The Cyprus Peace and Negotiation Processes: Lessons from the Colombian Peace Process and Women's Involvement

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Abstract

The Cyprus and Colombian conflicts have had a significant impact on women, as well as children, who are mostly under women's influence for the greatest part of their infancy; and early childhood. However, the level of women's participation in formal peace negotiations is different in either country. This study answers the questions of how women have participated in the high-level negotiation process in the Cyprus conflict when compared to their Colombian counterparts and why the Colombian women's efforts have been more successful than the efforts of the Cypriot women. This paper adopts a comparative method to evaluate and analyse Colombian and Cypriot women's participation in the peace process. Secondary data sources and reputable websites are utilised. This paper argues that even though there are differences in the cultures and contexts of the two peace processes, the peace and negotiation processes in Cyprus have some lessons to learn from the Colombia peace negotiation model.

Keywords: negotiation, peace process, women, Cyprus and Colombia

Introduction

The Cyprus conflict and peace negotiations appear to have reached an impasse due to the inflexible positions of the current leaders, Nikos Christodoulides (a Greek Cypriot) and Ersin Tatar (a Turkish Cypriot), as evidenced by the recently held five plus one (5+1) informal meeting organised by Antonio Guterres, the United Nations Secretary-General. The gathering sought a common foundation for future Cyprus peace'

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negotiations. The alternatives for the island's status include reunification (united Cyprus) or a two-State solution model (i.e., separate sovereignty and international identity). The conflict's two sides continue to hold divergent views on what a future settlement of the Cyprus Problem might entail. More specifically, the Greek Cypriot officials favour federal solutions, while the Turkish Cypriot leaders, together with Turkey, favour a two-sovereign-States settlement model for the future accord on the Cyprus Dispute.

This research paper is organised to offer the reader a concise overview of the methodological viewpoint it employs. This will allow the reader to comprehend the importance of women's engagement in high-level discussions in Colombia in comparison to the participation and involvement of the women of Cyprus. It adds to existing literature by employing comparative methods, which is rarely utilised in the study of the Cyprus conflict. The Colombia peace process and women's involvement are discussed, and, in particular, the accountability system is analysed, namely the Colombia Special Jurisdiction for Peace is analysed. Accordingly, The Cyprus peace process and women's involvement are discussed alongside women's involvement in the Colombian peace process and lessons for Cypriot women, as well as, the variations in the backgrounds and conflict settings in Colombia and Cyprus, and the roles of women in the peace processes. Consequently, this study presents a thorough examination of how women participation played a significant role in the Colombian war, as well as a brief overview of that conflict background. In conclusion, despite cultural and contextual disparities between the two peace processes, this research paper highlights the significance of Cypriot women learning pertinent lessons from their Colombian counterparts.

Accordingly, this study found out that the engagement of women as stakeholder groups was not the outcome of planned governmental policy decisions but rather the consequence of the advocacy of autonomous women's groups in Colombia. Despite these, the experiences of Colombian women appear to be richer, and they enjoy the more vigorous engagement contrary to their counterparts in Cyprus. In this regard, the women of Cyprus and the power elite of Cyprus have much to learn from their Colombian counterparts. Therefore, we argue that women in Cyprus should participate in the negotiation and peace process at the highest level, not only because they are peaceful and will likely promote a peaceful negotiated settlement, but because they are stakeholders.

Extant Studies

Existing methods for the subject are reviewed to add to the theoretical and methodological approaches to the peace and negotiation processes in Cyprus. Different researchers apply a variety of methodologies; based on the prevalent debates, interview techniques were often employed; for instance, an interview piece was performed that highlighted the significance of women's participation in negotiation processes at both the grassroots level of civil society and the official negotiating table.[7] Various theories have also been utilised to analyse the Cyprus crisis and talks. Demetriou and Hadjipavlou have taken a feminist approach to the Cyprus conflict and peace discussions, focusing on how governmental authority may be shared. They then discussed and reviewed certain ideas (proposed by Gender Advisory Team (GAT)) for peace discussions offered to the negotiators and recognised by the United Nations.[8] These ideas comprises of key issues; ensuring women's participation in important positions throughout negotiation processes, promoting gender equality and opportunity starting from grassroots to government, inclusion of languages in the constitution that indicates attention to gender concerns, to investigate and bring legal action against gender-related offenses since the start of the conflict among other proposal.

Cynthia Cockburn, a feminist researcher, has highlighted the limited participation of women in decision-making in Cyprus.[9] Other scholars too, Hadjipavlou in particular, , emphasised the development of Cypriot women's organisations and gaining money for the women's groups.[10]

A research study that attempted to employ comparative methods on negotiation employed the 'ripeness theory.' This is evident in the works it analysed.[11] Critical techniques at many levels of analysis were also employed to investigate the Cyprus peace discussions and negotiations.[12] Those who apply the group-level method to analyse the peace process are closely related to the category of scholars that employ levels of

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[7]   Cristiana Lavinia Badulescu, 'Interview with Dr Maria Hadjipavlou, Associate Professor,' Department of Social and Political Sciences, University of Cyprus, 2020.

[8]   Olga Demetriou and Maria Hadjipavlou, 'A Feminist Position on Sharing Governmental Power and Forging Citizenship in Cyprus: Proposals for the Ongoing Peace Negotiations,' (2014) 107(1) *Feminist Review* 98–106

[9]   Cynthia Cockburn, *The Line: Women, Partition and the Gender Order in Cyprus* (Zed Books., 2004).

[10]   Maria Hadjipavlou, 'No Permission to Cross: Cypriot Women's Dialogue across the Divide, '(2006) 13 (4) *Gender, Place and Culture* 329–51,

[11]   Pruitt, Dean G. 'Ripeness Theory and the Oslo Talks,' (2003) 2(2) *International Negotiation* 237–50.

[12]   Michalis S. Michael, 'The Cyprus Peace Talks: A Critical Appraisal,' (2007) 44(5) *Journal of Peace Research* 587–604.

analysis to examine the Cyprus conflicts. In the research works that employed levels of analysis, most often it is argued that perceived dangers to outgroups is frequent, and they are among those who have been exposed to political violence and conflict in the past.[13] Gulseven used a historical method to analyse the history and formation of Turkish Cypriot identity and the growth of alternative identities. He used an intersectional approach to the core causes of the conflict, suggesting that, in addition to social issues, cultural and ethnic divisions between Turkish Cypriots and new migrants exacerbated antagonism between the two groups (Turkish Cypriots and Turkish from mainland Turkey).[14] Other identities, such as Kurdish and Arab, have settled in and become part of the 'TRNC', although this identity has not been effectively accounted for despite its rising prominence.[15]

Although Amaral compared the Annan plan to the "Good Friday Agreement" using data from elite interviews, this comparison was restricted. Comparative approaches are infrequently employed in the analysis of the negotiation and Cyprus peace processes. However, comparative research is rarely employed.[16] This study adopts a comparative methodology to expand the current literature on the peace process and negotiations in Cyprus. It will also add to the limited number of comparative methods by comparing the peace processes in Cyprus and Colombia using the comparative technique. The objective is to identify Colombia's parallels, distinctions, and lessons to be learned.

Understanding Comparative Studies and Their Significance

In the end, all social sciences can be considered comparative. This is because all observable phenomena may be compared to a specific point of reference that can be overtly or implicitly stated and assumed, allowing the differences and similarities of the item or subject being compared to be assessed, examined, and understood.[17] The comparative approach is among the oldest techniques for conducting basic scientific

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[13] Charis Psaltis et al., 'Internally Displaced Persons and the Cyprus Peace Process,' (2020) 41 (1) *International Political Science Review* 138–54,

[14] Enver Gülseven, 'Identity Contestations in the Turkish Cypriot Community and the Peace Process in Cyprus' (2020) 6(1) *Athens Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 21–38.

[15] Ibid, 28.

[16] Joana Amaral, 'Do Peace Negotiations Shape Settlement Referendums? The Annan Plan and Good Friday Agreement Experiences Compared' (2018) 53(3) *Cooperation and Conflict* 356–74.

[17] Jochen Clasen, 'Defining Comparative Social Policy,' in *A Handbook of Comparative Social Policy*, (2nd edn, Edward Elgar Publishing, 2013) 74.

and philosophical researches.[18] It is an approach that provides the researcher with a good understanding of how to evaluate, analyse, and interpret social and empirical indicators of variables. It may be simply stated as a technique for analysing the differences between two or more variables or phenomena. It makes use of research methodologies and procedures to determine the cause and relationship between variables, people, or objects.[19] Comparison is a key technique of analysis that assists the researcher in describing and interpreting social events and the phenomenal world. It also plays a crucial role in the formulation of ideas by highlighting suggested similarities and contrasts among the researched facts.[20] The comparative technique is conceptualised and articulated as an analytical tool by comparing experimental and statistical approaches.[21]

It might also refer to an idea developed from the verb 'to compare.' Comparative studies seek to investigate, evaluate, and analyse, using both quantitative and qualitative methods, phenomena in distinct topic areas to uncover parallels and differences that may exist in the subject areas.[22] Possibly, Hague and Harrop believe that comparative studies may be conducted using a variety of approaches and assessment procedures, including 'case study,' 'targeted comparison,' and statistical analysis.'[23]

In the social sciences, a comparative approach is a valuable tool for analysing differences and similarities among variables, elements, the structure of a system, the processes of the system, and the policies in global, regional, national, and local contexts.[24] It is essential for testing hypotheses and can aid in the development of new hypotheses and theories.[25] According to Bukhari, there are several reasons why comparative research has attained a prominent position among social scientists. Globalisation has played a significant role in enhancing the desire for an opportunity for educational reforms and intellectual curiosity about different civilisations.[26]

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[18] Syed Aftab Hassan Bukhari, 'What Is Comparative Study,' SSRN Electronic Journal, 2011.

[19] Mario Coccia and Igor Benati, 'Comparative Models of Inquiry,' in *Global Encyclopedia of Public Administration, Public Policy, and Governance*, 2018, 1-5.

[20] David Collier, 'The Comparative Method,' in *Political Science: The State of Discipline II*, (American Political Science Association, 1993) 105.

[21] Arend Lijphart et al., 'Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method' (2007) 60 *Thinking about Democracy: Power Sharing and Majority Rule in Theory and Practice* 245–66.

[22] Coccia and Benati (no 19)

[23] Rod Hague and Martin Harrop, *Comparative Government and Politics* (Nueva York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) 69–85.

[24] Coccia and Benati (no 19).

[25] Collier (no 20) 105.

[26] Bukhari (no 18).

Information technology has eased the generation of more quantitative data for comparative purposes, and international communications technology has simplified the dissemination of this data. In a comparative study, two or more objects are compared. Comparative research is used to establish and quantify correlations between two or more variables by monitoring separate groups that are either voluntarily or involuntarily subjected to distinct treatments. In a comparative study, two or more groups, persons, or situations are compared. This comparison frequently focuses on a few attributes. Comparative research is essential to the construction of concepts because it highlights suggested similarities and differences between examples or subjects. It sharpens the researcher's descriptive skills and capacity.[27]

However, the procedure is not devoid of difficulties and drawbacks. It must be generalised based on a very limited number of examples, even though there are multiple factors.[28] Despite the limitation associated with the small sample size that the method could handle, its analytical utility is significant, and this paper makes use of this advantage to argue for a new perspective on women's participation and involvement at high levels in the Cyprus peace and negotiation processes.

The Colombia Peace Process and Women's Involvement

The Colombian conflict began in the 1830s and 1840s, during the post-independence era. From colonial times to the present, Colombia has been characterised by 'spatial fragmentation, economic atomization, and cultural variety,' as Frank Safford and Marco Palacios describe.[29] With this structural framework, the power struggle became endemic at both the regional and local levels, and the institutionalisation of a productive central State was challenging to achieve.[30]

Historically, there have been two political parties in Colombia: conservatives and liberals. Individuals defined themselves as either conservatives or liberals according to this political distinction. All Colombians, elites and non-elites alike, place a higher value on their allegiance to these political parties than to the Colombian nation-State. These stated allegiances created the impetus for a series of civic upheavals that cul-

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[27] Ibid, 1–2.
[28] Lijphart et al (no 20).,
[29] Frank Safford and Marco Palacios, *Colombia: Fragmented Land, Divided Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) ix.
[30] Ibid.

minated in a 33-year civil war. Pollock and several other academics argue that these political party affiliations have established persistent core identities.[31]

The elites of both the liberal and the conservative parties drew the poor, who were required to fight, into the civil war and also backed the elites' political aims; as a result, the two parties evolved into multi-class parties dominated by the elites.[32] The civil war is difficult to characterise, because, as Sanchez argues, it lacks a single description since academics' study it from several perspectives: narco-war, dirty war, guerrilla war, the president's war, and the bandits' war.[33] Between 1899 and 1903, Berquist refers to the conflict as the 'great battle of a thousand days.'[34]

With the signing of a peace deal in 1902, the 'War of a Thousand Days' came to an end. As a result of this peace accord, Colombia eventually had forty years of peace. Forty years later, in the second half of the 1940s, there was an outbreak of violence.[35] This period is known as 'La Violencia' and spans from 1948 to 1966. According to Pollock, the number of political violence-related deaths indicated that it was the most violent era in Colombia's history.[36]

The parties to the Colombian conflict quickly recognised the need to counterbalance the majority of the men in the negotiation process with a greater presence of women. In addition, the development of Gender Commissions and other women's organisations to implement the final peace accords supported the Colombian peace process by setting a path that may lead to a durable peace. This gender dynamic increased women's involvement in the peace process and this war has caused a serious trauma to women, who were the principal victims of the violence that followed the

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[31]   Catherine C. LeGrand, 'The Colombian Crisis from a Historical Perspective' (2003) 28(52-53) *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 165–209; John C Pollock, 'Politics and Elite Performance: The Political Sociology of La Violence,' (1975) 10(22-50) *Studies in Comparative International Development*.

[32]   James Erwin Sanders, *Contentious Republicans: Popular Politics, Race, and Class in Nineteenth-Century Southwestern Colombia, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses* (Pittsburgh: The University of Pittsburgh, 2000) iv; R. J. Stoller, 'Liberalism and Conflict in Socorro, Colombia, 1830-1870' (Duke University, 1991) 4.

[33]   Gonzalo Sanchez, 'Problems of Violence, Prospects for Peace' in *Bergquist, Charles, Peñaranda, Ricardo and Gonzalo Sanchez. Violence in Colombia, 1990-2000: Waging War and Negotiating Peace* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001) 19.

[34]   Charles Bergquist, *Coffee and Conflict in Colombia, 1886-1910* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1978).

[35]   LeGrand, (no 31) 171–172.

[36]   Pollock, (no 31) 22–23.

trends of violent conflicts.[37] After decades of struggle, women in Colombia today enjoy a wide range of rights. Policymakers in Colombia make many efforts to initiate peace discussions involving women.

As a consequence of political changes, which constitute one of the most essential tools, a new constitution was drafted in 1991 under the leadership of President César Gaviria. The bloody combat persisted despite this effort. Although several guerrilla groups had signed peace accords with the government, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), the largest guerrilla group, and a portion of the National Liberation Army (ELN), the second largest guerrilla group, were still fighting against the government.[38] The 1991 constitution and subsequent legislative instruments recognised women's rights, criminalised their violation, and prohibited gender-based violence. Thus, women participated actively in the political process.[39]

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) approved Resolution 1325 in 2000, which, among other things, encourages women's participation in peacebuilding, peace negotiation, peacekeeping, and conflict prevention.[40] This resolution might have inspired Colombian women to participate actively in the political process. Women's participation in peace negotiations may be argued to be vital, not due to their peaceful dispositions or victimisation in most of violent circumstances, but because they have a stake in the conflict and its resolution.[41]

In addition, while women have the same rights as men to participate in social issues, neglecting their contribution, capacities, and commitment to the peace process is a sign of bad planning, illustrating how degraded a society that marginalises women's involvement may be.[42] Therefore, it is the responsibility of women to campaign for these rights and persuade society, authorities, and influential voices of the necessity of a crucial role in women's participation. Women in Colombia were successful

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[37] Virginia Marie Bouvier, Gender and the Role of Women in Colombia's Peace Process (Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 2016) 3–7; Fabio Andres Diaz Pabón, Transitional Justice and the 'Colombian Peace Process' in Truth, Justice and Reconciliation in Colombia (Routledge, 2018).

[38] Bouvier (no 37); LeGrand (no 31).

[39] Bouvier(no 37) 12.

[40] UN-OSAGI, 'Landmark Resolution on Women, Peace and Security' (Undated) *Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women.*

[41] Kimberly Theidon, 'Peace in Colombia' (2016) 778 (115) *Current History* 51–56.

[42] Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, *Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters* (Lynne Rienner Publication, 2007) 3-4.

in persuading both negotiators and relevant parties to increase the space for female involvement and engagement in the Colombian peace process.[43]

As peacemakers, offenders, and victims, Colombian women were involved in the country's civil conflict in three distinct ways. Despite all of this, they were noticeably absent from the initial round of high-level negotiations.[44] Few women engaged in the negotiating process during these early eras (1990–1994 and 1998–2000). These women fought for enhanced inclusion of women in the negotiation process. Both the FARC and the government were involved in these uncommon female actions.[45] This agitation and yearning for increased engagement had enormous impacts on women as well as on society.

In the year 2000, women organised a public hearing in the town of Caguan, with the National Negotiation of Women, the Association of Indigenous, Afro-Colombian, and Peasant Women of Colombia being the majority of organizational participants. Six hundred (600) female participants discussed several economic and employment-related issues. During this summit, women once again demanded a stronger presence at the peace table, a larger role for women's movements in the negotiation process, and more visibility for gender equality. This facet of women's mobilisation ushered in innovation marked by creativity, symbolism, and rituals, which brighten the chances for women influence in Colombian peace process.[46]

The efforts of these women's pressure groups bore fruit, culminating in the 2001 founding of 'Coalition 1325' by a network of women's organisations trying to monitor the implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 in the Colombian peace process. Again, this coalition supplemented the work of Mujeres por la Paz; this initiative is a coalition through which petitions for the inclusion of women were made. When the negotiations between President Pastrana and the FARC broke down in 2002, twenty-five thousand (25,000) women organised a rally to demand more space. Their aims included, but not limited to, developing acts that would contribute to the attainment of peace and social justice, monitoring and managing the peace process, and ensuring the inclusion of women in the peace process.[47]

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[43] Anamaria Trujillo-Gomez, *The Role of Women in Peacebuilding in Colombia* (Georgetown University, 2013) 55.

[44] Ibid, iii.

[45] Bouvier (no 37) 17.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Céspedes-Báez, Lina M., and Felipe Jaramillo Ruiz, '"Peace without Women Does Not Go!" Women's Struggle for Inclusion in Colombia's Peace Process with the FARC' (2018) 94 *Colombia Internacional* 83–109; Trujillo-Gomez (no 43) 55

These acts led the national power elites and all negotiation parties to expand women's participation in the peace process. The success of the campaign to restore peace to the victims, the majority of whom are women throughout the country, was attributable to the unwavering determination of the women and the assistance of international allies such as the UN-Women. The Women for Peace National Summit in October 2013 was an additional key milestone in the women's movement. This was founded by nine Colombian women's organisations spanning a range of demographics.[48]

The inclusion of women on President Juan Manuel Santos's national negotiating team was more proof of the women's efforts. In addition, two women were selected as plenipotentiaries (representatives).[49] To boost the participation of women in the negotiating process, the administration formed the 'Gender Sub-commission'. Additionally, there were ten (10) members on this committee (five from the FARC and five from the government side). This gender sub-commission partnered with the director of UN Women, Belen Sanz, between March 2014 and March 2016 to organise the women and their recommendations for the negotiating table.[50] Colombian women have been heavily active in all phases, significantly contributing to the development of the road to peace.

Again, at the level of civil society, Colombian women participated and advanced the peace process by participating in several civil society conferences, working groups (mesas de Trabajo regionales) in all nine Colombian regions, and research initiatives, as well as by influencing public opinion, supporting negotiated solutions, organising inputs, and building their capacity to engage in the peace and negotiation process.[51]

According to Bourvier, between 40 and 50 per cent of Colombian women engaged in the working group; their ideas were synthesised and made available to the Havana negotiators, and they actively participated in the discussions.[52] This experience translates to what Henshaw (2020) describes as 'peace with a woman's face.' Women's participation in the Colombian peace process motivated them to highlight their significance in a peace accord that can end a protracted conflict that has decimated society, such as the Colombian government's fight with the FARC group.

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[48] Bouvier (no 37) 20.
[49] Céspedes-Báez, Lina M., and Felipe Jaramillo Ruiz (no 47)
[50] Ibid (no 47) 97; Kristian Herbolzheimer, *Innovations in the Colombian Peace Process* (NOREF, Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre, 2016) 6.
[51] Bouvier = (no 37) 19–20.
[52] Ibid, 19–20.

The Accountability System:
The Colombia Special Jurisdiction for Peace

A society that has endured mass atrocities and major violations of human rights find it difficult to maintain lasting peace even after a war has ended. It is essential to listen to victims, extract confessions from perpetrators, investigate crimes, and regain the trust of many members of society. These objectives can be achieved by instituting an efficient system of 'transitional justice.' On November 24, 2016, the Havana-Bogota peace agreement established a system of 'transitional justice' between the Colombian government and the FARC.[53]

According to the report by the Human Right Watch,[54] and the International Center for Transitional Justice's website,[55] several mechanisms were previously established to address crimes and violent actions and ensure that there were consequences for such actions. In 2005, legislation addressing 'justice and peace' was passed to prohibit violent behaviour, and in 2011, a second law was enacted to provide victims with complete restitution. The transitional justice process in Colombia entails the establishment of a 'Comprehensive System of Truth, Justice, Reparation, and Non-Repetition.'[56]

In September 2015, the Colombian government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) reached an agreement on the fifth item on their agenda: care for victims. The agreement on institutions of transitional justice to preserve victims' rights to justice, truth, and recompense marked the conclusion of the most difficult period of the three-year peace negotiations. It led to the establishment of the Integral System of Truth, Justice, Reparation, and Non-Repetition (SIVJRNR), a set of mechanisms designed to guarantee the rights of victims to truth, justice, repara-

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[53] Mustafa Erçakıca, 'La Havana-Bogota Peace Agreement and the Transitional Justice in Colombia' (2022) 7(14) *Comparative Cultural Studies-European and Latin American Perspectives* 125–38; Cynthia E. Cohen, 'Reimagining Transitional Justice' (2020) 14(1) *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 1–13.

[54] Human Right Watch (2022)*: Rights trends in Colombia, Human Rights Watch. Available at: https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2022/country-chapters/colombia (Accessed: 21 May 2023).

[55] International Center for Transitional Justice, 'Colombia', available at https://www.ictj.org/location/colombia (last accessed: 21 May 2023).

[56] Erçakıca, 'La Havana-Bogota Peace Agreement and the Transitional Justice in Colombia'; Olasolo Hector and Ramirez Mendoza, *The Colombian Integrated System of Truth, Justice, Reparation and Non-Repetition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Pabón (no 37).

tion, and non-repetition, as stipulated in the Agreement for the End of the Conflict and to Build a Stable and Lasting Peace.[57]

According to Olasolo and Ramirez, the Agreement focused on six interrelated issues to be addressed: rural development, political engagement, cessation of hostilities and disarmament, illegal narcotics, victims, and implementation procedures. The Agreement, which finally led to the establishment of an Integrated System of Truth, Justice, Reparation, and Non-Repetition, established judicial and non-judicial mechanisms, including (i) amnesty and pardon for FARC members and special treatment for state officials; (ii) a Truth Commission; (iii) a Special Jurisdiction for Peace; (iv) measures to provide comprehensive reparation for victims; and (v) additional measures. These processes cannot be individually evaluated. Each element of the agreement is an attempt to give a comprehensive response to the victims of the Colombian armed conflict.[58]

The Havana peace accord in 2017 led the government of Juan Manuel Santos and the FARC rebel movement to decide to form the Colombia Special Jurisdiction for Peace (in Spanish: Jurisdicción Especial para la Paz, abbreviated: JEP), which was implemented in November 2016 by the Colombian government and FARC.[59] Technically, the JEP is a component of the Comprehensive System for Truth, Justice, Reparation, and Non-Repetition.[60] It is a system of accountability since it will be charged with defining and punishing measures taken against direct or indirect violators and perpetrators of human rights crimes committed during the war.[61]

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[57] Comisión de la Verdad, The Integral System of Truth, Justice, Reparation and Non-Repetition – SIV-JRNR|. Available at: https://comisionverdadcol-eu.org/en/multimedia/integral-system-of-truth-justice-reparation-and-non-repetition-sivjrnr/ (Accessed: 21 May 2023); Comisión de la Verdad , Integral system, Integral System | Nodos Europa – Comisión de la Verdad. Available at: https://comisionverdad-col-eu.org/en/sistema-integral/ (Accessed: 21 May 2023).

[58] Olasolo Hector and Ramirez Mendoza (no 56).

[59] Omur Bakiner, "The Comprehensive System of Truth, Justice, Reparation, and Non-Repetition: Precedents and Prospects," in *As War Ends: What Colombia Can Tell Us about the Sustainability of Peace and Transitional Justice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

[60] Brian Harper and Holly K. Sonneland, *Explainer: Colombia's Special Jurisdiction for Peace (JEP)* (Americas Society/Council of the Americas, 2018).

[61] CNN Spanish, ¿Qué Es y Por Qué Es Tan Importante La Jurisdicción Especial Para La Paz En Colombia?,' CNN Spanish (2017) ¿Qué es y por qué es tan importante la jurisdicción especial para la paz en Colombia? What is it and *why is the Special Jurisdiction for Peace in Colombia so important? (auto-translated), CNN*, 2017, https://cnnespanol.cnn.com/2017/03/15/que-es-y-por-que-es-tan-importante-la-jurisdiccion-especial-para-la-paz-en-colombia/(Accessed: 21 May 2023).

According to Yoshida and Céspedes-Báez, the Havana peace pact covers a broad variety of subjects. Point five of the peace agreements between the FARC rebels and the Colombian government dealt with victim compensation and established a 'complete system of truth, justice, reparation, and non-repetition'.[62] The establishment of a judicial body, the JEP, to examine political offences and provide reparation for violations of human rights and humanitarian law committed before December 1, 2016, that were directly or indirectly related to the conflict is a commendable stride. This is one-of-a-kind forum that facilitated the adjudication of environmental damages related to the experiences of women and men during armed conflict.[63]

JEP commenced operations in March 2018 and has given priority to several sexual and gender-based crimes. Cyprus may benefit from this legal system if the Cyprus problem is resolved. This plan will increase the level of trust and confidence among the various Cypriot groups, both inside and outside the borders of Cyprus. Unquestionably, this will pave the way for the construction and planning of a future that Cypriots may wish to experience.

The Cyprus Peace Process and Women's Involvement

The origins of the 'Cyprus conflict' may be traced back to the invasion of the island of Cyprus by the Ottoman Empire in 1571, when the Turks first set foot on the island. Some researchers have linked the origins of the war to British colonial control from 1878 until independence in 1960.[64] Also, the early 20th-century British tactic of 'divide and rule' following World War I.[65] Through this tactic, the Greek Cypriots were replaced by the Turkish Cypriots as an auxiliary police force to wage a campaign against the leaders and members of Ethnikí Orgánosis Kipriakoú Agónos (EOKA).[66] Therefore, the direct cause of the 1963 outbreak of violence may have been the '1960 constitution' that established the 'Republic of Cyprus'.[67] This was shown even more by the fact that the island of Cyprus has been split in half since 1964 because of fight-

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[62] Keina Yoshida and Lina M. Céspedes-Baéz, 'The Nature of Women, Peace and Security: A Colombian Perspective,' (2021) 97(1) *International Affairs* 17–34.

[63] Ibid, 32.

[64] Adamantia Pollis, 'Intergroup Conflict and British Colonial Policy' (1973) 5(4) *Comparative Politics* 575–99.

[65] Maria Hadjipavlou, 'The Cyprus Conflict: Root Causes and Implications for Peacebuilding' (2007) 44(3) *Journal of Peace Research* 349–65.

[66] Glen D. Camp, 'Greek-Turkish Conflict over Cyprus' (1980) 95(1) *Political Science Quarterly* 43–70.

[67] James M. Boyd, 'Cyprus: Episode in Peacekeeping' (1966) 20(1) *International Organization* 1–17.

ing between different groups, a coup in the Greek Cypriot community, and the Turkish invasion of 1974.[68]

Since 1974, Cyprus has witnessed several efforts by stakeholder groups to settle the internecine and persistent societal problems that appear to defy traditional conflict resolution techniques. In 1974, during the era of the Turkish invasion that ushered in a dramatic change of events, settlement discussions were suspended and expectations for prolonged negotiations, at least for a unified solution, were destroyed. In 1983, North Cyprus unilaterally declared its independence as 'the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus,' bringing an end to the ongoing peace discussions ('TRNC'). This research concurs with the assertion that the unilateral proclamation of independence in Cyprus initiated the peace process. It did not take more than a year from the start of reunification talks until the TRNC declared independence.[69]

This initial round of discussions to reunite the island led by Rauf Denktash and Spyros Kyprianou under the auspices of the United Nations failed.[70] In 1986, Javier Perez de Cuellar, then-Secretary General of the United Nations, proposed a framework agreement that was eventually abandoned by the two presidents. In 1989, discussions resumed with the United Nations Secretary-General, who suggested he would facilitate the abandoned framework. This was rejected by Denktash and the head of the New Greek Cypriots; Glafcos Clerides likewise showed little interest.[71]

To reunite the island, Kofi Annan, the then secretary-general of the United Nations, proposed what was later to be called the Annan Plan (2002–2004). This was a comprehensive plan released on April 24, 2004, and was widely supported around the world, allowing each community to organise its referendum. The conclusion indicated that Turkish Cypriots preferred a bi-communal and bi-zonal power structure and a 'loose federalism' (where major institutions would come under a federal unit arrangement). Greek Cypriots, on the other hand, viewed the bi-communal and bi-zonal power structures differently, preferring a 'tight federation' in which the federal institution would be as dominant as possible.[72]

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[68] Faustmann, Hubert, and James Ker-Lindsay, The Origins and Development of the Cyprus Issue' in *Ker-Lindsay, James/Faustmann, Hubert (Hg.): The Government and Politics of Cyprus* (Oxford, 2009) 63-66.

[69] Faustmann and Ker-Lindsay; James Ker-Lindsay, 'Social and Historical Background' in *The Cyprus Problem: What Everyone Needs to Know* (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc, 2011) 1–28.

[70] Ker-Lindsay (no 69) British Pathe, 'President Kyprianou And Turkish-Cypriot Leader Rauf Denktash Begin Separate Talks At United Nations' British Pathe, 2021.

[71] Ker-Lindsay (no 69) 54–55."

[72] Ibid.

The absence of social objective and purpose agreement among the two communities and their leaders (Tassos Papadopoulos and Rauf Denktash) contributed to the plan's bad reception.[73] The rejection of this comprehensive solution was a setback in the decades-long effort to bring peace to Cyprus,[74] and Rauf Denktash remained the chief negotiator for the Turkish Cypriots even after he lost the election to the opposition party led by Mehmet Ali Talat.[75]

The 2006 peace discussions were launched on a new basis, and both communities demanded that the peace and negotiating procedures be localised. This suggested that the Cypriots themselves would lead the peace discussions and that the United Nations could only function as a facilitator rather than a main third-party arbitrator. As a result, specialists organised a variety of working groups and technical committees to advise the negotiators. The two conflicting parties established separate working groups to give technical assistance in a variety of areas, including governance and power sharing, EU concerns, property, territory, economics, security, and citizenship.[76] By 2008, both the Greek Cypriot community and the Turkish Cypriot community had new leaders: Dimitris Christofias and Mehmet Ali Talat, respectively. They decided to recommence the peace process, which lasted until 2011. Before that, in 2010, a new leadership developed in the Turkish Cypriot community under Dervis Eroglu, and negotiations proceeded until early 2011 when the peace process once again failed.[77]

To address the concerns of culture, education, and gender equality, committees titled 'committees on culture, education, and gender equality' were formed after 2015.[78] By 2017, a peace process had begun in Crans-Montana. However, like all previous peace discussions about Cyprus, it was fruitless. Antonio Guterres, the Secretary General of the United Nations, Nicos Anastasiades, the Greek Cypriot president, Mustafa Akinci, the Turkish Cypriot leader; Mevlut Cavusoglu, the Turkish Foreign Minister, and Nicos Kotzias, the Greek Foreign Minister, were among the partici-

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[73] Sözen, Ahmet, and Kudret Özersay, 'The Annan Plan: State Succession or Continuity' (2007) 43(1) *Middle Eastern Studies* 125–41; Neophytos Loizides and John McGarry, 'The 2002-04 Annan Plan in Cyprus: An Attempted UN-Mediated Constitutional Transition' *ConstitutionNet*, 2019; Ker-Lindsay (no 69).

[74] Amaral (no 16).

[75] Ker-Lindsay, (no 69) 63.

[76] Demetriou, Olga and Maria Hadjipavlou, 'The Impact of Women's Activism on the Peace Negotiations in Cyprus' (2018) 24(1) *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 50–65.

[77] Ker-Lindsay (no 69) 75–77.

[78] Demetriou, Olga and Maria Hadjipavlou (no 76).

pants to thefailed talks.[79] UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres has organised a five-plus one (5+1) informal meeting for April 27–29, 2021, to continue discussions on resolving the situation. The purpose of the conference, which was to determine if Greek and Turkish Cypriots would discuss a long-term settlement in the future, was not accomplished.[80]

By establishing 'Hands Across the Divide' (HAD) in 2001 and voicing requests for involvement in the peace process through this bi-communal, non-governmental, and non-partisan groups, Cypriot women have expressed their voices for participation. This organisation aimed, among other things, to arrange seminars on conflict resolution, assist with peace-related concerns, and create public awareness of gender equality issues.[81] In the past, there was no autonomous women's movement or feminist women's organisation in Cyprus that was not linked with political parties that had a male-centric view of politics and viewed gender issues as less essential to address. As Maria Hadjipavlou emphasises, the founding of HAD represents the first attempt by women in Cyprus to establish an autonomous association unaffiliated with political parties.[82]

The second women's organisation, the Gender Advisory Team (GAT), was founded in 2009 and consists of activists and academics from both communities. The main objective of both parties is to integrate gender concerns into the Cyprus peace process through the UNSC Resolution 1325. GAT provided specific recommendations to the United Nations and the general public about government, property, the economy, and citizenship.[83] In 2015, gender focal points were introduced to the teams of negotiators, and in 2018, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs recruited a gender specialist to support a feminist foreign policy. It may be difficult to implement UNSC resolution 1325 since there are insufficient resources and no national action plan.[84]

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[79] Tom Miles, 'Cyprus Reunification Talks Collapse, U.N. Chief "Very Sorry"' 2017; J. Christou, 'The Peace Processes: 2017 Crans-Montana' *Cyprus Mail*, 2019.

[80] Anadolu Agency, '5+1 Cyprus Talks Start at the UN in Geneva' 2021; United Nations, 'Secretary-General's Press Conference Following the Informal 5+1 Meeting on Cyprus' *United Nations*, 2021.

[81] Maria Hadjipavlou and B. Mertan, 'Cypriot Feminism: An Opportunity to Challenge Gender Inequalities and Promote Women's Rights and a Different Voice' (22)(2) *Cyprus Review* 247–68; Anna Agathangelou, 'Envisioning a Feminist Global Society: Cypriot Women, Civil Society and Social Change' (2003) 5(2) *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 5 290–99, .

[82] Hadjipavlou (no 10) 337."

[83] Hadjipavlou and Mertan (no 81); Badulescu (no 7).

[84] Ibid

Since 2010, the reports of the United Nations Secretary-General (UNSG) on Cyprus have advocated for the participation of women, youth, and civil society in the peace process. Based on Maria Hadjipavlou's comments, UNSG Antonio Guterres stated on October 8 that 'if women had been present at the negotiation table in Crans Montana in 2017, the discussions between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots may not have failed' (an excerpt from the interview conducted by Christiana Lavinia Badulescu.[85]

The presence of women at the negotiation table during peace discussions and peace agreements increases the likelihood of lasting peace, at least 15 years by 35 per cent, argues.[86] In addition, the greater the gender equality in a society, the lower the likelihood of violent conflict occurring. This has been demonstrated and proven by the proponents of gender-equality, especially considering the fact that women's participation is crucial to the success of the peace process. However, women working behind the scenes, in the background of the Cyprus war, are typically unseen.[87] This further demonstrates that women have not participated in the high-level negotiations in Cyprus. Even when they are participating, it is frequently behind closed doors or behind the scenes. Their visibility is quite low in comparison to that of Colombian women.

Women's Involvement in the Colombian Peace Process and Lessons for Cypriot Women

The academic cycle has not given sufficient emphasis to the role of women in Cyprus' negotiations and the peace process, particularly their participation at the table of high-level negotiations. The knowledge gathered from this paper's analysis of Colombian women's participation in the negotiation and peace process is valuable for promoting a novel and innovative approach to incorporating women in the next round of negotiations. In both nations' negotiating and peace processes, several significant occurrences resemble one another. In the same breath, there are several differences between the two experiences. This distinction, especially in terms of the role and involvement of women, will serve as an essential lesson for future events, hopefully leading to a peaceful future in Cyprus.

The absence of women in the first phases of both peace efforts is a significant commonality. Independent women's groups applied pressure on the political system

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[85]   Ibid
[86]   Ibid
[87]   Ibid

for involvement; they had to organise and lobby for inclusion before the gradual creation of a space for their participation. Despite this, participation rates and levels in the two nations varied greatly. For example, Colombian women participated more actively and were able to influence public opinion; they supported the negotiated solution, organised inputs, and developed their capacity to participate in peace and high-level negotiation processes. In the case of Cyprus, the political sphere and civil society have remained predominately male-dominated sectors in terms of future decision-making.[88]

Similarly, the engagement and efforts of women in the Cyprus conflict peace process are comparable to those of women in Colombia. Cypriot women efforts yielded fewer results comparatively, as they resulted in the formation of the Technical Committee on Gender Equality and the gender focal person assigned to the negotiating teams. The women of Cyprus have also been engaged in numerous working groups and civic organisations. Yet, the Cyprus women are not represented on the highest level of the negotiation table.

Variations in the Backgrounds and Conflict Settings in Colombia and Cyprus, and the Roles of Women in the Peace Process

The Colombian war began as a party battle between the Liberals and the Conservatives and then expanded into a complicated conflict involving several paramilitary groups. The Cyprus dispute matches the narrative of an ethnic war since it involves two large ethnic groups, the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, and one major ethnic group's political, economic, and social dominance over the other. There are similarities between the political settings of Colombia and Cyprus in terms of a sense of unity. In Colombia, nationalism remained exceedingly weak, and similarly, nationalism in Cyprus has seemed quite weak. Thus, it has been challenging for women to significantly influence public opinion, particularly in Cyprus. Cypriot women have not participated in as many high-level discussions as Colombian women have. Women are represented at the highest level of negotiations in Colombia. In the case of Cypriot women, no representation at the table of high-level negotiations has been granted to women.

In addition to their persistent desire for a seat at the peace table, Colombian women have been active, confrontational, and an integral component of the conflict dynamics. It is estimated that 40 percent of FARC members were female. Women in

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[88] Cockburn (no 9)142-143.

Colombia applied pressure on the government and the FARC (the largest and most powerful guerrilla group), resulting in the establishment of an all-female Gender Sub-Commission to emphasise the gender factor. With the establishment of negotiating teams and the commencement of the negotiation process, women were able to engage in high-level peace negotiations that were previously exclusively reserved for men. Before leaving the negotiation table, women's organisations were able to exert pressure on the government and the FARC to sign an agreement for women's participation. In addition, Colombian women engaged in civil society conferences, women-dominated working groups, and research projects.[89] With the assistance of UN Women, the Colombian women's recommendations were made accessible to the negotiators in advance of the Havana peace discussions.

Moreover, Colombian women were able to advocate for political solutions and participate in peace discussions.[90] These measures and efforts were crucial in creating the basis for discussions in Havana, Cuba. In 2016, a peace agreement brought an end to the protracted battle between the government and the FARC.[91] In November 2021, the United States formally withdrew the FARC from its list of terrorist organisations, marking a significant step forward in Colombia's efforts to achieve lasting peace. United States Secretary of State Antony Blinken believes that eliminating the terrorist classification will make it simpler for the United States to support the 2016 peace accord.[92]

The role Colombian women played and continue to play in the country's political climate has cleared the path for Ingrid Betancourt Pulecio to become the country's first female presidential candidate. She is recognised as an anti-corruption crusad-

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[89] María Elvira Guerra-Cújar et al., 'A Peace Baby Boom? Evidence from Colombia's Peace Agreement. Evidence from Colombia's Peace Agreement' (2022) *SSRN Electronic Journal*, available at https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3695131 (Accessed: 21 May 2023); Lina M. Céspedes-Báez, 'A (Feminist) Farewell to Arms: The Impact of the Peace Process with the FARC-EP on Colombian Feminism' (2019) 52(1) *Cornell International Law Journal* 39–63; Francisco Gutiérrez Sanín and Francy Carranza Franco, 'Organizing Women for Combat: The Experience of the FARC in the Colombian War' (2017) 17(4) *Journal of Agrarian Change* 770–78.

[90] Yoshida and Céspedes-Baéz (no 62); Bouvier (no 37)

[91] Human Rights Watch, 'Colombia Event of 2019' 2020.

[92] Aljazeera, 'US Lifts Colombia's FARC 'foreign Terrorist' Designation' *Aljazeera* (2021), available at https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/11/30/us-lifts-colombias-farc-foreign-terrorist-designation (Accessed: 21 May 2023).

er who backed the 2016 peace agreement that ended Latin America's longest civil conflict.[93]

Women's organisations in Cyprus have been effective in raising awareness about the gender narrative and gender sensitivity. However, there is a disparity because women in Cyprus have used Resolution 1325 of the UN Security Council less frequently than women in Colombia. Therefore, Cypriot women have not engaged in negotiations at the highest level, but they have been active in the technical unit and behind closed doors. This report highlights the need for the effective invocation of UNSC Resolution 1325 currently. This international law should be incorporated into the national political and economic systems. It should be a priority and a central element of the national peace process agenda. This will increase the legal influence of Cypriot women as they continue to strive for greater representation and involvement. Women from Cyprus should be given a prominent position at the negotiating table, and their participation in high-level representation should be highlighted. Even though we suggest the Colombian model be emulated by their Cyprus counterparts, this research, acknowledges that the Colombia approach has its challenges. This limitation is a result of the fact that a portion of the guerrilla group's struggle with the government has not been totally settled, and there is still a degree of fighting around the country. Since the Colombian experience with women's active engagement has been highly effective, the Colombian model should be utilised, but in the context of Cyprus' social, cultural, and historical experiences.

Conclusion

The Cyprus peace process and the numerous breakdowns of discussions are a significant cause of concern for the international community, the nations of the Mediterranean, and Cyprus itself. This article shares this concern and compares and analyses the peace and negotiation processes in Colombia and Cyprus appropriately. There are similarities, especially in the early stages of the wars, when women's participation is stifled. The engagement of women as stakeholder groups was not the outcome of a planned governmental policy decision but rather the consequence of the advocacy of autonomous women's groups. Despite these similarities, there are notable differences: the experiences of Colombian women appear to be richer, and they enjoy the more vigorous engagement. In this regard, the women of Cyprus and the power elite

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[93] Joseph Contreras, 'Once Kidnapped by the FARC, Now Aiming for Colombia's Presidency' (2022)*Aljazeera News* (2022), available at https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/2/15/once-kidnapped-by-the-farc-now-aiming-for-colombias-presidency (Accessed: 21 May 2023).

of Cyprus have much to learn from their Colombian counterparts. Women in Cyprus should participate in the negotiation and peace process not only because they are peaceful and will likely promote a peaceful negotiated settlement, but also because they are key stakeholders in the negotiation and peace process and have the same rights to do so as their male counterparts.

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