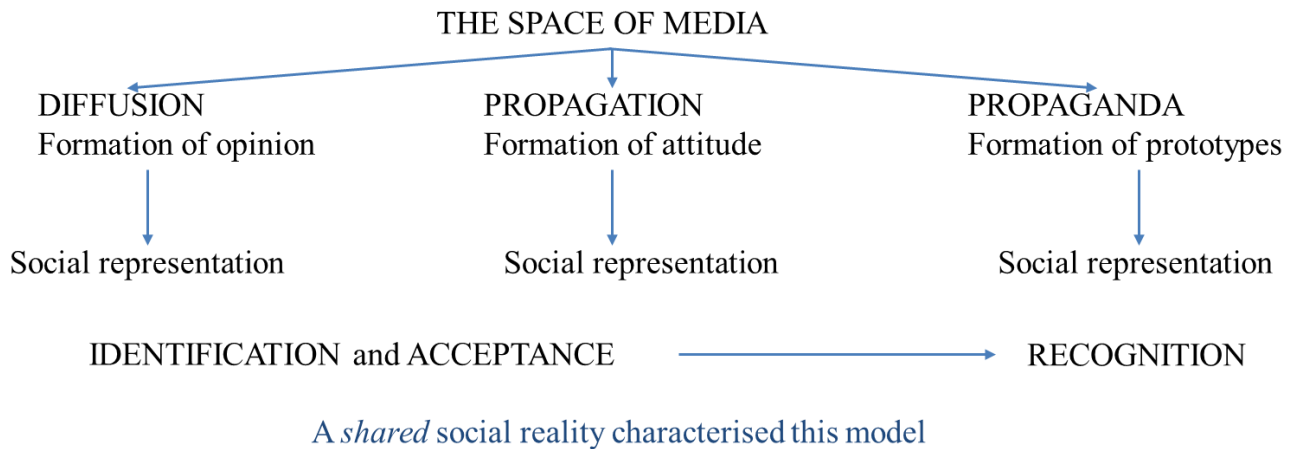


Figure 2. 5 The three levels of communication solicited by social representations

Diffusion can be differentiated as 1) communication sources demonstrate vague intentions without any sustained orientations; this also means both the receiver and the audience have a very loose definition; 2) the message communicated is intended to influence particular behaviours; 3) although there is no aim in the communication to fulfil a particular agenda, the diffusion process can also be significant; 4) the sender maintains a certain distance with the object so as to allow for a degree of freedom for its adjustment. The features of *propagation* include: 1) serving a goal to integrate a social object into an existing reference; 2) it aims for the audience to accept the dominant conception; 3) to give a meaning of behaviours that was not previously present. Meanwhile, *propaganda* is used in a situation of disagreement and conflict as one of the communication models. It is defined as a form of ‘manipulation’ and expression of a group. *Propaganda* highlights the nature of disagreement and conflict as the source of the expression and aims at provoking a particular behaviour (Moscovici, 2008).

The logic process of representations shapes affective language and organising behaviour (Moscovici, 2008) to serve its purposes. The following are three communication levels, a continuation of the earlier model involving two behavioural models, dialogue and monologue. The space of dialogue is a result of *diffusion* and *propagation*. These two communication styles result in acceptance from the audience due to its nature in sharing a social reality, taking part in the

formation of opinion and attitude. Meanwhile, *propaganda* creates a space for monologue. The rigidity of the messages avoids social reality because it is communicated as a monologue.

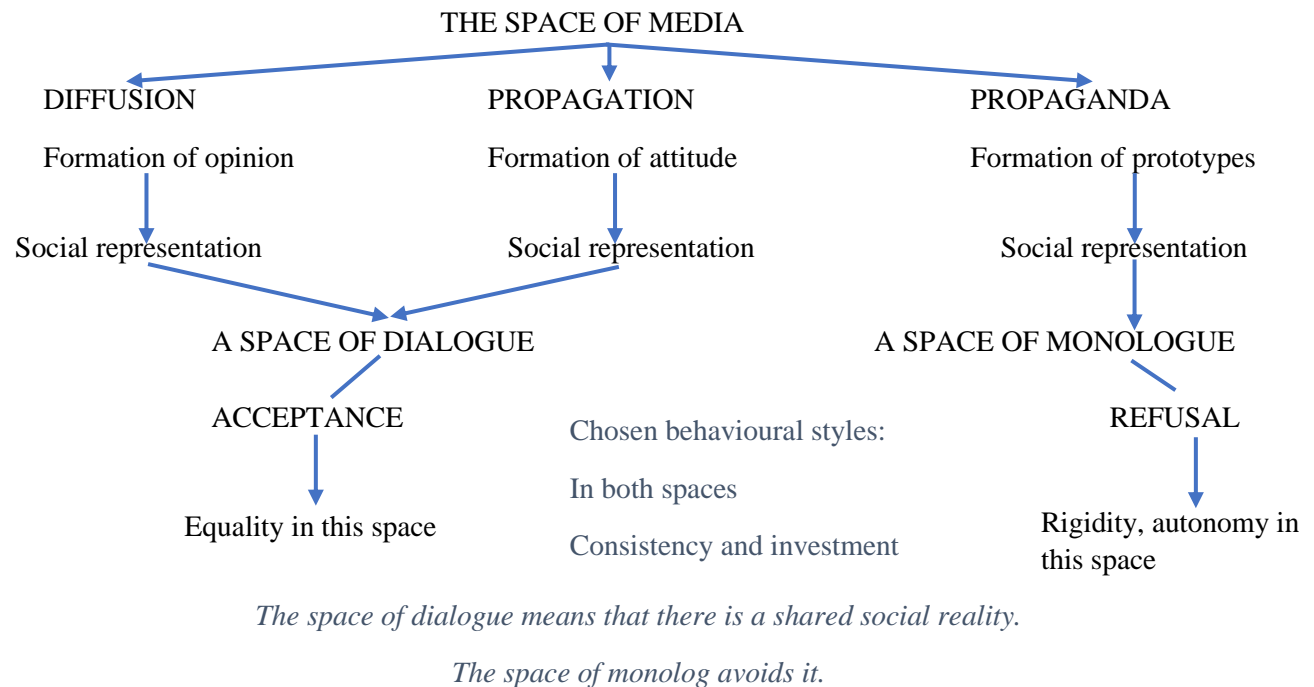


Figure 2. 6 The three levels of communication solicited by social representations confronted with behavioural styles

2.4.2 The dynamic of social representations

The central core was introduced as a ‘system’ to describe the structure of social representations through the work of Claude Flament, the Graph Theory (Abric, 1993; 1994). Flament (1989) discuss the central core theory, arguing that it should provide explanations for both its stability and dynamics. Departing from that ground, the representations were considered as having the ‘dual system’ (Abric, 1994), consisting of the central core and the peripheral systems. The properties of both the central and peripheral system (see table 2.3) served its functions. Moliner & Abric (2015) explained that the main function of a dual system is to ensure the stability of the meaning assigned to a social object.

“The central system’s stabilising role cannot be conceived without the peripheral system’s protecting role, which allows the integration of newness, singularity or contradiction. The two systems are mutually dependent; they work well as an entity in which each part has a specific role, remaining complementary to one another.” (Abric, 1994)

Central system	Peripheral system
Related to the group’s value, norms and history	Related to group members’ individual experiences
Ensures the sustainability of the representation	Absorbs contradictions and changes
Contributes to the group’s homogeneity	Allows for the group’s heterogeneity

Table 2. 3 Psychosocial properties of the central and peripheral systems
(Moliner & Abric, 2015, p.88).

In this particular condition, some elements can be dynamic, shifting from one system to another. Since the early 80s, various studies have examined this question (Moliner, 2011). Seeing the structure of social representations from this perspective, Abric & Moliner (2015) offer descriptions of the dynamic of social representations (see table 2.4).

Peripheral changes of social representations	Transformation of social representations
The emergence of new elements or the disappearance of older peripheral elements	The emergence of new elements or the disappearance of older central elements
Stability of the central system	Modification of the central system
Stability of the meanings associated with the object	Changes in the meanings associated with the object

Table 2. 4 Changes or transformation of social representations (Moliner & Abric, 2015, p.89)

2.5 The method for studying social representations

Duveen & Lloyd (1990) distinguished three types of transformation processes associated with social representations. They laid out the process of *sociogenesis*, *ontogenesis* and *microgenesis*. The *sociogenesis* process concerns the construction and transformation of social representations through society or groups. The process of *sociogenesis* takes place in time. The time frame is applied and considered when studying the genesis of social representations and the result is analysed from a diachronic perspective. Meanwhile, *ontogenesis* represents development within individuals related to social representations. The *Ontogenesis* process focuses on the development or roles of individuals as social actors in constructing or re-constructing social representations. The process which concerns the evocation of social representations in society is the *microgenesis process* whereby the genesis process of social representation occurs in society or within a group through objectification processes. It's where discussion, disagreement, and agreement on the object of representations occurs owing to individuals' active participation.

“Careful consideration of segmentation in this way is an important part of methods in social representations: much of social science research divides participation by age, ethnicity, gender, socio-economic status and so on...” (Flick, Foster & Caillaud, 2015, p.67)

To segment the insights gathered, this study employs a set of demographic questions covering gender, age groups, employment status, level of education, geographical location, ethnic origins, political orientations, and religious beliefs.

The method of studying the social representations approach offers methodological direction in addition to its copious conceptual framework. Qualitative analysis is clearly useful for obtaining unprompted and spontaneous responses. However, there are some limitations to this method that can be tackled by combining it with the quantitative approach. We have explicitly used the theoretical and methodological framework of the Central Core Theory (Abric, 2003) to study the internal structure of the social representations of reconciliation. Hence, mixed qualitative and quantitative research methods are employed to generate insights. The qualitative analysis involves a word association task aimed to collect up to five associative words of reconciliation. It includes

a justification questionnaire (Galli, Fasanelli & Schember, 2018) describing each word provided by the respondents to understand the variables that contribute to the genesis of social representations of reconciliation in Cyprus. Moreover, a hierarchical evocation task to assess the importance level of the words was conducted.

2.5.1 The central core and peripheral systems of social representations

The Central Core Theory (Abric 1976, 1993) from the original French expression '*noyau central*' is the most established theoretical development on social representation structure and functioning within the context of the structural approach (Wachelke, 2012). The theory proposed the representation as a hierarchical set of beliefs, including peripheral elements, organised around the central core. The core function performs a meaning function, an organisational function, and a stabilisation function. It is stable, coherent, consensual, and considerably influenced by the collective group memory and its values system. Moreover, peripheral elements are characterised by two properties; on the one hand beliefs that refer to concrete and individualised experiences, and on the other hand, the beliefs are conditional (Flament, 1994).

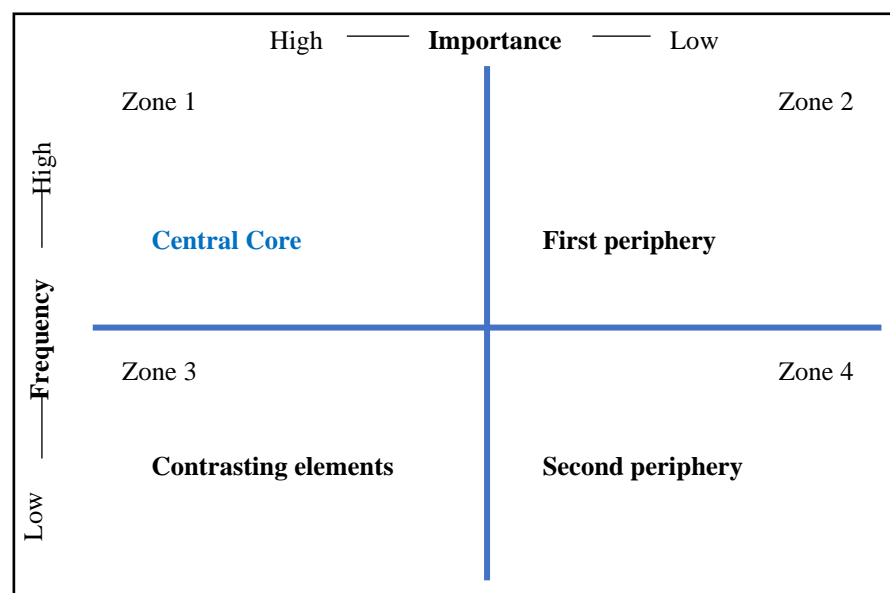


Table 2. 5 Frequency-Importance analysis showing four zones in the structural approach of social representation (Abric, 2003)

The central core is made up of “one or several elements that give representation its meaning” (Deaux & Wiley, 2007, p.16). The characteristic of the central core is rigid and resistant to change. In contrast with the central core, the peripheral elements “constitute the interface between the central core and the concrete situation in which the representation elaborates or realises itself” (Abric, 2001, p.44).

According to Moscovici (1979) “the representations is an organised body of knowledge.” Social representations consist of connecting elements with cognitive structures. It has characteristics, as seen in Table 2.6.

Central elements	Peripheral elements
Few	Numerous
The significant consensus among group members	Many differences among group members
Stable in time	Varying, unstable

Table 2. 6 Properties of central and peripheral elements (Moliner & Abric, 2015, p.85)

The expression of the central core is considered to be abstract, unconditional and non-negotiable. On the other hand, the peripheral elements are concrete and contextualised. Elements in this system also have conditional beliefs. (see Table 2.7)

Central elements	Peripheral elements
General characteristics of the object, elements of a definition	Specific cases
Abstract elements	Concrete and contextualised elements
Unconditional beliefs, non-negotiable	Conditional beliefs

Table 2. 7 Expressive properties of the central and peripheral elements

(Moliner & Abric, 2015, p.87)

Through its development, the theory of social representations (Wagner et al., 1999) summarises the construction process of social representations. The process is started by the genesis of representations in the society, group and between individuals through their interactions. (see Figure 2.7). In the latter stage, these representations are going through the process of anchoring and objectification, resulting in the birth of new social representations adding to the current social representations that already exist in society. This process also fosters the development of the group's identity.

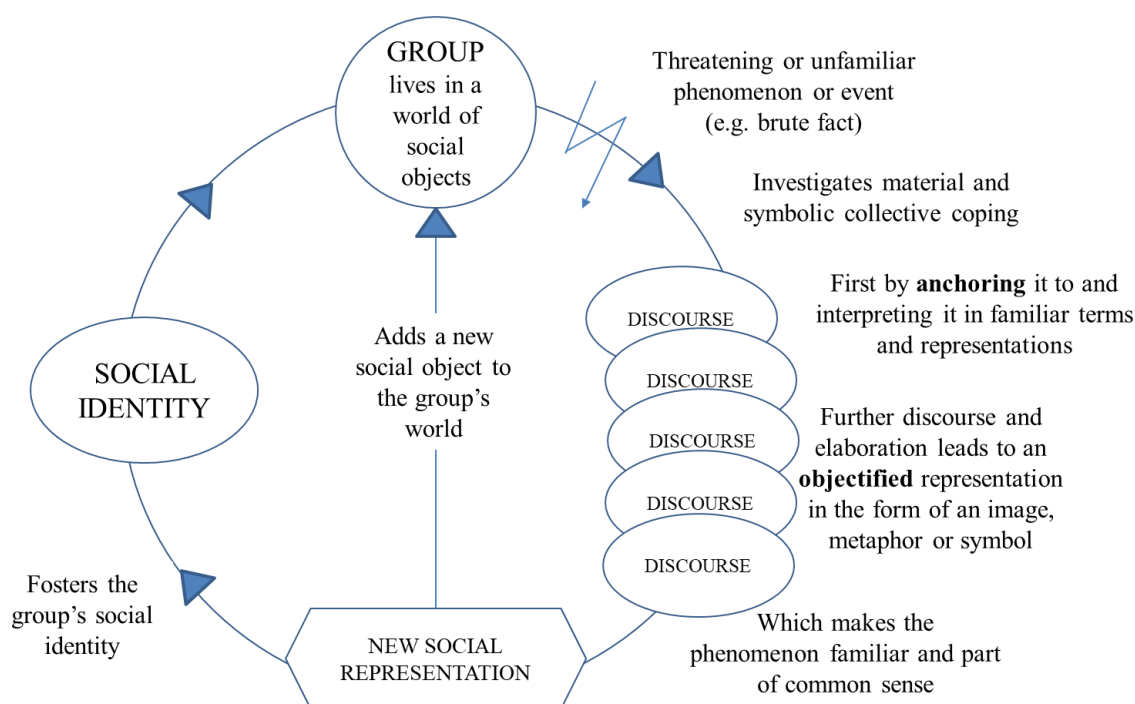


Figure 2. 7 Schematic depiction of the sociogenesis of social representations (Wagner et al., 1999)

The objectification suggests processes in which it transforms an abstract object to a concept and later produces an image or a figurative schema (Doise, Clemence & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 1993). The processes involves the selection, categorisation and schematisation of the abstract object. The process is also fed by “cognitive biases” (Doise, Clemence & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 1993, p.12) as an individual contribution when processing the information. In the study conducted by Doise, Spini

& Clement (1999) on human rights, the authors made an assumption that “objectification is defined as common views about a given social issue” (p. 72).

2.6 The methods of iterative factor clustering

2.6.1 Multiple correspondence analysis

Multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) is formulated as a factorial analysis of qualitative data using scale analysis. It is a tool used for summarising and visualising a dataset that contains two or more variables. Nishisato has different approach in order to perform the analysis (different format and nature of the dataset). MCA considers multiple categorical variables and identifies a similarity or a dissimilarity. It employs a dimension reduction method and plots the data in two or three-dimensional spaces. Moreover, MCA is an extension of correspondence analysis from the number of variables. The anchoring process can be analysed by utilising the Correspondence Factor Analysis (CFA) as it studies the “symbolic relation whose complexity is systematically controlled.” (Doise, Clemence & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 1993, p.123). Meanwhile, Flament (1989) proposed a way of classifying the words collected through a free association task based on their similarity coefficient. This approach allows us to assess the network formed by identifying relationship and co-occurrences between the words collected.

“It is generally admitted that two items will be all the closer in representations as a larger number of subjects treat them in the same way (by either accepting or rejecting both items). One calculates the contingency coefficient, which is classic similarity index.” (Flament, 1989, p.141)

The primary function of correspondence analysis is to treat a contingency table involving frequency data. Doise, Clemence & Lorenzi-Cioldi (1993) noted three basic notions in a multivariate approach:

Any distributions of responses on several variables can be statistically broken down into three elements: 1) level (mean of the individual responses); 2) dispersion (degree of scattering individual responses around the mean); 3) correlation (the link between individual responses for two variables, that is, the profile) (p. 67)

This approach examines the contingency of representational variables and the respondents' characteristics.

2.6.2 Factorial cluster analysis

Factor analysis takes into account the similarities and dissimilarities of a dataset. It is a data examination technique that explores the relationship between the responses given and the profile of the respondents.

“Factor analysis is a set of techniques for determining how variables are linked together and/or are linked to individuals and/or to variables describing these individuals and/or to the context of data production.”
(Flick, Foster & Caillaud, 2015, p. 72)

Cluster analysis is another approach to analysing the data. The objective of cluster analysis is to identify clusters formed out of a dataset. The mechanism is employed by defining similarity or dissimilarity measures. The iterative factorial clustering of binary variables (i-FCB) was formulated by D'Enza & Palumbo (2013). The approach is a combination of non-symmetric correspondence analysis (Lauro & D'Ambra, 1984) for dimension reduction with k-means clustering. The quantification of the category is seen to be suitable when treating the categorical dataset, which contains the semantic universe collected in this study. The importance of the discriminant method or the reduction method is that this procedure aims to test homogeneity within the cluster while at the same time, allowing us to see distinctions among clusters. Relatedly, “discriminant analysis can also be used to describe intergroup differences.” (Doise, Clemence & Lorenzi-Cioldi 1993, p.138)

2.7 Summary

This chapter discusses the theory of social representation and intergroup contact. The intergroup contact is related to the formation of knowledge. Literature related to intergroup contact includes studies related to the Cyprus conflict. The identities formed in Cyprus are products of knowledge that are circulated and organised within societies. The literature of this research sought to answer the research objectives. This chapter shows how social representation is formed through 1) cultural influences; 2) the historical aspect of the society surrounding the object of the representations; 3) intergroup interaction.

The following chapter explores the methodology used to analyse the respondent's responses in order to generate insightful outcomes. Detailed elaboration on the research methodology, including data collection, data cleaning are described in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

3.1 The multi-methodology perspective

Having established the theoretical and conceptual background for researching social representations in the previous chapter, this chapter introduces the methodological framework for the data collection and the data analysis employed in this study. A multi-methodology approach is seen to be appropriate for studying empirical research on social representations because it offers a comprehensive application of the methodological procedures in order to address the research objectives. More importantly, it allows us to explore the variables surrounding the object of social representations, and to explore the sources of information and actors related to knowledge development.

This research is carried out by utilising a mixed qualitative and quantitative research method. The methodology employed in the research is designed to investigate the internal structure of reconciliation as the object of social representations. The internal structure is studied by classifying the semantic universe collected into central core and peripheral systems. The analysis was performed by utilising word associations and was followed by a semi-structured questionnaire exploring variables surrounding the object of social representations. The semi-structured questionnaire also explored the active participation of CSO subsamples and laypeople from the general population from both the TCC and the GCC. The result was produced through several analyses to validate and enrich the findings.

This chapter begins with an introduction of the methodologies employed, followed by a description of respondents' profiles, research instruments and procedures. The methodologies are elaborated upon in the following order: 1) the methodology to explore the content of every representation; 2) the methodology to explore the structure of social representations, their centrality and network; 3) the methodology to elaborate upon variables surrounding the object of representation; 4) the methodology to explore the approach of iterative factor clustering of binary data (iFCB).

3.1.1 Methodology to explore the content of every representation

The method to explore the content of social representations consists of a few techniques depending on the source of the corpus. According to Chartier & Meunier (2011), the corpora's typology (see Figure 3.1), and the corpus's sources can be classified into two types, those obtained naturally and those obtained by provocation. The corpus's natural source includes words or phrases from sources such as the dictionary, the encyclopedia, newspapers, or literature. Data exploration can be done automatically for immense corpus and corpora, using word analysis software. On the other hand, data exploration and retrieval can be done manually for the smaller corpora. The length of the discourse is a theoretical decision, usually relying on the grammatical unit or punctuation makers (Chartier & Meunier, 2011). Meanwhile, the provoked corpus source can be obtained by administering free association tasks through a questionnaire, including the narrative interview and biography.

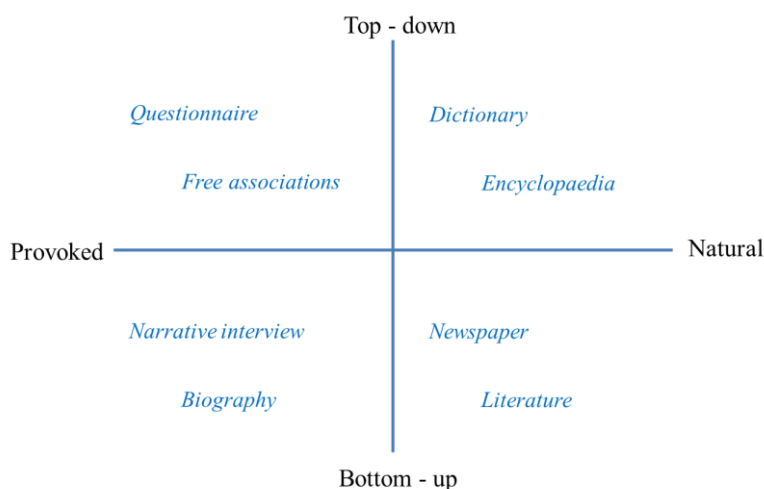


Figure 3. 1 The typology of corpora (Chartier & Meunier, 2011, p. 13)

The corpus construction uses the traditional way of analysing the corpora's content, which can be done by sorting and clustering based on the relevance concerning the context. The text mining method involves three phases consisting of: data collection, data modelling and data

analysis. The data collection phase is where the corpus collection and discourse retrieval is conducted. Data modelling is the second phase of the text mining method, exercising a vectorisation and a similarity treatment of the dataset. The last phase is the data analysis involving three steps of analyses: automatic classification, salient content extraction, and categorisation. Chartier & Meunier (2011) elaborated upon the method of text mining for social representation as follows:

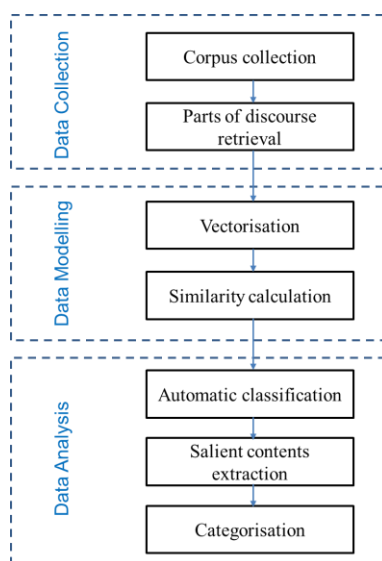


Figure 3. 2 The three phases of the text mining method (Chartier & Meunier, 2011, p. 12)

Furthermore, apart from the natural method of corpus collection, Abric (1994) distinguished interrogative and associative methods as a provoked method to explore the content of the representation toward an object. The two most common methods are in-depth interviews and the use of a semi-structured questionnaire. The in-depth interview utilisation allows the researcher to access the individual representations related to the object under discussion. The word association task is one of the primary data collection methods used for collecting the content of social representations. The choice of words to express the object of representation can also be obtained using this method. Meanwhile, the questionnaire is a data collection tool to study the content of social representations. The use of a questionnaire has advantages, and it allows us to have a bigger and more robust sample size. The questionnaire can also be administered both offline (face-to-face

interview) or online/phone to overcome distances, obtain a faster result, and is more economical. However, in contrast to the in-depth interview method, the use of a questionnaire would limit the individual expressions, especially when administering close-ended questions. However, the semi-structured questionnaire is utilised entirely as a justification or follow up method of questioning to elaborate upon answers surrounding the object of representation.

Another technique that can also be used to explore the content of social representations is the use of drawing or a graphic (Tuselli, Schember, Fasanelli & Galli, 2015). The drawing or graphic method is considered an effective method to be applied to a particular respondent group. However, compared to the verbal method, the drawing or graphic method has a complexity to administer and interpret. Therefore, the verbal method of data collection is seen as an efficient method to explore social representation content, considering the respondents' profiles and geographic coverage in this research project. The free association task also offers a flexible method to explore both content and social representation structure.

Broadly, exploring the content of the social representation structure of the questionnaire can be differentiated into three sections; 1) A free association and hierarchical evocation task; 2) a justification questionnaire; 3) a demographic questionnaire. The following is the categorisation process of the semantic universe collected through the method of the free association task.

3.1.1.1 Categorising the semantic universe collected

Prior to proceeding further with the analysis, the collection of words obtained through the free association task is categorised based on the description given to each of the words. The categorisation allows us to obtain a more insightful output.

The semantic universe collected consists of the 304 words or phrases produced in this study. The semantic universe was categorised based on the description of the words or phrases given by the respondents. The CSO subsample produced 147 words or phrases, while for the laypeople subsample, the total is 157 (80 for TCC and 77 for GCC). The semantic universe produced is categorised into 12 categories; which are Peace as a value, Peace as a result, Peace as the synonym, Coexistence, Emotional mentions, Economic aspirations, Future aspirations, Reconciliation efforts,

Obstacles, Ethnicity and Culture, Memory of the conflict and the Cyprus problem. The detailed categories produced from the free association task results can be seen in Table 3.1.

	ACT (n=30)		TCC (n=20)		GCC (n=20)	
Category	Frequency	Total percentage	Frequency	Total percentage	Frequency	Total percentage
Peace as a value	9	6.1	6	7.5	0	0.0
Peace as a result	9	6.1	7	8.8	2	2.6
Peace as the synonym	4	2.7	2	2.5	2	2.6
Coexistence	33	22.5	6	7.5	17	22.0
Emotional mentions	7	4.8	3	3.8	15	19.5
Economic aspirations	5	3.4	3	3.8	0	0.0
Future aspirations	24	16.3	13	16.3	8	10.4
Reconciliation efforts	37	25.2	34	42.5	11	14.3
Obstacles	6	4.1	2	2.5	11	14.3
Ethnics&Culture	2	1.4	0	0.0	4	5.2
Memory of the conflict	6	4.1	0	0.0	5	6.5
Cyprus Problem	2	1.4	2	2.5	1	1.3
Others	3	2.0	2	2.5	1	1.3
Total	147	100	80	100	77	100

Table 3. 1 Semantics category and frequency of CSO, TCC and GCC subsample

The following are some of the examples of how the categorisation was formed. *Reconciliation effort* was the highest-mentioned category with 41 words or phrases. The words or phrases that fell under this category included understanding, justice, dialogue, trust, acceptance, agreement, common future, United Nations, safety, restoration, commitment, integrity, effort, truth, governance, people, peacebuilding, cohesion, community, forgive, bygones, youth, communication, security, consensus, forgiveness, reconnection, to get, withdraw, hope, respect, compromise, to give, negotiation, balance, rationale, appreciation, common solution, politics, association and Varosha. Some descriptions in this category included, “Understanding” described as “to be open to differences in culture, personality traits, etc.” (ACT18), “To compromise and to live together, there must be a mutual understanding” (GPT35), and “You should first understand someone to be able to be reconciled” (GPG61). The phrase of “Common future” is described as

“We should know the future to be shared. if you do not have this in mind, it is not possible to look forward” (ACT4).

The category of *Coexistence* consists of a group of words or phrases (25). Words or phrases falling into this category included respect, compromise, cooperation, collaboration, togetherness, coexistence, friendship, fraternity, sharing, co-living, unite, tolerance, sympathy/mutual understanding, help, partnership, harmony, concord, colleagues, friends, couple, acting together, meeting, support, bonded and solidarity. Some descriptions of “Cooperation” described it as “Bring[ing] communities together” (ACT16), and “When you make friends with someone, you must cooperate with them, have a relationship” (GPG52).

The category of *Future aspirations* contains 26 words or phrases. This category includes words or phrases such as future, solution, equality, relationship, Cypriots, One Cyprus, unification, hopeful, forward, happy, freedom, problem-solving, political stability, resolution, reunification, common country, onwards, common homeland, no border, calm, citizen of a country, opportunity, result, enemies, expectation and revelry. One of the semantics mentioned is “Equality” and this was described by all three subsamples as “There are the majority, and minority problem and the conflict starts from that. Everyone should feel equal” (ACT22), “A compromise that is not based on equality will collapse” (GPT35) and “You should feel that everyone is equal and not below you” (GPG61).

The category of *Emotional mentions* includes eight words: love, overcoming, empathy, let-go, envy, compassion, sadness and animals. The collected description for “Love” is “We need to love to make it happen” (ACT7), “Reconciliation means to love other people” (GPG52), and “There should be love from both sides for reconciliation” (GPG62).

The category of *Obstacles* included 15 words or phrases, such as difficult, struggle, complicated, borders, hate, malice, environment, similarities, barricade, complicated, impossible, separation, refusal, contrast, and problematic. A word falling into this category is “Hate”, described as “Hate makes it impossible” (ACT7) and “Our problem is to cultivate hate, and we have trouble with a reconciliation” (GPG58).

According to its descriptions, mentions of the word *Peace* are differentiated into three categories. *Peace* is categorised as: *Peace as a result*, *Peace as a value* and *Peace as the synonym*.

The category *Peace as a result* consists of descriptions such as “Peace is the result of reconciliation and ultimate goal” (ACT26), “To live without fear” (GPT48), including “Combine Greek and Turks and peace to have a reconciliation result” (GPG54). *Peace as a value* is described by several respondents such as “Peace is the best thing in life” (ACT5), “It is the state of being” (ACT11) and “Wars are terrible” (GPT49). Lastly, the *Peace as a synonym* category was described by some respondents as “Reconciliation means making peace” (ACT8), “Because reconciliation evokes [peace]” (GPT42) and “There should be peace for there to be reconciliation” (GPG69).

The *Memory of the conflict* category includes nine words or phrases: healing, trauma, admittance, war, fight, shouting, long time, quarrel, and cruelty. Several mentions of “Trauma” are described as “Overcoming trauma is part of some reconciliation processes” (ACT1) and “Because healing relates to engrained traumas” (ACT17).

The category of *Economic aspirations* includes eight words or phrases: poverty, economic growth, entrepreneurship, economy, single currency, minimum wage, interest and prosperity. A sample of a phrase and a word falling under this category is “Economic growth,” which is described as “Trade between north and south” (ACT30) and “Entrepreneurship” for example, “The entrepreneurial mindset can solve a lot of problems” (ACT15).

The category of *Ethnicities and culture* consists of words such as culture, race, Turkish Cypriots, Turkish, and Greek. The semantic of “Culture” is elaborated upon as “Similarities can aid process” (ACT15), and the term “Turkish Cypriots” is described by some respondents from the GCC subsample with phrases like “Because the reconciliation we need is with the Turkish Cypriots to solve the main problem of the country” (GPG51) and “The topic that concerns us is reconciliation with the Turkish Cypriots” (GPG58).

And lastly, the Cyprus problem and Cyprus make up the category of *the Cyprus problem*. The phrase “Cyprus problem” connotes an acknowledgement of the issue, and it is described as “There has not been a solution since I was born” (GPT32), “Reconciliation has to be done, and the Cyprus problem has to be solved” (GPT47), and “the most important topic of our country” (GPG51). The word “Cyprus” corresponds to “The relationships of many Cypriots have been affected by armed conflict” (ACT1) and “Because this is a frozen conflict zone in need of reconciliation” (ACT15).

Some respondents addressed their answer in the third person when describing the words or phrases they mentioned. Moscovici & Doise (1994) saw this as a mode of thinking; usually, when the research object perceives something as distant, impersonal, and abstract, they address it in the third person.

3.1.2 Methodology to explore the structure of social representations

Several methods can be employed to explore the internal structure of social representations. The identification of the central elements involves two main methods (Abric & Moliner, 2015), the exploratory method and the corroborative method. The exploratory method offers a detection of the central elements. In order to identify the central elements, this method utilises the free association task and a hierarchical evocation. Vergès (1992) suggested the use of the verbal (words, phrases or sentences) association of the representation's object as the data collection technique to collect the content of social representations. Using this technique allows us to explore both the content and the structure of the object of a social representation. This technique is conducted by asking the respondent to mention up to five words associated with the object of representation, in this case reconciliation. The Iramuteq software can be used to generate an analysis identifying the hierarchical classification on the words collected. Meanwhile, the corroborative method is designed to identify central elements.

The word association task is a method based on the idea that elements of the central core are more salient than the rest (Vergès, 1994). Salience is the frequency of use and the ranking of words obtained through the production of the qualitative method. In order to study the salience property, the first section of the questionnaire includes a free association task designed to understand what comes to the respondents' minds when they hear the word 'Reconciliation' by collecting up to five words associated with reconciliation. We asked the respondents to describe the meaning of the words given by them. Lastly, the importance levels of the words collected are ranked from most important to least important.

Meanwhile, the connective property is the study of the network of the words collected. It explores the degree of connection between each of the elements (words collected), their frequency and their co-occurrences. One of the techniques to explore the degree of connection between each

element is a similitude analysis. This technique is based on the concept of social representations that consist of “a group of cognitions linked up by their relations” (Moliner, 1994, p. 216).

Property	Definition	Methods	Analysis
Salience	Frequency Rank	Word association	Prototypical analysis (Multivariate 2 x 2 matrix of frequency and rank of importance)
Connective	Cluster Rank	Word association Similitude analysis	Similarity (analysing distances and correlation)

Table 3. 2 Methods to explore the structure of social representations

Several related methodologies study central and peripheral elements of social representations. These methods allow us to make a distinction based on the content of both its central elements and its peripheral elements. The central and peripheral system is the result of the hierarchical structure of the collected elements. The hierarchical structure correlates with the importance level of each element. From the structural approach of social representations, the analysis follows the data collection techniques by employing a semi-structured questionnaire, which we will discuss in this chapter. To be able to access the internal organisation of a social representation, several methods can be explored. It can be done by identifying the characteristics of the central core and the peripheral systems; it comprises quantitative and qualitative associative words, and those are the rationales behind the use of multi-methods.

3.1.2.1 Research material

Several methods can be used in the study of social representations. The Central Nucleus Theory (CNT), developed by Abric (1976), recognises the existence of a relatively stable central core in every social representation, layered by dynamic peripheral systems. A Hierarchical Evocation Task (Abric, 2003) was used in this study, particularly a set of questionnaires asking the following questions:

Questionnaire	CSO	Laypeople TCC & GCC
Question 1: Free word association	✓	✓
Question 2: Description of each word	✓	✓
Question 3: Rank of importance	✓	✓

Table 3. 3 Hierarchical evocation task asked to all subsamples

This method consisted of three steps: 1) we asked respondents to collect up to five words associated with reconciliation; 2) the respondents were also asked to state the reason behind their answer; 3) a Hierarchical Evocation Task was employed to study the internal structure of the social representation of reconciliation. By using these questions, the respondents were also asked to rank the importance of all the evocated terms (see Appendix 1), where the first rank is the most important and rank five signifies the least important word. This section of the questionnaire was given to all participants (CSO, TCC and GCC respondents).

3.1.2.2 Procedure

This technique offers an analysis of the structure by means of a 2 x 2 matrix consisting of the relatively stable central core in every social representation, layered by dynamic peripheral and complimentary systems.

The data were analysed using mixed qualitative and quantitative methods. Results were obtained through the IRaMuTeQ software, an interface of R was able to analyse the multidimensionality of the semantic universe of the data collected. The frequency and rank of importance are plotted into four quadrants, with the average of the value as the cut-off point. The cut-off value of the rank of importance is based on the rank of evocation, where rank one signifies the most important and rank five signifies the least important. Table 3.4 shows the four quadrant matrix representing the Central Core (*Zone du noyau*), the First periphery (*Première périphérie*), the Second periphery (*Seconde périphérie*), and the Contrasted elements (*Elements contrastés*).

<= (value) Avg. Importance > (value)	
< (value) Avg. Freq >= (value)	Zone du noyau
	Première périphérie
	<div>High Frequency</div> <div>High Rank of Importance</div>
	<div>High Frequency</div> <div>Low Rank of Importance</div>
	Elements contrastés
	Seconde périphérie
	<div>Low Frequency</div> <div>High Rank of Importance</div>
	<div>Low Frequency</div> <div>Low Rank of Importance</div>

Table 3. 4 Matrix of the hierarchical structure of word association

The first quadrant, the Central Core, contains the most frequently mentioned and most important elements, which give a representation of the Central Core. The “first periphery” quadrant contains elements that have a high frequency of mention yet a low rank of importance when compared to the average. The “elements contrasted” quadrant has elements with low frequency

but are above the average rank of importance. The last quadrant is the “second periphery”, which has below average frequency and rank of importance. This method allows for the study of the collected semantics by calculating the rank of frequency and importance (Abric, 2003).

3.1.3 Methodology to explore variables surrounding the representation’s object

Quantitative methodology was utilised to obtain the statistical inferences of this research project. Following the free association and hierarchical evocation tasks, the first section of the questionnaire explores media touchpoints, including the respondents’ media usage and habits related to the reconciliation process. We also investigated the credibility of the news provider or news shared through social media. In the second section, we explored the sharing behaviour of the respondents related to the reconciliation topic. A few questions were also included to presuppose the future of reconciliation in this section (Section three). At the end of this section, the questions asked were to investigate their participation in CSOs, including their type, objective(s), source of funding of the organisation or community in which they are participating (Section four). However, this question is only addressed to the CSO subsample; meanwhile, the laypeople subsample (TCC and GCC) was not asked this and skipped to the following section. The last section is to record the respondents’ demographic profiles. The demographic questions allow us to draw a map based on their responses and generate a cross-tabulation with their profiles (Section five).

The quantitative research process to elaborate upon variables relating to the representation are summarised in Figure 3.3.

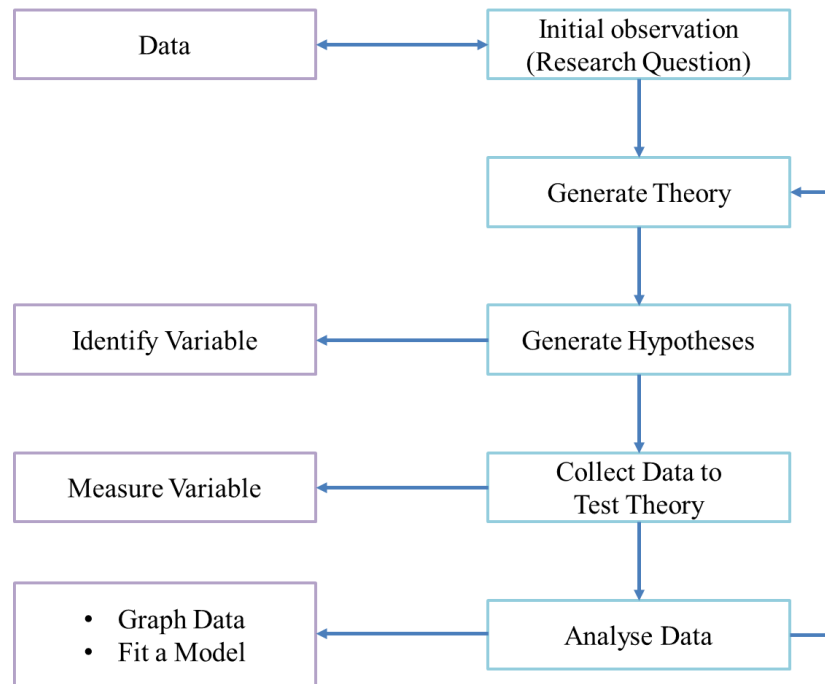


Figure 3. 3 The research process (Field, 2009, p. 3)

3.1.3.1 Research material

The respondents answered a semi-structured questionnaire consisting of five sections (see Appendix 2). Each of the sections is composed of several questions related to reconciliation in Cyprus.

Questionnaire	CSO	Laypeople TCC & GCC
Section 1: Media touchpoints	✓	✓
Section 2: Information on sharing habit	✓	✓
Section 3: Presupposing the future of reconciliation	✓	✓
Section 4: Civil Society Activism	✓	-
Section 5: Demographic questions	✓	✓

Table 3. 5 Structure of the questionnaire

Section one explores the source of information regarding the topic of reconciliation that the respondents are accessing. In this section, we also sought to understand the media's credibility when spreading information about reconciliation.

Section two is to understand the respondents' attitudes towards information sharing and their preferred methods of communication.

Section three is designed to understand aspirations towards reconciliation and the related parties responsible for it. Moreover, to investigate how the Cypriots presuppose the future of reconciliation.

Section four gathered insights from the CSO subsample related to their participation in the organisations or groups. Through this section, we can understand what kind of sector the organisations are focusing on and their funding sources, including their recommendation level.

Section five consists of demographic questions that recorded age, gender, education, level of occupation, location, ethnicity, and religious beliefs.

3.1.3.2 Procedure

In order to make the interview process more efficient, comfortable, and easy for the respondent to understand, we used showcards for the face to face interview. The showcard is a collection of close-ended answers. Once we read out the question, we showed respondents the showcard and asked them to mention the code of their answer. Meanwhile, for respondents who were interviewed using the CATI method, the interviewers read out all the pre-coded answer for the respondents to select. The respondents could also give their own answer if the pre-coded answer was not available.

The computation of the dataset was generated in IBM Statistics 27. Through this method, we obtained descriptive statistics with cross-tabulation with the demographic variables. We applied the Yates' correction for the contingency table generated through this analysis. The Yates correction was used to prevent overestimation of statistical significance level for a study with a low sample size.

3.1.4 Methodology to explore the approach of iterative factor clustering

3.1.4.1 Multiple correspondence analysis

There are three basic notions on the multivariate approach to study the distribution responses of individual differences can be differentiated into “1) level (mean of the individual responses); 2) dispersion (degree of scattering individual responses around the mean); 3) correlation (the link between individual responses for two variables, that is, the profile).” (Doise, Clemence & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 1993, p. 67).

Multiple Correspondence Analysis identifies associations between variables. The analysis is a nonlinear multivariate that integrates ideas from multidimensional scaling (Hoffman & De Leeuw, 1992). MCA is a method used to study the association between two or more variables. Using MCA allows for a visualisation of the data by minimising distances between the variables. MCA is a technique used to study a subject that involves multidimensional contingency data.

“MCA can be seen as a way of analysing a subject by a variable matrix with categorical variables; or a subject by item matrix of multiple-choice data; or a multi-way contingency table.” (Tenenhaus & Young, p.91, 1985)

Nishato (1980), formulated multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) as the factorial of a qualitative dataset using the scale analysis perspective. MCA is derived from correspondence analysis which accommodates the multidimensionality of a dataset. It is an exploratory technique used for multivariate analysis. The context of multidimensionality of MCA is suitable for analysing the contingency table and the frequency data. The interpretation of the analysis follows the centroid principle, which mentions the distance between variables corresponding to the similarity of its characteristics (Hoffman & De Leeuw, 1992). The closer the distance between variables, the more similar they are in terms of characteristics. Furthermore, “the centroid principle defines graphical representation and interpretation of the MCA map.” (Hoffman & De Leeuw, 1992, p. 269). The mechanism of MCA represents the contingency of subjects (respondents) and the hierarchical semantic universe collected (words collected corresponding to the rank of importance).

“MCA assigns scores to rows (representing the subjects) and columns (representing the response categories) of a data matrix, yielding a graphical display of the rows and the columns of the data matrix.” (Takane & Hwang, p.2, 2006)

The multidimensionality of the analysis allows us to study the association between the words collected, the importance level of each word, and respondent’s profile.

3.1.4.1.1 Research material

The word associations task produced a relatively big dataset. We also recorded the demographic profiles of all three subsamples (CSO, TCC and GCC). This method aims to answer

two main objectives: 1) to discern whether there are any differences in words produced through the free association task of reconciliation across all subsamples; 2) to understand the characteristics of each cluster formed. The MCA enables us to answer these questions by mapping between rows and columns.

3.1.4.1.2 Procedure

The MCA was generated in R studio with the R version of 4.0.3 (2020-10-10). The cross-tabulations performed consisted of rows (words collected) and columns (respondents subsamples). Prior to performing the analysis, the categorical dataset obtained from the word association task was factorised into a numerical dataset. Generating the function `mca.word.res <- MCA(input_data)` produced MCA factor maps. In the first analysis, we obtained the factor map of the words collected. The second analysis is a factor map plotting the respondents' subsamples and the words collected. The function `plot(mca.word.res)` allows us to examine the relationship between words collected and subsamples and map the variable representations.

3.1.4.2 Factorial cluster analysis

Cluster analysis is an exploratory method to identify structures within the dataset. It is also known as segmentation analysis that is generated to understand the characteristics of the dataset. It aims to describe the structure of the data by identifying homogeneity or heterogeneity. To obtain a clear visualisation of the clusters, a dimensional reduction method is required for a dataset with high dimensionality. The purpose is to reduce the number of variables to capture insights out of the dataset. `clustrd` is a method to perform dimension reduction and clustering for categorical data. Moreover, we utilised the function of `clusmca` that integrated correspondence analysis for the dimension reduction. This research using the implementation of iterative factorial clustering of binary data (i-FCB) (D'Enza & Palumbo, 2013), which combines iFCB Nonsymmetric Correspondence Analysis for dimension reduction with k-means for clustering, offers us another perspective in understanding the dataset.

K-means clustering calculates the means of each cluster. The steps involve: 1) selecting the number of clusters (k value) to identify in the dataset; 2) randomly selecting distinctive data points;

3) measuring the distance between the first point and all initial cluster selected; 4) assigning the first point to the nearest (initial) cluster selected and repeating the process for the next data point; 5) calculating the means of each cluster. The quality of the clustering can be assessed by adding up the variations within each cluster, and it can also be assessed by experimenting with the number of clusters.

3.1.4.2.1 Research material

The factorial cluster analysis is designed to answer 1) How the map between semantic categories and respondent subsample is formed; 2) How are the characteristics of the cluster formed?; 3) What is the similarity and dissimilarity between clusters?

The dataset needs to be prepared prior to conducting the factorial cluster analysis. The character dataset, which consists of a collection of words obtained through a free association task, was transformed into a factorial dataset. The analysis was executed using the factorial or numeric dataset.

3.1.4.2.2 Procedure

The analyses provide a cross-tabulation between words and demographic variables. Variables such as respondent subsamples (CSO, TCC, and GCC), age group, education level, and geographic location (North Cyprus and Northern Cyprus) are designated to identify the characteristics of each cluster formed.

The analysis was produced by utilising R, a statistical programme. The package used for this analysis includes `clustrd`. `Clustrd` is a method used to analyse a categorical dataset that combines dimension reduction and clustering (Markos, Iodice D'Enza, van de Velden, 2019). Within the `clustrd` package, we explored the `iFCB` function, which combines nonsymmetric correspondence analysis for dimensional reduction and clustering (Iodice D'Enza & Palumbo 2013). Data visualisation to plot the graph is by utilising packages such as `ggplot2`, `GGally`, and `grid`. To generate the data, `ca.res <- clusmca(,method = "iFCB")` was used to form a plot of four clusters in two dimensions out of the numeric dataset. The analysis presents

a visualisation of the cluster formed with the respondents' characteristics corresponding to the cluster.

3.2 Research design

As part of the initial research, in September 2018, the first visit to Cyprus was to learn about the recent development of the peace talks, developing a network and collecting a database of CSOs and bi-communal initiatives. One of the initiatives is the Mahallae¹³ project, which engages its audience to be more socially involved. The initial research was to study the characteristics of the research object, which are the development of reconciliation process.

This section discusses the methodological procedures to collect the responses and the respondent's criteria, including the timeline to complete the sample collection. The questionnaire was administered in the language the respondents preferred. The CSO subsample had an interview in English. Meanwhile, the TCC and GCC subsamples could choose the interview to be conducted either in English, Greek or Turkish (see Appendices 1 and 2).

3.2.1 Respondents profile

The original contribution of this research is to study the internal structure of social representations of reconciliation in the midst of the ongoing Cyprus conflict. We deconstruct the social representations of reconciliation contributed to by intergroup contact. Furthermore, to profoundly understand social representations of reconciliation co-constructed by both "social actors" of those involved in civil society activism and the lay people from the general population.

The target respondents recruited for this study are classified into three subsamples; 1) those participating in CSOs ($n=30$); 2) lay people from the TCC ($n=20$); 3) lay people from the GCC ($n=20$). For the laypeople subsample, a quota was applied to age, gender, ethnicity, or national

¹³ Mahallae is an online platform to engage civic community, organising series of events including stimulating innovative ideas for social change. The first Mahallae event was held in January 2014 and the project concluded in 2018.

origin (TCC and GCC). Due to its niche characteristic of the population of the CSO subsample, no quota was applied. The sample characteristics are summarised in Table 3.6.

Subsample characteristics	CSOs	Lay people from the general population
Numerosity	30	40
Community	Ethnic residing in Cyprus	TCC and GCC (50:50)
Age quota	22 – 62 yo.	24 – 49 yo. (younger) and 50 – 75 yo. (older) (50:50)
Gender	N/A	Females and Males (50:50)

Table 3. 6 Sample characteristics

3.2.2 The data collection methodology

Two stages of data collection were conducted in order to meet the objectives of the study. The first phase data of collection took place from February to May 2019. This phase is designated to collect responses from the CSO subsample. Meanwhile, the second phase was conducted between August and September 2019. During this phase, the laypeople sample subsample consisting of TCC and GCC were collected. Each of the subsamples served a different purpose. The CSO subsample was to investigate how active participation in the organisation shaped respondents' representations towards reconciliation. Whereas the laypeople subsample was designed to examine social representations in the public sphere in what regards reconciliation as the topic discussed among members of both the TCC and the GCC.

	CSOs/community/group	Laypeople	
		TCC	GCC
Fieldwork	February - May 2019	September 2019	
<i>n</i> completed	30	40	

Table 3. 7 Data collection timeline and achievement

In order to answer the research objective and the research questions, a mixed qualitative and quantitative method was employed. The data collection was conducted in Cyprus from February 2019 until September 2019. The sample for the CSO subsample was collected through a combination of face to face interviews and the submission of an online questionnaire.

Furthermore, the subsample differentiation resulted in the different approach of the data collection methods employed. The data were collected through two different strategies. Since the activities related to bi-communal participation are concentrated around Nicosia's buffer zone, the data collection is focused on this city. On the other hand, the data collection method for the laypeople subsample (TCC and GCC) is gathered through Computer Assisted Telephone Interview (CATI)¹⁴ to cover broader geographical distribution. Therefore, in order to collect the data, two sampling methods were employed; 1) convenient sampling to collect data for CSO subsample, and; 2) purposive sampling method was utilised to gather the sample from laypeople in the TCC and GCC subsamples.

3.2.2.1 Member of CSO subsample

The convenient sampling method was employed in the CSO subsample data collection. This method targeted sampling where members of the general population that meet specific practical criteria, such as easy accessibility, geographic proximity, availability at a given time or the

¹⁴The phone interview was conducted by RAI Consultant Cyprus from their call centre.

willingness to participate, are included for the purpose of the study (Etikan et al., 2016). The objective of selecting this sampling method is to also allow us to recruit respondents who were easily accessible to maintain research investment throughout the designated timeline.

The data for the CSO subsample were collected through the distribution of an online survey link and face to face interviews conducted in Nicosia. To be able to get respondents from the older age group, face to face interview were conducted as requested by the respondents, and the responses were later punched into the Survey Monkey platform. The online data was collected through the Survey Monkey platform by utilising three survey collector methods; 1) the first method employed is by utilising a survey link distributed by e-mail; 2) ball rolling from one member of CSO to their colleagues, including posting to the Facebook pages of the CSOs. A total of 25 organisations or communities were contacted. The majority of them are formally established or have legal status, and the rest are non-formal organisations. Data collection for this subsample was conducted in the city of Nicosia and within the buffer zone where the CSO activities were centralised. Additionally, many bi-communal activities are also happening around and within the buffer zone.

The completion rate for the online survey collector was 75 per cent. Furthermore, on average, it took 30 minutes for respondents to complete the interview. In addition to the two previous data collection methods, an e-mail invitation was sent to 67 e-mail addresses of CSO members, yet only one respondent completed the first section of the questionnaire. I have also approached some organisations such as the students' Facebook group and CyprusInno, the business incubating initiative that has members throughout Cyprus. Moreover, up to June 2019, CyprusInno had 5,678 followers on its Facebook page. Below is a screenshot of the survey invitation posted on the CyprusInno Facebook page.

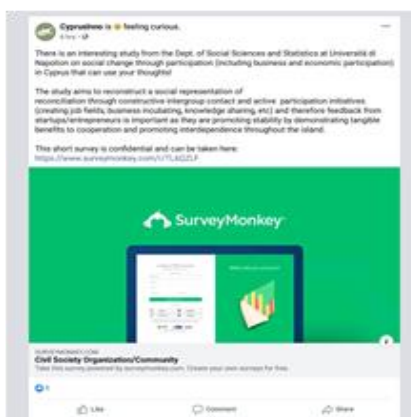


Figure 3. 4 The survey link posted on CyprusInno Facebook page

Participants were informed by a disclaimer placed at the beginning of the survey mentioning that their participation was completely anonymous, and the data collected would be used only for research purposes. The length of the interview was also informed at the beginning of the survey page. We maintained accurate records of interviews including safeguarding the confidentiality of the objective of the research. The survey link went live in the second week of February 2019, and the survey ended at the end of May 2019.

The main obstacles in the data collection were a low participation rate, presumably caused by a lack of trust for someone from a different nationality¹⁵. Apart from that, a few respondents opted out of the interview appointment without notice. The exhaustion may be due to an overwhelming number of studies being conducted in Cyprus by various organisations or politically affiliated groups.

3.2.2.2 Laypeople subsample

The laypeople data collection is conducted once all questionnaires of the CSO subsample were completed. Moreover, the laypeople subsample utilised a purposive sampling method to

¹⁵ World Value Survey 2011: 35.5% mentioned they would not like to have Immigrants/Foreign workers as their neighbour (p.18)

achieve the respondent quota. The short-structured questionnaire was administered to 40 respondents with an equal distribution among members of the TCC and the GCC. The laypeople subsample used the same questionnaire as the CSO subsample, however a section regarding participation in the organisation was excluded.

The quota was also applied to gender and age groups to obtain richer insights. Respondents were divided into two age groups. The first age group ranged from 24 to 49 years old and the second group ranged from 50 to 75 years old with a 25-year interval for each of the groups. The first age group was designed to address younger respondents who were taught history from their parents or at school. In contrast, the second age group was designed to get feedback from those who experienced the worst of the country's turbulence first hand. The aim was to capture memories of significant events such as the country's independence from Britain and the ceasefire in 1974, to mention a few. Additionally, all participants were from the TCC and the GCC. See Table 3.8.

Southern Cyprus				Northern Cyprus			
20				20			
Males		Females		Males		Females	
10		10		10		10	
Younger	Older	Younger	Older	Younger	Older	Younger	Older
5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5

Table 3. 8 Sampling distribution of laypeople study

3.3 Summary

This chapter discussed the methodologies used in order to access the internal structure of social representations of reconciliation. This research employed several techniques in order to explore the content and the structure of social representations, including a statistical inference investigating the variable surrounding the object of social representation. Additionally, the cluster analysis perspective enriched the research output.

The next chapter elaborates the research insights obtained through the methodologies explored in this chapter. The insights are divided into three sections: 1) detailing the structural analysis of social representations of reconciliation through prototypical and similitude analysis; 2) exploring the variables surrounding the object of social representations; the behavioural analysis of media consumption, information sharing habits, presupposing the future of reconciliation including the active participation of the CSO subsample; 3) a computational analysis studying the structure of the dataset by means of iterative factoring, which combines nonsymmetric correspondence analysis for dimensional reduction and k-means clustering. Furthermore, the last part of Chapter four elucidates the demographic profiles of the respondents.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

4. 1 Research Output

This chapter gathers the insights produced in this study, and is presented in three different sections. Each section is dedicated to results corresponding to the different research objectives. Furthermore, each section focuses on answering specific research questions using different approaches.

The first section (Section 4.2) is devoted to the internal structure of social representations of reconciliation. The first research questions “Which are the constitutive elements of the internal structure of the social representation of the reconciliation? Are these elements similar or dissimilar due to the respondents’ group memberships?” were answered by analysing data obtained through Prototypical and Similarity analyses. Guided by the Central Core Theory (Abric 1976, 1993), we re-constructed social knowledge about reconciliation in terms of hierarchy and interdependence of the profound conceptions related to it.

The second section (Section 4.3) is centred on the analyses of interviewees’ sources of information about reconciliation. Since the first study conducted by Moscovici (1961) himself, very few empirical contributions have been made in this framework to connect the source of information, its content and participants’ re-elaboration. This section attempts to overcome that gap. Here the research questions were “Which sources of information about the process of reconciliation do Cypriots privilege? Furthermore, “In which way do respondents use and share this information?”

The third section (Section 4.4) conducted a computational analysis to give another perspective in reading the data collected. By using a Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) and a Cluster Analysis we tried to answer the last research question: “Do the different subsamples of participants (CSO, TCC, and GCC) share the same social representation of reconciliation?”

Some demographic profiles are elaborated upon in the last section (Section 4.5) to draw a picture of the respondents’ characteristics.

4.2 Structural analysis of social representations of reconciliation in Cyprus

In the Cypriot peace process, the practices of coexistence have been centralised in the Nicosia buffer zone. This is where intergroup contact and information exchange is facilitated between Turkish Cypriot (TC) and Greek Cypriot (GC) communities through Civil Society Organisations (CSOs). In light of this context, by employing the theoretical framework of social psychology, the original contribution of this study is to understand the process through which social representations of “reconciliation” are constructed in Cyprus. Moreover, this study intends to evaluate the discrepancy between the social representations of those taking part in CSO activism compared to laypeople. This section presents preliminary insights drawing upon the fieldwork that was carried out in Cyprus through a convenient and purposive sampling method. Since the formation of Moscovici’s theory of social representations in 1961, different approaches have been developed, among them is the Central Nucleus Theory (CNT), developed by Abric (1976). This theory recognises the existence of a relatively stable central core in every social representation, layered by dynamic peripheral systems. In this framework, the much-used methodological approach involves free word association and hierarchical evocation strategies. The question of word association is utilised to collect semantic universes concerning social representations of “reconciliation” and is followed by a hierarchisation task (Vergès, 1992).

The first part of this section is focused on exploring the structural perspective of social representations of reconciliation. In this section, we aimed to elaborate upon this by making a distinction between the content of the central core and peripheral elements. Looking at the content, the three subsamples (CSO, TCC and GCC) have a different social construct related to reconciliation as the object of representations. Finally, the last part of this section presents a network of the collected categorised words. This section gives a graphic projection on proximity and co-occurrences between each category.

4.2.1 Prototypical analysis

4.2.1.1 Prototypical analysis: Civil Society Organisations (CSO)

The prototypical analysis is a cross-tabulation between the score of frequency and the rank of importance. It is presented in four quadrants of a 2 x 2 matrix. The following matrix is an analysis of an active participation subsample (members of CSOs). The cut-off value for this subsample is 12 as its average of the frequency, and it has a 2.98 rank of importance.

		<= 2.98 Rank > 2.98	
< 12 freq >= 12	Zone du noyau	Première périphérie	
	Reconciliation_efforts-37-2.8	Coexistence-33-3 Future_aspirations-24-3.8	
	Elements contrastés	Seconde périphérie	
	Peace_as_a_value-9-2.4 Peace_as_a_result-9-1.9 Emotional_mentions-7-2.3 Memory_of_the_conflict-6-2.3 Economic_aspirations-5-2.8	Obstacles-6-3.3 Peace_as_the_synonym-4-3 Ethnic&Culture-2-4 Cyprus_problem-2-4.5	

Table 4. 1 Prototypical analysis of CSO Activists

A single category falls under **the central nucleus** as seen in the first (upper-left) quadrant. Reconciliation efforts has the highest frequency of mention (37 mentions) and is the most important element (average importance of 2.8) in this subsample. This category reflects the work

of activism and positive attitudes towards cooperation for a shared future. Some examples of respondent responses resonating with this category include: “Serving justice is often a prerequisite in achieving reconciliation” (ACT13), “For reconciliation, we need constructive dialogue” (ACT23), “(trust) Makes reconciliation sustainable” (ACT11), “Reconciliation cannot be done without accepting the ‘other’” (ACT14), and “When we are exchanging information from the past, we should compromise from our past we learned in the past” (ACT6).

In the second quadrant (upper-right), two categories characterise the **first periphery** of the representation explored. The highest frequency of mention for the category is Coexistence with 33 co-occurrences (with an average rank or importance of 3.8). Some of the CSOs focus on promoting intergroup contact between ethnic groups living in Cyprus in order to promote trust and collaboration. One initiative to promote inter-ethnic coexistence is the *Imagine* project for school pupils implemented by AHDR. The Bi-communal Choir for Peace also encourages intergroup collaboration through participation in music. Furthermore, the following are some of the participants’ descriptions of “coexistence”: “We should respect the information and views. The information may be hurting us that the authority has taught us as the module of information, or maybe some words are hurting, such as ‘occupation’ or ‘division’ (ACT6), “In order to be able to achieve reconciliation you need to compromise your perspectives with the others” (ACT14), “Brings communities together (through cooperation)” (ACT16), “(coexistence) is very important because we know this island is very small to be divided” (ACT4), “We should know how to tolerate each other that are different otherwise, you cannot find common ground” (ACT4), “To be sympathetic about the pain and tragedy of the other side. We always taught about our past, and we should understand why we have this opinion and views have a source” (ACT6).

Moreover, the second category in this quadrant is Future aspiration with 24 mentions (average rank or importance is 3.8). A unified Cyprus is one of the prominent aspirations. As described in the following quotes: “Reconciliation is the only future I would like to hope towards” (ACT27), “When we have Cypriotness, it will come to agreements, and we can come together” (ACT5), “Reconciliation in the Cypriot context means unification” (ACT23), “I would really like to see reconciliation” (ACT27), “(the concept of the common country) creates Cypriotism” (ACT16). In order to materialise Cypriot aspirations for the future, certain conditions need to be met. Discrimination towards ethnic minorities is one of the obstacles. As mentioned by an activist

regarding equality, “There is the majority, and minority problem and the conflict starts; everyone should feel equal” (ACT22).

The **second periphery** system (bottom-right cell) consists of four categories where Obstacles was the most-mentioned category (six mentions with an average rank or importance of 3.3), Peace as the synonym (four mentions with an average rank or importance of 3), Ethnicity & Culture (two mentions with an average rank or importance of 4) and the Cyprus problem (two mentions with an average rank or importance of 4.5). The Obstacles category conveys pessimism in realising reconciliation and was described by participants as follows: “Cultural differences [make the reconciliation process more difficult]” (ACT8), “[the Cyprus problem] is a constitutional nightmare” (ACT8), “In the Cypriot context borders have been created between the land and communities which need to fall for reconciliation to be possible” (ACT25) thus adding to the complexity of the problem, and “Hate makes [reconciliation] impossible” (ACT7). The category of Peace as the synonym is developed due to the circulation of knowledge related to reconciliation. The frequency of the mention and the pairing of words “peace” and “reconciliation” make both words closely associated. Moreover, some respondents described it as “We keep hearing this word related to the Cypriot issue and its solution” (ACT24), “Reconciliation means making peace” (ACT8), “Because the words of peace and reconciliation go hand in hand and are often used together” (ACT17). Ethnicity & Culture is the smallest category in this subsample. This category revolves around the cultural approach used in peace initiatives. Some verbatims expressed “Similarities can aid the process” (ACT15), “In some cases [reconciliation] between races” (ACT7). The semantics of the Cyprus problem are often found in literature and commonly used to address the situation in Cyprus. In verbatim responses, the Cyprus problem is described as “Because this is a frozen conflict zone in need of reconciliation” (ACT15).

The elements in the bottom-left quadrant, **complementary** to the central ones, are Peace as a value (nine mentions with an average rank or importance of 2.4), Peace as a result (nine mentions with an average rank or importance of 1.9), Emotional mentions (seven mentions with an average rank or importance of 2.3), Memory of the conflict (six mentions with an average rank or importance of 2.3) and Economic aspirations (five mentions with an average rank or importance of 2.8). As the most-mentioned categories in the cell, Peace as value and Peace as a result were described as “Peace is the best thing in life” (ACT5), “Peace is essential for both communities”

(ACT16). In short, the category of Peace as a value contains general mentions regarding peace. On the other hand, the category of Peace as a result of this subsample means reconciliation brings peace, which results in conflict resolution. “Because you aim towards ‘restoring’ some relationships that have brought conflict in the past” (ACT14), “Peace is the result of reconciliation, and is the ultimate goal” (ACT26), “[with peace] Security problems are addressed” (ACT12). The category “Emotional” mentions an elaboration of the emotional approach to sensitise attitudes towards conflict resolution. It has been described in the following terms: “We need to love to make it happen” (ACT7), “Understanding comes from empathy” (ACT26), “All parties should try to overcome the previous condition that called for reconciliation” (ACT13), “Hatred never gets you anywhere” (ACT9). Memory of the conflict is the third-highest mention in the quadrant. This category revolves around overcoming trauma as part of the reconciliation process, described as “Healing - because it requires healing” (ACT17), “We need to admit the parts we played in the past and the hurt people have experienced” (ACT10). The on-going silent conflict has brought an imbalanced economic situation to the island. The northern Cypriot currency (the Turkish Lira) is lower compared to the currency of southern Cyprus, which is part of the Eurozone, and goods passing from both sides are also limited¹⁶. This is reflected in the following findings, as the category Economic aspirations tells us about the “Economic imbalance (poverty) will potentially bring” (ACT8), “The entrepreneurial mind-set can solve many problems” (ACT15), “We are economically benefiting together” (ACT3).

¹⁶ Green Line - Crossing points regulations; available at <https://www.mof.gov.cy/mof/customs/customs.nsf/All/05AEEF243C9BFC8BC22572BF002D0A28?OpenDocument>

4.2.1.2 Prototypical analysis: Laypeople of the Turkish Cypriot Community (TCC)

The following are analyses of the TCC laypeople subsample with cut-off values from an average frequency of 7.8 and an average rank of importance of 2.83.

		<div><= 2.83 Rank > 2.83</div>	
<div>< 7.8 Freq >= 7.8</div>	<div>Zone du noyau</div> <div>Coexistence-8-2.1</div>	<div>Première périphérie</div> <div>Reconciliation_efforts-32-3</div> <div>Future_aspirations-13-3.8</div>	
	<div>Elements contrastés</div> <div>Peace_as_a_result-7-1.7</div> <div>Peace_as_value-6-2.7</div> <div>Emotional_mentions-3-1.7</div> <div>Peace_as_the_synonym-2-1</div> <div>Cyprus_problem-2-1.5</div>	<div>Seconde périphérie</div> <div>Economic_aspirations-3-4</div> <div>Obstacles-2-5</div>	

Table 4. 2 Prototypical analysis of laypeople subsample TCC

The central nucleus of the TCC laypeople subsample consists of a single Coexistence category. This category has the most important element (average importance of 2.1), yet it is not the most-mentioned category in this subsample. The majority of the respondents identified Coexistence as ethnicities of the island are equally responsible for obtaining a consensus for the reconciliation. “When two people or societies have a consensus” (GPT41), “If there is no harmony and common thought there will be no agreement” (GPT37), “Reconciliation evokes these (acting together) words” (GPT42).

The first periphery system, as seen in the second quadrant, consists of the category of Reconciliation efforts and Future aspiration, were the most-mentioned (32 mentions) with an average importance of 3. Reconciliation efforts is the biggest category in this TCC subsample. It consists of a collection of cognitive manifestations of similar struggles, and the social construct of reconciliation is overlooked by this subsample. Some described it as “Want to agree with Greek side and for a solution to happen” (GPT32), “Without communication, nothing can be solved” (GPT49), “To compromise and to live together, there must be mutual understanding” (GPT35), “Both parties have to respect to each other and the Cyprus problem has to be solved” (GPT45), “Each party has to be more enthusiastic and motivated in order to have a (common) solution” (GPT47). In comparison, Future aspiration (13 mentions and an average importance of 3.8) is seen as an ideal aspiration for reconciliation. Respondents said “If the Greek side comes to the table frankly and realistically, peace can be attained” (GPT47), “[reconciliation is a solution] for a better life” (GPT49), “Reconciliation will bring opportunities and alternatives” (GPT34), “A compromise that is not based on equality will collapse” (GPT35).

The second periphery system contains rather contradictory categories. The two categories in the third quadrant are Economic aspirations (three mentions and an average rank or importance of 3) and Obstacles (two mentions and an average rank or importance of 5). The category of Economic aspirations is perceived as reconciliation bringing a more stable economic condition, marked by a stable currency exchange rate (TCC are using Turkish Lira) and the progressive development of the country. Some respondents described this as “Prosperity is the most important condition for the development of a country and society” (GPT35), “Employer and employee never agree on anything (including the minimum wage)” (GPT32), “Since currency rates change very frequently, interest rates vary and change as well” (GPT32). The category of Obstacles is pictured as something impossible to achieve due to the segregation, “If the parties (communities) do not reconcile themselves, that is impossible” (GPT44).

The complementary elements are Peace as a result (seven mentions with an average rank or importance of 1.7), Peace as value (six mentions with an average rank or importance of 2.7), Emotional mentions (three mentions with an average rank or importance of 1.7), Peace as the synonym (two mentions with an average rank or importance of 1) and the Cyprus problem (two mentions with an average rank or importance of 1.5). Peace as a result is derived from the struggles

experienced by this subsample. Some mentions regarding this category include “To live without fear” (GPT48), “It’s the only way for Turkish Cypriot existence” (GPT39), “We want reconciliation with the Greek side and have peace” (GPT47). Peace as value is a relatively small category and the second-most-important category. It revolves around the value of having a state of peace, because “Wars are terrible” (GPT49). The category Emotional mentioned in this subsample is as an approach to reach reconciliation by fostering sensitivity towards all Cypriots, “Both sides have to have empathy and come to an agreement” (GPT45), and “No one can live without love” (GPT49). The Peace as the synonym category emerged due to the consistent and rigid use of both words (reconciliation and peace). “Reconciliation means peace” (GPT33), “Because reconciliation evokes this word” (GPT42). The Cyprus problem category is seen as an acknowledgement of the on-going conflict and the necessity for a solution. Furthermore, this was elaborated as “Reconciliation has to be done and the Cyprus problem has to be resolved” (GPT47), “There has not been a solution since I was born” (GPT32).

4.2.1.3 Prototypical analysis: Laypeople Greek Cypriot Community (GCC)

In this prototypical analysis for the GCC laypeople subsample the cut-off value from an average frequency is 8.33, and the average rank of importance is 2.52. (Please refer to Table 4.3).

		<= 2.52 Rank > 2.52	
< 8.33 Freq >= 8.33	Zone du noyau		Première périphérie
	Emotional_mentions-15-1.5		Coexistence-17-2.7
	Reconciliation_efforts-11-2.4		Obstacles-11-3.3
	Elements contrastés		Seconde périphérie
		Ethnic&Culture-4-2.5	
		Future_aspirations-8-2.8	
		Peace_as_a_result-2-1	
		Memory_of_the_conflict-5-3.2	
		Peace_as_the_synonym-2-4	

Table 4. 3 Prototypical analysis of the GCC laypeople subsample

The central nucleus, as seen in the first quadrant, includes the categories of Emotional mentions and Reconciliation efforts. The highest mention and the most important category is Emotional mentions (15 mentions with an average importance of 1.5). It resonates with emotional orientation concerning reconciliation by spreading love to show compassion and forgiveness but also addressing anger and negative emotions regarding the past. With regards to this category, some participants expressed: “You should have love to forgive” (GPG60), “To love all ‘animals’ and reconcile with them” (GPG67), “There will be no reconciliation with jealousy” (GPG69), “When a person hurts, you hurt too” (GPG52). The category of Reconciliation efforts however, had 11 mentions with an average importance of 2.4. This category draws a picture of the cognitive aspects that reconciliation represents. For this category, some respondents mentioned: “You should withdraw and not be stubborn as sometimes things will get worse” (GPG60), “There should be forgiveness and no hatred to be able to reconcile, and no hatred” (GPG63), “You should first understand someone to be able to reconcile” (GPG61), “Because I believe it is important when you quarrel to communicate” (GPG55), “When there is rational thinking you can discuss rationally” (GPG55).

The first periphery contains three categories. It is the second quadrant which has a frequency higher than the average, yet a lower level of importance. In this cluster, the Coexistence category had the most mentions (17 mentions with an average importance of 2.7), followed by Obstacles (11 mentions with an average importance of 3.3). Coexistence is depicted as preserving intergroup harmony. Furthermore, it was elaborated as “There should be a friendship for reconciliation” (GPG62), “People must help each other for there to be a reconciliation, the Christ said to help others” (GPG66), “When you are a friend to someone you must cooperate with them, have a relationship” (GPG52), “This is interlinked, if you do not support each other there will be no reconciliation” (GPG66). The second-highest mentioned category in the quadrant Obstacles, resonated with social struggles to reconcile. In this regard, participants mentioned: “Our problem is to cultivate hate, and we have trouble with reconciliation” (GPG58), “I stop any attempt to reconnect and reconcile” (GPG59), “An enormous problem with no solution” (GPG59), “When the environment is hostile you cannot think logically” (GPG55), “People discuss reconciliation whereas Turkey has an aggressive attitude” (GPG59). The Future aspirations category pictures the aftermath of the on-going reconciliation process. “It is the result of reconciliation” (GPG65), “You

should feel that everyone is equal and not below you” (GPG61), “Enemies reconcile and become friends” (GPG54), “After reconciliation comes revelry” (GPG68).

Two categories fall into the third quadrant of **the second periphery**. Future aspirations (eight mentions with an average importance of 2.8), Memory of the conflict (five mentions with an average importance of 3.2) and Peace as the synonym (two mentions with an average importance of 4). The category of Memory of conflict, recalls events and reasoning conflict happened in the past without any substantial result. Respondents expressed: “In a quarrel before a reconciliation there is shouting” (GPG53), “Because I imagine a quarrel with moments of cruelty” (GPG53), “45 years have passed talks have insignificantly finished” (GPG59). The least frequent category in this quadrant was Peace as the synonym. It is synonymous and often resonates with Reconciliation, and this finding is consistent across all subsamples. A respondent of the GCC subsample mentioned: “Reconciliation is linked with peace, when there is no peace there is war” (GPG66).

In the last quadrant, the **complimentary element** has three categories: Ethnicity & Culture (four mentions with an average importance of 2.5) and Peace as a result (two mentions with an average importance of 2.1). Ethnicity and Culture portray a picture of the ethnicities involved in the conflict. Some respondents describe this category by saying “Because the reconciliation we need is with the Turkish Cypriots to solve the main problem of the country” (GPG51) or “the topic that concerns us is reconciliation with the Turkish Cypriots” (GPG58). Peace as a result is the smallest category in this subsample, it’s an outspoken elaborated result of the reconciliation. One respondent mentioned: “Combine Greek and Turks and peace to have a reconciliation result” (GPG54).

4.2.2 Similarity analysis

4.2.2.1 Similarity analysis: Civil Society Organisations (CSOs)

A similarity analysis gives another perspective on reading the data. The graph allows us to study the network of the content by identifying relationships and co-occurrences between elements (Flament, 1962). It explores semantic productions of the CSO subsample through a similarity analysis to allow us to identify the network that connects clusters and its related elements. The

following analyses were generated by selecting Russel and Rao's (RR) score index to measure the relationship strength. This is followed by a similarity analysis by a CSO subsample (Figure 4.1). In this case, we selected the Russel and Rao (1940) index, which is a distance measure used in this study, because it excludes negative co-occurrences. The output of this analysis consists of a graph on which the social representation's structural elements are shown with different kinds of links (more or less marked). The selected threshold expresses the relations between structural elements, their strength and their network. We elaborated upon the final graphs using the "maximum tree logic to provide the best-summarised information about the clustering elements. In the listed figures, the colourful vertices' sizes are proportional to the word frequency, and the thickness of the edges indicates Russel and Rao's index strength of the cognemes link (Fasanelli, Galli, Rivero & Piscitelli, 2020; Galli & Fasanelli, 2019).

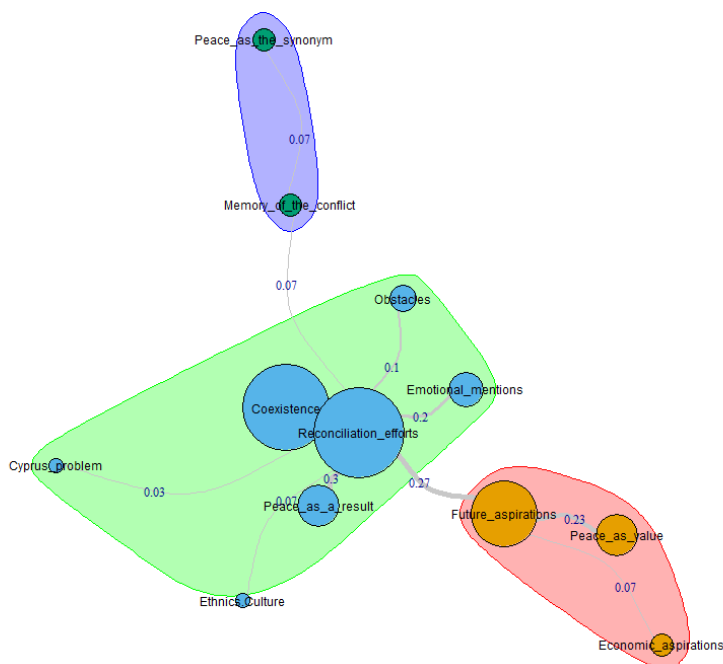


Figure 4. 1 Similarity analysis of CSO subsample

As seen in Figure 4.1, a similarity analysis shows a network that is formed by three clusters with the most significant cluster in green. The representational structure of the CSO subsample presents the category of Reconciliation efforts and Future aspirations as the two main categories. The category/node of Reconciliation efforts consists of eight arches and represents the most connected element of this internal structure. It is surrounded by categories like Coexistence (RR score of 0.53), Peace as a result (RR=0.3), Emotional mentions (RR=0.2), Obstacles (RR=0.1), Ethnicity & Culture (RR=0.07) and Cyprus problem (RR=0.03). This cluster elaborates on the cognitive construct of the reconciliation journey. It emphasises efforts made through the collaborative work of the communities to coexist. It celebrates dialogue by accepting differences in cultural points of view in what concerns the Cyprus conflict. A respondent described it as “Being open to differences in culture, personality traits, etc.” (ACT18).

The category of Reconciliation efforts has a prominent (RR=0.27) relation with the category of Future aspiration in the red cluster. Moreover, in this cluster, Future aspiration has two co-occurrences with the categories of Peace as value (RR=0.23) and Economic aspirations (RR=0.07). Peace as value is described as aspirations towards peace. It shows how individuals translate reconciliation as peace at a personal level. Some described peace as “a state of being” (ACT11), “Peace is the best thing in life” (ACT5). The smallest category in this cluster is “Economic aspirations” (Future aspirations/Economic aspirations RR=0.07). It concerns the island’s economic development, how reconciliation would improve quality of life by having a stable economy, economically benefiting each other and encouraging entrepreneurial enthusiasm to stimulate coexistence across communities. This argument is supported by quotes like: “an entrepreneurial mind-set can solve a lot of problems” (ACT15), “we are economically benefiting together” (ACT3).

The last cluster (purple) consists of only two categories Memory of the conflict and Peace as the synonym (RR=0.07). The category Memory of conflict (co-occurred with the category of Reconciliation efforts (RR=0.07) depicts struggles caused in the past: how reconciliation is about overcoming trauma, healing, forgiving others but also self-forgiveness by admitting one’s role. Descriptions of this include: “Because it (reconciliation) requires healing” (ACT17), “we need to admit the parts we played in the past and the hurt people have experienced” (ACT10). Adding to the cluster, the Memory of the conflict category has a close relationship with the Peace as a

synonym category, which elaborates on reconciliation, which means that Peace is the most common word used to describe reconciliation. Both words often appear in the same context as they go hand in hand in the public discourse. “We keep hearing this word related to the Cypriot issue and its solution” (ACT24).

4.2.2.2 Similarity analysis: Laypeople Turkish Cypriot Community (TCC)

Within the TCC laypeople subsample, three-dimensional configurations were formed (Figure 4.2). The red cluster is identified as the central cluster with Reconciliation efforts as its biggest category/node comprised of seven arches. Within the cluster, the category of Reconciliation efforts is positioned in the centre of the network and is surrounded by categories such as Peace as a result (RR=0.25), Emotional mentions (RR=0.15), Peace as the synonym (RR=0.1), Economic aspirations (RR=0.1), and Cyprus problem (RR=0.1). Therefore, the TCC subsample materialised reconciliation as efforts derived from struggles surrounding the Cyprus problem.

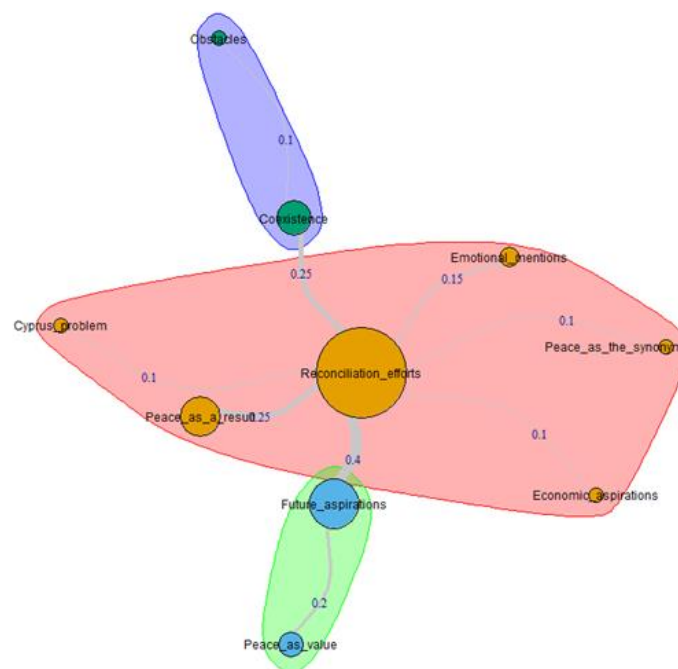


Figure 4. 2 Similarity analysis of the TCC laypeople subsample

The category of Reconciliation efforts is described as efforts that should be made by both sides of the island to promote intergroup contact, to communicate and to achieve consensus by agreeing on the common framework. Some respondents elaborated upon this saying “Without communication, nothing can be solved” (GPT49), “(I) want to agree with the Greek side and for a solution to happen” (GPT32), “Reconciliation can be reached by following good politics” (GPT44). Within the cluster, the category Peace as a result had prominent co-occurrence with Reconciliation effort ($RR=0.25$). The category says obtaining peace and being able to live without fear are some of the reconciliation results mentioned by the Cypriots. “It’s the only way for Turkish Cypriots’ existence” (GPT39), “We want reconciliation with the Greek side and have peace” (GPT47). The category Emotional mentions is seen as another essential category co-occurring with Reconciliation efforts ($RR=0.15$). It says how having empathy plays a role in the reconciliation process. It is described as “Both sides have to have empathy and come to an agreement” (GPT45), “Without empathy, there will be no reconciliation” (GPT43). The category Peace as the synonym is closely related to Peace as a result. It’s due to both peace and reconciliation often being used in the same sentence. Verbatim mentions regarding this category include “Reconciliation means peace” (GPT33), “Because reconciliation evokes this (peace) word” (GPT42). Another category that co-occurs with Reconciliation effort is Economic aspirations” ($RR=0.1$). Economic development and stability are seen as primary needs that can be achieved through reconciliation. This category reasoned “since currency rates are changing very frequently, the interest rates vary and change as well” (GPT32). The “Cyprus problem” category is an identification of the existing problem. Thus, the TCC subsample feels the need to put efforts to achieve reconciliation. “There has not been a solution since I was born” (GPT32) and “reconciliation has to be done, and the Cyprus problem has to be solved” (GPT47).

The category Future aspirations connects its cluster (green) with the category of Reconciliation efforts in the biggest (red) cluster ($RR=0.4$). In this cluster, there is only one other category, Peace as value ($RR=0.2$). Future aspirations portray pictures on the common goals of reconciliation in Cyprus. This category contains aspirations on how to manage opportunities that can be unlocked when reconciliation is achieved. “If the Greek side comes to the table frankly and realistically (solution), peace can be attained” (GPT47). Lastly, the smallest category in this cluster is “Peace as a value”. It summarised the value of peace surrounding semantic reconciliation: “Wars are terrible” (GPT49).

At the other end of the biggest (red) cluster, the category of Reconciliation efforts has a relation with the category of Coexistence (RR=0.25) in the purple cluster. Moreover, the category of Coexistence has a single peripheral arch and co-occurs with the category of Obstacles (RR=0.1). The category of Coexistence is described as an initiative to foster a harmonious society. Intergroup contact initiatives promote objectification (Moscovici, 2000) processes through social discourses. “If there is no harmony and common thought, there will be no agreement” (GPT37). However, there are challenges in fostering coexistence. This, as shown in the category of Obstacles which co-occurs with Coexistence. Some of the obstacles stem from the separation of the communities (GPT37) and the unwillingness to reconcile (GPT44).

4.2.2.3 Similarity analysis: Laypeople of the Greek Cypriot Community (GCC)

From the perspective of similarity analysis, a network of two clusters is formed amongst the GCC subsample, which consists of Coexistence (red cluster) and Emotional mentions (blue cluster) as the prominent categories in each cluster. (Figure 4.3).

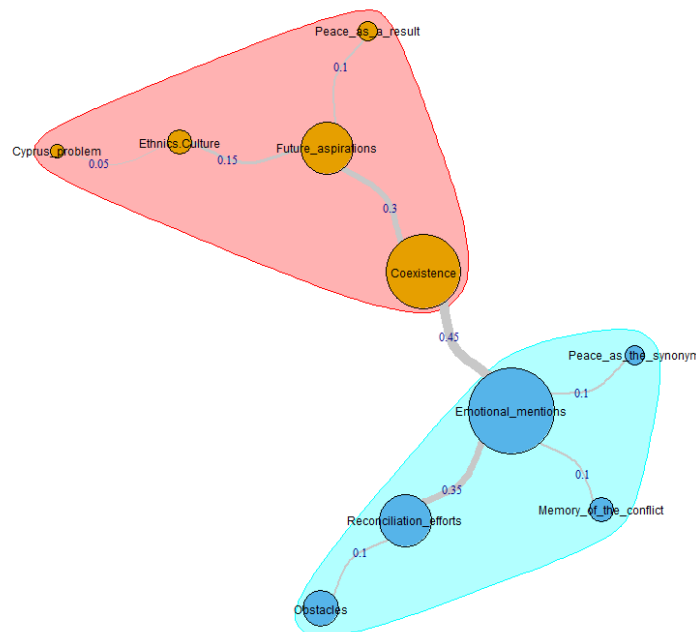


Figure 4. 3 Similarity analysis of the GCC subsample

The category of Emotional mentions is the central category of the blue cluster. This category has multiple co-occurrences with the category of Reconciliation efforts ($RR=0.35$), Memory of the conflict ($RR=0.1$) and Peace as the synonym ($RR=0.1$). Furthermore, the category of Obstacles shares co-occurrence with Reconciliation efforts ($RR=0.1$). The category Emotional mentions highlighting on forgiveness and spreading love to nurture reconciliation: “You should have love to forgive” (GPG60), “To love all ‘animals’ and be reconciled with them” (GPG67). This category serves as evidence that stereotypes exists, through the use of derogatory adjectives. The GCC subsample shows their approach in the category of Reconciliation efforts. They express it through emotional approaches such as having the willingness to engage in order to be able to understand and tolerate each other. Respondents said: “You should withdraw and not be stubborn as sometimes things will get worse” (GPG60), and “You should first understand someone to be able to reconcile” (GPG61). Some mentions in the category Memory of the conflict skewed towards the experience of conflict in the past. The description given is related to how the conflict simmered with no concrete result: “45 years have passed talks have insignificantly finished” (GPG59).

This cluster also consists of categories related to challenges surrounding reconciliation. The Cyprus problem is described as a complicated and enormous problem with no solution, which has been going on for decades. Furthermore, the problem is based on hate, a hostile environment, and exhaustion in coping with the problem. As several GCC respondents expressed: “Our problem is cultivating hate, and we have trouble with a reconciliation” (GPG58), “People are discussing reconciliation whereas Turkey has an aggressive attitude” (GPG59).

Coexistence is the main category of the red cluster. It co-occurs with the category of Future aspirations ($RR=0.3$). The Future aspirations category has two peripheral arches. It co-occurs with the Ethnicity & culture category ($RR=0.15$) and Peace as a result ($RR=0.1$). Adding to that, the smallest category in this cluster is the Cyprus problem, which co-occurs with the category of Ethnicity & culture ($RR=0.05$). The category of Coexistence highlights how cooperation formed between communities is considered the core effort contributing to reconciliation, as described by GCC respondents: “If they (communities) are bonded, reconciliation is easier” (GPG57). This subsample summarised that reconciliation is a shared future aspiration. They picture a ‘calm’ situation and where everyone coexists. One respondent mentioned “You should feel that everyone is equal and not below you” (GPG61). Some mentions in the category of Ethnicity & culture,

suggest the on-going conflict involving ethnic groups. Hence, this subsample summarises a combined effort that is needed to realise reconciliation. Some arguments related to this include “Because the reconciliation we need is with the Turkish Cypriots to solve the main problem of the country” (GPG51). The joint effort is essential for making the reconciliation progress, as described in the Peace as a result category. “Combine Greek and Turks and peace to have a reconciliation result” (GPG54). Moreover, all of those efforts seek to address the most critical issue – the Cyprus problem, described as “most important topic of our country” (GPG51).

4.2.3 Summary

The structure of social representations of reconciliation demonstrated by three subsamples reflects their social construct. It appears that the quality and quantity of collaboration in both in-group and intergroup contact of CSOs and laypeople subsamples play different yet significant roles.

Studying the internal structure of social representations of reconciliation through prototypical analysis demonstrates distinctive structures amongst the three subsamples. The CSO subsample shows that the category of reconciliation efforts was the most mentioned (37 mentions). It has the highest rank of importance (2.8) surrounded by its peripheral elements. For the TCC subsample, the most prominent element is the category of Coexistence, which has the highest importance level (2.1) yet considerably fewer mentions (8 mentions). Compared to the structure of social representations amongst the GCC subsample, the two categories fall under the central core quadrant. The category of emotional mentions, which has the highest importance level (1.5), is followed by the category of reconciliation efforts (2.4).

From the similarity analysis perspective, the takeout amongst CSO subsample is that three clusters are formed with the two most-mentioned categories: Reconciliation efforts and Coexistence ($RR=0.53$). Reconciliation efforts co-occurs with the category of Future aspirations ($RR=0.27$). Additionally, this category also co-occurs with the category of Memory of the conflict ($RR=0.07$). The network of the TCC subsample is centred on the category of Reconciliation efforts as its main category. Moreover, this category connects with two other clusters and co-occurs with the category of Future aspirations ($RR=0.4$) and Coexistence ($RR=0.25$). Furthermore, in analysing the GCC subsample, two similar clusters are formed. They revolve around two

prominent categories (emotional mentions and coexistence), which share the highest co-occurrence level ($RR=0.45$). From the verbatim quotes, we can understand that the ‘Cyprus problem’ is cultivated around hate, the Memory of the conflict, and creating a non-hostile situation. From the elaborated insights, the subsample of CSO members engaging in in-group and intergroup collaborations tend to show trust and a more tolerant attitude to engage in collaborative work. The laypeople subsamples (TCC and GCC) have a shared hope for peace, looking forward to having a more comfortable life. These subsamples highlight coexistence contributed to by emotional efforts such as forgiveness, empathy, and the spread of love to be able to reconnect and to come to an agreement. Moreover, all subsamples share the same responses on reconciliation corresponding to peace as a common goal. Reconciliation as the common goal should appeal to all Cypriots, as it cannot be achieved without the participation of all members of the community.

4.3 The circulation of information related to reconciliation in Cyprus

Moscovici (1961, 1979) described several characteristics in the diffusion process, which we may identify from a different method of communication (such as media or actors), in what concerns reconciliation. The use of images and words (Moscovici, 2000) have become everyday practices to deliver messages across audiences. Notably, when studying the Cyprus problem, the intensity of intergroup contact is also a factor contributing to the development of knowledge. This section elaborates on the social construction of representations contributed to by a complex relationship between media and social groups.

The circulation of knowledge related to reconciliation in Cyprus contributes to the genesis of social representations. The information has been shared through both verbal and non-verbal forms of communication over the past decades. Mass media frequently reports on negotiations or events related to peace talks. Visually, the narrative surrounding the Cyprus problem is also painted all over Nicosia, the capital city of Cyprus in the form of graffiti (writings and drawings). Therefore, the original contribution of this section is identifying the circulation of knowledge related to the object of representation (reconciliation) among the activist community and laypeople from the general population. We investigated the actors playing a role, such as the civil society organisations (CSO), the Turkish Cypriot Community (TCC) and the Greek Cypriot Community (GCC).

The data were examined to understand responses from all three subsamples CSO ($n=30$) and laypeople, TCC ($n=20$) and GCC ($n=20$). This section tackles four main points regarding the circulation of knowledge regarding reconciliation and is divided into four points:

Point 1: Media touchpoints; exploring the respondents' sources of information in order to obtain information regarding reconciliation. Their preferred method and how credible the information shared by specific media touchpoints.

Point 2: This section focuses on information sharing habits regarding reconciliation. It specifically discusses the respondents' sharing attitudes toward the topic. How often and through which media did they spread information related to reconciliation.

Point 3: Presupposing the future of reconciliation; in this section, we explored how the respondent pictures future reconciliation. The majority of questions in this section are of open-ended format, designed to capture emotions towards the topic.

Point 4: Explored the work of civil society activism; includes the focus and size of the organisation, years of participation, and its source of funding.

4.3.1 Media touchpoints related to reconciliation

The majority of the respondents (86%) received information regarding reconciliation ($n=70$). Looking at the breakdown analysis among those who receive (hearing and reading) information about reconciliation, we can learn that CSOs (39%) is the best-informed subsample compared to the TCC (27%) and the GCC (20%). Looking at the data by geographic location, those living in North Cyprus seem to be less informed. However, bear in mind that the total sample for North and South Cyprus is 40:60. The younger age group (21 – 49) is more informed about reconciliation compared to the older respondents. Furthermore, there are no significant differences between males and females (Figure 4.4).

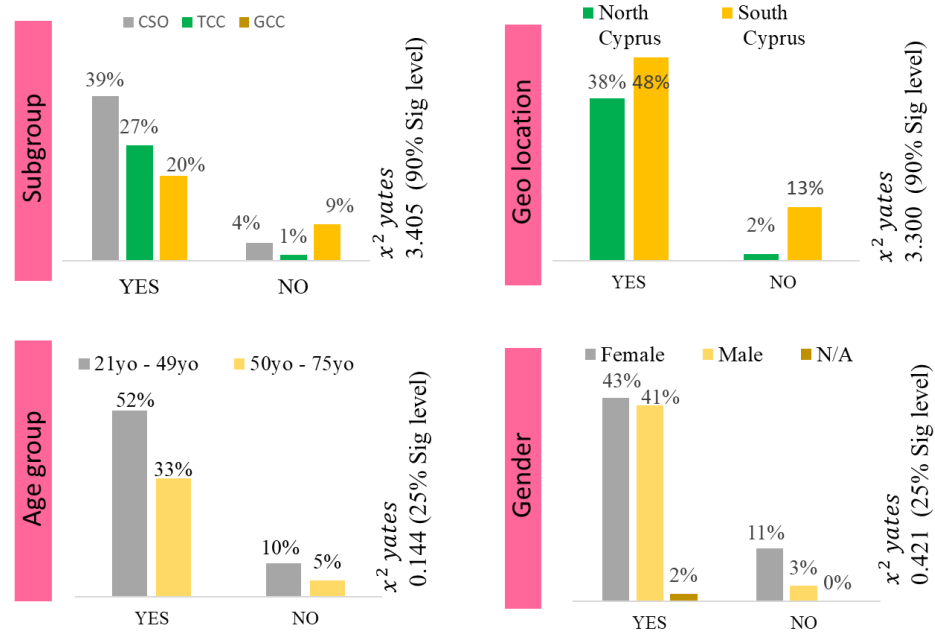


Figure 4. 4 Percentage of respondents received (hearing and reading) information on reconciliation.

When exploring media touchpoints and how the respondents obtain their reconciliation-related information, it is clear that online media is the most-mentioned touchpoint (Figure 4.5). The highest mention is social media (16%), followed by websites/online portals/videos (15.1%) and television (15.1%).

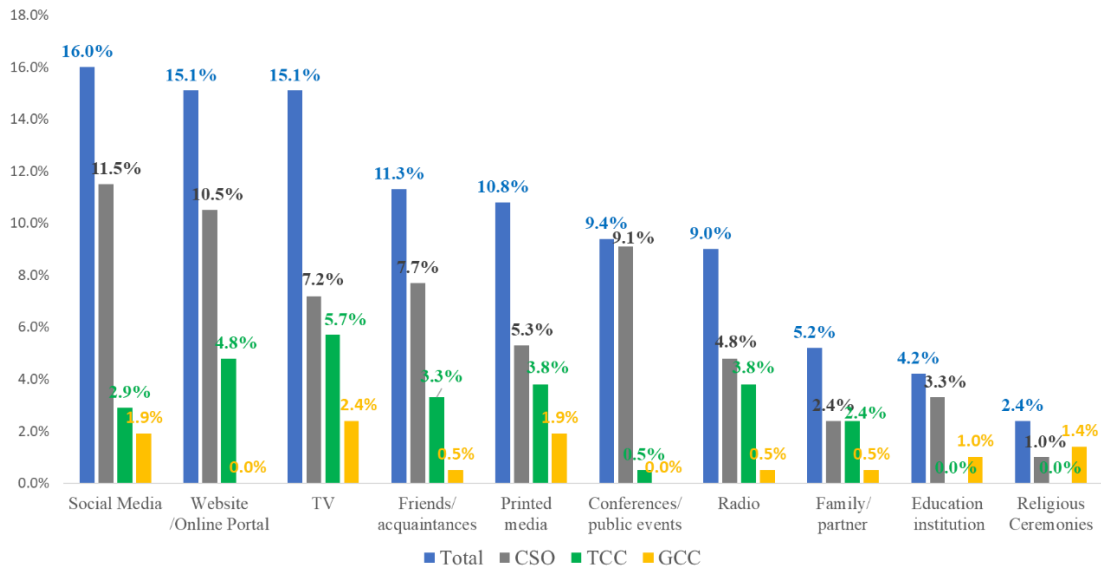


Figure 4. 5 Media touchpoints when accessing information related to reconciliation

Looking at the breakdown analysis by subsample, CSOs is the most active subsample in obtaining information related to reconciliation through all media touchpoints. The TCC shows a pattern similar to the CSO, making this subsample the second most-informed subgroup when it comes to hearing and reading about reconciliation topics. However, the TCC has a low score for conferences/public events and no mention of educational and religious ceremonies. Websites/online news portals are popular among CSOs and the TCC, while the GCC prefers television. Looking at the data, conferences/public events seem to be attended exclusively by members of the CSO subsample.

Breaking down the top four media touchpoints (social media, website/online news portal, television, and printed media), we can understand the ‘popular’ source of information regarding reconciliation. This is examined in detail below.

4.3.1.1 Social media

Amongst other social media platforms, Facebook is seen to be the primary source of information to obtain updates about reconciliation (70%), followed by Twitter (15%) and

Instagram (11%). The social media network for professionals (LinkedIn) and the travel enthusiast social network (Couchsurfing) do not seem to be platforms used for obtaining information about reconciliation.

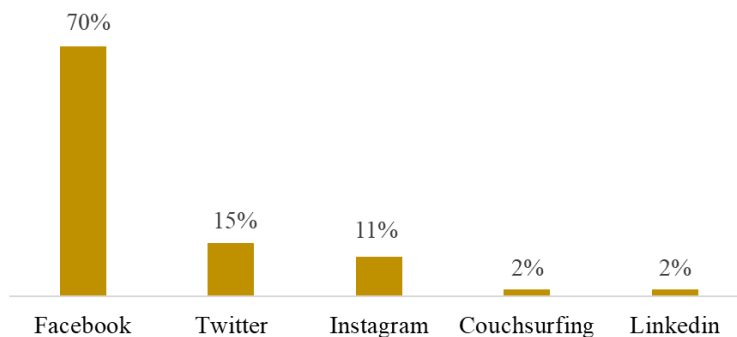


Figure 4. 6 Social media for obtaining information on reconciliation

4.3.1.2 Website/online news portal

Websites/online news portals are the second-most mentioned source of information after social media. The English language news portal, cyprus-mail.com is seen to be the primary media (20%) in the category of websites/online news portals (Figure 4.7). This is followed by the Greek language news portal politis.com.cy with 14%. The British media website owned by the Guardian Media Group falls into the third position (12%). The rest of the websites/online news portals are a combination of local news outlets in Turkish and Greek.

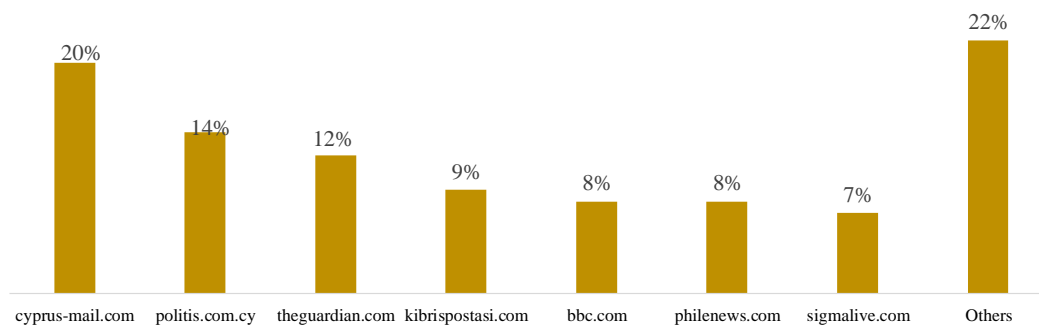


Figure 4. 7 Websites/online news portals for obtaining information on reconciliation

4.3.1.3 Television

Bayrak Radyo Televizyon 1 (BRT1) is the first Turkish Cypriot television channel which obtained the highest mention (18%) as a media touchpoint. While Sigma TV, a Greek-Cypriot television channel targeting a younger audience, had the second-most mentions (13%).

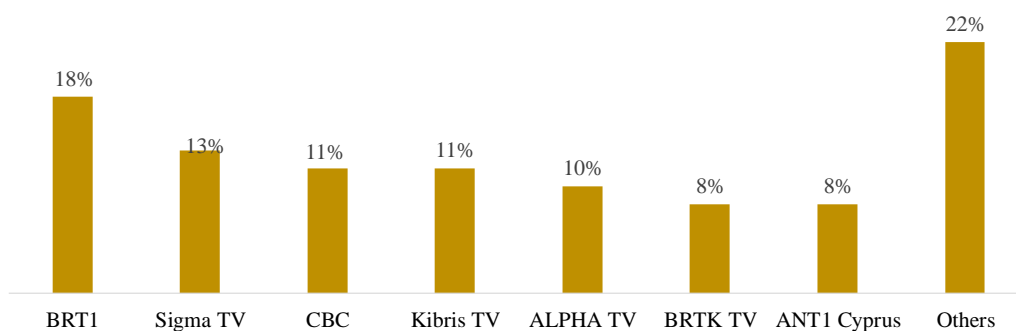


Figure 4. 8 Television channels watched to obtain information on reconciliation

4.3.1.4 Printed media

The printed media is dominated by a Turkish language newspaper. However, both Politis, the daily Greek-language newspaper, and Kibris, the daily newspaper published in Northern Cyprus get the highest mention (15%). Some mentions of local newspapers fall below others.

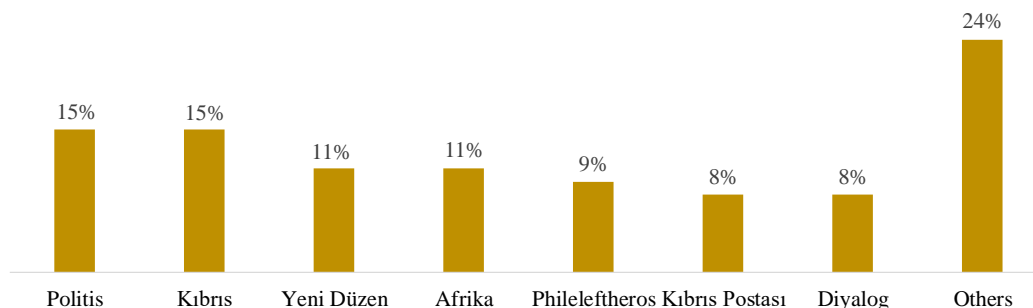


Figure 4. 9 Printed media read to obtain information on reconciliation

As a follow-up to the media touchpoints question, we asked respondents to rate each touchpoint's believability level (Figure 4.10). Although online media (social media and websites/online news portals) is the primary source of information, they are not the most believable source of information. Overall, family/partner/spouse received the highest mean score (2.47) for being believable for informing about reconciliation, followed by educational institutions as the second most believable (2.17) source of information. Interestingly, when we look at the breakdown analysis for family, spouse, and partner, the TCC contributed the highest score (3.25), followed by the GCC (2.50), and CSOs had the lowest mean score (1.92). In contrast, within education institutions, the CSOs contribute to the highest mean score (2.75), followed by the GCC (2.00) and the TCC (1.50). However, the CSO subsample is seen to be giving a low (0.25) mean score for television compared to other subsamples.

The GCC subsample seems to have a negative sentiment towards online media. The subsample gave a low believability mean score (-1.10) to websites/news portals and social media (-0.35). Another key take out is that the GCC seems to be the only subsample with a positive sentiment (0.50) for the believability of religious ceremonies compared to the total mean score (-0.80).

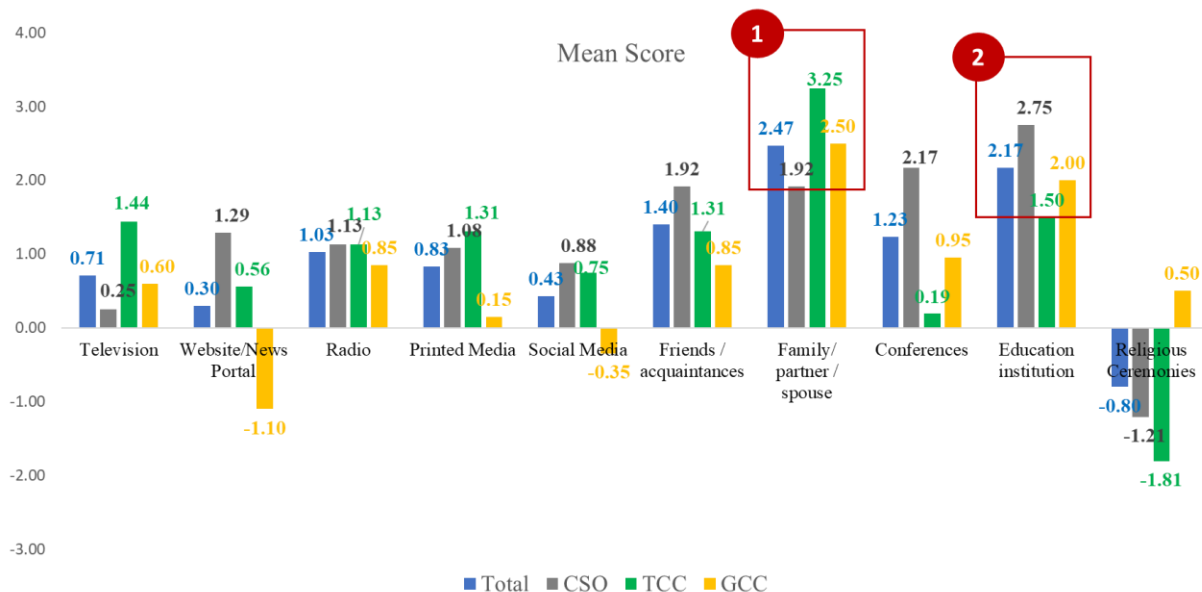


Figure 4. 10 Believability level of the media touchpoints in reporting on the reconciliation topic

4.3.2 Sharing habit

A high percentage (75%) of respondents mentioned that they contribute to sharing information about reconciliation. Looking back at those who received (hearing and reading) information (86%) about reconciliation, leaving an 11% discrepancy as to the “silent audience”, people who received information, but did not talk about or share it. Understanding the breakdown analysis by the subsample (Figure 4.11), the CSO subsample is seen as the most active in talking about or sharing information on reconciliation and also the best-informed subsample (Figure 4.4). Consistent with the analysis of receiving (hearing and reading) information, the younger age group is the most ‘talkative’ subsample (48%) compared to the older subsample (28%). Moreover, no significant difference was observed between females (36%) and males (38%).

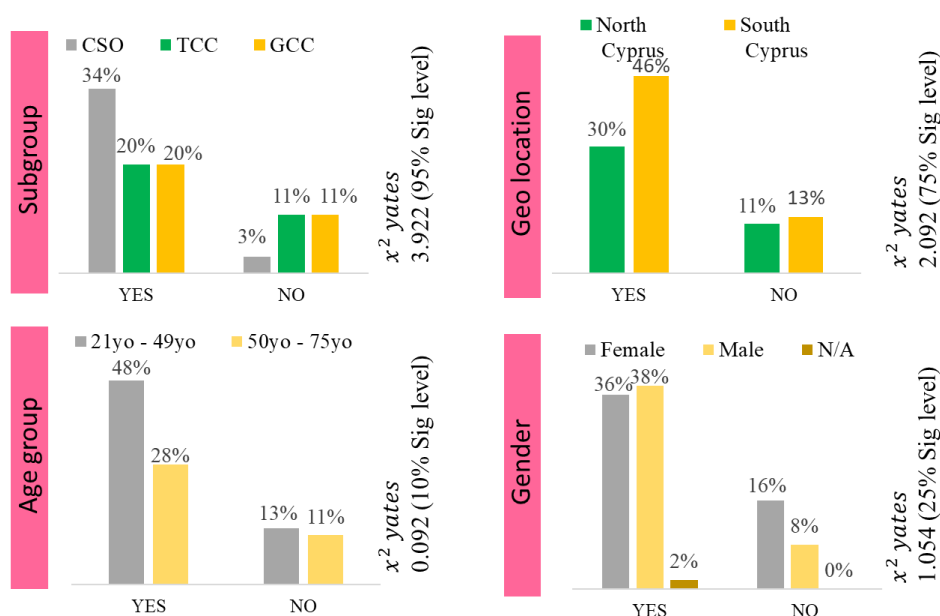


Figure 4. 11 Percentage of respondents sharing (talking) information on reconciliation

Furthermore, the CSO subsample talked about reconciliation with their friends (23%) and colleagues from work (15%) from two to three times a week (11%) up to every day (15%). For laypeople (TCC and GCC), talking about reconciliation with their family occurred less than once a week (28%).

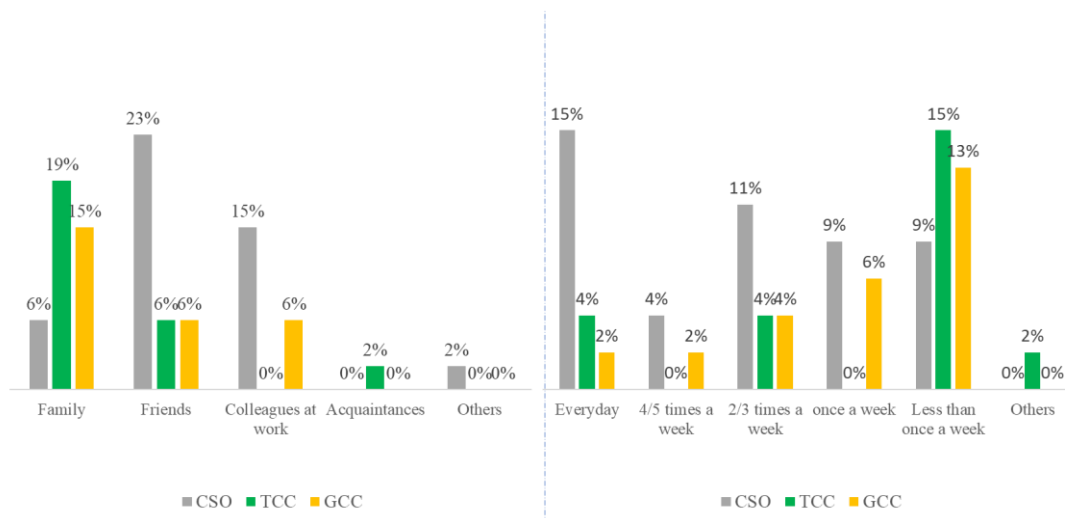


Figure 4. 12 Talking about reconciliation (most people talked to-left) (intensity-right)

The respondents prefer having a face-to-face discussion when talking about reconciliation. (Figure 4.13). The triggers for a discussion on reconciliation include: 1) it is a topic that their peers are talking about; 2) current events and shared news; 3) is something related to their job; 4) and the topic touches them personally, perceived as something relatable.

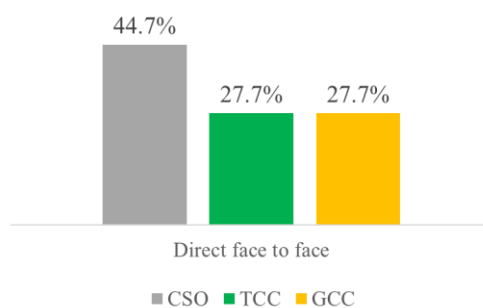


Figure 4. 13 The preferred method for sharing (talking) information on reconciliation

4.3.3 Presupposing the future of reconciliation

When it comes to presupposing future reconciliation, the responses are strongly related to whether they are personally affected by the issue or if it is something completely irrelevant. A significant portion of the respondents (71%) mentioned being personally affected by the reconciliation process for the following reasons: 1) being concerned about their personal future and the future of the island; 2) being disappointed by the (uncertain) on-going peace progress; 3) being disturbed by hatred and discrimination; 4) having restricted mobility due to the green line. On the other hand, those who did not feel personally affected by the reconciliation process felt so because the topic is not foreign and seen as something distant. It is not something affecting their lives due to no contact being made with the other community or it is a topic that does not spark their interest.

Despite their previous responses nearly all (90%) respondents think that reconciliation has positive implications. They perceived reconciliation as resulting in a better future. A better future is described as not just achieving concrete solutions such as economic development, but also new opportunities, and having a better quality of life on a united island. Enjoying the better future also has another non-material meaning; socialising and building cooperation between communities and all citizens having equal rights. Reconciliation can be achieved through good communication and having a shared feeling about it. However, a small number (10%) of the respondents feel pessimistic and exhausted about the unresolved Cyprus problem mentioning that no positive implications would come from reconciliation.

While the laypeople subsamples (TCC and GCC) have no specific strategy to cope with the reconciliation discourse, the CSO subsample says otherwise. Their participation in collaborative work materialises their coping mechanisms. The subsample also employs informal strategies by having empathy, involving people in discussions, and removing personal bias on the issue.

The respondents summarised variables contributing to achieving reconciliation could be identified as 1) the bottom-up strategy is seen as a ‘fresh’ approach (hence CSO and community efforts are essential); 2) improving the quality of intergroup communication; 3) positive thoughts, goodwill, and promoting the peace culture; 4) acknowledging the problem, and this can be seen as making peace with the past in order to move forward; 5) and having a common goal.

The respondents believe that the collective effort of all Cypriots is essential to achieving reconciliation. Some also mentioned that political leaders also play a significant role. Furthermore, a third-party mediator also gets a high mention (72%) when prompted. The highest mention for a third-party actor is the EU (49%), followed by the UN (19%) and the World Peace Council (16%) (Figure 4.14). Those actors could act as ombudsman or mediators, which also oversee and fund the peace process.

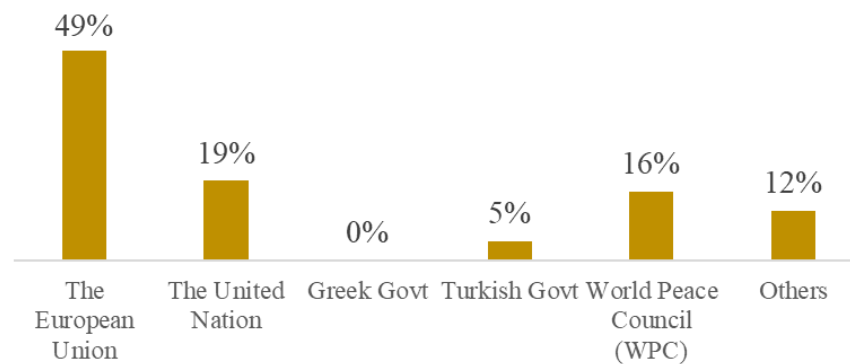


Figure 4. 14 Third-party actors could play a role in reconciliation

Despite that, the rest of the respondents (28%) mention that Cypriots know what is best for them. Collaborative work between the TCC and the GCC is needed to resolve the Cyprus problem. As they have learned from past experiences, third parties were unable to solve the problem; instead, they are presumed to have their own interests in the Cyprus problem.

From the following graph (Figure 4.15), it can be understood that almost half of the respondents (41%) mentioned it would neither intensify nor end the conflict. Furthermore, presupposing how long the process would last, we see almost equal distribution between less than 12 months to 16 to 20 years. A good portion (30%) of them mentioned it would last for more than 20 years. These answers depict the uncertainty of the peace process.

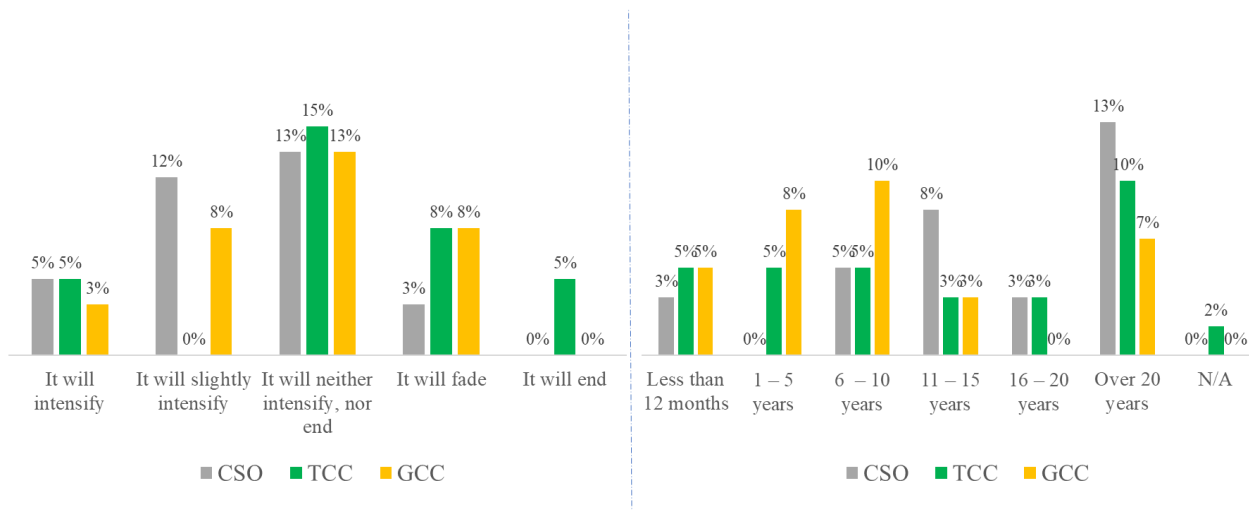


Figure 4.15 Presupposing the future of reconciliation

More than half of the respondents (67%) mentioned there is a solution for the Cyprus problem from the responses obtained. It can be broadly differentiated into two approaches 1) the grassroots level; 2) and the elite political level. The two-levels of approaches are expected to coexist and complement each other. The grassroots approach means having more active participation of communities living in Cyprus. It is seen as an approach that cultivates activities that can improve the relationship through communication between communities. It involves training, having information centres, and discussions which allow for the broadening of perspectives and the elimination of discrimination. Meanwhile, the elite political approach is expected to solve ‘high level’ negotiation such as improving education, language teaching to encourage intergroup interaction, equal treatment of all citizens inhabiting the island and some mention adopting a federal system as a solution. Nonetheless, the rest of the respondents (33%) are pessimistic about reaching any solution. The pessimism is due to exhaustion regarding the ongoing conflict. The anticipation of a deadlock is also overwhelming.

4.3.4 Civil Organisation Activism

To further understand activism in Cyprus, the most common organisations or groups the respondents join mainly focus on culture (arts, language, music, etc.) or (38%), student & youth

associations (19%), community-level associations (19%), women's associations (14%), professional/business organisations (5%), and social movements (5%). The objective of the organisation or group covers a specific focus area, such as education (43%), prevention (14%), and emancipation (14%). Information related to the organisation or group they take part in comes from friends or acquaintances (43%). Word of mouth referral is seen to be the most effective method for recruiting new members. It is also reflected in their responses by giving a high recommendation score for the organisation they currently participate in. The second mention is that they got the information from social media (24%). The composition of a formal or established organisation and non-formal organisation is almost well balanced (57%:43%). Sponsors are the most common (32.4%) source of funding for organisations, and membership fees are also a common source of funding. (Figure 4.16)

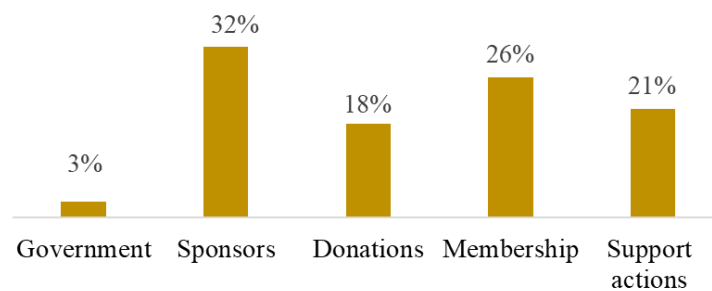


Figure 4. 16 Sources of financing for the organisations or groups

The size of the organisation that they participate in can be considered small to medium (76%). Size ranges from less than ten members to up to 100 members. (Figure 4.17) The highest percentage of years of participation is between one to five years (48%), followed by less than a year (19%), and over ten years (19%).

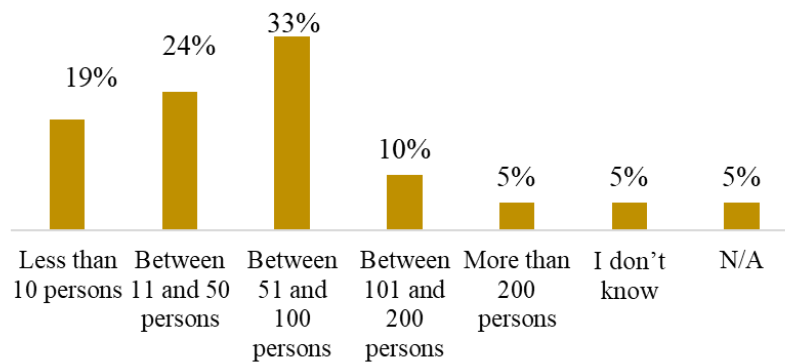


Figure 4. 17 The size of the organisation or group

The motivation to participate in the organisation or groups can be broadly differentiated into two types of reasons, personal reasons and reasons related to the Cyprus problem. Personal reasons include a desire to be more actively involved, which also means broadening their network, which can be useful both personally and professionally. This active lifestyle seeks to work on creating a better future. Moreover, the motivation related to the Cyprus problem is to actively engage in the work of activism. It supports bottom-up initiatives to make a difference, bringing people together, and informing and educating them.

4.3.5 Summary

The majority (86%) of the respondents received (heard and read) information regarding reconciliation. Moreover, the CSO subsample is the best-informed subsample on the reconciliation topic compared to both the TCC and the GCC subsamples. Moreover, the top five media touchpoints for accessing the information are Social Media, Website/News portal/Video, Television, Friends, and Printed media. On the other hand, family and educational institutions are the two most credible sources of information across all subsamples. Interestingly, the GCC subsample has a low credibility level for online media (websites/news portals/video/social media). Additionally, religious ceremonies are perceived to be a less credible source of information amongst CSOs and the TCC compared to the GCC, which had a positive credibility sentiment.

The number of those who talk about reconciliation is lower (75%) compared to those who heard and read about it (86%). 11% fell under the “silent audience”; those who received information about reconciliation (both hearing and reading), yet did not talk about it (or share information). The respondents talk about reconciliation within their inner circle (family 40% and friends 35%). Interestingly, the CSO subsample has the highest frequency level on this matter – the majority (15%) of them talk about it every day. On the other hand, laypeople subsamples talk about reconciliation less than once a week (TCC 15%, GCC 13%). Thus, the CSO subsample is the best informed and the ‘noisiest’ subsample compared to TCC and GCC laypeople. Face to face communication is the most preferred method of communication for all subsamples. Some triggers for talking about reconciliation include 1) being motivated by the desire to live better; 2) it is perceived as an urgent problem to be solved; 3) receiving updates about the current development of the peace negotiations through media touchpoints.

When discussing the future of reconciliation, the majority (71%) of respondents feel affected by the reconciliation process. They are mainly concerned about the island’s future, yet are disappointed with the (uncertain) peace progress. Meanwhile, those who are not affected are mainly unaffected because they cannot relate to the topic or never have contact with the other community (TCC or GCC). Additionally, 90% of the respondents are optimistic that reconciliation would bring a better future by creating new opportunities. However, there is (10%) pessimism due to exhaustion with the unresolved conflict.

Meanwhile, members of the CSO subsample involve themselves in activism as a coping system with the on-going reconciliation discourse; the laypeople subsample (TCC & GCC) applies no specific strategy on this. The bottom-up strategy, includes communication between communities on the island, promoting positivity, the culture of peace, and having a common goal, which are perceived as variables to bring about reconciliation. Apart from political leaders and third-party mediators, all Cypriots are actors whose responsibility and collective efforts are needed in the peace process. Nonetheless, respondents seemed to be unsure about the future of reconciliation; the majority (30%) answered it could be achieved in over 20 years. Despite the pessimism, the respondents aspired for Cyprus to become a federation and improve their living conditions. The majority of respondents (72%) believe that a third-party actor could resolve the

problem. Meanwhile, 28% of the respondents are pessimistic, as the “Cypriots knows what is best for them” and third-party actors may have their own agendas.

Cultural organisations (art, music, language, etc.) are the most-mentioned (38%) type of organisation the respondents participate in, followed by Youth & Student Associations (19%), and Community level Organisations (19%). Those organisations mainly focus on education (43%). The years of participation range from less than a year to over ten years. The prominent range (48%) is between one and five years of participation. The size of the organisation can be considered small to medium. The membership ranges between 51 - 100 members (33%), 11 - 50 members (24%), and less than ten members (19%). When joining activism work, respondents are motivated, more active, share and receive knowledge, broaden their network, and ultimately share the common goal. Word of mouth seems to be the most-effective way of recruiting new members into the organisation, as friends and acquaintances are the most mentioned (43%) source of information related to their participation. Lastly, the type of funding varies; sponsors were the most mentioned (32.4%), followed by membership dues (26.5%), and support actions (20.6%). It can also be a combination of the three funding sources.

4.4 Iterative factorial cluster analysis of reconciliation in Cyprus

The ongoing discussion on peace talks in Cyprus has made reconciliation a well-discussed topic. The dissemination of knowledge related to reconciliation is contributed to by the mainstream media, which leads to societal discussions. This section’s main objective is to understand the dataset’s structure by identifying similarities and dissimilarities through their characteristics. This research aims to answer specific research questions: 1) How is the plot between semantic categories and respondent subsamples formed?; 2) How is the cluster’s characteristic formed?; 3) How is similarity and dissimilarity between clusters formed?

The dataset used for the analyses is a semantic universe collected through a free word association task and a hierarchical evocation method. A set of three questions involves 1) free word association related to reconciliation; 2) a description of each word given; 3) to rate the importance level of each of the words from most important to least important. The collected dataset was in character format, which was later transformed into a factorial dataset. It was collected

through a combination of convenient and purposive sampling methods. The data were analysed at the subsample level (CSO, TCC, and GCC) to identify each subsample's characteristic.

This study explores two statistical analyses to investigate the dataset's structure and its characteristics. A Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) was carried out to identify similarities and compute individuals' profiles in their answer. Meanwhile, through cluster analysis, we aimed to observe the clusters formed and their characteristics. The analyses utilised MCA and iterative factor clustering for categorical data. It is an extension that allows clustering for a categorical dataset. Nishisato (1980) formulated MCA as a factorial analysis of qualitative data using scale analysis. It is a tool used for summarising and visualising a dataset that contains two or more variables. The other approach is analysing the data through cluster analysis. The objective of cluster analysis is to identify clusters formed out of a dataset. The mechanism is implemented by defining similarity or dissimilarity measures. The analysis utilised a function of iterative factorial clustering of binary variables (i-FCB), as formulated by D'Enza & Palumbo (2013). The approach is a combination of nonsymmetric correspondence analysis (Lauro & D'Ambra, 1984) for dimension reduction with k-means. The category's quantification is seen to be suitable when treating the categorical dataset, which contains characters or words collected. By using the approaches, we aimed to understand how the clusters formed from the semantic universe collected related to reconciliation through a method of dimension reduction and cluster analysis for the categorical dataset.

4.4.1 Data handling

Several packages were installed to treat the dataset prior to generating the analyses. `tidyverse` is a set of packages that load the core of its packages for data visualisation for this study, which was `ggplot2`. The `haven` package is part of `tidyverse` used to enable R to read and write on a dataset by means of various statistical programmes. One of the programmes is SPSS in which did our data punching. The packages are installed and loaded into R using `install.packages()` and `library()` function. The installation was done as follows:

```
R> set.seed(123)
R> install.packages("tidyverse")
R> library(tidyverse)
R> install.packages("haven")
R> library(haven)
```

Prior to exercising the analyses, the data was cleaned by understanding its structure. In order to obtain the summary of the dataset, it was computed using the R function of `class()` and `summary()`.

```
R> class(FT2_dataset_2)
R> summary(FT2_dataset_2)
```

The result has shown that the dataset consists of four hierarchical variable ranks (from most important to least important) with 70 rows (70 respondents). All responses were recorded in character format (see Table 4.4).

ID	Most important	Two	Three	Four	Least important
Length:70	70	70	70	70	70
Class :character	character	character	character	character	character
Mode :character	character	character	character	character	character

Table 4. 4 Summary table of the dataset

The structure of the semantic universe collected was analysed to understand its structure. Furthermore, the categorisation is formed based on the frequency of each of the semantics. The categorisation resulted in the formation of six categories: Coexistence, Emotional mentions, Reconciliation efforts, Future aspirations, Peace, and Others. The following is a contingency table of six categories and five importance levels (see Table 4.5).

Categories	Most Important	Two	Three	Four	Least important
Coexistence	7	21	12	12	6
Emotional mentions	14	5	4	2	0
Reconciliation efforts	12	22	23	14	9
Future aspirations	2	8	14	16	13
Peace	24	2	4	4	7
Others	11	8	7	7	14
N/A	0	4	6	15	21

Table 4. 5 Categories formed through factorisation of the dataset

The summary above of the categories was obtained through the following command and was duplicated for all scales. The five importance scales (most important to least important) are represented as X1, X2, X3, X4, and X5.

```
R> X1 <- factor(data_set$Most_important)
R> print(is.factor(X1))
R> print(X1)
R> table(X1)
R> length(X1)
```

In the following step, the character dataset was transformed by utilising a function of `factor(x)` to encode the character dataset as a factor or a numeric dataset.

```
R> XX <- cbind(X1, X2, X3, X4, X5)
R> rownames(XX) <- rownames(data_set)
R> print(XX)

R> XX1 <- as.data.frame(XX)
R> XX1$X1 <- factor(XX1$X1)
R> XX1$X2 <- factor(XX1$X2)
R> XX1$X3 <- factor(XX1$X3)
R> XX1$X4 <- factor(XX1$X4)
R> XX1$X5 <- factor(XX1$X5)
```

In order to have the dataset visualised, we utilised several R packages such as `ggplot2`, `GGally`, and `grid`. `ggplot2` is a package used to display data in a data frame. `ggplot2` can be built up to accommodate the need for a visualisation of the analysis, whereas the use of `GGally` provides several functions to combine geometric objects. `GGally` is an extension of `ggplot2`. Additionally, the `grid` function adds the normal vector of an edge of a rectangular grid to the existing plot (Murrell, 2005). The following packages were installed for data visualisation purposes:

```
R> install.packages("ggplot2")
R> library("ggplot2")
R> install.packages("GGally")
R> library(GGally)
R> library(grid)
```

4.4.2 Research output

4.4.2.1 Multiple Correspondence Analysis

MCA correspondence analysis is one of the methods that was used to explore the structure of multivariate categorical data. The following is a demonstration of how to compute and visualise MCA. Specifically, `FactoMineR` was utilised to generate a factorial analysis to explore a multivariate data analysis, such as MCA.

```
R> install.packages("FactoMineR")
R> library("FactoMineR")
```

The output of the `MCA()` function includes extracting eigenvalues, individuals, variables, and Singular value decomposition. The output was obtained using the following functions:

```
R> mca.word.res <- MCA(input_data)
R> summary(mca.word.res)
R> mca.word.res$eig
R> mca.word.res$ind
R> mca.word.res$var
R> mca.word.res$svd
```

With the result of the representation of the variables as follow:

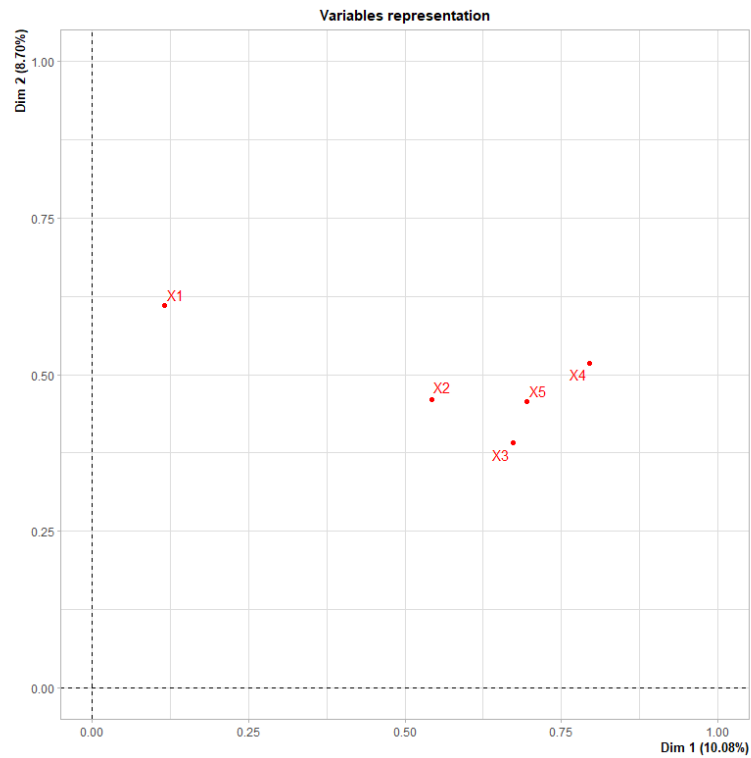


Figure 4. 18 Variables representation of the five-point scales (most important to least important)

The above data plot is a visualisation of categorical variables. The most important variable, as represented in X1, which has a directionally distinctive position compared to other variables.

Categorical variables (eta2)

	Dim.1	Dim.2	Dim.3
X1	0.116	0.610	0.512
X2	0.542	0.461	0.586
X3	0.673	0.391	0.388
X4	0.795	0.518	0.362
X5	0.695	0.457	0.336

The `plot()` function visualises a two-dimensional Multiple Correspondence analysis. The biplot presents individual and variable categories.

```
R> plot(mca.word.res)
```

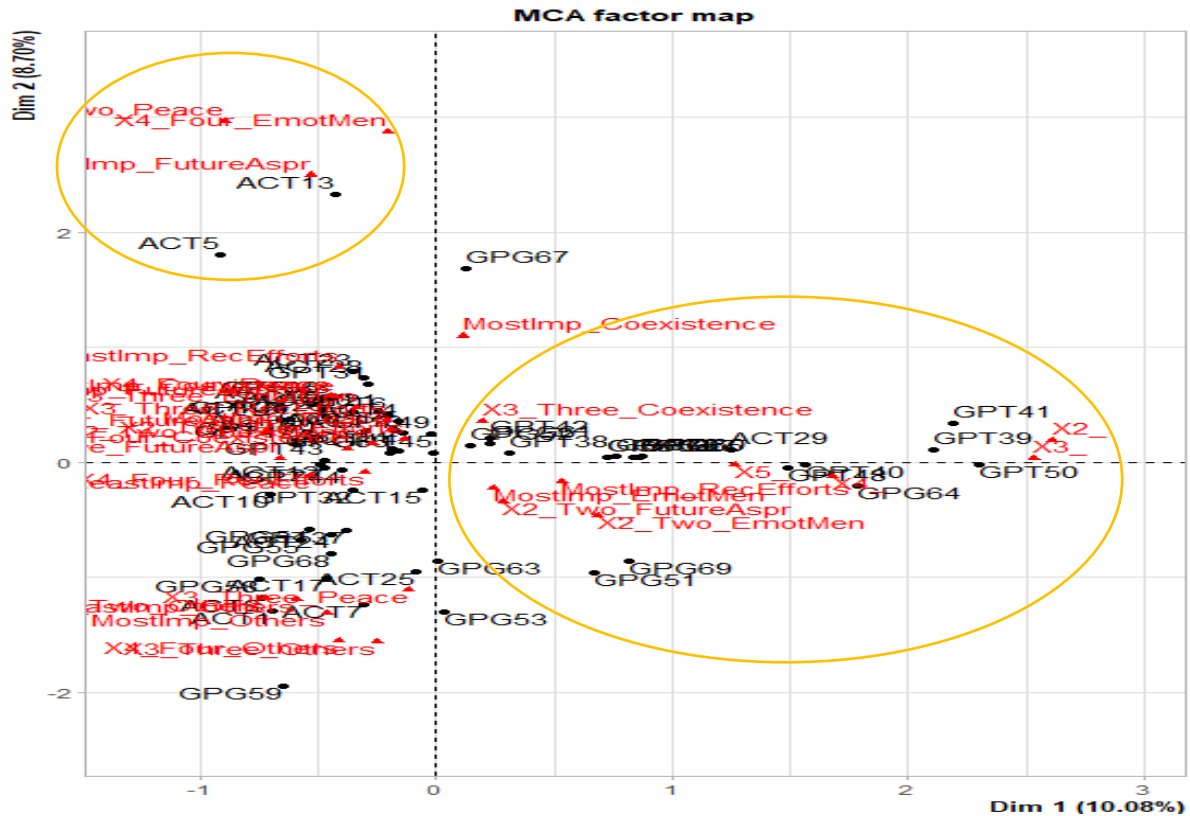


Figure 4. 19 Multiple correspondence analysis of reconciliation

The plot above shows the global pattern of a dataset. The rows (respondents) are represented in black font, and columns (variables) are represented in red font. The distance between rows and columns represents their similarities or dissimilarities. We can learn that the CSO subsample (ACT) has distinctive values for having Peace, Emotional mentions and Future aspirations as its elements. Whereas the GCC subsample (GPG), evolves around Coexistence, Reconciliation efforts, Future aspiration, and Emotional mention.

4.4.2.2 Cluster Analysis

For the cluster analysis, we employed `clustrd`, a method that combines dimension reduction and clustering. The `clustrd` package contains factorial and reduced k-means.

```
R> install.packages("clustrd")
R> library(clustrd)
```

Moreover, the iterative factorial clustering of the binary variables (i-FCB) function defines the dimension reduction and the respondent's classification. We defined the number of clusters as indicated below. The dataset formed relatively straightforward four clusters corresponding to the number of clusters defined.

```
R> ca.res <- clusmca(XX1,4,2,method = "iFCB")
R> print(ca.res)
R> plot(ca.res)
```

The following are several cross-tabulation analyses which include: the respondent's subsample, their age group, education level, and geographic location.

Respondent's subsample

The following are visualisations for the respondent's subsample (see Figure 4.20). The analysis is obtained through:

```
R> plot(ca.res$obscoord[,1:2],col=ca.res$cluster, pch = 19, cex
= .4)
R> text(ca.res$obscoord[,1:2], rownames(XX1), cex = .5,
      adj = .5, col = ca.res$cluster)
```



```

R> text(ca.res$obscoord[,1:2], rownames(XX1), cex = .5,
      adj = .5, col = ca.res$cluster)

R> text(ca.res$obscoord[,1:2], rownames(XX1), cex = .5,
      adj = .5, col = V$D2_age_group)

R> F <- solve(diag(table(ca.res$cluster)))
R> round(F%*%table(ca.res$cluster, V$D2_age_group)*100,2)

```

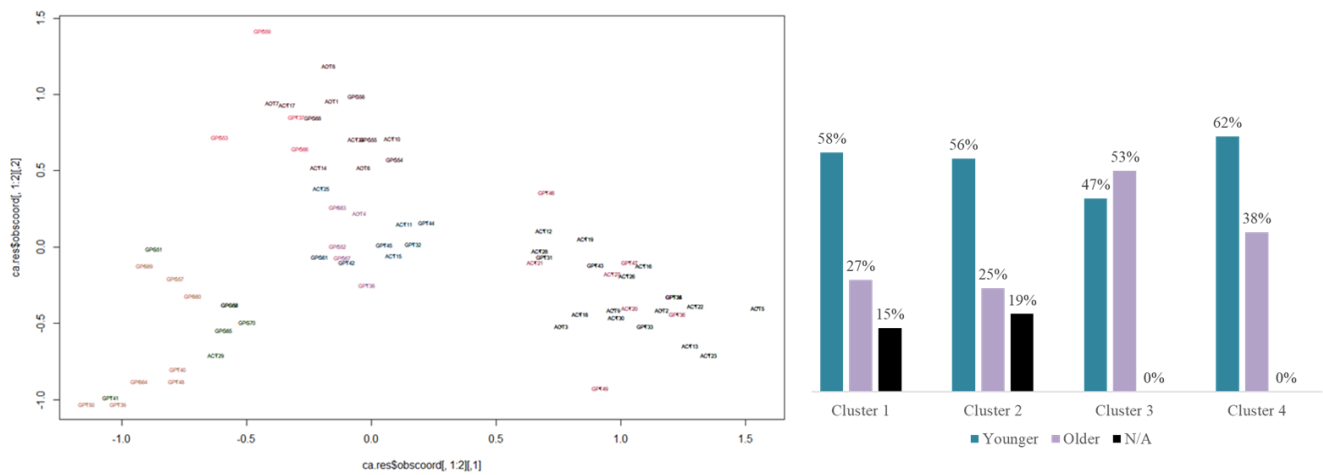


Figure 4. 21 Cluster analysis by age group

This analysis created a distinctive characteristic of all the clusters. Analysing the age group, respondents of the younger age group were found in all three clusters (cluster one, cluster two, and cluster four). Meanwhile, the older age group had a directionally higher percentage in cluster three.

Education level

We had seven precoded answers for the sub-analysis of education, which we grouped into: low education level, medium education level, and high education level. The low education level consists of those who obtained Primary school, Junior high school and Senior high school diplomas. Medium education level includes Diplomas and Bachelor's degrees. Meanwhile, a high education level signifies the conferral of a Master's degree, a Doctoral degree or higher.

```
R> plot(ca.res$obscoord[,1:2], col=ca.res$cluster, pch = 19, cex = .4)
```

```
R> text(ca.res$obscoord[,1:2], rownames(XX1), cex = .5,
      adj = .5, col = ca.res$cluster)
```

```
R> text(ca.res$obscoord[,1:2], rownames(XX1), cex = .5,
      adj = .5, col = V$D4_education)
```

```
R> F <- solve(diag(table(ca.res$cluster)))
```

```
R> round(F%*%table(ca.res$cluster, V$D4_education)*100,2)
```

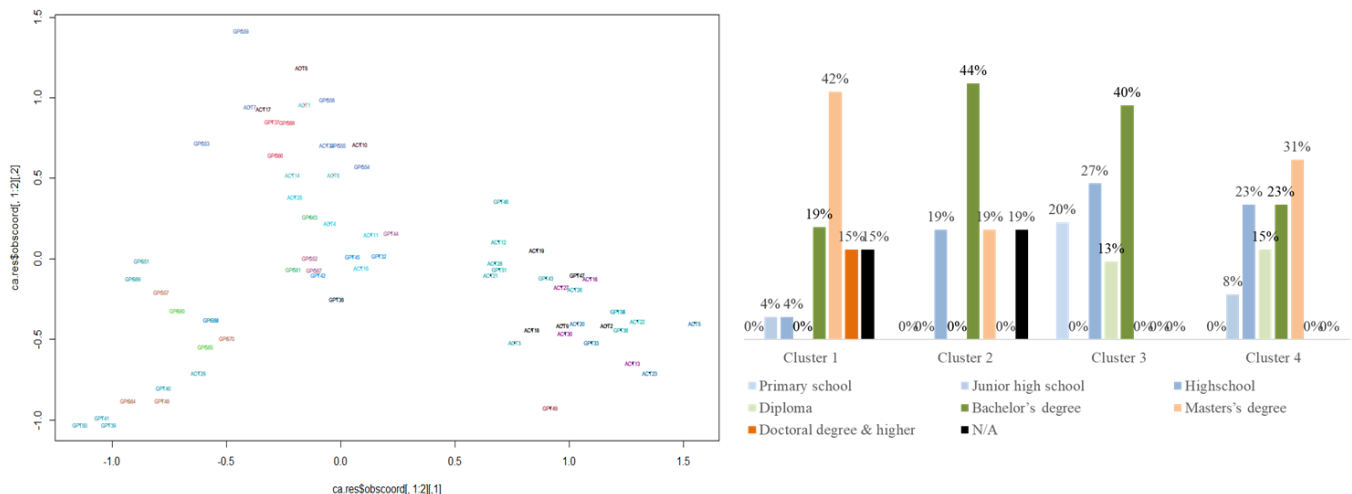


Figure 4.22 Cluster analysis by education level

Three out of four clusters represent high, medium, and low education levels. As seen in the histogram above (Figure 4.22), cluster one had the highest education level (Master's degree, Doctoral degree and above). Followed by cluster two, which has a bachelor's degree and diploma. Cluster three is seen to have the lowest education level (primary school, junior high school, and high school). Meanwhile, the last cluster, cluster four, contains residual categories of low, middle, and high education levels.

Geographical Location

The sub analysis by geographical location executed using the following:

```
R> plot(ca.res$obscoord[,1:2], col=ca.res$cluster, pch = 19, cex
= .4)
R> text(ca.res$obscoord[,1:2], rownames(XX1), cex = .5,
      adj = .5, col = ca.res$cluster)

R> text(ca.res$obscoord[,1:2], rownames(XX1), cex = .5,
      adj = .5, col = V$D5_living)

R> F <- solve(diag(table(ca.res$cluster)))
R> round(F%*%table(ca.res$cluster, V$D5_living)*100,2)
```

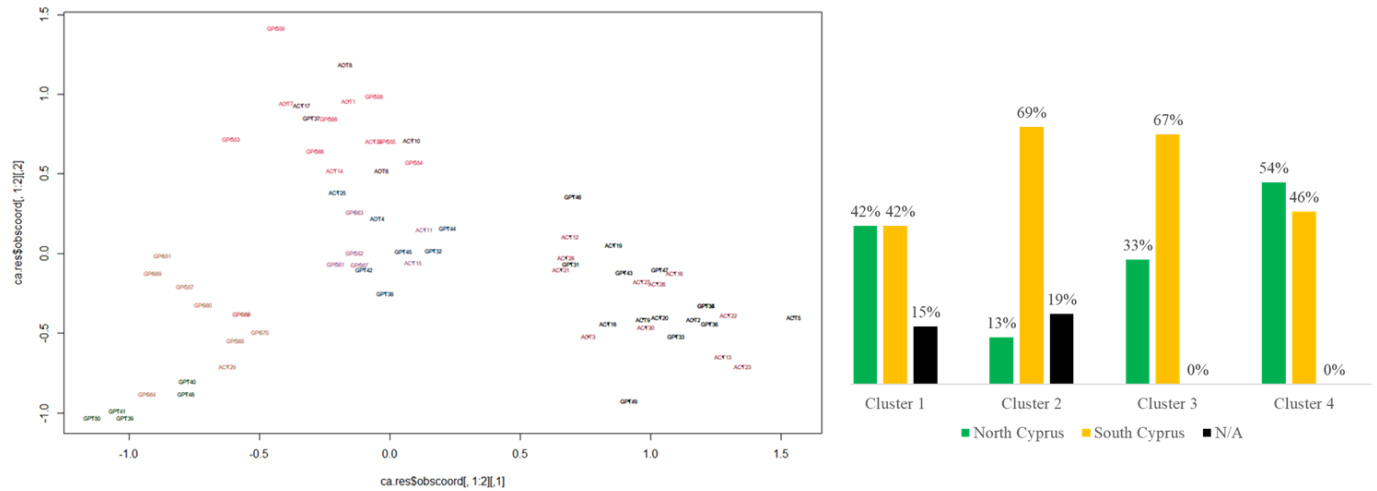


Figure 4.23 Cluster analysis by geographical location

Considering geographic location (Figure 4.23), cluster one is seen to be having a balanced mix between those coming from North Cyprus and South Cyprus. However, this can be considered a cluster with residual variables. Meanwhile, cluster two and cluster three had a significantly higher percentage of respondents from South Cyprus. Whereas the last cluster, cluster four, shows that North Cyprus has a directionally higher percentage.

4.4.3 Summary

From the MCA, we learn that two distinct clusters were made out of the CSO and the GCC subsamples. The CSO subsample, indicated as ACT, had Peace, Emotional mention and Future aspiration as its constituent elements. Meanwhile the GCC subsample, indicated as GPG, consisted of Coexistence, Reconciliation efforts, Future aspiration, and Emotional mention.

By identifying the structure of the dataset through cluster analysis, four clusters are formed with the following characteristics:

Cluster one: This cluster's characteristic can be identified as younger age group with the highest education level (Master's degree and Doctoral degree or higher) compared to the other three clusters. Furthermore, they are also part of the CSO community.

Cluster two: Populated by the younger age group with a medium level of education (Diplomas and Bachelor's degree). They were predominantly from North Cyprus and were also members of CSOs.

Cluster three: The older age group with a low education level (Primary school, Junior high school and High school) was the most dominant characteristic in this cluster. They were primarily living in South Cyprus and were part of the GCC.

Cluster four: This cluster was dominated by the younger age group living in North Cyprus and were part of the TCC.

The key conclusions from the cluster analysis is that the CSO subsample from both North and South Cyprus had medium to higher education levels. Meanwhile, the characteristic of cluster three was composed of GCC respondents within the older age group and falling under the low education bracket.

4.5 Demographic profiles

From the questionnaire, we have collected some of the respondents' demographic profiles. This section recorded the demographic profiles of respondents participating in the study.

Geographically, South Cyprus has a higher number of participants compared to North Cyprus because it is dominated by CSO activist participants. (see Figure 4.24). We applied interlock quotas for laypeople subsamples, such as geographic location, age group, and gender. However, no quota was applied for the CSO subsample due to its niche characteristic. It's a small part of the community whose members are familiar with each other. A member can also be part of multiple organisations. The organisations are mainly centralised around Nicosia and within the buffer zone.

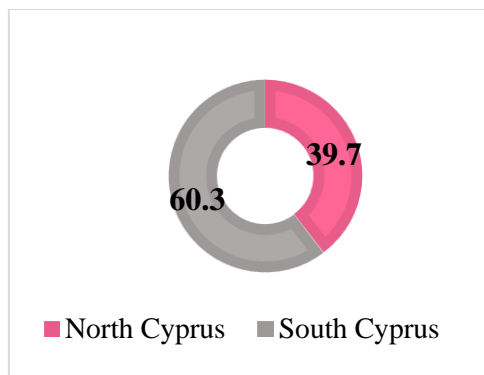


Figure 4. 24 Geographical location

There were two categories of age groups; the younger group consisted of respondents aged 21 to 49 years old; meanwhile, the older age group consisted of respondents aged 50 to 75 years old. The age group differentiation (younger and older) sought to obtain the perspectives of those learning about the violent conflict in school, or from family or friends, compared to those who experienced it first hand. Similar to the geographic location sub-analysis, the higher percentage of participants among the younger age group is contributed to by the CSO subsample.

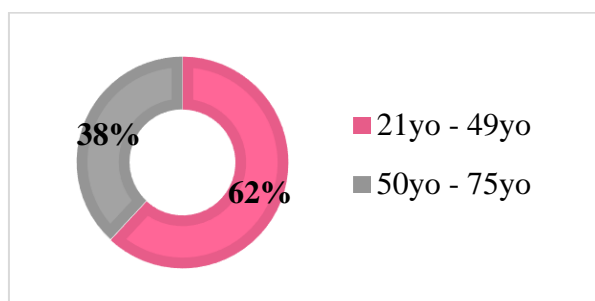


Figure 4. 25 Age group

The respondents' education levels (Figure 4.26), can be roughly classified into lower, medium, and higher education. Participants with a lower education level (elementary school, junior high school and senior high school) made up 25% of the total; meanwhile, the medium education

level (Diploma and Bachelor's degrees) made up 39%; and 35% of participants had completed higher education level (Master's and Doctoral degree). Overall, the top three levels of education were Bachelor's degrees with 33%, followed by Master's degrees (29%) and senior high school diplomas (17%).

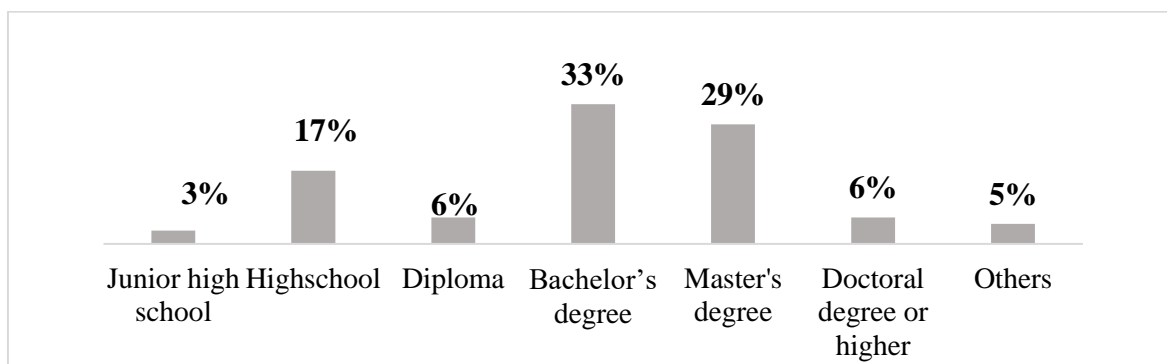


Figure 4. 26 Education level

As seen in Figure 4.27, the highest percentage of participants come from the district of Nicosia (57%). As stated above, the interview for the CSO subsample was mainly conducted in Nicosia, the capital city of Cyprus. The Nicosia district includes the southern part of Nicosia (RoC), and the northern part of Nicosia, which locals refer to as Lefkoşa.

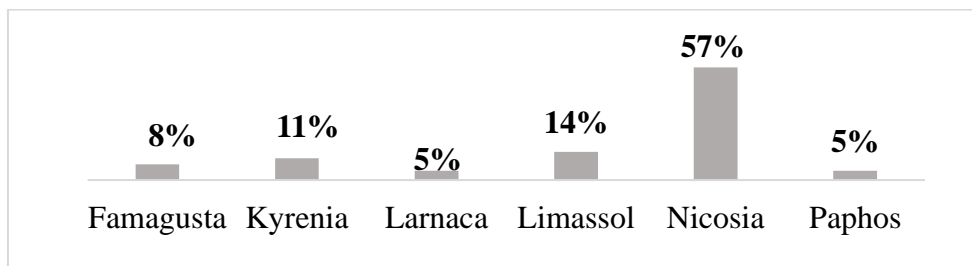


Figure 4. 27 District in Cyprus

In terms of employment status, the majority of respondents (37%) worked in the private sector. Followed by entrepreneurs and retired persons at 16%. In comparison, 11% worked in government institutions (Figure 4.28).

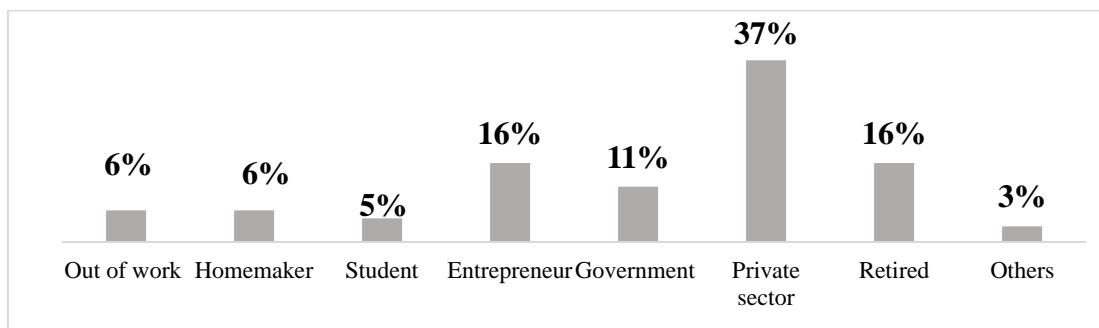


Figure 4. 28 Employment status

As seen in Figure 4.29 (left), when we asked the respondents to mention their ethnicity or national origins, 40% of them identified as Turkish, and 33% identified as Greek. Interestingly, those who identified as 'other' specified themselves as Cypriots. 24% of respondents spontaneously identified as Cypriots. Among those who identified themselves as Cypriot, small numbers identified themselves as Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot. See Figure 4.29 (right).

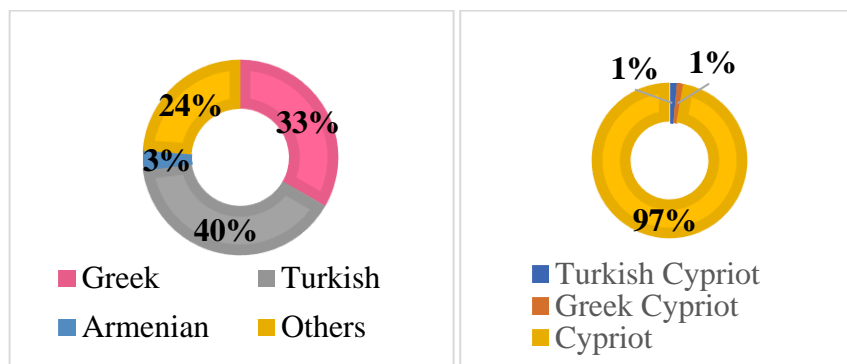


Figure 4. 29 Ethnic groups (left) and others mention consist of Cypriots (right)

The majority of respondents mentioned that they are apolitical (22%). The centre-left and left-wing made up 29%, and the centre-right and right-wing made up 21% (Figure 4.30). Meanwhile, those who selected ‘other’ often mentioned being a democrat.

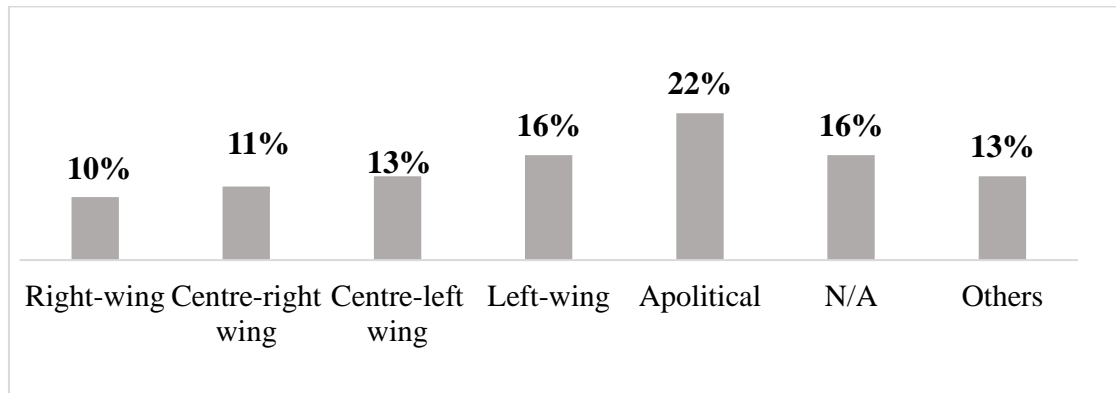


Figure 4. 30 Political orientation

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

This dissertation explored the background of the research relating to the Cyprus problem. It elaborated upon several CSO initiatives in promoting intergroup contact through active participation (Chapter I), the theoretical framework of social representations (Chapter II) and the methodological framework (Chapter III). The empirical research output outlining the content and structure of social representations of reconciliation is available in Chapter IV. This chapter has three main objectives; the first is to comment on the empirical research findings and to consider the relationship between in-group and intergroup contact in Cyprus; the second is to suggest the implications of this research; and the third is to present the research's limitations.

The original contribution of this research is to identify the internal structure of social representations of reconciliation in Cyprus. The research objective is guided by two research questions:

- 1) How reconciliation is represented by all three subsamples (CSO, TCC and GCC)?
- 2) How do social representations of the CSO subsample's active participation are essential to reconciliation compared to the laypeople.

The research background will be recalled briefly prior to proceeding with the insights gathered. This research begins with the argument of in-group and intergroup contact that contributes to the genesis of the social representation of reconciliation. The development of knowledge related to reconciliation is influenced by in-group and intergroup behaviour. The development of knowledge related to reconciliation is influenced by mobility and intergroup interaction. In this research, I argue that the condition is related to the historical background of the political turbulence and is perpetuated by the existence of the green line separating the communities.

The implication of this research offers several opportunities to explore the topic with a more in-depth approach and examine broader topics such as the study of intergroup contact, the minority influence to study how CSO initiatives are communicating their messages for reunification,

including identity studies considering the finding of this research indicating the low level of Cypriotness. Further multidisciplinary approaches can be explored as follow up research.

Finally, the last section of this chapter discusses the limitations of this research. The main limitation of this research is the high number of dropouts, which resulted in a low sample size. Secondly, the exhaustion of respondents participating in similar research studies conducted for academic studies, political parties or CSO purposes also adds dimensions to the limitation.

5. 1 Empirical research findings

The data collection for the empirical study was conducted in Cyprus between February and September 2019. It consisted of two phases of fieldwork. The first phase of data collection was to gather responses from the CSO subsample. Since CSO activism in Cyprus is mainly centralised around the buffer zone, Northern and Southern Nicosia, the fieldwork for this subsample was conducted in the capital city of Cyprus, Nicosia. The first phase's data collection method was obtained through a combination of face-to-face interviews and online surveys through Survey Monkey. Meanwhile, the second phase of the fieldwork was to collect data for the laypeople subsample. For this subsample, we utilised the CATI method to cover a broader geographic area to be able to maintain the research timeline and funding.

The data collection included: 1) a procedure of free association task and a justification question; 2) assessing the media touchpoints used by respondents regarding reconciliation; 3) investigating information-sharing habits; 4) exploring how the respondents presupposed about reconciliation; 5) studying active participation through CSOs; 6) recording the respondents' demographic profiles.

The study of internal structure of social representations of reconciliation discovered representational elements across the CSO, TCC and GCC subsamples. A few of those elements fall under the central core classification due to their characteristics of being stable over time, and they have significant consensus among the group member. The central core gives representation its meaning. Meanwhile, the rest of the elements falling under the peripheral systems have characteristics of being relatively flexible, unstable, and can be changed over time (Moliner & Abric, 2015). Each subsample (CSO, TCC and GCC), has distinctive elements falling under the

classifications of the central core and peripheral systems. Having said that, this research also studies the contents of social representation and its network, and examines the interaction between elements.

5.1.1 The internal structure of social representations of reconciliation

An analysis of the internal structure of social representations of reconciliation distinguished between elements shared by all three subsamples (CSO, TCC and GCC). In our observations, the subsamples have diverse representations of reconciliation as a result of their social constructs. Different sources of information serve different content and perspectives towards the reconciliation topic. It appears that the quality and quantity of collaboration in both in-group and intergroup contact of the CSOs and laypeople subsamples played different yet significant roles.

The internal structure of social representations is displayed in a four-quadrant 2 x 2 matrix graph corresponding to an individual element's degree of importance and frequency. Looking at the structure of social representations of reconciliation from the perspective of prototypical analysis, the elements falling under the central core classification are Reconciliation efforts (CSO subsample), Coexistence (TCC subsample), and Emotional mention and Reconciliation efforts (GCC subsample). These elements were identified as the most important with the highest frequency of mention. The discrepancy in the output between the three subsamples reflects the production of social representations. The CSO subsample and the GCC subsample shared the same elements of Reconciliation efforts. Similarity among elements depicts the collective elements, while dissimilarity suggests heterogeneity of representation.

Meanwhile in the first peripheral system, we learn that the elements revolve around Coexistence and Future aspirations (CSO subsample), Reconciliation efforts and Future aspirations (TCC subsample) and Coexistence and Obstacles (GCC subsample). Among the GCC subsample, the category of Coexistence highlights how cooperation is formed between communities and is considered as the core effort contributing to reconciliation.

If we understand the relationship in the network between all subsamples, it draws almost a clear picture of the primary conclusion, that in-group and intergroup contact fosters coexistence.

Furthermore, the CSO subsample focuses on how to reach the common goal (reconciliation) through activism, thus creating an interdependence environment involving a common goal (Sherif, et al., 1961), as further elaborated upon in The Robbers Cave Experiment:

“Use of the technique or the tool in intergroup activities now implies a contribution toward a common goal to both groups – a contribution by the group in which members may take personal pride and which can be reciprocated by the other group equally enjoying its benefits through its own contributions at that or future occasions.” (Sherif, et al., 1961, p. 211).

The increase in intergroup contact and coexistence between communities in Cyprus, through long-term CSO initiatives, can be a means by which to eliminate the ‘traitor’ label¹⁷, as well as the stigma of crossing the buffer zone to either side, seen as an indirect recognition of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) – a pseudo-state (Psaltis, 2012). Group prejudice and stereotypes are still a problem in Cyprus. It is the problem of hostilities and images shared by individuals or institutions in varying degrees (Sherif, 1967). The conclusion from the TCC subsample narrates the cognitive approach to have a better quality of life and more equality, resulting from reconciliation. The GCC subsample highlights the emotional approach, which allows for collaborative work between communities.

A Similitude Analysis is utilised to capture the associative value of elements within the network. In particular, those that share not just a relationship but also share co-occurrences. Those values are indications of the degree of their relationship and co-occurrence. “Co-occurrences are defined as the number of individuals who checked off two items at the same time” (Doise, Clemence & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 1993, p27).

Studying the element’s network through a similitude analysis, the CSO subsample network of conceptions shows us that three clusters are formed with two highest mentioned categories, Reconciliation efforts and Coexistence. The category of Reconciliation efforts co-occurs with the category of Future aspirations (RR 0.27) and Memory of the conflict (RR 0.07). The network of

¹⁷ Marina Christofides in her book *The Traitors Club*, addressing Cypriots who are engage in intergroup social activities labeled as the traitors.

the TCC subsample conceptions about the object is centralised around the category of Reconciliation efforts. This category connects with two other clusters and co-occurs with the category of Future aspiration (RR 0.4) and Coexistence (RR 0.25). In the conceptual network of the GCC subsample, two similar clusters are formed. The category of Emotional mentions and Coexistence share the highest co-occurrence level (RR 0.45).

From the verbatim quotes collected, the CSO subsample who are engaging in in-group and intergroup collaborations tend to show trust and a more tolerant attitude to engage in collaborative work. Whereas the laypeople subsamples (TCC and GCC) share a hope for peace and look forward to a more comfortable life. These subsamples highlight coexistence contributed to by emotional efforts such as forgiveness, empathy, and the spread of love to reconnect and come to an agreement. Moreover, all subsamples share the same responses on reconciliation in how it corresponds to peace as a common goal. Reconciliation as a common goal should offer appealing factors to all Cypriots, as it can not be achieved without the participation of every member of the community.

Discrepancy on the insights amongst all three subsamples can still serve as an example, but that speech is an activity dominated by thought processes (McNeill, 1978) in which discourses and media practices play a significant role in the construction of social representations. A report published by PRIO in 2010 regarding media narratives, politics and the Cyprus problem discusses articles published by certain media to support their stance on the reconciliation plan proposed by the UN. The findings of the research revealed that the practices conducted by six Greek Cypriot newspapers were biased and served a specific political agenda.

According to the green line crossing point regulation¹⁸ (last updated on the 17th of February, 2020), there are plans to open two more crossing points, to make a total of 11 crossing points. However, the opening of new crossing points is not just aimed at those interested in crossing the buffer zone. As elaborated by Moscovici & Doise (1994), this is also seen as an opportunity for the opposing groups to confront their views and become more open to new views during the exchange. Regardless of either the tension or cooperation, this kind of intergroup interaction may produce an outcome within each of the groups (Sherif, 1967). Moscovici & Doise (1994) suggested that the consensus within groups undergoes a polarisation effect. It delivers different effects,

¹⁸ Detail regulations regarding the green line crossing can be accessed on <http://www.mof.gov.cy/mof/customs/customs.nsf/All/05AEEF243C9BFC8BC22572BF002D0A28?OpenDocument>

depending on whether it is carried out in a passive and impersonal manner or in an intense and personal manner which provokes a more substantial effect.

5.1.2 The active participation and the social representation of reconciliation

Cultural organisations (art, music, language, etc.) were the most mentioned organisations in which the respondents participated, followed by Youth & Student Associations and Community-level organisations. The organisations in which they participated were mainly focusing on education (43%). The number of years of participation ranged from less than a year to over ten years. The most prominent number of years of participation was between one to five years (48%).

Active participation aims to create in-group and intergroup contact in a safe environment. Moscovici & Doise (1994, p.177) suggest the participants are “more open to innovation, exhibited creativity and chose new solutions” during the interaction. As brought up by a CSO participant, the intention behind involving oneself in active participation is to eliminate the “stereotypes, misinformation and any other forms of violence.” Another participant felt hopeful to see people change following prolonged interactions. The respondents are motivated to be more active, share and receive knowledge, and broaden their network because they share a common goal.

From the insights gathered, active participation in civil society organisations or groups increased the frequency by which participants actively sought information related to reconciliation. Apart from serving the primary objective of providing space for intergroup contact, word of mouth seemed to be the most effective way of recruiting new members into the organisation. The insights shown as friends and acquaintances are the most mentioned source of information related to the organisation (43%).

The exchange of arguments and discourses facilitated during intergroup contact created polarisation and depolarisation effects. In an experimental study of groups with distinctive views (Vinokur & Burnstein, 1978), the result showed depolarisation effects following an intergroup discussion. Several group members’ opinions were depolarised as they began to appreciate their differences. Learning from the results, the strongest compromise between groups occurs during the group discussion. In response to the depolarisation effect, Moscovici & Doise (1994, p.73)

emphasised “maintaining harmony and minimis[ing] the differences between them by avoiding factors leading to discord.” Meanwhile, the polarisation grew stronger when the intergroup contact was carried out in a more intense manner and touched the participants personally. As highlighted by Moscovici & Doise:

Thus the consensus of the great majority of groups undergoes a polarisation effect. The effect is weak when communication is carried on passively and impersonally but grows stronger as soon as communication becomes intense and touches people personally. (Moscovici & Doise, 1994, p.87)

Regardless of the effects produced from the intergroup contact, it creates “reverberations within each of the groups in question” (Sherif, 1967, p. 65).

In this research, we have highlighted multiple approaches studying the internal structure of social representations of reconciliation. Moreover, it offers the relevance of in-group and intergroup contact concerning the genesis of the social representation of reconciliation. This study has also shown through an unprompted demographic question that the Cypriotness level is considerably low. During the data collection period, I was exposed to how the buffer zone has segregated the island physically and emotionally. The checkpoints remind the Cypriots of the ceasefire in the past that the communities should have not coliving. Additionally, the global pandemic of COVID 19 has increased tensions between the two sides of the island. The crosspoint closure limits the intergroup contact and interchange activities initiated by the CSOs.

5. 2 Implications of this research

The findings of this study opened up several opportunities to conduct follow up research. Some of the findings of this research leave open several opportunities to be explored in more depth. These include investigating the potential of minority influence initiated by the CSO subsample through their programmes to promote intergroup contact. Learning from the Robbers Cave experiment that intergroup contact produced group attitudes resulting from the interaction processes in intra and intergroup relations (Sherif et al., 1961).

Future studies could include:

- 1) intergroup contact studies; to assess intergroup contact between communities. It can be explored by studying both the intensity and quality of their intergroup contact by recording participation in the intercommunal activities organised through CSOs, or intergroup contact motivated by socio-economic reasons. With such a setting, we can re-generate the analyses to understand the reconciliation's internal structure and identify the differences, if any.
- 2) the study of minority influence; this study explores the social influence on how a minority group affects the majority to accept their beliefs (Moscovici, 1974).
- 3) the identity studies; from the insights gathered, we have learnt that the Cypriotness level is considerably low, as 24% of respondents identified as Cypriot (see Figure 4.29). This response resulted from a spontaneous (unprompted) answer when we asked them to identify their ethnicity. This study can be explored further by reconstructing what the Cypriotness itself means for the Cypriot resident.

5. 3 Limitations of the research

It cannot be overlooked that this research has several limitations. The main limitation of this research is it was conducted with a considerably small sample size. The sample size for this study was not representative of the national population and in terms of its distribution.

As for the CSO subsample, this kind of activity is quite niche, and it was concentrated around the buffer zone in the capital city. Because one person could join multiple organisations, it resulted in a small circle of participants. The low number of population of this subsample was also resulting in a small sample size achievement. Apart from that, a high number of dropouts exacerbated this issue. Whereas for the laypeople, the high number of dropouts was due to exhaustion or a lack of interest (because of the frequent studies carried out related to the conflict by academia, political parties, etc.) or those interested in studying the topic contributed to the small sample size.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Free Association and Hierarchical evocation task

N	1	S	2
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FT1. Please write the first 5 words that come to mind when you think about reconciliation

TR: *U z l a ş m a deyince aklınıza gelen ilk 5 sözcüğü yazar mısınız lütfen.*

GR: *Παρακαλώ σημειώστε 5 λέξεις που σας έρχονται στο μυαλό όταν σκέφτεστε συμφιλίωση*

A _____, B _____, C _____, D _____, E _____

Answered A, why?

Neden A cevabını verdiniz?

Απάντηση A, γιατί;

Answered B, why?

Neden B cevabını verdiniz?

Απάντηση B, γιατί;

Answered C, why?

Neden C cevabını verdiniz?

Απάντηση C, γιατί;

Answered D, why?

Neden D cevabını verdiniz?

Απάντηση D, γιατί;

Answered E, why?

Neden E cevabını verdiniz?

Απάντηση E, γιατί;

FT2. Now classify the 5 **words** you wrote, ordering them from the most important to the least important:

Yukarıda belirtmiş olduğunuz 5 sözcüğü en önemliden daha az önemliye göre sıralaya bilirmisiniz.

Κατατάζτε τώρα τις 5 λέξεις που σημειώσατε σε σειρά προτεραιότητας από την πιο σημαντική στην λιγότερο σημαντική για εσάς:

1°	_____
2°	_____
3°	_____
4°	_____
5°	_____

APPENDIX 2: Questionnaire

MAIN INTERVIEW

1. Do you happen to <u>hear and read</u> about the reconciliation ? (SA) <i>Uzlaşma hakkında birşeyler duyuyor ve okuyormusunuz?</i> (SA) <i>Ακούτε και διαβάζετε για την συμφιλίωση;</i>	Code SA	Route
Yes <i>Evet</i> <i>Ναι</i>	1	Q2
No <i>Hayır</i> <i>Όχι</i>	2	Skip to Q9

SECTION II: Media Habit

BÖLÜM: Medya Alışkanlığı
Μέσα Μαζικής Ενημέρωσης

2. If YES , From the following list, can you please tell me your source of information in regard to the reconciliation topic ? (MA) <i>Cevabınız EVET ise, aşağıdaki listeden uzlaşma konusu hakkındaki bilgi kaynağınızı işaretleyebilirmisiniz lütfen?</i> <i>Αν ναι, από την παρακάτω λίστα μπορείτε να μου πείτε την πηγή ενημέρωσης σας όσον αφορά το θέμα της συμφιλίωσης;</i>	Code MA	Route
Television <i>Televizyon</i> <i>Τηλεόραση</i>	1	to Q3
Website/Online News Portal/ Video <i>İnternet Sitesi/Online Haber Portalı/ Video</i> <i>Ιστοσελίδα/Διαδικτυακές πηγές ενημέρωσης/Βίντεο</i>	2	to Q4
Radio <i>Radyo</i> <i>Ραδιόφωνο</i>	3	to Q5
Printed media (Magazines or newspapers) <i>Yazılı Basın (Magazin, dergi ve gazete)</i> <i>Έντυπα μέσα ενημέρωσης (Περιοδικά ή εφημερίδες)</i>	4	to Q6
Social Media <i>Sosyal Medya</i> <i>Κοινωνικά δίκτυα</i>	5	to Q7

Friends/acquaintances <i>Arkadaşlar / yakınlar</i> <i>Φίλους/γνωστούς</i>	6	to Q9
Family/partner/spouse <i>Aile/ partner /eş</i> <i>Οικογένεια/σύντροφο/ σύζυγο</i>	7	
In conferences or other public events <i>Konferanslar veya halk etkinlikleri</i> <i>Σε συναντήσεις ή άλλες δημόσιες εκδηλώσεις</i>	8	
Education institution <i>Eğitim Kurumu</i> <i>Εκπαιδευτικό ίδρυμα</i>	9	
Ceremonies, religious gatherings <i>Törenler, dini toplantılar</i> <i>Τελετές, θρησκευτικές συγκεντρώσεις</i>	10	
Others (Please specify _____) <i>Diğer (Lütfen Belirtiniz _____)</i>	100	

ASK ONLY IF code 1 Television is circled in Q2 <i>Soru 2’de televizyon işaretlendiyse sorunuz lütfen.</i> <i>Ερευνητή, κάνε ερώτηση αν στην ερώτηση Q2 απάντησε το 1</i> ΤΗΛΕΟΡΑΣΗ	Code MA
3. Which TV channel do you usually watch to get updates on the reconciliation ? (MA) <i>Uzlaşma ile ilgili güncel haberleri genellikle hangi TV kanalından izlersiniz? (MA)</i> <i>Συνήθως, από ποιο τηλεοπτικό κανάλι ενημερώνεστε για την συμφιλίωση;</i>	
ANT1 Cyprus	1
Alpha TV	2
CNC Plus TV	3
Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation	4
Lumiere TV	5
Mega	6
Sigma TV	7
BRTK TV	8
Ada TV	9
BRT 1	10
BRT 2	11
Kıbrıs TV	12
Others: _____ (please specify) <i>Diğerleri: _____ (lütfen belirtiniz)</i> <i>Άλλο: _____ (Διευκρινίστε)</i>	100

<p>ASK ONLY IF code 2 Website/Online News Portal /Video is circled in Q2</p> <p><i>Soru 2'de Websitesi/Online Haber Portalı/Video daire içine alındıysa bu soru sorunuz</i></p> <p><i>Ερευνητή, κάνε ερώτηση αν στην ερώτηση Q2 απάντησε το 2</i></p> <p>4. Which Website/Online News Portal do you visit to get updates on the reconciliation? (MA)</p> <p><i>Uzlaşma hakkında güncel haberleri almak için hangi İnternet sayfalarını/Online haber portallarını ziyaret ediyorsunuz? (MA)</i></p> <p><i>Ποιες ιστοσελίδες/διαδικτυακές πηγές ενημέρωσης επισκέπτεστε για να ενημερώνεστε για την συμφιλίωση;</i></p>	<p>Code MA</p>
www.cyprus-mail.com	1
www.lgcnews.com	2
www.sigmalive.com	3
www.kibrispostasi.com	4
www.philenews.com	5
www.cyprustodayonline.com	6
www.tothemaonline.com	7
www.kibkomtimes.com	8
www.offsite.com.cy	9
www.theguardian.com	10
www.ant1.com.cy	11
www.politis.com.cy	12
www.kathimerini.com.cy	13
www.cyprusnews.eu	14
www.cyprustimes.com	15
www.nicosia.cyprustimes.com	16
www.limassol.cyprustimes.com	17
www.larnaca.cyprustimes.com	18
www.bbc.com	19
<p>Others: _____ (please specify)</p> <p><i>Diğerleri: _____ (lütfen belirtiniz)</i></p> <p><i>Άλλο: _____ (Διευκρινίστε)</i></p>	100

ASK ONLY IF code 3 Radio is circled in Q2 <i>Code 3'te sadece Radyo işaretlendiyse sorunuz</i> <i>Ερευνητή, κάνε ερώτηση αν στην ερώτηση Q2 απάντησε το 3</i>	
5. Which Radio station do you usually listen to get updates on the reconciliation ? (MA) <i>Uzlaşma hakkında güncel haberleri almak için hangi radyo kanallarını dinliyorsunuz? (MA)</i> <i>Συνήθως, ποιο ραδιοφωνικό κανάλι ακούτε για να ενημερώνεστε για την συμφιλίωση;</i>	Code MA
Canal Station 6	1
Super FM	2
Kiss FM	3
Radio Astra	4
Sfera	5
Bayrak International	6
Ada Radio	7
Bayrak FM	8
BBC World Service	9
First FM	10
Eastern Mediterranean University	11
Near East University	12
Others: _____ (please specify) <i>Diğerleri: _____ (lütfen belirtiniz)</i> <i>Άλλο: _____ (Διευκρινίστε)</i>	100

ASK ONLY IF code 4 Printed media (Magazines or newspapers) is circled in Q2 <i>Soru 2 Code 4'te sadece yazılı basın işaretlenmişse (Magazin veya gazete) sorunuz</i> <i>Ερευνητή, κάνε ερώτηση αν στην ερώτηση Q2 απάντησε το 4</i>	
6. Which Printed media do you usually read to get updates on the reconciliation ? (MA) <i>Uzlaşma ili ilgili güncel haberleri hangi yazılı basından okuyorsunuz? (MA)</i> <i>Συνήθως, ποιο έντυπο μέσο ενημέρωσης διαβάζετε για να ενημερώνεστε για την συμφιλίωση;</i>	Code MA
Kyrenia Post	1
Afrika	2
Cyprus Observer	3
Diyalog	4
Cyprus Today	5

Kıbrıs	6
Star International	7
Kıbrıs Postası	8
Politis	9
Star Kıbrıs	10
Alithia	11
Yeni Düzen	12
Haravgi	13
Makhi	14
Phileleftheros	15
Simerini	16
Others: _____ (please specify) <i>Diğerleri: _____ (lütfen belirtiniz)</i> <i>Άλλο: _____ (Διευκρινίστε)</i>	100

ASK ONLY IF code 5 Social media is circled in Q2 <i>ASK ONLY IF code 5 Social media is circled in Q2 Soru 2'de code 5 Sosyal medya işaretlendiye sorunuz</i> <i>Ερευνητή, κάνε ερώτηση αν στην ερώτηση Q2 απάντησε το 5</i>	
7. Which Social media do you usually access to get updates on the reconciliation ? (MA) <i>Uzlaşma hakkındaki güncel haberleri öğrenmek için hangi sosyal medyayı takip ediyorsunuz? (MA)</i> <i>Συνήθως, από ποιο κοινωνικό δίκτυο ενημερώνεστε για την συμφιλίωση;</i>	Code MA
Facebook	1
Twitter	2
Instagram	3
Linkedin	4
Couchsurfing	5
Others: _____ (please specify) <i>Diğerleri: _____ (lütfen belirtiniz)</i> <i>Άλλο: _____ (Διευκρινίστε)</i>	100

INTERVIEWER : ASK to all

MÜLAKAT: Herkese sorulacak

EPEYNHTH : Κάνε ερώτηση σε όλους

9. How likely would you Agree/Disagree on the following statements?

Aşağıdaki ifadelere ne ölçüde katılıyor veya katılmıyorsunuz?

Κατά πόσο Συμφωνείτε ή Διαφωνείτε με τις παρακάτω δηλώσεις;

INTERVIEWER: ROTATE THE TOUCHPOINTS

	Totally Disagree <i>Tamamen katılmıyo rum</i> <i>Διαφωνώ απόλυτα</i>										Totally Agree <i>Tamamen katılıyo rum</i> <i>Συμφωνώ απόλυτα</i>
<i>I believe news shared on Television</i> <i>Televizyonda gösterilen haberlere inanıyorum</i> <i>Πιστεύω τα νέα που βλέπω στην Τηλεόραση</i>	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
<i>I believe news shared on Website/Online News Portal/ Video</i> <i>İnternet</i> <i>Sayfalarında/Online Haber</i> <i>Portallarında/ Videolarda</i> <i>paylaşılan haberlere</i> <i>inanıyorum</i> <i>Πιστεύω τα νέα που βλέπω</i> <i>σε</i> <i>Ιστοσελίδες/Διαδικτυακές</i> <i>πηγές ενημέρωσης/Βίντεο</i>	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
<i>I believe news shared on the Radio</i> <i>Radyoda paylaşılan</i> <i>haberlere inanıyorum</i> <i>Πιστεύω τα νέα που ακούω</i> <i>στο Ραδιόφωνο</i>	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5

<i>I believe news shared by</i> Printed media (Magazines or newspapers) <i>Yazılı basında (dergi ve gazete)paylaşılan haberlere inanıyorum</i> <i>Πιστεύω τα νέα κοινοποιούνται από τα Έντυπα μέσα ενημέρωσης (Περιοδικά ή εφημερίδες)</i>	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
<i>I believe news shared on</i> Social Media <i>Sosyal medyada paylaşılan haberlere inanıyorum</i> <i>Πιστεύω τα νέα που διαβάζω στα Μέσα Κοινωνικής Δικτύωσης</i>	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
<i>I believe news shared by</i> Friends / acquaintances <i>Arkadaşlarım ve yakınlarım tarafından paylaşılan haberlere inanıyorum</i> <i>Πιστεύω τα νέα που ακούω από τους φίλους/γνωστούς μου</i>	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
<i>I believe news shared by</i> Family/ partner / spouse <i>Ailem/partnerim/eşim tarafından paylaşılan haberlere inanıyorum</i> <i>Πιστεύω τα νέα που ακούω από την οικογένεια/Σύντροφο/Σύζυγο</i>	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
<i>I believe news shared in</i> Conferences or other public events <i>Konferans veya halk etkinliklerinde paylaşılan haberlere inanıyorum</i> <i>Πιστεύω τα νέα που ακούω σε συναντήσεις ή άλλες δημόσιες εκδηλώσεις</i>	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5

<i>I believe news shared by Education institution</i> <i>Eğitim kurumlarında</i> <i>paylaşılan haberlere</i> <i>inanıyorum</i> <i>Πιστεύω τα νέα που</i> <i>μαθαίνω από από</i> <i>εκπαιδευτικό ίδρυμα</i>	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
<i>I believe news shared in Ceremonies, religious gatherings</i> <i>Törenlerde, dini</i> <i>toplantılarda paylaşılan</i> <i>haberlere inanıyorum</i> <i>Πιστεύω τα νέα που</i> <i>μαθαίνω από τελετές,</i> <i>θρησκευτικές</i> <i>συγκεντρώσεις</i>	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5

10. Today there is much talk of **reconciliation**.

In your opinion, what is the **reconciliation**? And Why?

Uzlaşma hakkında çok konuşulacak konu var.

Size göre uzlaşma nedir? Ve neden?

Αυτό τον καιρό, γίνεται έντονη συζήτηση για συμφιλίωση. Κατά την άποψη σας, τι είναι η συμφιλίωση; Και γιατί;

11. Do you happen to <u>talk</u> about reconciliation ? (SA) <i>Uzlaşma hakkında konuşuyor musunuz? (SA)</i> <i>Εσείς προσωπικά μιλάτε για την συμφιλίωση;</i>	Code SA	Route
Yes <i>Evet</i> <i>Ναι</i>	1	Q11a
No <i>Hayır</i> <i>Όχι</i>	2	Skip to Q17

SECTION III: Sharing Habit**BÖLÜM III: Paylaşılan Alışkanlık**

11a. If YES , who do you speak with most frequently? (SA) <i>Cevabınız Evet ise genellikle kimle konuşuyorsunuz? (SA)</i> <i>Αν ναι, με ποιον συζητάτε πιο συχνά;</i>	Code SA
Family <i>Aile</i> <i>Οικογένεια</i>	1
Friends <i>Arkadaşlar</i> <i>Φίλους</i>	2
Colleagues at work <i>İş arkadaşları</i> <i>Συνάδελφους</i>	3
Acquaintances <i>Tanıdıklar</i> <i>Γνωστούς</i>	4
Others: _____ (please specify) <i>Diğerleri: _____ (lütfen belirtiniz)</i> <i>Άλλο: _____ (Διευκρινίστε)</i>	100

12. How often do you talk about it? (SA) <i>Ne sıklıkla konuşursunuz? (SA)</i> <i>Πόσο συχνά συζητάτε για αυτό;</i>	Code
Everyday <i>Hergün</i> <i>Καθημερινά</i>	1
4 / 5 times a week <i>Haftada 4/5 kez</i> <i>4/5 φορές την εβδομάδα</i>	2
2 / 3 times a week <i>Haftada 2/3 kez</i> <i>2/3 φορές την εβδομάδα</i>	3
1 time a week <i>Haftada 1</i> <i>1 φορά την εβδομάδα</i>	4
Less than once a week <i>Haftada 1'den az</i> <i>Λιγότερο συχνά από μια φορά την εβδομάδα</i>	5
Others: _____ (please specify) <i>Diğerleri: _____ (lütfen belirtiniz)</i> <i>Άλλο: _____ (Διευκρινίστε)</i>	100

13. What triggered you talking about **reconciliation** with other people?

Uzlaşma hakkında size digger insanlarla konuşmaya teşvik eden şey nedir?

Τι είναι αυτό που σας έκανε να συζητάτε με άλλους για την συμφιλίωση;

14. Usually, you talk about reconciliation ... (MA) <i>Genellikle uzlaşma hakkında konuştuğunuzda ... (MA)</i> <i>Συνήθως μιλάτε για την συμφιλίωση</i>	Code MA
Direct face to face <i>Yüzyüze</i> <i>Προσωπικά</i>	1
Phone call <i>Telefonda</i> <i>Τηλεφωνικώς</i>	2
Whatsapp	3
Blackberry Messenger	4
Instagram chat	5
Facebook Chat	6
Snap Chat	7
Line	8
Skype	9
Face time	10
Google hangout	11
Email	12
Others: _____ (please specify) <i>Diğerleri: _____ (lütfen belirtiniz)</i> <i>Άλλο: _____ (Διευκρινίστε)</i>	100

SECTION IV: Opinion towards reconciliation
BÖLÜM IV: Uzlaşmaya yönelik görüşler
INTERVIEWER: ASK TO ALL
MÜLAKATI YAPAN: HERKESE SORULACAK
EPEYNHTH : Κάνε ερώτηση σε όλους

17. Do you feel personally affected by the reconciliation process ? (SA) <i>Uzlaşma sürecinden kişisel olarak etkilendiğinizi düşünüyor musunuz? (SA)</i> <i>Αισθάνεστε ότι η διαδικασία συμφιλίωσης έχει προσωπικό αντίκτυπο σε εσάς;</i>	Code SA	Route
Yes <i>Evet</i> <i>Ναι</i>	1	Q17a
No <i>Hayır</i> <i>Όχι</i>	2	Skip to Q17b

17a. If **YES**, in what way?

*Eğer cevabınız **EVET** ise, ne şekilde?*

Αν ναι, με ποιο τρόπο;

17b. If **NO**, why?

*Eğer cevabınız **HAYIR** ise, ne şekilde?*

Αν όχι, γιατί;

18. Do you think there are positive implications out of reconciliation ? (SA) <i>Uzlaşmanın olumlu etkileriniz olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? (SA)</i> <i>Πιστεύετε ότι υπάρχουν θετικές επιπτώσεις από την συμφιλίωση;</i>	Code SA	Route
Yes <i>Evet</i> <i>Ναι</i>	1	Q18a
No	2	Skip to Q18b

Hayır Όχι		
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18a. If **YES**, in what way?

*Eğer cevabınız **EVET** ise, ne şekilde?*

Αν ναι, με ποιο τρόπο;

18b. If **NO**, why?

*Eğer cevabınız **HAYIR** ise, ne şekilde?*

Αν όχι, γιατί;

19. Personally if any, what strategy (s) do you use to cope with the **reconciliation discourse** ?

Uzlaşma söylemiyle başa çıkmak için kişisel olarak eğer varsa hangi stratejinizi kullanırdınız?

Προσωπικά, εάν υπάρχει, τι στρατηγική (ές) χρησιμοποιείτε όταν κάνετε ή συμμετέχετε σε συζήτηση (εις) για την συμφιλίωση;

20. In your opinion, what might causes the **reconciliation** ?

*Sizce **uzlaşma**ya ne sebep olabilir?*

Κατά την άποψη σας, τι μπορεί να προκαλέσει την συμφιλίωση;

21. In your opinion, who is responsible for the **reconciliation** ?

*Size göre **uzlaşma** konusunda kim sorumludur?*

Κατά την άποψη σας, ποιος είναι υπεύθυνος για την συμφιλίωση;

22. Talking about the reconciliation , what do you think about it? (SA) <i>Uzlaşma konusundan bahsederken, siz bu konuda ne düşünüyorsunuz?</i> (SA) <i>Μιλώντας για την συμφιλίωση, τι πιστεύετε;</i>	Code SA
It will intensify <i>Uzlaşma konusu yoğunlaşacak</i> <i>Θα εντατικοποιηθεί</i>	1
It will slightly intensify <i>Uzlaşma konusu biraz yoğunlaşacak</i> <i>Θα εντατικοποιηθεί ελαφρώς</i>	2
It will neither intensify, nor end <i>Uzlaşma konusu ne yoğunlaşacak ne de bitecek</i> <i>Δεν θα ενταθεί ούτε θα τελειώσει</i>	3
It will fade <i>Uzlaşma konusu zayıflayacak</i> <i>Θα καταρρεύσει/ εξασθενήσει</i>	4
It will end <i>Uzlaşma konusu sona erecek</i> <i>Θα τελειώσει</i>	5

23. Talking about future of the reconciliation , how long do you think will it lasts ? (SA) <i>Uzlaşma konusundan bahsederken, bunun ne kadar süreceğini düşünüyorsunuz?</i> (SA) <i>Μιλώντας για το μέλλον των συνομιλιών για συμφιλίωση, πόσο πιστεύετε ότι θα διαρκέσει;</i>	Code SA
Less than 12 months <i>12 aydan az</i> <i>Λιγότερο από 12 μήνες</i>	1
1 – 5 years <i>1 – 5 yıl</i> <i>1-5 χρόνια</i>	2
6 – 10 years <i>6 – 10 yıl</i> <i>6-10 χρόνια</i>	3
11 – 15 years <i>11 – 15 yıl</i> <i>11-15 χρόνια</i>	4
16 – 20 years <i>16 – 20 yıl</i> <i>16-20 χρόνια</i>	5
Over 20 years <i>20 yıldan fazla</i> <i>Πάνω από 20 χρόνια</i>	6

N/A	99
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24. In your opinion, is there a solution(s) to the situation? (SA) <i>Sizce bu konuda çözüm veya çözümler var mıdır? (SA)</i> <i>Κατά την άποψη σας, υπάρχει λύση(εις) στην κατάσταση (Κυπριακό);</i>	Code SA	Route
Yes <i>Evet</i> <i>Ναι</i>	1	to Q24a
No <i>Hayır</i> <i>Όχι</i>	2	to Q24b

24a. If **YES**, what would that be ?

Eğer EVET'se çözüm nedir?
Αν ναι, ποιες θα είναι αυτές;

24b. If **NO**, why?

Eğer HAYIR'sa neden?
If NO, why? Αν όχι, γιατί;

25. Do you believe a third-party actor can play a role in the management of the reconciliation ? (SA) <i>Üçüncü taraf bir aktörün uzlaşmanın yönetiminde rol alabileceğini düşünüyor musunuz? (SA)</i> <i>Πιστεύετε ότι ένα τρίτο μέρος θα παίζει ρόλο στην διαχείριση της συμφιλίωσης;</i>	Code SA	Route
Yes <i>Evet</i> <i>Ναι</i>	1	to Q26a
No <i>Hayır</i> <i>Όχι</i>	2	to Q26b

26a. If YES , who are they? (SA) <i>Cevabınız EVET ise bunlar kimlerdir? (SA)</i> <i>Αν ναι, ποιοί;</i>	Code SA	Route
The European Union <i>Avrupa Birliği</i> <i>Η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση</i>	1	to Q26c
The United Nation <i>Birleşmiş Milletler</i> <i>Τα Ηνωμένα Έθνη</i>	2	
Greek Government <i>Yunan Hükümeti</i> <i>Η Ελληνική Κυβέρνηση</i>	3	
Turkish Government <i>Türk Hükümeti</i> <i>Η Τουρκική Κυβέρνηση</i>	4	
World Peace Council (WPC) <i>Dünya Barış Konseyi(WPC)</i> <i>Το Παγκόσμιο Συμβούλιο Ειρήνης (ΠΣΕ)</i>	5	
Others: _____ (please specify) <i>Diğerleri: _____ (Lütfen belirtiniz)</i> <i>Άλλο: _____ (Διευκρινίστε)</i>	100	

26b. If **NO**, why?

Eğer cevabınız HAYIR ise, neden?

Αν όχι, γιατί;

ASK IF ANY CODE is circled in question 26a

Eğer 26a'da herhangi bir kod işaretlendiyse sorunuz

Κάνε ερώτηση αν έχει απαντηθεί η ερώτηση 26a

26c. If **YES**, what kind of role could they play?

Eğer EVET ise nasıl bir rol oynayabilirler?

Αν ναι, τι ρόλο θα μπορούσαν να παίζουν;

SECTION CSO: Activism

27. Have you ever joined a civil society organisation or community? (SA)	Code
Yes	1
No	2

28. Which kind of organisation/community you are involving in most often ? (SA)	28 Code SA
Sports	1
Cultural (arts, language, music, ...)	2
Environmental	3
Community-level association	4
Social movements	5
Governmental organisation	6
Political organisation	7
Health organisation	8
Technology	9
Faith-based organisation	10
Women's association	11
Professional/business organisation	12
Student & youth association	13
Ethnic/traditional/indigenous association	14
Others: _____ (please specify)	100

DOUBLE CHECK with the line of the organisation/community

29. What is the name of the organisation/community you are involving in **most often**? SA

30. What is the objective of the <insert org/comm from Q29> ? (SA)	Code SA
Education	1
Prevention	2
Protest/opposition	3
Lobbying	4
Advising	5
Emancipation	6
Recreational	7
Informing/documenting	8
Others: _____ (please specify)	100

31. How long have you been participating in <insert org/comm from Q29>? (SA)	Code SA
Less than a year	1
Between 1 and 2 years	2
Between 2 and 5 years	3
Between 5 and 10 years	4
Over 10 years	5

32. What motivates your participation in <insert org/comm from Q29> ?

33. How big is the organisation/community <insert org/comm from Q29>? (SA)	Code SA
Less than 10 persons	1
Between 11 and 50 persons	2
Between 51 and 100 persons	3
Between 101 and 200 persons	4
More than 200 persons	5
I don't know	6
N/A	99

34. Where did you get the information about <insert org/comm from Q29> from? (SA)	Code SA
Television	1
Website/Online News Portal/Video	2
Radio	3
Printed Media (Magazines/newspaper)	4
Social Media	5
Friends/Acquaintances	6
Family/Partner/Spouse	7
In conferences or other public events	8
Education institution	9
Ceremonies, religious gatherings	10
Others: _____ (please specify)	100

35. How is the organisation financed ? (MA)	Code MA
Government	1
Sponsors	2
Donations	3
Membership	4
Support actions (support dinners, fundraising activities,...)	5
Others: _____ (please specify)	100

37. Which of the following best described the type of the organisation/community ? (SA)	Code SA
Formal/established	1
Informal/group/community level	2
Others: _____ (please specify)	100

38. How likely would you recommend the organisation/community to your friends/ family? (SA)										
Very Unlikely										Very Likely
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
38a. What made you say so?										

SECTION V: Demographic**BÖLÜM V: Demografik****SECTION V: Δημογραφικά**

D1. Could you please indicate your gender? <i>Cinsiyetinizi belirtirmisiniz lütfen?</i> <i>Φύλο</i>	Code
Female <i>Kadın</i> <i>Γυναίκα</i>	1
Male <i>Erkek</i> <i>Αντρας</i>	2
N/A	99

D2. Could you please indicate which age group do you belong to? <i>Hangi yaş grubuna ait olduğunzu söyler misiniz lütfen?</i> <i>Σε ποια ηλικιακή ομάδα ανήκετε;</i>	Code
21 – 49 years old	1
50 – 75 years old	2

D2a. May I know how old are you? <i>Ben sizin yaşınızı öğrenebilir miyim?</i> <i>Μπορώ να έχω την ηλικία σας;</i>	Code
_____ years old	

D3. Employment status: Are you currently...? <i>İş durumu: Şu anda...?</i> <i>Επαγγελματική κατάσταση</i>	Code
Out of work and looking for work <i>İşsizim ve iş arıyorum</i> <i>Ανεργος</i>	1
A homemaker <i>Ev işleriyle ilgileniyorum</i> <i>Νοικοκυρά</i>	2
A student <i>Öğrenci</i> <i>Μαθητής</i>	3
Self-employed/Entrepreneur <i>Kendi işinde çalışan/girişimci</i> <i>Αυτό-εργοδοτούμενος</i>	4

A government employee <i>Devlet memuru</i> <i>Κυβερνητικός Υπάλληλος</i>	5
A private sector employee <i>Özel sector çalışanı</i> <i>Ιδιωτικός Υπάλληλος</i>	6
Retired <i>Emekli</i> <i>Συνταξιούχος</i>	7
Others: _____ (please specify) <i>Diğerleri: _____ (lütfen belirtiniz)</i> <i>Άλλο: _____ (Διευκρινίστε)</i>	100

D4. Could you please tell me your level of education? <i>Eğitim seviyenizi lütfen söyler misiniz?</i> <i>Επίπεδο μόρφωσης</i>	Code
Junior high school <i>Ortaokul</i> <i>Απόφοιτος Δημοτικού</i>	1
Highschool <i>Lise</i> <i>Απόφοιτος Γυμνασίου/Λυκείου</i>	2
Diploma <i>Kollégio</i>	3
Bachelor's degree <i>Üniversite</i> <i>Πτυχίο</i>	4
Masters' degree <i>Yüksek Lisans</i> <i>Μεταπτυχιακό</i>	5
Doctoral degree or higher <i>Doçtora ve üzeri</i> <i>Διδακτορικό</i>	6
Others: _____ (please specify) <i>Diğerleri: _____ (Lütfen belirtiniz)</i> <i>Άλλο _____ (Διευκρινίστε)</i>	100

D5. Could you please tell me in which part of the island do you live? <i>Adanın hangi kısmında yaşadığınızı lütfen söyler misiniz?</i> <i>Μπορείτε σας παρακαλώ να μου πείτε σε ποιο τμήμα του νησιού μένετε;</i>	Code
Northern Cyprus <i>Kuzey Kıbrıs</i> <i>Βόρεια Κύπρος</i>	1

Southern Cyprus <i>Güney Kıbrıs</i> <i>Νότια Κύπρος</i>	2
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D5a. Could you please tell me in which district/area you are from? <i>Hangi ilçe/bölgeden olduğunuzu lütfen söyley misiniz?</i> <i>Επαρχία</i>	Code
Famagusta	1
Kyrenia	2
Larnaca	3
Limassol	4
Nicosia	5
Paphos	6
Others: _____ (please specify) <i>Diğerleri: _____ (Lütfen belirtiniz)</i> <i>Άλλο: _____ (Διευκρινίστε)</i>	100

D6. Could you please tell me which ethnic group/national origin community do you belong to? (SA) <i>Lütfen hangi etnik grup/ulusal kökene ait olduğunuzu söyley misiniz?</i> (SA) <i>Μπορείτε να μου πείτε την υπηκοότητα σας;</i>	Code
Greek <i>Yunan</i> <i>Ελληνική</i>	1
Turkish <i>Türk</i> <i>Τούρκικη</i>	2
Armenian <i>Ermeni</i> <i>Αρμενική</i>	3
British <i>İngiliz</i> <i>Αγγλική</i>	4
Australian <i>Avustralya</i> <i>Αυστραλιανή</i>	5
American <i>Amerikan</i> <i>Αμερικάνικη</i>	6
Lebanese <i>Lübnan</i> <i>Λιβανική</i>	7
Indian	8

<i>Hint</i> <i>Ινδική</i>	
Romanian <i>Rumen</i> <i>Ρουμανική</i>	9
Others: _____ (please specify) <i>Diğerleri: _____ (Lütfen Belirtiniz)</i> <i>Άλλο: _____ (Διευκρινίστε)</i>	100

D7. Could you please tell us which statement best describe your condition? (SA) <i>Durumunuzu en iyi açıklayan ifadeyi bize lütfen söyley misiniz? (SA)</i> <i>Μπορείτε να μου πείτε ποια από τις ποιο κάτω δηλώσεις σας περιγράφει;</i>	Code SA
I was born in Cyprus <i>Kıbrıs'ta doğdum</i> <i>Γεννήθηκα στην Κύπρο</i>	1
I have been living in Cyprus for less than 5 years <i>5 yıldan az bir süredir Kıbrıs'ta yaşıyorum</i> <i>Ζω στηνΚύπρο λιγότερο από 5 χρόνια</i>	2
I have been living in Cyprus for 5 to 10 years <i>5 ile 10 yıl arasındır Kıbrıs'ta yaşıyorum</i> <i>Ζω στην Κύπρο από 5 μέχρι 10 χρόνια</i>	3
I have been living in Cyprus for over 10 years <i>10 yıldan fazladır Kıbrıs'ta yaşıyorum</i> <i>Ζω στην Κύπρο πάνω από 10 χρόνια</i>	4
N/A	99
Other (Please specify _____) <i>Diğer (Lütfen belirtiniz _____)</i> <i>Άλλο: _____ (Διευκρινίστε)</i>	100

D8. Could you please indicate your political orientation? (SA) <i>Politik yöneliminizi belirtirmisiniz lütfen? (SA)</i> <i>Μπορείτε να μου πείτε προς τα που γέρνουν οι πολιτικές σας πεποιθήσεις;</i>	Code SA
Right-wing <i>Sağ görüş</i> <i>Δεξιά</i>	1
Centre-right wing <i>Merkez-sağ görüş</i> <i>Κέντρο-δεξιά</i>	2
Centre-left wing <i>Merkez-sol görüş</i> <i>Κέντρο-αριστερά</i>	3

Left-wing <i>Sol görüş</i> <i>Αριστερά</i>	4
Apolitical <i>Apolitik</i> <i>Δεν ασχολούμαι</i>	5
N/A	99
Other (Please specify_____) <i>Diğer (Lütfen belirtiniz_____)</i> <i>Άλλο: _____ (Διευκρινίστε)</i>	100

D9. Could you please indicate your religious orientation? (SA) <i>Dini yöneliminizi belirtirmisiniz lütfen? (SA)</i> <i>Μπορείτε σας παρακαλώ να μου πείτε τις θρησκευτικές σας πεποιθήσεις;</i>	Code SA	Route
Believer-practitioner <i>İnançlı-Uygulayan</i> <i>Πιστεύω έμπρακτα</i>	1	to D10
Believer-not practising <i>İnançlı-Uygulamayan</i> <i>Πιστεύω μη έμπρακτα</i>	2	
Nonbeliever <i>İnançsız</i> <i>Δεν πιστεύω</i>	3	End Interview
N/A	99	

Ask D10 only if code 1 and 2 selected in D9

D10. Could you please indicate which religious group you consider yourself in? (SA) <i>Hangi dini gruba ait hissettiğinizi belirtirmisiniz lütfen? (SA)</i> <i>Μπορείτε να μου πείτε σε ποια θρησκεία ανήκετε;</i>	Code SA
Greek Orthodox <i>Ortodoks</i> <i>Ελληνορθόδοξη</i>	1
Islam <i>İslam</i> <i>Ισλαμισμός</i>	2
Protestant <i>Protestan</i> <i>Προτεσταντισμός</i>	3
Anglican <i>Anglikan</i> <i>Αγγλικανική</i>	4

Roman Catholic <i>Roman Katolik</i> <i>Ρωμαιοκαθολική</i>	5
Armenian Apostolic Church <i>Ermeni Patrikanesi</i> <i>Αρμενική Αποστολική Εκκλησία</i>	6
N/A	99
Other (Please specify _____) <i>Diğerleri(Lütfen belirtiniz _____)</i> <i>Άλλο _____ (Διευκρινίστε)</i>	100

Thanking you for your precious contribution to this research.

Bu araştırmaya yaptığınız değerli katkılarınızdan dolayı teşekkür ederiz.

Ευχαριστούμε για την συμμετοχή σας στην έρευνα!