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EFFECT OF CONTEXT AND PROCESS ON SUCCESS OF INTERNATIONAL MEDIATION: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MEDIATION EFFORTS IN CYPRUS AND NORTHERN IRELAND CONFLICTS

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ABSTRACT

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Keywords: International Mediation, Determinants of Success, Conflict in Cyprus, Conflict in Northern Ireland, Contingency Model of Mediation, Kofi Annan, George Mitchell

The aim of the thesis is to explore the determinants of success in international mediation. While trying to answer the question of "what determinants affected the success or failure of international mediation in Cyprus and Northern Ireland conflicts?" a comparative case study method was used. George Mitchell's mediation effort in Northern Ireland as a success and Kofi Annan's mediation effort in Cyprus as a failure were compared under the Contingency Model of Mediation. Eight hypotheses which were put forward by Jacob Bercovitch and his colleagues after their quantitative study of 284 international mediation attempts were tested on these two cases.

While making this comparative case study research, a triangulated data collection method was used. Firstly, various forms of documentary information were analyzed which include academic articles, evaluations of the same topic, books written on the topic. Secondly, focused interviews were conducted with NGO representatives, academics, policy makers and other experts on the issues. Lastly, two field trips were made to Cyprus and Northern Ireland

during which direct observations were made for a better understanding of historical and behavioral factors affecting the process.

The findings show that both of the cases meet the highest possibility of success only on three of the variables (out of eight) which are regime types, issues and strategies of the mediator. According to this conclusion, theoretically both of the mediation attempts are expected to be unsuccessful. However, in reality, one of them was successful while the other was not. Therefore, the determinants of success put forward by Bercovitch were not enough to explain the success of George Mitchell and failure of Kofi Annan. In last part of the thesis, additional determinants which were potentially affected the outcome of the mediation attempts in these two cases were listed. More research is needed to understand whether or not these additional determinants are effective on outcome of other international mediation efforts.

ÖZET

İÇERİK VE SÜRECİN ULUSLARARASI ARABULUCULUĞUN BAŞARISI ÜZERİNDEKİ ETKİSİ: KIBRIS VE KUZEY İRLANDA'DAKİ ARABULUCULUK GİRİŞİMLERİNİN KARŞILAŞTIRMASI

ONUR ŞEN

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Dr. Doğa Ulaş Eralp

Anahtar Kelimeler: Uluslararası Arabuluculuk, Başarıyı Belirleyici Faktörler, Kıbrıs Uyuşmazlığı, Kuzey İrlanda Uyuşmazlığı, Arabuluculuk Koşullu Modeli, Kofi Annan, George Mitchell

Bu tezin amacı uluslararası arabuluculuğun başarısına etki eden faktörleri araştırmaktır. "Kıbrıs ve Kuzey İrlanda uyuşmazlıklarındaki uluslararası arabuluculuğun başarısını etkileyen faktörler nelerdir?" sorusuna cevap ararken, karşılaştırmalı durum çalışması methodu kullanılmıştır. George Mitchell'in Kuzey İrlanda'daki arabuluculuğunun başarısı ve Kofi Annan'ın Kıbrıs'taki başarısızlığı Arabuluculuk Koşullu Modeli kapsamında incelenmiştir. Jacob Bercovitch ve arkadaşlarının 284 uluslararası arabuluculuk girişimini nicel bir şekilde inceleyip ortaya attıkları sekiz hipotez bu iki durum üzerinde test edilmiştir.

Bu karşılaştırmalı durum araştırmasını yaparken üçlü bir bilgi toplama methodu kullanılmıştır. Öncelikle, akademik makaleler, aynı konunu değerlendirmeleri, konu üzerine yazılmış kitaplar gibi çeşitli belgeler incelenmiştir. İkinci olarak, Sivil toplum kuruluşları temsilcileri, akademisyenler, karar alıcı pozisyondaki kişiler ve konu üzerindeki diğer uzmanlarla mülakatlar yapılmıştır. Son olarak da, süreci etkileyen tarihi ve davranışsal

faktörleri daha iyi kavrayabilmek için direk gözlem yapmak amacıyla Kıbrıs ve Kuzey İrlanda'ya birer saha gezisi düzenlenmiştir.

Araştırma sonuçlarına göre, her iki durumda siyasal sistem, konular ve arabulucunun stratejileri olmak üzere üç faktörlerde (sekiz taneden) en yüksek başarı oranını sağlayan grupta yer alıyor. Bu sonuca göre, teorik olarak her iki girişimin de başarısız olması beklenir. Halbuki, gerçekte biri başarılıyken diğeri başarısızdır. Sonuç olarak, Bercovitch'in ortaya attığı başarıyı etkileyen faktörler, George Mitchell'in başarısını ve Kofi Annan'ın başarısızlığını açıklamaya yetmiyor. Tezin son bölümünde, söz konusu iki arabuluculuk girişiminin sonucunu muhtemel olarak etkilemiş olan ek faktörler ortaya atılmıştır. Bu ek faktörlerin diğer uluslararası arabuluculuk girişimlerinde de etkili olup olmadığını anlamak için daha fazla araştırmaya gerek duyulmaktadır.

To my family, for everything…

In memory of my brother in law Mahmut Aktaş…

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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INTRODUCTION

The aim of this research is to explore the determinants of success in international mediation. The literature on international mediation has been trying to find a formula to explain the outcomes of international mediation efforts. "What determines the success or failure of mediation" has been the questions which the scholars in the field constantly asked themselves. However, although there is considerable number of studies on this topic, the researchers have not found a major theory to explain the outcome of international mediation. The complex nature of mediation and specific characteristics of each conflict make it even more difficult to find a common pattern between various cases.

Knowing the need for more focused case studies, I choose to analyze mediation efforts of Kofi Annan in Cyprus conflict and George Mitchell in Northern Ireland conflict. I believe that an in-depth analysis of these two well-known international mediation attempts will yield important results for a better understanding of the determinants of success in international mediation. The two cases are very similar in many aspects (such as both being on an ethnically divided island, similar number of fatalities, similar time period of conflicts and mediation efforts...) with a major difference at the outcome. By looking at a successful and an unsuccessful case of international mediation, I will try to explore what determines the success or failure of mediation.

While analyzing the cases, the Contingency Model of Mediation which was proposed by Jacob Bercovitch in 1991 was used. The context and process variables he proposed were taken as independent variables of the research. The outcome of the international mediation was the dependent variable. His hypotheses, which he reached by quantitatively studying 284 mediation attempts, were tested on Cyprus and Northern Ireland cases. The aim was to understand whether these determinants were enough to understand the success of George Mitchell and failure of Kofi Annan.

In doing such a comparative case study research, in order to have triangulated results, data was collected from multiple sources. Academic and newspaper articles, books and memories of mediators, internet resources were used as documentary information. Interviews

with academics, NGO representatives and some other influential people of the communities were conducted. Lastly, two field trips to Northern Ireland and to Cyprus were made for direct observations during the data collection process.

To better understand the necessity of this research and the Contingency Model of Mediation, the thesis will start with a literature review on international mediation. Short histories of the two conflicts are also necessary before the analysis of the cases. It will be followed by separate analysis of the Cyprus and Northern Ireland cases respectively according to the hypotheses of Bercovitch. Lastly, cross-case conclusions will be reported and the main question of what determined the success and failure of international mediation in Cyprus and Northern Ireland will be answered.

CHAPTER 1

LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1 Definitions of Mediation

International mediation – *"a form of conflict management in which a third party assists two or more contending parties to find a solution without resorting to force* (Kleiboer, 1996)", has a longer history in practice. Managing conflicts through intermediaries has a rich history in Western and non-Western cultures (Gulliver, 1979). For Bercovitch (1984), mediation is almost as common as conflict itself in the international arena where there are perennial challenges of escalating conflicts, an anarchical society and the absence of any generally accepted rules of the game. Mediation is used in international relations when: *"(1) disputes are long, drawn out and complex; (2) the disputants'' own conflict management efforts have reached an impasse; (3) neither side is prepared to counterbalance further costs or escalation of the dispute; and (4) the disputants are prepared to break their stalemate by cooperating with each other and engaging in some communication and contact* (Bercovitch, 1984).

Although it has a much longer history in practice, academic studies on the topic date from the last 4 decades, starting with Young (1967), Burton (1969), and Stenelo (1972). Since then, various definitions of mediation have been put forward by scholars from disciplines as diverse as anthropology, law, psychology, political science, sociology and others. Some of these definitions are worth mentioning here, such as the one in William Zartman's "Hurting Stalemate". For him mediation occurs *"when the conflicting parties are neither capable of managing the conflict through a clear victory on the field, or some kind of a negotiated solution, nor willing to accept any imposed solution by a third party decision-making"* (1985). Mediation thus can be defined as a political process with no advance commitment from the parties to accept the mediator's ideas (Zartman & Touval 1985). Doob defines international mediation as *"the efforts of one or more persons to affect one or more other persons when the former, the latter or both perceive a problem requiring a resolution"* (1993, p.1). Mitchell on the other side defines it as *"an intermediary activity undertaken by a third party with the primary intention of achieving some compromise settlement of issues at*

stake between the parties, or at least ending disruptive behavior" (1981). Folberg and Taylor characterize mediation as *"the process which the participants, together with the assistance of a neutral person or persons, systematically isolate disputed issues in order to develop options, consider alternatives, and reach a unanimous settlement that will accommodate their needs"* (1984, p.7).

Mediation is considered as a continuous set of related activities involving actors, decisions and situations. According to Bercovitch, Anagnoson, and Wille (1991), the nature, form and intensity of mediation in a particular dispute is determined by a number of factors, including the nature of the dispute, the nature of the mediator and various other cultural and contextual variables. So, by putting various definitions of international mediation together, their definition of mediation is *"...a process of conflict management where disputants seek the assistance of, or accept an offer of help from, an individual, group, state or organization to settle their conflict or resolve their differences without resorting to physical force or invoking the authority of the law"* (Bercovitch, 1986a; Dryzek & Hunter, 1987; Wall. 1981).

Since the beginning of academic work on international mediation, scholars and practitioners in the field were occupied with the question of how to make international mediation successful. Through qualitative, in-depth case analysis or large-scale quantitative comparative research, many scholars have tried to find the golden formula to explain which factors contribute to successful mediation results (Kleiboer, 1996). The purpose of this thesis is to understand the effects of context and process on success of international mediation efforts in conflicts in Northern Ireland and Cyprus. In doing so, "Contingency Model of Mediation" proposed by Bercovitch, Anagnoson, and Wille (1991) will be used and hypotheses they have put forward through this model will be tested on the above mentioned cases. The aim is to see how context and process affect success of international mediation and whether or not Contingency Model of Mediation is sufficient to explain the determinants of success in international mediation.

1.2 Contingency Model of Mediation

A large number of quantitative studies analyzed patterns of international disputes. In works of Maoz (1982) and Cioffi-Revilla (1990), these are well summarized. However, Bercovitch, Anagnoson and Wille developed one of the most comprehensive data sets on

international conflicts. Their data set covers all international disputes for the period of 1945-89. For the purpose of their data set, they use Small and Singer's (1982) definition of international dispute: *"...an organized and continuous armed conflict between two states which resulted in at least 100 fatalities."* They scanned two major contemporary press sources, Keesing's Contemporary Archives and the New York Times Index, for the entire period. At the end, they found 79 international disputes that met their criteria, 44 (56%) of which were mediated. Since some disputes were mediated more than once, the total number of mediation attempts was 284.

Creating an index of successful mediation outcomes is complicated as mediation outcomes may be perceived and defined very differently. In their data set, Haas's success index (Haas, 1986) was modified by focusing on the behavioral impact of international mediation. Mediation is defined as fully successful when it is given credit for making a great difference to or settling a dispute. It is partially successful when its efforts initiate negotiations and some dialogue between the parties. Mediation success is limited when it achieves only a ceasefire or break in hostilities. It is unsuccessful when it has no discernible impact on the dispute. Table below presents the outcomes achieved in each of the 284 mediation cases.

TABLE 1.

Mediation Outcomes 1945–89

Outcome	Frequency	%	Cumulative %
Full settlement	13	5	5
Partial settlement	27	9	14
Ceasefire	22	8	22
Mediation unsuccessful	134	47	69
Mediation only offered	61	22	91
No mediation	27	9	100
Total	284	100	100

Table also gives us an idea of the general probability of the success of mediation. This provides an index against which the impact of different variables can be judged. Where

mediation achieves a likelihood of success above 22%, we can assume that the conditions involved will contribute positively to the likelihood of a successful outcome.

To identify all the factors that may influence mediation outcomes and mediator behavior, to analyze and assess their relative importance, there is a need for a broad conceptual framework that can subsume the versatility of mediators' behaviors, guide the research, and integrate the findings. The approach that allows best to develop theoretical insights and engage in empirical analysis is the contingency approach (Bercovitch, Anagnoson, and Wille, 1991). The contingency approach has its roots in the social-psychological theories of negotiation as developed by Sawyer and Guetzkow (1965) and modified by Druckman (1977). Their combined approach provides a framework that permits a systematic analysis of the underlying structures and conditions that shape conflict events and the complex relationships of the conflict management process. The framework developed takes account of the individual influences of personal, role, situational, goal, interactional, and outcome variables (Bercovitch 1984; Fisher and Keashly 1991; Gochman 1993; Keashly and Fisher 1996; Robinson and Snyder 1965) and their interactive effects within the context, process, and outcome of conflict management. *"The contingency framework is particularly useful in the study of mediation. It offers a dynamic framework of interactive and reciprocal behaviors. It provides a reproducible model of mediation that permits operationalization and analysis of individual contextual clusters, their interactions, and relative importance within conflict management. This approach also provides a useful tool for scholars by offering a framework within which they can diagnose and analyze mediators' behavior and decisions and determine the appropriateness of various strategies in their interventions"* (Bercovitch and Houston, 2000).

TABLE 2.

A Contingency Model of Mediation
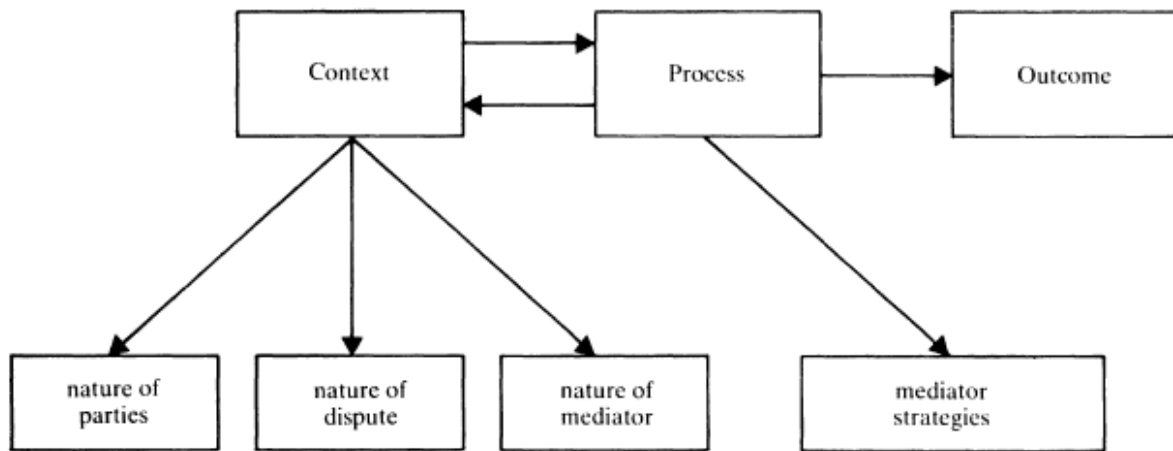
The model proposes that a series of attributes identified as either contextual or process variables (the independent variables) interact directly to affect mediation outcomes (the dependent variable).

1. Context Variables

1.1 Characteristics of the Parties

1.1.1 Regime Types

A traditional hypothesis in the study of international relations posits that those states which are more democratic or pluralistic are less prone to initiate violent interactions than their non-democratic counterparts. Mack & Snyder (1957) suggest that the greater ability of these states to channel and accommodate internal discontent makes them less likely to exhibit external aggression. Maoz & Abdolali (1989), however, find no support for this hypothesis, arguing instead that democratic states are no less prone to conflict than any other type of regime, although they rarely fight among themselves. By analyzing the data set it was found that disputes involving multi-party regimes may be slightly more amenable to mediation than those involving other regime types. In those conflicts where one of the disputants was a multi-party state, the average probability of successful mediation was 24% (i.e. above the overall average of 22%). In the 34 mediation attempts involving two multi-party states, 35% were

successful. The corresponding figure for the 36 mediation attempts between one-party state dyads was only 6%.

H1. Mediation attempts involving two multi-party states are more likely to be successful.

1.1.2 Relative Power

Another condition that may influence the effectiveness of international mediation concerns the degree of power disparity between the adversaries. Both Ott (1972) and Young (1967) suggest that the smaller the power differences between the adversaries, the greater the effectiveness of international mediation. Logically this seems quite obvious. In cases of clear power disparity the stronger adversary may not be prepared to countenance any concessions or compromises which are essential to mediation success. Others, such as Deutsch, argue that conflicts in which there is a mutual recognition of differential power and legitimacy (1973, p. 46) will be more easily resolved. Presumably, the presence of a fairly unambiguous advantage by one of the parties makes the path of settlement clearer by indicating which side will be expected to make the greater concessions. Some of the strongest findings concern the relation between the degree of power disparity and the success of mediation. And in those disputes that were mediated between unequal states, only 6% were successful. Where both parties were of roughly equal power, the probability of mediating successfully was over five times as great (32%). It would seem then that the presence of large differentials in power resources makes mediation much more difficult and considerably reduces the chances of a successful outcome.

H2. Mediation attempts between states with roughly equal power are more likely to be successful.

1.1.3 Previous Relations

The previous relationship between the parties is posited by Deutsch (1973) to be one of the most important determinants of conflict outcomes. He suggests that parties with a history of friendship or cooperation will also approach a present conflict more cooperatively. Not surprisingly, it appears significantly easier to mediate between friends. A mediator entering this type of dyad has almost twice the chance of success compared to any other mediation (46%/ as opposed to an average of 22% for all others). Furthermore, though adversaries with a past history of more than one dispute receive most mediation attempts, they also demonstrate the lowest probability of success (16%). This suggests that a conflictual relationship may

exacerbate a current dispute and the efforts to settle it. Previous friendly relations between the parties facilitate mediation and increase its chances of success.

H3. Mediation attempts between states with a history of friendship are more likely to be successful.

1.2 The Nature of the Dispute

Kressel and Pruitt (1989), in their excellent review of mediation research, conclude that unfavorable dispute characteristics *"are likely to defeat even the most adroit mediators"* (p. 405). Similarly, Ott (1972) argues that *"the success or failure of mediation is largely determined by the nature of the dispute, with the characteristics and tactics of the mediator marginal at best"* (p. 597). Bercovitch, Anagnoson, and Wille (1991) reviewed three general aspects pertaining to the nature of the dispute that are generally thought to affect its course and outcome. These are (1) the duration of the dispute at the time of intervention, (2) the intensity of the dispute, and (3) the issues at the heart of the dispute.

1.2.1 Duration

The duration of a dispute and timing of initiating mediation may determine, to some extent, the likelihood of its success. To be effective, mediation must take place at the right moment. There is, however, little agreement as to what constitutes, or how to recognize, such a moment. A number of studies speak of a crucial moment in the life cycle of a dispute at which mediation will be most likely to succeed. Northedge and Donelan (1971), for example, note that *"the position is more favorable when there exists a concatenation of circumstances which are already in operation as tending toward an improvement of the situation"* (p. 308). Zartman (1985) has suggested that a combination of "plateaus," "precipices," "deadlocks," and "deadlines" will produce moments of "ripeness" when the parties are highly motivated to settle their disputes. The assumption here is that in the waxing and waning of the complex social forces that make up an international dispute, there are moments during which both parties will welcome mediation more openly. The exact nature of these moments is a matter of considerable speculation. Some theorists, such as Claude (1971) and Edmead (1971), have suggested that mediation should be attempted early in the dispute, before positions become fixed, attitudes harden, and an escalating cycle becomes entrenched. Others, such as Ott (1972) and Pruitt (1981), suggest that mediation will be more successful later, when conflict

costs have become intolerable and both parties realize that they may lose too much by continuing their dispute.

Generally, the longer a dispute goes on, the less amenable it is to mediation; but there does seem to be a minimum amount of time necessary before mediation is successful. Mediation attempts taking place one to three months into a dispute show a greater chance of success (37%) than those initiated when the conflict is less than one month old (23%). The issue of the timing of mediation raises a complementary question, namely, will the chance of mediating successfully increase on the second, third or subsequent attempts at mediation in the same dispute? The data indicates a slight increase in the probability of successful mediation after one or two previous attempts (32%). After this point, however, the probability of success begins a long decline.

H4. Mediation attempts taking place one to three months into a dispute are more likely to be successful.

1.2.2 Intensity

Although intensity is regarded by everyone as an important dispute characteristic, there is a lack of clarity as to what precisely intensity signifies. Kressel and Pruitt (1989) conclude that high-intensity disputes are unlikely to experience successful mediation. But, under the rubric of intensity, they include such diverse factors as the "severity of prior conflict," the "level of hostility," "levels of anger," and "intensity of feeling," as well as the strength of "negative perceptions." They do not suggest how these can be defined, let alone operationalized. In their discussion of public-sector labor mediation, Kochan and Jick (1978) argue that *"the intensity of the impasse will be negatively related to the effectiveness of the mediation process"* (p. 213). But what they mean by "intensity" is not made explicit. This lack of definitional precision leads to considerable difficulty in operationalizing dispute intensity. To avoid this confusion, the number of fatalities is used as the most obvious and accessible measure of dispute intensity. It can logically be expected a high level of intensity to be reflected in the number of fatalities incurred by both sides.

Here again the literature on mediation offers two contradictory notions. Jackson (1952) and Young (1967; 1968) suggest that the greater the intensity of a dispute, the higher the likelihood that mediation will be accepted and be successful (as a way of cutting losses, if nothing else). An opposite view contends that the greater the intensity and the higher the

losses, the more polarized the parties' positions will become and the more determined will each party be to reject any mediation effort and attempt to 'win' at all costs (Brockner, 1982; Burton, 1969; Modelski, 1964). Mediation is more likely to be accepted, and to be successful, in low intensity disputes. As the number of fatalities in a dispute increases, the likelihood that mediation initiatives will prove successful suffers a corresponding decline. Only 17% of mediation attempts have any degree of success in disputes of more than 1000 fatalities, compared with 42% in disputes of 1000-500 fatalities. Protracted and intense international disputes, though they receive far more attempts at mediation than less severe disputes, are not particularly amenable to mediation.

H5. Mediation attempts in low-intensity disputes are more likely to be successful.

1.2.3 Issues

Issues in conflict refer to the underlying causes of a dispute. They may not always be clear. There may also be more than one issue involved, and parties themselves may not agree on what constitutes a disputed issue. Here five terms were used to describe issues; sovereignty, ideology, security, independence and a residual category of other issues. Each dispute was coded in terms of one issue only. Sovereignty disputes refer to conflicts where the adversaries have incompatible claims to a specific piece of territory (e.g. Argentina and England over the Falklands/ Malvinas). Ideology disputes exemplify strong disagreements over the nature of a political system, basic values or beliefs (e.g. the Iran-Iraq conflict). Security disputes are over frontiers, borders and territories (e.g. the 1967 Arab-Israeli war). Independence disputes are fought by countries seeking to liberate themselves from another state and to determine their own national selfhood (e.g. Mozambique-Portugal dispute). Contrary to conventional wisdom, our data indicate that disputes involving territory or security are far more amenable to mediation than those over issues of ideology or independence. Where territory or security were the basic issues in dispute, the probability of successful mediation was at or above the overall average (23% and 27%/ respectively). But in disputes of ideology (10%) or independence (11%), the chances of successful mediation were much lower.

H6. Mediation attempts in conflict where territory or security are the basic issues are more likely to be successful.

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1.3 The Identity and Characteristics of the Mediator

The personal qualities required of a successful mediator have been given consider able attention in the literature (Jackson, 1952; Wehr, 1979; Young, 1967). The list of desired or desirable attributes for a successful international mediator is very long indeed. Among those qualities which experienced mediators cite as particularly important are intelligence, stamina, energy, patience and a sense of humor (Bercovitch, 1984). Another characteristic which has been traditionally cited as being strongly associated with effective mediation is even-handedness or impartiality. Young claims that *"a high score in such areas as impartiality would seem to be at the heart of successful interventions in many situations"* (1967, p. 81). And his views are echoed by Jackson (1952) as well as by Northedge & Donelan (1971) who claim that the parties will have confidence in a mediator only if he/she is, and is seen to be, impartial. A mediator engages in behavior that is designed to elicit information and exercise influence. To exercise any degree of influence mediators need 'leverage' or resources. Leverage or mediator power enhances the mediator's ability to influence the outcome. The mediator's task is primarily one of reframing and persuasion. These are best achieved, as Zartman & Touval (1985) observe, not when a mediator is unbiased or impartial, but when he/she possesses resources which either or both parties value. Effective mediation in international relations is thus related more to resources than to impartiality (Brookmire & Sistrunk, 1980). In their research, Bercovitch and his colleagues have ranked all mediators along a dimension ranging from government leaders to representatives of international organizations, and related these to mediation outcomes. There was some indication that the leader of a government, possessing rank and prestige and having some "leverage", has a better chance of mediating successfully than any other actor. Of the 34 mediation attempts made by government leaders, 32% were successful. Indeed all classes of mediators exhibited at or above average probabilities of success, except for the leaders of inter- national organizations. These mediators fared particularly badly in their mediation attempts, with a success rate of only 4%.

H7. Mediation attempts by the leader of a government, possessing rank and prestige and having some 'leverage' are more likely to be successful.

2. Process Variable

2.1 Strategies of the Mediator

Finally, the relationship between mediator behavior can be examined, or, more specifically, mediation strategies and tactics, and mediation outcomes. While conceptualizing or measuring mediator behavior is difficult, there are many who agree with Kochan & Jick (1978) that this is the most critical variable affecting mediation outcomes. Mediator's choice of strategy is not random. That choice is a rational response to a specific conflict situation; the needs, interests, capabilities, and perceptions of the parties, as well as those of the mediator; and the relevance of various sources of power and resources (Carnevale, 1986). These strategies build on Sheppard's (1984) taxonomy of mediator behavior that focuses on the content, process, and procedural aspects of conflict management.

For the purposes of their analysis, Bercovitch, Anagnoson, and Wille (1991) came up with the most useful taxonomy of mediator behavior that can be applied to international conflict management identifies three fundamental mediator strategies along a continuum ranging from low to high intervention. These are: (1) communication-facilitation, (2) procedural, and (3) directive strategies.

2.1.1 Communication-facilitation strategies

They describe mediator behavior at the low end of the intervention spectrum. Here a mediator typically adopts a fairly passive role, channeling information to the parties, facilitating cooperation, but exhibiting little control over the more formal process or substance of mediation. This is referred to at times as the consultation model, and is best exemplified by Norway's role in achieving the Oslo agreement between Israel and the PLO.

2.1.2 Procedural strategies

They enable a mediator to exert a more formal control over the process and environment of the mediation. Here a mediator may determine structural aspects of the meetings, control constituency influences, media publicity, the distribution of information, and the situation of the parties' resources and communication processes. When New Zealand mediated the

Bougainville conflict in 1995, it brought both parties to a military camp in New Zealand and exercised full control over the procedural aspects of the interaction (but little or no control over other aspects).

2.1.3   Directive strategies

They are the most powerful form of intervention. Here a mediator affects the content and substance of the bargaining process by providing incentives for the parties to negotiate or by issuing ultimatums. Directive strategies aim to change the way issues are framed and the behavior associated with them. This style is exemplified by Richard Holbrook's mediation efforts at Dayton, Ohio.

Clearly, the more effective strategies in international mediation arc the more active strategies. Mediators employing directive or substantive strategies are successful, on average, 41% of the time. Mediation strategies that can prod the adversaries, and strategies that allow mediators to introduce new issues, suggest new ways of seeing the dispute or alter the motivational structure of the parties, are more positively associated with successful outcomes than any other type of intervention. Active mediation strategies can affect, and be responsive to, a wider variety of dispute situations than less active ones.

H8. Mediation attempts with directive strategies of the mediator are more likely to be successful.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Comparative Case Study Research

The aim of the research design is to establish the relevance between the propositions, driven from quantitative studies and the cases and comparatively examine the cases for the assessment of the determinant affecting success of international mediation. The goal here is to develop propositions for further inquiry which makes the research an exploratory one. It is a comparative case study design with a single unit of analysis –international mediation and multiple cases –Northern Ireland and Cyprus, in which a set of features will be examined during a period of time (Neuman, 2006). Yin (2003) defines a case study as "investigation of a contemporary phenomenon, when the researcher has limited control over behavioral events". For Yin, cases should be selected in such a manner so that they either predict similar results or produce contrary results, but for predictable reasons. Moreover, the universe from which the cases are to be selected should be well defined such that the cases to be compared come from the same class or universe of cases (Druckman, 2005, p. 211).

By analyzing the mediation efforts of George Mitchell (in Northern Ireland conflict) and Kofi Annan (in Cyprus conflict), the research tries to answer the question of "what determinants did affect the success of international mediation in Northern Ireland and Cyprus?" In doing so, propositions driven from Jacob Bercovitch's quantitative study of multiple mediation efforts will be asked to the two cases. How the determinants of success in international mediation proposed in Contingency Model of Mediation affected the outcome in Northern Ireland and Cyprus and whether or not these determinants are sufficient to explain the outcome will be studied. Context and process variables proposed in the contingency model are the independent variables of this research which affect the outcome of international mediation. Outcome of the international mediation –success or failure is the dependent variable of the thesis.

2.2 Reasons for Choosing These Cases

The reason why these cases were chosen was not only their appropriateness for the application of the model for success of mediation but also their appropriateness for conducting a fruitful comparison. In comparative studies, most different or most similar cases should be chosen to be able to make valuable comparisons. In this research the most similar cases were tried to be chosen with a major difference in the outcome.

When the history and characteristics of conflicts in Northern Ireland and Cyprus are examined, many similarities can be found. Both conflicts are on an island between two groups of different ethnic and religious backgrounds. Parties of both conflicts are associated with a country of secondary position which is influential on the conflict. The time period and fatalities of the conflicts are similar. Both conflicts are in Europe and draw the attention of international society intensely. Several formal and informal third party interventions were made prior to the mediations efforts studied in this thesis. Although the number of similarities can be increased, the main difference between the two mediation cases was the success of the efforts in Northern Ireland conflict, creating Belfast Agreement, and failure of the efforts in Cyprus conflict with the rejection of Annan Plan.

2.3 Data Collection Methods

Having mentioned the research methodology of the research and the reasons for choosing the two cases, it is worthwhile to explain how the data will be collected and analyzed. Although data collection for case studies can rely on many sources of evidence, Yin (2003) names six most important ones: documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant-observation and physical artifacts. Although any of the sources of evidence can be the sole basis for entire studies, an approach to the individual sources of evidence is not recommended for case studies. Contrarily, the chance of using multiple sources of evidence is the major strength of a case study. It gives the researcher the opportunity to address a broader range of historical, attitudinal and behavioral issues. Most importantly it enables development of a "converging lines of inquiry", which is a process of triangulation. "With triangulation, the potential problem of construct validity also can be

addressed, because the multiple sources of evidence essentially provide multiple measures of the same phenomenon" (Yin, 2003).

In the data collection for this thesis three different methods were used in order to reach triangulated results. Firstly, documentary information which is relevant to every case study topic was collected. Various forms of documentary information were analyzed. Formal studies –academic articles, evaluations of the same topic, books written on the topic were the main sources of evidence. Moreover, in the Northern Ireland cases a memory book of George Mitchell himself describing the process of mediation was very much referred.

Secondly, interviews were conducted with some NGO representatives, academics, policy makers and other experts on the issues. Focused interview type (Merton, 1990) was chosen in which the researcher interviewed a respondent for a short period of time, in an open-ended nature and a conversational manner by following a certain set of questions derived from the case study model. The main purpose of the interviews was to corroborate certain facts that have already been established by the research. The respondents were asked whether or not the determinants of success in international mediation proposed in the contingency model were valid in the two particular cases.

Lastly, direct observation method was used to collect data. Among two ways of direct observation -formal and less formal (Yin, 2003), the latter was employed. Less formal direct observations are made throughout a field visit, including other occasions during which other evidence, such as that from interviews, is being collected. Two field visits to Northern Ireland and to Cyprus were made during which while conducting interviews, direct observations of the conflict and peace processes were made. Together with documentation and interviews, being in the field gave the researcher a better understanding of historical and behavioral factors affecting the process of international mediation.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND CAUSES OF CONFLICTS

3.1. History of the Conflict in Cyprus

Cyprus as a small island with a strategic location at the crossroads of Europe, Asia and Africa was first colonized by the ancient Greeks and conquered by every ruling empire in the region up to 1571 when the Ottoman Turks took over control. During the Ottoman period predominantly Greek Cypriot population grew to include 20% Turkish Cypriots composed descendants of soldiers and settlers of Turkish origin. In 1878, Cyprus came under British administration and in 1923, the sovereignty on the island passed from Turkey to Britain until independence was granted in 1960. During Ottoman time, Orthodox Church of Cyprus has the control over the affairs of the Greek Cypriots, meaning that the two communities functioned separately. It was the case in the British period when two groups were dealt with separately in education, religion and cultural affairs while English becoming a common language with establishment of British style institutions.

During the four centuries before the independence, Turkish-Cypriot population was living both in separate and mixed villages with the Greek Cypriots, although usually in separate sections. While social relations were harmonious, religious lines were visible about intermarriage. Few Greek Cypriot spoke Turkish while 40% of Turkish Cypriots spoke Greek. So English became the language of common interchange. At the end of the day, the two groups had formed only a limited sense of being Cypriot, while they have a stronger identity attached to their ethnic groups and the two nations of origin.

The Greek Cypriot community during the British rule deployed the idea of union with Greece (enosis) and formed National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA) in 1955. This campaign and its reactions caused loss of several hundred lives and alienation of Turkish Cypriots, who countered enosis with a call for partition into separate communities (taksim) each associated with its motherland. The Turkish Cypriots aligned themselves more with the British rulers and formed Turkish Defense Organization (TMT), which engaged in inter-communal fight with Greek Cypriots until a ceasefire was implemented in 1958.

In 1960 a constitution was created with a complex power sharing arrangement which includes a national legislature, two communal chambers, a cabinet, public service, police

force and an army. Archbishop Makarios became the first president of the Republic of Cyprus and Dr. Fazıl Küçük was the Vice-President, as leader of the Turkish Cypriot community. The constitution was backed by a set of treaties which established two sovereign British military bases, allowed the stationing of small Greek and Turkish contingents and provided for military intervention by Britain, Turkey or Greece to guarantee the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

The life of this constitution did not last long, when Greek Cypriots proposed a set of constitutional amendments which would reduce the autonomy and representation of the Turkish Cypriots, who had been blocking taxation and other legislation to protest the lack of implementation on the joint municipalities. The amendments were rejected by the Turkish Cypriots and Turkey, inter-communal violence broke out and the two communities embarked on a hostile and protracted process of separation and segregation (Fisher, 2001).

During the Cold War periods, the US and the UK saw Cyprus issue as conflict that should be contained before it escalated to the level of an armed conflict between Turkey and Greece as two NATO allies. In 1963, US President Lyndon Johnson tried to mediate between Turkey and Greece with no desired results emerged from Johnson's appeals to the conflict parties. In January 1964, London Conference, as British initiative, also failed. This was followed by the Anglo-American sponsored NATO proposal that offered NATO peacekeeping forces and mediation. On March 4, 1964, the UN Security Council passed resolution 186, which called for stationing of a UN peace-keeping force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) and the UN Secretary General appointed a mediator to resolve the conflict. In summer of the same year, US initiated talks between Turkey and Greece with Dean Acheson as the mediator who proposed the Acheson Plan, according to which Cyprus would unite with Greece and in return, Turkey would receive the Greek island of Kasstellorizon and a military based on Cyprus. However, the plan was rejected by Makarios and Greece.

In March 1965, Galo Plaza was appointed as the mediator by the UN Secretary General. He wrote a report recommending that a solution could be found if the parties worked to restore the situation that had existed before December 1963. This time the Turkish government rejected the report as a basis for negotiation. By fall of 1965, the inter-communal violence increased in Cyprus which led Turkey and Greece come to the brink of a war because of the intervention of Greek troops to the island. To prevent two NATO allies from

going to war, US sent Cyrus Vance to undertake a shuttle diplomacy between Athens, Ankara and Nicosia. In November 1967, the US efforts created an agreement which provided the withdrawal of all but 3000 Greek troops from Cyprus. So the main objective of mediation efforts during 1963-1968 was to prevent a war between two NATO allies. These mediation efforts did not bring any result for a solution to the Cyprus conflict and the two communities in Cyprus were not even invited to most of the negotiations.

From 1968 to 1974, inter-communal talks between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots continued with no result. The lack of willingness to cooperate on both sides and the different approaches in the negotiations were the main reasons of the failure. On the one hand, Turkish Cypriots were trying to maintain the regional autonomy and supporting a "total package" approach of negotiation. On the other hand, Greek Cypriots were trying to maintain total control of government and creation of a unitary state and insisting on a "piecemeal" approach of negotiation (Sözen, 2007).

In 1974, a major crisis occurred after an Athens inspired coup against Makarios. After fights between coupists and left wing supporters of Makarios, attacks were directed to Turkish Cypriot villages which provided legitimacy under the 1960 agreements for a military intervention by Turkey. Following the failure of diplomatic efforts, Turkish forces occupied approximately 37% of the northern part of the island. A UN-brokered ceasefire extended the original "Green Line" in the capital of Nicosia (Lefkoşa) across the entire length of the island, where it remains today (Fisher, 2001). The two sides held five rounds of inter-communal talks during April 1975 – February 1976 which are knows as the Vienna talks which resulted in an agreement to transfer the population from north to south and vice versa (Sözen, 2007). Thus the events of 1974, in which several thousand people were killed or went missing, had the effect of creating two homogeneous ethnic zones on the island (Fisher, 2001).

The Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktaş invited his counterpart Makarios to direct meetings. These meeting resulted in "the Four Guidelines" as the basis for future negotiations. After Makarios passed away, Kyprianou was elected as the Greek Cypriot President. The negotiations between Denktaş and Kyprianou under the auspices of the UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim resulted in the "Ten Point Agreement" which confirmed the Four Guidelines and continued to be the basis for negotiations. After the failure of negotiations in 1979, the UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim appointed Hugo Gobi to reactivate the inter-communal

dialogue in August 1980. He drafted an evaluation paper, known as the Interim Agreement. By 1983, there was an apparent progress reached on paper. However, talks went on impasse because of Kyprianou's reluctance to continue face-to-face talks. For him, it would have meant recognition of Denktaş as an equal. Kyprianou's not accepting Denktaş as an equal during the negotiations led the Turkish Cypriots to declare the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" (TRNC).

UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar tried to formulate a comprehensive approach for the inter-communal talks. In 1984, he produced Draft Framework Agreement. The draft agreement was accepted by Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot community uncondionally. Kyprianou also stated his satisfaction and the draft agreement was signed in 1985. However, after visiting Greece, Kyprianou announced that the draft agreement was unacceptable. He demanded to renegotiate the issues in the agreement. Perez de Cuellar drafted a new document but this time it was rejected by Denktaş. In 1986, after two rounds of technical talks, Cuellar drafted a new agreement which was accepted by Denktaş but rejected by Kyprianou after consulting with Greece. Inter-communal talks came to a halt after Greek Cypriot elections in 1988 when Kyprianou lost the election and Vassiliou became the president.

On March 1990, the UN Security Council Resolution 649 was produced. UN Secretary General Cuellar brought two leaders together in Cyprus and they met more than forty times in Nicosia. The meetings of the leaders continued in New York at the UN Headquarters. In August 1992, the UN Secretary General Boutros Ghali came up with a "Set of Ideas" which was the most detailed plan on Cyprus conflict. Two sides came very close to an agreement at the UN Headquarters; however when Boutros Ghali permitted the two leaders to return home for consultation, both of them indicated that the Set of Ideas could not be accepted unconditionally.

Significant indication of the 1992 negotiations was the obvious acceptance by the UN that the main problem was the deep lack of trust between the two communities. In November 1992, The UN Secretary General produced a series of "Confidence Building Measures". In 1994, when the European Court of Justice issued a decision that banned TRNC exports to the UK markets, the atmosphere in which the UN was trying to build trust was negatively affected. The court decision was seen by the Turkish Cypriots as the continuation of more

embargoes and unfair treatment by the international community. At the end, Confidence Building Measures also joined the earlier failed solution proposals to the conflict.

The new UN Secretary General Kofi Annan brought Clerides and Denktaş to talk face-to-face in New York and Geneva in 1997. However, the talks did not create any agreement when the EU decided to open accession negotiations with the Greek Cypriot Republic of Cyprus on behalf of the whole island. In 1999, two sides came together reluctantly. Denktaş stayed on table with the pressures from Turkey after the announcement of Turkey's candidacy to the EU at Helsinki Summit. When Denktaş's confederation thesis did not take place in the non-paper of the UN Secretary General, he walked out after five rounds of talks.

When Denktaş invited Clerides for a dinner at his house in 2001, two leaders decided to open face-to-face talks. The pressing EU enlargement calendar pushed the UN to put a comprehensive solution plan in front of the two sides in November 2002. This plan, also known as the Annan plan, has been the most comprehensive and the most detailed solution plan on the issue. The plan was modified two times in 2002 and 2003 to meet the demands of the two sides. However, the two sides could not reach an agreement at the Hague meeting in March 2003.

The Turkish government who wanted to open Turkey's accession negotiations with the EU in 2005 took the initiative to restart the Cyprus negotiations. After diplomatic efforts with the UN, the US and the EU, Turkey convinced the UN Secretary General that Turkish side has the political will to continue and finalize the negotiations by 1 May 2004. Kofi Annan invited the two sides together with Turkey and Greece to New York in February 2004. The two Cypriot sides with the pressure of their motherlands, the US, the UN and the EU, reluctantly agreed on the conditions of the UN Secretary General for the resumption of the negotiations. According to his conditions, the two Cypriot sides would negotiate until March 21. If they could not reach an agreement, Turkey and Greece would join them to reach a resolution during 22-29 March. If there still would be unresolved issues, the UN would fill in the gaps of the solution plan. At the end, the final plan would be put to the simultaneous and separate referenda for the Greek and Turkish Cypriots on 24 April 2004.

After the Nicosia negotiations between the two Cypriot parties, Turkey and Greece joined negotiation process in Bürgenstock. At the end of Bürgenstock negotiations the final plan, known as the 5th Annan Plan was produced by the UN and put to simultaneous and

separate referenda for the Greek and Turkish Cypriots. While the plan was accepted with a 65% YES vote by the Turkish Cypriots, it was rejected with a 76% NO vote by the Greek Cypriots.

3.2. History of the Conflict in Northern Ireland

The British government decided to implement a more comprehensive plan of colonization in the northern parts of Ireland and invited settlers, mainly from Scotland to start living in the northern part of the island. The settlers who came there during 17th and 18th century did not integrate with the local Irish. Although this was a part of British policy to secure the segregation of the natives from the settlers, the main reason of segregation was religious based. While the settlers practiced a different version of Christianity called "Protestantism", the indigenous Irish were mainly Roman Catholics.

This segregation created resentment towards the settlers by the native Irish and the settlers felt under threat from the Irish. In 1703, after a successful colonization period of Ulster, 14% of the land of the island was owned by the Irish, where as in Ulster, 5% of the land remained in indigenous ownership (Darby, 1997, p. 20). By 1921, only 10% of the south was Protestant while the percentage of Protestants was 70% in the north.

Since the beginning of colonization, Irish people often tried to gain their independence from the British, and finally, in 1920, the British government agreed to give independence to the island. However, the Protestants in the north were afraid that their religious freedom would be restricted under the rule of mainly Catholic Ireland. Also they were afraid of the poorer economic state of the rest of the island, compared to their own relatively prosperous and more industrialized region.

The Protestants threatened to use force if they will be a part of a united Ireland and they mobilized private armies against it. The British Prime Minister, Lloyd George, insisted that the island should be divided into two sections which are the northeastern six counties and the rest of the island. Irish Catholic leaders under significant pressure accepted the offer and the Unionists accepted it, although reluctantly, as their first wish was for the whole of the island to remain within United Kingdom. This decision of partition led to a violent conflict between pro-partition groups and anti-partition groups. In 1923, those who accepted the partition achieved a victory and the Irish Free State was formally created. In 1938, it adopted

the status of a republic, under the official name of Eire, although it is known internationally as the Republic of Ireland.

The establishment of the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland ensured the development of two sectarian states. The majority of the 4 million citizens of the Republic were Catholics and at the time of partition in 1921, Northern Ireland had a population of about 1.5 million, a million of whom were Protestant and mostly Unionist. The Catholics were not happy with living in a state where there was a discrimination against them. When Protestants took power, they established a Protestant state, which discriminated against Catholics in housing, job, and political representation. Cameron Report (1969) documented the existence of such discrimination from 1921 to 1971, which was the main focus of late 1960s civil rights campaigns.

Such a sectarian hostility was inevitable result of the British strategy of separation between settlers and natives which later created an extremely divided society, which has maintained most of its divisions to this day and is evident in the living territories (Murtagh, 1999). Most of the villages are completely owned by either Catholics or Protestant which can be recognized from the flags, murals, graffiti, kerbstones and churches. City life is often separated as well. Leisure centers are usually associated with a particular tradition. Border areas within the cities are usually well defined by flags, graffiti and painted kerbstones. There are 19 sectarian borders and interfaces in Belfast where high peace walls have had to be built between neighboring streets. The education system is also segregated (Gallagher, 1998). The state schools are open to all religions but rarely attended by Catholics. Sports also reflect the segregation. Catholics usually play indigenous Irish games like Gaelic football, camogie and hurling. Protestants generally play rugby, hockey and crickets which are associated with Britain. Cultural celebrations like marches and festivals for particular victories or commemorate loses are often divisive and sometimes create violence. The overall situation shows that substantial number of people live, work, study and socialize within their communities and develop close relationships with someone from the other community.

In such a separated society, inevitably the civil rights movement against Catholic discrimination started in 1968, which was met with suspicion and fear by the Protestant Unionists. The Unionist reacted with anger and sometimes violence to the Catholic demands

of equality. When Catholics understood that equality under the existing state structure is impossible, they see a united Ireland as the only solution.

Irish Republican Army (IRA), who were the descendants of the most forceful military group which fought for independence in 1921 was the major supporter of the use of violence for a united Ireland. Although they were a small group in 1969, more and more people needed IRA protection as the conflict became a violent one following riots after civil rights marches. IRA was confronting the British troops who arrived to assist with riot control. IRA started extensive bombing campaigns directed against civilians, public utility and military targets. Security mismanagements such an internment without trial in 1971, which was only directed to Catholics, helped recruitment to the group. In 1972, the killing of 13 unarmed men during a civil rights demonstration of Catholics in Derry/Londonderry, which became known as Bloody Sunday, increased community tension.

The Unionist paramilitaries also began to re-emerge in the 60s. The Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) and Ulster Defense Association (UDA) were the main Unionist groups. They were worried about the civil rights reforms as threatening the existing Protestant supremacy in Northern Ireland. When violence erupted to the streets in 1969, recruitment to the Unionist paramilitaries was increased. Men in all the working class areas of Belfast formed themselves into vigilante groups. In 1991, the number of active paramilitaries was estimated to be 200-300 Republican and 150-200 Unionist, although they had active and passive support from many more people in their communities. Despite their small number, they have carried out most of the horrific bombings, shootings, kidnappings and have been responsible for 90% of the deaths in Northern Ireland during 25 years of the conflict.

Since the communities' elected representatives was no successful in bringing a political agreement within the region, the paramilitary violence continued. The objectives of political parties were not different than those of paramilitary groups and the constitutional political parties often accused each other of secretly colluding with different paramilitaries. Among Catholics the main proponent of the desire of a united Ireland was the Social Democratic and Labor Party (SDLP) which usually polls about 20% of the vote. Sinn Fein, which is seen as the political wing of the IRA, usually polls between 10% to 16% in Northern Ireland and about 2% in the Republic of Ireland. Among Protestants who wish to retain the constitutional link with Britain, there were two main Unionist political parties, the Ulster

Unionist Party (UUP) and the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), which between them poll just over half of the total vote. The Alliance Party is generally seen as a more moderate political party, containing members from both Protestant and Catholic communities. It has variously polled from 6% to 10% of the vote. During the late 1990s several small political parties emerged such as Progressive Unionist Party (PUP), the Ulster Democratic Party (UDP) and the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (NIWC), they were committed to gaining a consensus among all parties to a just and equitable political agreement to the conflict in Northern Ireland. In general, the main question for political parties as well as the paramilitary campaigns was the one that pertained in 1921 –whether Ireland should be a country politically united under the governance of Dublin, or whether Northern Ireland should remain under sovereignty of Britain.

With such a history of the island, it was inevitable that reaching an agreement should be so difficult. Although a reluctant agreement to divide the island was reached in 1921, the agreement satisfied no one. Following this agreement, little was done by the parties in the North and South to ensure the necessary contact and reconciliation work that might have diminished old suspicions and angers in the two parts of the island. After civil rights demands for Catholics in 1969, the existing Unionist government could not cope with it and the British government was forced to introduce direct rule from London in 1972. The British government suspended the Protestant-dominated government and set up a coordinating Northern Ireland Office to take control of Northern Ireland from London. A Secretary of State implemented this direct control and four ministers were appointed by the British government in London, which was a situation prevailed from 1974 to 1999. Since 1972, the British government and since 1995 the British and Irish governments tried to persuade political parties to come to an agreement about how to share power in Northern Ireland. Although the British government came close to achieving such an agreement in 1974 when the parties agreed to a form of power sharing in government, five months later it was destroyed by the Unionist paramilitaries who brought the region to a standstill by strike actions and road blockages.

In the 80s, because of the continuing violence, the British government reluctantly turned towards external initiatives. In 1985, the British and Irish governments signed the Anglo-Irish Agreement, which was an international agreement lodged with the United Nations. With this agreement, it was recognized that any change in the status in Northern Ireland could only happen with the consent of the majority of people in Northern Ireland. It

also acknowledged that the Republic of Ireland had a legitimate interest in Northern Ireland. The agreement committed both governments to promote an agreed, devolved government that would secure widespread acceptance between both communities. Although the agreement was backed in Britain and Republic of Ireland, it was rejected by the Unionists, who saw it as diluting the union with Britain and by Sinn Fein, who saw it as confirming partition. Despite oppositions, the agreement was important key to the development of an eventual political solution.

Following the agreement it became clear to Sinn Fein that military campaign of IRA would not result in British withdrawal from Northern Ireland and it became clear to the British army that given the community support, it could not defeat IRA through military means. Therefore, Sinn Fein started to explore an option of creating a much more widely based Nationalist political front for the aim of a united Ireland. In 1993, John Hume, the leader of the SDLP and Gerry Adams, the leader of Sinn Fein, started dialogue to see if they could achieve a political solution. At the end of discussions, they agreed upon a series of principles which they hoped would make it possible for the IRA to end the violence. Towards the end of 1993, the British government was having secret talks with Sinn Fein/IRA about how to end the violence and how to include Sinn Fein in talks once they had eschewed violence.

In 1993, Irish and British governments agreed to the Downing Street Declaration, in which the governments agreed that a decision on the future of the Union was to be ratified by referenda both north and south of the border thus allowing the self-determination of the people of the island of Ireland which Sinn Fein had said was necessary if the violence of the IRA was to cease. On 1 September 1994, the IRA began to complete halt to its military operations to try to achieve their aspirations through the political process which was followed by the Unionist paramilitary ceasefire and wish to be included in the coming political negotiations.

In February 1995, the British and Irish governments produced another document called the Framework Document that outlined the British government's perspective on a possible framework for internal government in Northern Ireland. The British government made paramilitary decommissioning a requirement for entry into political talks which threatened the process. For the IRA the ceasefire was enough for entry into the talks. In order

to solve this problem an International Body of Decommissioning was set up, chaired by the US senator George Mitchell and it reported in January 1996, advocating a set of six principles that should underline the process of political dialogue. The IRA, as a reaction to the principles, ended its ceasefire and exploded a huge bomb in London's Canary Wharf, accusing the British government of wasting the opportunity for peace.

In May 1997, a new Labor government, led by Tony Blair won a parliamentary majority. The new British government quickly set about drawing Sinn Fein back into dialogue. The British government gave several commitments to Sinn Fein which were policing reform, employment equality, action to address contentious parading by Protestant Orangemen through Catholic areas and the transfer of Republican prisoners from jails in England to jails in the Republic of Ireland. Moreover, it was announced that decommissioning was secondary to actually getting people into talks and the demand for decommissioning prior to entry into talks was dropped. These commitments were followed by an IRA ceasefire in July 1997.

For the first time ever, talks which included all the parties to the conflict, that is the two governments, all the major political parties, and parties representing the main paramilitary organizations, began in September 1997 with US Senator George Mitchell as the chairman. Despite many difficult days, including periods when both Sinn Fein and the UDP were expelled from the talks for limited periods because of continuing violence by the parties with which they were associated, the talks continued. In April 1998, after 48 hours of intensive non-stop negotiations, all parties finally accepted the Belfast Agreement or the so-called "Good Friday Agreement"

It was also agreed that the agreement would need the ratification of the majority of people on the island of Ireland, both North and South. A copy of Good Friday Agreement was sent to every household and the Agreement was put to a referendum. Despite the reluctance of many Unionists who saw the agreement as a sell-out to terrorism and the reluctance of some Republican, who saw it as a sell-out on their goals of a united Ireland, the agreement was passed with a Yes vote by over 71% of the people of Northern Ireland and 94% in the Republic of Ireland (Fitzduff, 2002).

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF THE CYPRUS CASE

4.1 Context Variables

4.1.1   Characteristics of Parties

4.1.1.1 Regime Type

Regime types of parties in the Cyprus conflict will be examined in order to understand whether they are multi-party democracies or other regime types. In doing so, the number of political parties in both parties and the history of elections will be taken into account.

The Greek side of the island possesses a well-functioning multi-party democracy. The list of parliamentary and non-parliamentary parties is as follows:

TABLE 3. Political Parties in Republic of Cyprus

Parliamentary Parties	Non-parliamentary Parties
Democratic Rally	United Democrats
Progressive Party of Working People	Fighting Democratic Movement
Democratic Party	CWI Cyprus
Movement for Social Democracy	National Popular Front
European Party	
Ecological Movement	

To better understand the functioning of multi-party democracy, listing the results of recent elections is necessary. The results of legislative and parliamentary elections since 2001 are:

TABLE 4.

REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS
VOULE (ASSEMBLY) ELECTION OF 27 MAY 2001
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Parties

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------------------------------------------------------------
```
* AKEL - Anorthotikon Komma Ergazemenou Laou (Progressive
  Party of the Working People)
* DISI - Dimokratikos Sinagermos (Democratic Coalition)
* DIKO - Dimokratikon Komma (Democratic Party)
* ED - Enomeni Dimokrates (United Democrats)
* KISOS - Kinima Sosialdimokraton (Social Democratic
  Movement)
* NO - Neoi Orizontes (New Horizons)
```
------------------------------------------------------------
```


NATIONAL SUMMARY OF VOTES AND SEATS
```
============================================================
```
Votes and seats are compared with the elections of 1996
```
------------------------------------------------------------
```
467,543 voters, 428,981 (91.7%) voted
```
------------------------------------------------------------
```

Party	Votes	%	Change	Seats
AKEL	142,648	34.7	(+01.7)	20 (+1)
DIKO	60,986	14.8	(-01.6)	9 (-1)
DISI	139,721	34.0	(-00.5)	19 (-1)
ED	10,635	02.6		1
KISOS	26,767	06.5		4
NO	12,333	03.0		1
Others	17,897	04.3		2 (-5)

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```
17,994 (4.2%) invalid   410,987   56
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------------------------------------------------------------
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TABLE 5.

REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS
LEGISLATIVE ELECTION OF 21 MAY 2006
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Source: Cyprus government election website

Parties
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-----------------------------------------------------------------------
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* AKEL - Anorthotikon Komma Ergazemenou Laou (Progressive Party of
  the Working People)
* DISI - Dimokratikos Sinagermos (Democratic Coalition)
* DIKO - Dimokratikon Komma (Democratic Party)
* EK - Evropaiko Komma (European Party)
* KISOS - Kinima Sosialdimokraton (Movement for Social Democracy)
* KOP - Kinima Oikologoi Perivallontistoi (Ecological and

Environmental Movement)

NATIONAL SUMMARY OF VOTES AND SEATS
```
==================================================================
==
Votes and seats are compared with the elections of 2001
-------------------------------------------------------------------
Enrolled voters:      501,024
Votes cast:           445,915  89.0
Invalid votes:         24,828  05.6
Valid votes:          421,087  94.4

-------------------------------------------------------------------
Party               Votes    %     Change   Seats
-------------------------------------------------------------------
AKEL               131,066  31.1   -03.6     18  -02
DIKO                75,458  17.9   +03.1     11  +02
DISI               127,776  30.3   -03.7     18  -01
EK                  24,196  05.8              3  +03
KISOS               37,533  08.9   +02.4      5  +01
KOP                  8,193  02.0              1  +01
Others              16,865  04.0             -
-------------------------------------------------------------------
Total              421,087                   56
-------------------------------------------------------------------
```

Similarly, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus has a well-functioning multi-party democracy. The list of the political parties is:

TABLE 6. Political Parties in Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus

Major Parties	**Minor Parties**
Communal Democracy Party	New Party
Democratic Party	New Cyprus Party
Freedom and Reform Party	National Birth Party
National Unity Party	Nationalist Peace Party
Republican Turkish Party	Solution and EU Party
	United Cyprus Party

The results of the legislative and presidential elections since 2003 are:

TABLE 7.

**TURKISH REPUBLIC OF NORTHERN CYPRUS
LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS OF 15 DECEMBER 2003**

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Elections to the Temsilciler Meclisi (House of Representatives)
Source: Cyprusmedianet website

Parties

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* BDH - Baris ve Demokrasi Hareketi'ni (Peace and Democracy Movement)
* CTP - Cumhuriyetçi Türk Partisi (Republican Turkish Party)
* DP - Demokrat Partisi (Democratic Party)
* UBP - Ulusal Birlik Partisi (Party of National Unity)

NORTHERN CYPRUS SUMMARY

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==========

Party	Votes	%	Seats
Democratic Party (DP)	172,473	12.9 (-09.7)	7 (-6)
Party of National Unity (UBP)	439,249	32.9 (-07.4)	18 (-6)
Peace and Democracy Movement (BDH)	175,282	13.1	6 (+6)
Republican Turkish Party (CTP)	469,279	35.2 (+21.8)	19 (+13)
Others	77,261	05.8	- (-7)
Total	1,333,904		50

TABLE 8.

**TURKISH REPUBLIC OF NORTHERN CYPRUS
LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS OF 20 FEBRUARY 2004**

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Elections to the Temsilciler Meclisi (House of Representatives)
Source: Yeni Düzen Gazetesi website
Parties

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* BDH - Baris ve Demokrasi Hareketi'ni (Peace and Democracy Movement)
* CTP - Cumhuriyetçi Türk Partisi (Republican Turkish Party)
* DP - Demokrat Partisi (Democratic Party)
* UBP - Ulusal Birlik Partisi (Party of National Unity)

NORTHERN CYPRUS SUMMARY

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Votes and seats are compared with those won at the December 2003 election.

Enrolled voters: 147,249

Party	Votes	%	Seats
Democratic Party (DP)	174,721	13.5 (+00.6)	6 (-1)
Party of National Unity (UBP)	410,813	31.7 (-01.2)	19 (+1)
Peace and Democracy Movement (BDH)	75,747	05.8 (-07.3)	1 (-5)
Republican Turkish Party (CTP)	577,444	44.5 (+09.3)	24 (+5)
Others	55,284	04.3	-
Total votes cast	1,294,009		50

TABLE 9.

TURKISH REPUBLIC OF NORTHERN CYPRUS LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS OF 19 APRIL 2009

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Elections to the Temsilciler Meclisi (House of Representatives)
Source: Zaman website

Parties

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* CTP - Cumhuriyetçi Türk Partisi (Republican Turkish Party)
* DP - Demokrat Partisi (Democratic Party)
* ORP - Ozgurluk ve Reform Partisi (Freedom and Reform Party)
* TDP - Toplumcu Demokrasi Partisi (Communal Democracy Party)
* UBP - Ulusal Birlik Partisi (Party of National Unity)

NORTHERN CYPRUS SUMMARY

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Votes and seats are compared with those won at the 2005 election.

Enrolled voters: 161,373

Party	Votes	%	Seats
Communal Democracy Party (TDP)	97,334	06.9	2 +2
Democratic Party (DP)	150,695	10.6 -02.9	5 -1
Freedom and Reform Party (ORP)	87,879	06,2	2 +2
Party of National Unity (UBP)	622,804	44.0 +12.3	26 +7
Republican Turkish Party (CTP)	415,574	29.3 -15.2	15 -9
Others	42,166	03.0	-
Total votes cast	1,416,452		50

When examining the number of parties and election results, it is clear that both parties to the Cyprus conflict have multi-party democracies. It was mentioned before that mediation attempts involving two multi-party states are successful 35% of the time, which is above the overall average of 22%. Because the Cyprus case is categorized as involving two multi-party states, mediation attempt is more likely to be successful.

4.1.1.2 Relative Power

As for the second independent variable, power relations between parties in the Cyprus conflict will be analyzed. In doing so, power is defined as pure military capabilities of the party itself and its mother land. And therefore, the power of the Republic of Cyprus, Greece, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and Turkey will analyzed based on military terms.

Republic of Cyprus Armed Forces (Cyprus National Guard):

According to *The Military Balance, 1989-90*, published by the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, the National Guard had a complement of some 13,000 men on active duty in 1989. Scaled back from a peak of 35,000 in 1967, its size had remained fairly constant since the Turkish intervention in 1974. The bulk of its personnel were Greek Cypriot conscripts fulfilling twenty-six months of mandatory service.

Soldiers completing their active duty continued to serve in the reserves until age fifty, and officers until age sixty-five. As of 1990, it was estimated that the National Guard could call upon 66,000 first-line reserves and more than 30,000 older second-line reserves. Selected reserve units were called upon periodically without advance notice to test the mobilization system. A certain percentage of the reserves were mobilized annually to participate in a week of National Guard field exercises.

Armed Forces of Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (Turkish Cypriot Security Force):

In 1990 the dominant military force in the Turkish-administered northern sector of the island remained, as it had been since the Turkish invasion of 1974, the 28th and 39th infantry divisions of the Turkish Army, backed by an independent armored brigade and some artillery

support. The 28th division was headquartered at Asha (Pasaköy) to the northeast of Nicasia, and the 39th division near Morphou (Güzelyurt). The corps reserve was at Kythrea (Degirmenlik) to the northeast of Nicasia. The Turkish contingent was referred to officially as the Cyprus Turkish Peace Force. The original force of 40,000 troops was reduced shortly after the 1974 intervention. In early 1990, Turkish defense authorities claimed that the Cyprus contingent amounted to only 17,500, whereas Greek Cypriot authorities placed its strength at 35,000. Independent sources believed that the force numbered about 30,000.

Turkish Cypriot males were liable to conscription at age eighteen for a twenty-four-month period of service. Discharged soldiers served in the reserves until the age of fifty. The number of first-line and second-line reserves was estimated at 5,000 and 10,000, respectively, as of 1989.

TABLE 10. Armed Forces of Greece and Turkey

	Armed Forces of Greece	**Armed Forces of Turkey**
Armed forces personnel	159.000 (31st of 166)	610.000 (7th of 166)
Army personnel	116.000 (20th of 49)	525.000 (4th of 49)
Armed forces growth	minus 21 (93rd of 132)	minus 3 (79th of 132)
Expenditure % of GDP	4.48% (8th of 145)	3.23% (16th of 145)
Expenditure in dollar figure	5.890.000.000 (7th of 111)	12.155.000.000 (10th of 111)
Manpower availability	2.662.210 (70th of 175)	19.534.500 (17th of 175)
Weapon holdings	5.488.000 (16th of 137)	10.049.000 (9th of 137)

As it can be clearly seen from the military figures, Turkish Cypriot Armed Forces together with the support of Turkish army enjoys superiority in terms of military power. In statistical terms, it was mentioned that mediation attempts where parties have roughly equal power was five times greater (32%) than between unequal states (6%). The Cyprus case represents a mediation attempt between two parties with unequal power, and therefore, according to this criteria, it is more likely to be unsuccessful.

4.1.1.3 Previous Relations

To understand the history of relations between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, one needs to analyze the history between Turkey and Greece. The hostile history between two

motherlands is mirrored by the two communities of Cyprus. 1453, the year when Ottoman Turks conquered Istanbul (Constantinople), leading to the end of Byzantine Empire is considered as starting point of centuries long hostility between two parties. Although minor problems existed under Ottoman rule, relations were rather stable. Since Greece gained its independence from the Ottomans, the two countries have faced four major wars:

The Greco Turkish War (1897):

Greek politicians of the 19th century were determined to include all these territories within a greatly enlarged Greek state, based on the Byzantine model and with Constantinople (Istanbul) as its capital. This policy was called the Great Idea (*Megali Idea*). Constantinople had been the capital of the Eastern (i.e. Greek) half of the Roman Empire until its fall to the Turks in 1453. The Ottomans naturally opposed these plans.

During the Crimean War (1854 to 1856), Britain and France restrained Greece from attacking the Ottomans, by occupying Piraeus. Again during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 the Greeks were keen to join in with the objective of territorial expansion, but Greece was unable to take any effective part in the war. Nevertheless, after the Congress of Berlin, in 1881 Greece was given most of Thessaly and part of Epirus.

In 1897, a new revolt in Crete led to the first Greco-Turkish War. An unprepared Greek army was unable to dislodge the Ottoman troops from their fortifications along the northern border, and with the resulting Ottoman counter-attack, the war had a humiliating end for Greece, also resulting in some minor losses of territory for her.

The Balkan Wars (1912-1913):

The Young Turks, who seized power in the Ottoman Empire in 1908, were Turkish nationalists whose objective was to create a strong, centrally governed state. The Christian minorities, the Greeks and Armenians, saw their position in the Empire deteriorate. Crete was once again the flashpoint of Greek and Turkish aspirations. The Balkan Wars of 1912–1913 was a direct consequence of the mounting tension, as a result of which Greece seized Crete, the islands, the rest of Thessaly and Epirus, and coastal Macedonia from the Ottomans, in alliance with Serbia and Bulgaria.

The First World War (1914-1918):

Greece entered the First World War in 1917 with the intention of seizing Constantinople (Istanbul) and Smyrna (İzmir) from the Ottomans, with the encouragement of Britain and France, who also promised the Greeks Cyprus at a certain stage. Although there was little direct fighting between Greeks and Turks, when the Ottoman Empire collapsed in 1918 the Greeks were quick to claim the lands the Allies had promised them. The 1920 Treaty of Sèvres gave Greece eastern Thrace and an area of about 17,000 km² in western Anatolia around Smyrna. This Treaty was signed by the Ottoman government but never went into force, not having been ratified by Parliament.

The Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922):

Greece occupied Smyrna/İzmir on 15 May 1919, while Mustafa Kemal Pasha (later Atatürk), who was to become the leader of the Turkish opposition to the Treaty of Sèvres, landed in Samsun on May 19, 1919, an action that is regarded as the beginning of the Turkish War of Independence. He united the protesting voices in Anatolia and set in motion a nationalist movement to repel the armies that had occupied Turkey (including Italy, France and Britain) and establish new borders for a sovereign Turkish nation. Having created a separate government in Ankara, Kemal's government did not recognize the abortive Treaty of Sèvres and fought to have it revoked. The Greek advances into Anatolia were eventually checked and the Greek army was forced into retreat.

The Turkish army entered Smyrna/İzmir on 9 September 1922, effectively ending the Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922) in the field. The Greek army and administration had already left by sea. The war was put to an end by the Armistice of Mudanya, and the Treaty of Lausanne replaced previous treaties to constitute modern Turkey.

Apart from these major wars, the two countries have faced with several crises in their relations such as:

In September 1955, riots broke out against the Greek minority in Istanbul. The events, also known as Istanbul pogrom, were orchestrated by the government of Turkish Prime Minister Adnan Menderes. The Turkish mob consisted partly of government supporters transported into the city in advance. The events were triggered by the circulation of false

rumor that the house in Thessaloniki where Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was born had been destroyed by Greek terrorists.

Mobs assaulted Istanbul's Greek community for nine hours. Although the orchestrators of the pogrom did not explicitly call for Greeks to be killed, between 13 and 16 Greeks and at least one Armenian died during or after the pogrom as a result of lynching and arson. Many Greeks were severely wounded.

During 1960s and 1970s, due to the developments in Cyprus, two counties came to edge of a war. Developments in Cyprus during this period have already mentioned in history of Cyprus conflict part of this thesis.

Since the 1970s further issues arose between the two countries over sovereignty rights in the Sea. The conflict was motivated both by considerations of military tactical advantages and by questions of economic exploitation of the Aegean. The conflict over military flight activities has led to a practice of continuous tactical military provocations. Turkish aircraft regularly fly in the zones over which Greece claims control (i.e. the outer 4 miles of the claimed Greek airspace and the international parts of Athens FIR), while Greek aircraft constantly intercept them. Aircraft from both countries frequently engage in mock dog-fights.

As it can be understood from the history of relations between the motherlands of the parties to the conflict and the history of relations between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots which was mentioned in the history of Cyprus conflict chapter of this thesis, the previous relations between parties have an antagonistic nature. Statistically, mediating between parties with a history of friendship and cooperation has a 46% probability of success. However, mediation attempts between parties with a history of more than one dispute demonstrate the lowest probability of success with 16%. Under this criteria, mediation attempts in the Cyprus case, which has a history of antagonistic relations is expected to be unsuccessful.

4.1.2   Nature of Dispute
4.1.2.1 Duration

For the duration of the conflict in Cyprus, the chapter on the history of the conflict will be referred. If 1955, the formation of the National Organization of Cypriot Combatants (EOKA)

and Turkish civilians becoming a target for the EOKA is considered as the beginning of the conflict in Cyprus, the conflict had duration of 47 years by the time Kofi Annan intervened as the mediator in 2002. As the highest possibility of success is expected in mediation attempts taking place one to three months into a dispute, Kofi Annan's mediation in the Cyprus conflict happened much later than this time period. Under duration criteria, mediation attempt in Cyprus case has a lower possibility of success as it was done at a much later stage of the conflict.

4.1.2.2 Intensity

To understand whether the Cyprus conflict was a high-intensity or low-intensity conflict, the total number of causalities from both parties should be calculated. The Greek sources and Turkish sources give different figures for the loses during the conflict, especially the number of causalities during the 1974 intervention of Turkey. Some Greek sources claim that the loses of Greek Cypriots and Greek army during the intervention were more than 6.000 people. According to Turkish army sources, Turkish Cypriots together with the Turkish army suffered 840 causalities and 2.200 wounded. Greek Cypriots together with the Greek army had 4.000 causalities and 12.000 wounded.

Although the numbers differ from one source to another, both sources show that this is a high-intensity conflict with the number of fatalities over 1.000. According to the statistical data, mediation efforts in high-intensity conflicts have 17% probability of success while low-intensity conflicts have a 42% success rate. Based on this criteria, then again mediations attempt in Cyprus case are expected to be unsuccessful.

4.1.2.3 Issues

In the literature review part, four types of issues were named: sovereignty, ideology, security and independence. During the interviews on the Cyprus conflict, a clear consensus emerged that the issues at stake are a combination of security and sovereignty. In a recent poll, Cypriots considered security as the primary issue in the Cyprus conflict. Secondly, sovereignty is an important issue with two dimensions. The first issue about sovereignty is whether there should be one sovereignty representing whole island of Cyprus or two sovereignties representing two different communities. The second dimension is that if one sovereignty exists, how then should power be distributed among two communities. Minor issues such as the property of Greek Cypriots, which they had to leave behind after Turkish

intervention, and Turkish Cypriots' trying to become a part of international community are all related to the major issue of sovereignty. Although there is a difference in values as the two communities belong to different religions, both of them see multi-party democracy as the only possible political system on the island. Therefore, it cannot be said that the conflict is based on incapability about ideology. As Cyprus has already gained its independence from the British, it cannot be said that the main issue of the conflict is about independence. In general, the issues at stake in the Cyprus conflict are sovereignty and security. Statistics show that in conflicts where sovereignty and security are the basic issues, the probability of success in mediation is higher (23% and 27% respectively) compared to conflict related to ideology and independence (10% and 11% respectively). So, under the criteria of issues at stake, mediation efforts in the Cyprus conflict have a higher possibility of success.

4.1.3   The Identity and Characteristics of the Mediator

This variable has three dimensions which are impartiality of the mediator, his leverage and status. Among several combinations of these three variables, statistics show that an impartial mediator who is the leader of a government possessing rank, prestige and some leverage has a better chance of mediating successfully. Among mediation attempts by a mediator who fits to the description above, the success rate is 32%.

When Kofi Annan was the mediator of the conflict in Cyprus in 2002, he was the Secretary General of the United Nations. He was neither a government leader nor president of a strong state but rather a spokesperson of the international community, or more specifically the United Nations. There is a general consensus that Kofi Annan himself, as a career diplomat in the UN was impartial during the mediation process. However, he was criticized of not knowing the realities and sensitive issues in Cyprus. He was considered as an impartial outsider to the conflict. Lastly, in terms of leverage, as the Secretary General of the UN, he is not considered as a mediator possessing much leverage to be put towards negotiations. He did not have carrots to award the parties if they were to reach an agreement or did not have sticks to punish them they were not. However, both sides continued the process in order to be seen as compatible with the UN. Although his impartiality was accepted by both sides, because Kofi Annan was not a government leader with rank and leverage, he did not fit the definition of a mediator who has the highest possibility of success in mediation.

4.2 Process Variable

    4.2.1   Strategies of the Mediator

In the literature review part, three possible strategies of a mediator were named which were communication-facilitation (most passive), procedural and directive (most active). The more active strategies were the most effective ones in international mediation. Mediators using directive strategies, where they suggest new ways of seeing the dispute or alternate the motivational structure of the parties, have a success rate of 41%. An analysis of Kofi Annan's strategies during the mediation process in Cyprus clearly demonstrates that he played a very active and directive role. In former UN mediation attempts, mediator used more passive ways such as "good offices" or facilitation. They did not propose an agreement and their mediation had a limited scope. However, in the Kofi Annan case, the parties agreed that they would try to draft an agreement. If issues arise on which they could not agree, their motherlands (Turkey and Greece) would intervene to solve these issues. If, at the end, unresolved issues remained, Kofi Annan himself had the right to "fill the gaps" in the agreement. So the draft agreement proposed to the parties, which is also known as the "Annan Plan" was the product of active involvement of Kofi Annan. It can be said that in terms of mediator's strategy, the Cyprus case falls under the category of directive strategy and is expected to have a higher possibility of success.

ANALYSIS OF NORTHERN IRELAND

5.1. Context Variables

5.1.1. Characteristics of Parties

5.1.1.1. Regime Type

Regime type of Northern Ireland can be understood by looking at the number of Unionist and Republican political parties and history of recent election results. The Unionist, Republicans and other political parties can be listed as the following:

TABLE 11. Political Parties in Northern Ireland

Unionist Political Parties	Republican Political Parties	Other Political Parties
British National Front	Fianna Fail	Alliance Party of Northern Ireland
Democratic Unionist Party	Irish Republican Socialist Party	Communist Party of Ireland
Progressive Unionist Party	Republican Socialist Party	Socialist Party
Traditional Unionist Voice	Republican Sinn Fein	Socialist Workers Party
Ulster Unionist Party	Sinn Fein	Green Party in Northern Ireland
United Kingdom Independence Party	Social Democratic and Labor Party	Ulster Christian Democratic Party
United Unionist Coalition		Socialist Environmental Alliance
		Workers' Party of Ireland
		Ulster Third Way

To better understand the functioning of multi-party democracy, listing the results of recent elections is necessary. The results of legislative and parliamentary elections since 1998 are:

TABLE 12.

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND
ELECTION TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY, 25 JUNE 1998
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Parties

APNI - Alliance Party of Northern Ireland
DUP - Democratic Unionist Party
NIWC - Northern Ireland Women's Coalition
PUP - Progressive Unionist Party
SDLP - Social Democratic and Labour Party
SF - Sinn Fein (Ourselves Alone)
UKUP - United Kingdom Unionist Party
UUP - Ulster Unionist Party
PROVINCIAL SUMMARY
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Party	Votes	%	Seats
Alliance Party of Nthn Ireland	52,636	06.5	6
Democratic Unionist Party	145,917	18.0	20
Nthn Ireland Women's Coalition	13,019	01.6	2
Progressive Unionist Party	20,634	02.5	2
Social Democratic and Labour Party	177,963	22.0	24
Sinn Fein (Ourselves Alone)	142,858	17.6	18
United Kingdom Unionist Party	36,541	04.5	5
Ulster Unionist Party	172,225	21.3	28
Others	42,538	05.3	3
Total	804,331		108
Total Unionist parties	375,317	46.7	55
Total Nationalist parties	320,821	39.9	42
Others	108,193	13.4	11
Total	804,331		108

TABLE 13.

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND ELECTION TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY, 26 NOVEMBER 2003

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Parties

APNI - Alliance Party of Northern Ireland
DUP - Democratic Unionist Party
NIWC - Northern Ireland Women's Coalition
PUP - Progressive Unionist Party
SDLP - Social Democratic and Labour Party
SF - Sinn Fein (Ourselves Alone)
UKUP - United Kingdom Unionist Party
UUP - Ulster Unionist Party

PROVINCIAL SUMMARY

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Votes and seats are compared with those won at the 1998 elections
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Party	Votes	%	Seats
Alliance Party of Nthn Ireland	25,372	03.7 (-02.8)	6 (00)
Democratic Unionist Party	177,944	25.7 (+07.7)	30 (+10)
Nthn Ireland Women's Coalition	5,785	00.8 (-00.8)	- (-02)
Progressive Unionist Party	8,032	01.1 (-01.4)	1 (-01)
Social Democratic and Labour Party	117,547	17.0 (-05.0)	18 (-06)
Sinn Fein (Ourselves Alone)	162,758	23.5 (+05.9)	24 (+06)
United Kingdom Unionist Party	5,700	00.8 (-03.7)	1 (-04)
Ulster Unionist Party	156,931	22.7 (+01.4)	27 (-01)
Others	31,959	04.6	1 (-02)

Total	692,028	108

	Votes	%	Seats
Total Unionist parties	348,607	50.4 (+03.7)	59 (+01)
Total Nationalist parties	280,305	40.5 (+00.6)	42 (00)
Others	63,116	09.1	7 (-01)

Total	692,028	108

Number of political parties and elections results show that Northern Ireland has a multi-party democracy as political system representing both unionist and republican parties to the conflict. As it was mentioned in quantitative analysis of Bercovitch, mediation between multi-party democracies have 35% success rate. Northern Ireland case is under the category of mediation attempt within a multi-party democracy, which is expected to be more likely to create a successful mediation.

5.1.1.2. Relative Power

Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA):

In the early to mid 1970s, the numbers recruited by the Provisional IRA may have reached several thousand, but these were reduced when the IRA re-organized its structures from 1977 onwards. An RUC report of 1986 estimated that the IRA had 300 or so members in Active Service Units and up to 750 active members in total in Northern Ireland. This does not take into consideration the IRA units in the Republic of Ireland or those in Britain, continental

Europe, and throughout the world. In 2005, the then Irish Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform, Michael McDowell told the Dáil that the organization had between 1,000 and 1,500 active members. According to the book *The Provisional IRA* (Eamon Mallie and Patrick Bishop), roughly 8,000 people passed through the ranks of the IRA in the first 20 years of its existence.

Ulster Defense Association (UDA):

The Ulster Defense Association was formed in 1971 as an umbrella organization for the various Unionist factions in Northern Ireland. Such Unionist paramilitaries are militant groups committed to ensuring that Northern Ireland remains part of the United Kingdom.

The UDA was formed to unite the disparate loyalist paramilitaries under one banner and institute a more uniform military training and command structure. The most notable of the paramilitary groups housed under the UDA are the Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF) and the Ulster Young Militants (UYM). Charles Smith was the first leader of the UDA. The UDA began with 40,000 members in 1972.

TABLE 14. Armed Forces of United Kingdom and Republic of Ireland

	Armed Forces of UK	**Armed Forces of R. of Ireland**
Armed forces personnel	212.000 (23rd of 166)	12.000 (104rd of 166)
Army personnel	113.900 (21th of 49)	10.000 (132nd of 170)
Armed forces growth	minus 36 (106rd of 132)	minus 16 (88rd of 132)
Expenditure % of GDP	2.59% (26th of 145)	0.57% (110th of 145)
Expenditure in dollar figure	42.836.500.000 (3th of 111)	700.000.000 (8th of 111)
Manpower availability	14.877.700 (20th of 175)	1.024.635 (125th of 175)

Figures show that unionist paramilitaries have a numerical advantage compare to republican paramilitaries. When the power of British army is compared with republican paramilitaries together with armed forces of Republic of Ireland, there is still a big power gap in favor of unionists. Statistics showed that mediation attempts where parties have roughly equal power was five times greater (32%) than between unequal states (6%).As the conflict in

Northern Ireland was between two parties with unequal power, it is expected that mediation attempts are more likely to fail.

5.1.1.3. Previous Relations

The history shows that the relation between Catholics and Protestants always had an antagonistic nature leading to several armed conflicts. The relation between Irish Catholics and Protestants has been unfriendly as well ever since the first Protestant settlements in Ireland.

From the mid-16th and into the early 17th century, the British crown governments carried out a policy of land confiscation and colonization known as Plantations. Scottish and English Protestants were sent as colonists to the provinces of Munster, Ulster and the counties of Laois and Offaly. These Protestant settlers replaced the Irish Catholic landowners who were removed from their lands. The settlers would form the ruling class of future British administrations in Ireland. A series of Penal Laws discriminated against all faiths other than the established (Anglican) Church of Ireland. The principal victims of these laws were Catholics and later Presbyterians. The 17th century was perhaps the bloodiest in Ireland's history. Two periods of war (1641–53 and 1689–91) caused huge loss of life and resulted in the final dispossession of the Irish Catholic landowning class and their subordination under the Penal Laws.

In September 1914, just as the First World War broke out, the UK Parliament finally passed the Third Home Rule Act to establish self-government for Ireland, but was suspended for the duration of the war. The period from 1916-1921 was marked by political violence and upheaval, ending in the partition of Ireland and independence for 26 of its 32 counties. A failed militant attempt was made to gain separate independence for Ireland with the 1916 Easter Rising, an insurrection in Dublin. Though support for the insurgents was small, the violence used in its suppression led to a swing in support of the rebels. In addition, the unprecedented threat of Irishmen being conscripted to the British Army in 1918 (for service on the Western Front as a result of the German Spring Offensive) accelerated this change. In the December 1918 elections Sinn Féin, the party of the rebels, won a majority of three-quarters of all seats in Ireland, twenty-seven MPs of which assembled in Dublin on 21 January 1919, to form a thirty-two county Irish Republic parliament, the first Dáil Éireann unilaterally declaring sovereignty over the entire island.

Unwilling to negotiate any understanding with Britain short of complete independence, the Irish Republican Army — the army of the newly declared Irish Republic — waged a guerilla war (the Irish War of Independence) from 1919 to 1921. In the course of the fighting and amid much acrimony, the Fourth Government of Ireland Act 1920 implemented Home Rule while separating the island into what the British government's Act termed "Northern Ireland" and "Southern Ireland". In July 1921, the Irish and British governments agreed a truce that halted the war. In December 1921, representatives of both governments signed an Anglo-Irish Treaty. Under the Treaty, Northern Ireland could opt out of the Free State and stay within the United Kingdom: it promptly did so. For most of the next 75 years, each territory was strongly aligned to either Catholic or Protestant ideologies, although this was more marked in the six counties of Northern Ireland.

History of Protestants and Catholics in Ireland shows that these two groups have always had antagonistic relations with several armed conflicts and violent actions. Therefore, the previous relations between parties of the conflict in Northern Ireland are not friendly. As the statistics show that 46% of the mediation attempts between parties with a history of friendship and cooperation are successful, it is expected that mediating in Northern Irish case to be unsuccessful.

5.1.2. Nature of Dispute
5.1.2.1. Duration

There are different views on the date of the start of the Irish Troubles. Some says the civil rights march in Derry in 1968, others consider the deployment of British troops in 1969. As it formation of military groups were taking as the starting point of Cyprus conflict, it is better to take 1966 when Ulster Volunteer Force was formed as the start of conflict in Northern Ireland. From 1966 to 1995 when George Mitchell started to mediate in Northern Ireland conflict, it had duration of 29 years. As the highest possibility of success in mediation is expected to be between first and third month of a conflict, George Mitchell's mediation in Northern Ireland happened much later than this time period. Therefore, under duration criteria, this mediation attempt is expected to be unsuccessful.

5.1.2.2.   Intensity

The number of fatalities during the troubles enables us to understand if the conflict in Northern Ireland was a high-intensity or low-intensity one. So the total number of casualties during the Northern Ireland conflict is calculates as 3466. The table below shows the total number of loses by communities.

TABLE 15

Deaths in the 'Troubles' by Community
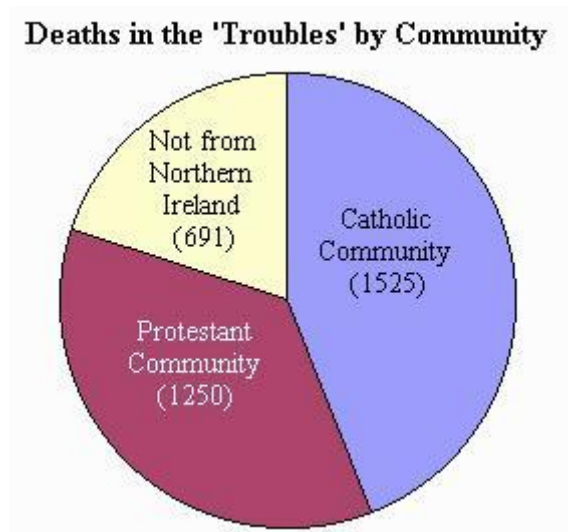
In this research, conflicts with over 1000 casualties are considered as high-intensity conflict. For this definition, the conflict in Northern Ireland is a high-intensity one. Statistical data shows that mediation affords in high-intensity conflicts have 17% of possibility to be successful while low-intensity conflicts have 42% success rate. Therefore, the mediation attempt in Northern Ireland is expected to be unsuccessful under this criteria.

5.1.2.3.   Issues

As mentioned in the literature review part, a conflict can have one of the four major issues at stake which are sovereignty, ideology, security and independence. Conflicts where independence is the issue are usually about a country trying to gain independence from a colonizer. In Irish case, as Ireland gained its independence decades before the troubles started, the issue in Northern Ireland conflict cannot be classified as independence. As the conflict is mainly between two groups of Christianity, it has a value dimension. However, religion and values are mobilizing factors rather the main issues in Northern Ireland. Since the ideology

issue was defined as the difference in perception of the political system of a country, in Northern Ireland conflict, we cannot consider ideology as the major issue. Sovereignty was defined as incompatible claims to a specific piece of territory. In Northern Ireland, the main issue was that the republicans considered Northern Ireland as part of Ireland and wanted a unified Irish island. However, unionists in the north wanted to keep Northern Ireland independent from the rest of the island to have their own leadership in this part. So the issue was related to incompatible claims of two groups over the territories at the north part of the Irish island. In this sense, the conflict was related to security of Protestants in the North as they were the minority in whole Irish island who are afraid of a Catholic domination and it was also related to security of Catholics in the North as they were the minority in Northern Ireland who are afraid of Protestant discrimination. This analysis shows that major issues in Northern Ireland conflict are related sovereignty and security. As mediating in conflicts related to sovereignty and security have a higher possibility of success (23% and 27% respectively), mediation attempt in conflict in Northern Ireland is expected to be successful.

5.1.3. The Identity and Characteristics of the Mediator

When George Mitchell accepted Bill Clinton's offer to mediate between parties in Northern Ireland, he was a senator of the United States. When Bill Clinton announced that he would put special efforts to solve the problem in Northern Ireland during his election campaign, he considered this issue as personal one. However, he did not choose to be the mediator in the conflict but sent George Mitchell for this special mission. In this sense, George Mitchell cannot be considered as a government leader but a special envoy of the US president. Although in the beginning of peace talks, some of the parties on the table did not accept him as the right mediator, the general opinion driven from the interviews was that he was an even-handed mediator. So he is said to be an impartial outsider to the conflict. Lastly, although he had full support of the US, he himself did not have so much leverage to offer to the parties. He was also not in a position to sanction the parties in case they would not reach an agreement. So in general, he was an impartial US senator with low level of leverage. Statistically, the highest percentage of success in international mediation belongs to impartial government leaders with prestige and some leverage. So George Mitchell as the mediator in Northern Ireland conflict did not fit in this category of mediators with the highest possibility of success.

5.2. Process Variable

5.2.1. Strategies of the Mediator

Among three possible strategies of a mediator which were communication-facilitation, procedural and directive, George Mitchell's strategy in Northern Ireland conflict fits best to the definition of the latest for several reasons. First of all, he was very active in choosing who should be on the negotiation table. He wanted to have inclusive talks with all parties in Northern Ireland presented on the table. So he came up with an election strategy that the parties who should be on the table would be chosen by an election. However, he prepared such an election model that enabled even the smallest parties of Northern Ireland to be present at the table. So the negotiators were representing all sides, levels and political ideologies of Northern Ireland society. Another reason why he was so directive as a mediator is that instead of just facilitating the peace talks, he drafted an agreement with the help of Swedish and British and with the experiences of former agreements such as the Anglo-Irish agreement. So both in the structure and process of the peace talks, he deployed an active role which shows that he used directive strategies. Since statistically, mediators with directive strategies reach success in 41% of the case, George Mitchell as a directive mediator had a higher chance of success in mediating Northern Ireland conflict.

CHAPTER 6

CROSS CASE CONCLUSIONS

So far the mediation of Kofi Annan in Cyprus and George Mitchell in Northern Ireland were analyzed according to determinants of mediation success which were proposed by Jacob Bercovitch's Contingency Model of Mediation. Eight hypotheses driven from his quantitative work 284 international mediation cases were tested in these two cases. In this part of the thesis, by looking at the results of analysis, some cross-case conclusions will be put forward. The aim of doing this cross-case analysis is to understand whether or not the determinants of success that Bercovitch put forward were enough to explain the success of George Mitchell and failure of Kofi Annan. In doing so, hypothesis related to each variable will be tested for both cases and results for eight hypotheses will be summarized with a table at the end.

6.1 Context Variables

6.1.1 Characteristics of the Parties

6.1.1.1 Regime Types

The hypothesis related to regime types was that "mediation attempts involving two multi-party states are more likely to be successful". When we analyzed Cyprus and Northern Ireland, the number of the parties and the recent election results in both cases proved that the parties in both cases have multi-party democracies. Therefore, as both mediation attempts involve multi-party states, they are expected to have a higher possibility of success.

6.1.1.2 Relative Power

The hypothesis related to relative power was that "mediation attempts between states with roughly equal power are more likely to be successful". Analysis of conflicts in Cyprus and Northern Ireland showed that both conflicts were between parties with asymmetric power relations. In Cyprus case, during the Turkish intervention to the island in 1974 and the time period after the intervention, the Turkish Cypriots with the support of Turkish army has always been the stronger side in Cyprus in terms of military power. Armed forces of Turkish Cypriots together with Turkey compared to armed forces of Greek Cypriots together with Greece still have superiority, in terms of military power.

When the power relation in Northern Ireland is compared, the Unionist paramilitaries have a numerical advantage compared to republican paramilitaries. The power asymmetry is clearer when British armed forces in Northern Ireland are brought into the picture. Since British army was also fighting them, Republican paramilitaries were in a weakest position in terms of military power.

At the final analysis, mediation affords in both cases were between parties with asymmetric power relations. Therefore, mediation initiatives are expected to have a low possibility of success.

6.1.1.3 Previous Relations

The hypothesis related to history of relations between parties was that "mediation attempts between states with a history of friendship are more likely to be successful". When the history of relations between Greeks and Turks was analyzed, we saw that two nations had been enemies since the Ottoman and Byzantine Empire times. These two nations fought major wars during the Balkan Wars and the First World War. During the modern history of Greece and Turkey, these two states had several incompatible issues and the tension between them reached to the levels where two countries were about to go into war. The relation between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots was also antagonistic from time to time since the invasion of Cyprus by Ottomans in1571. Even before Turkish intervention in 1974, there were violent actions between two groups on the island. Therefore, the previous relations between parties in Cyprus conflict clearly have an antagonistic nature.

The analysis of history of relations in Northern Ireland conflict started with the history of relations between Catholics and Protestants as this was the main mobilizing factor in the conflict. Several wars in Europe were fought between Catholics and Protestants, among which the Thirty Years War was the most devastating one. When we focused on the relation between Catholics and Protestants in island of Ireland, the relations had always been unfriendly between two groups since the first Protestant settlers reached to the island. Therefore, it is also clear in Northern Ireland case that the parties have a history of antagonistic relations.

In both of the cases, the mediation attempts were between parties with history of bad relations, so they were expected to be unsuccessful.

6.1.2   Nature of the Dispute

6.1.2.1 Duration

The hypothesis related to timing of the mediation was that "mediation attempts taking place one to three months into a dispute are more likely to be successful". In Cyprus case the formation the National Organization of Cypriot Combatants (EOKA) in 1955 and its attacks on Turkish Cypriots was taken as the starting point of the conflict. By the time Kofi Annan started his mediation in 2002, the conflict already had a history of 47 years. Similarly, the beginning of the conflict in Northern Ireland was considered as the formation of Ulster Volunteer Force in 1966. When George Mitchell intervened as the mediator in 1995, the conflict already had a history of 29 years. Both of the mediation attempts were much later than the optimum timing that was proposed in the hypothesis. Therefore, their mediations are expected to have a lower possibility of success.

6.1.2.2 Intensity

The hypothesis related to intensity was that "mediation attempts in low-intensity disputes are more likely to be successful". Here "low-intensity" was defined as conflicts with fatalities of 500 to 1000. When the number of fatalities in Cyprus conflict is analyzed, only during the Turkish intervention on the island, a total of approximately 5000 people lost their lives and 15.000 people were wounded. In Northern Ireland, only during the troubles, over 3000 people were killed by the republican and unionist paramilitaries, as well as the British army. As we defined intensity purely by looking at the number of fatalities, both conflicts are high-intensity conflicts. Therefore, mediating in these two cases are expected to be unsuccessful.

6.1.2.3 Issues

The hypothesis related to the issues was that "mediation attempts in conflict where sovereignty or security are the basic issues are more likely to be successful". Among four types of issues which were sovereignty, ideology, security and independence, the conflict in Cyprus is mostly about sovereignty and security. Whether there should be one sovereignty representing whole island or two sovereignties representing each group and if there is one sovereignty which group should take more role in it were the major issues in Cyprus conflict. Recent polls also showed that Cypriots of both communities see security as the main issue in the conflict. Isolation makes Turkish Cypriots feel insecure about their future and current

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Turkish troops on the island and another possible intervention make Greek Cypriots feel unsecure.

Similarly, the conflict in Northern Ireland is mostly related to the status of the territory in North part of Ireland Island. The issue of whether it should unite with the rest of Ireland or stay as a part of the United Kingdom is entirely related to sovereignty over these territories. As Protestants feel unsecure as the minority in whole island of Ireland and as Catholics feel unsecure as the minority in Northern Ireland, security becomes a major issue of the conflict.

Analysis shows that the main issues in both conflicts are related to sovereignty and security. Therefore mediating in these cases has a higher possibility of success according to this hypothesis.

6.1.3   The Identity and Characteristics of the Mediator

The hypothesis related to the identity and characteristics of the mediator was that "mediation attempts by impartial government leaders, possessing rank and prestige with some leverage are more likely to be successful". The cases were analyzed under three variables which were status, impartiality and leverage of the mediators. In Cyprus case, Kofi Annan as Secretary General of the United Nations was an impartial mediator with low leverage. In Northern Ireland, George Mitchell as a United States senator was also an impartial mediator with low leverage. Both of the mediators did not fit to the definition of mediator with highest possibility of success. Therefore, mediation efforts in both cases are expected to have a lower possibility of success.

6.2 Process Variable

6.2.1.   Strategies of the Mediator

The hypothesis related to the strategies of the mediator was that "mediation attempts with directive strategies of the mediator are more likely to be successful". The possible strategies of a mediator were classified under three categories which were communication-facilitation, procedural and directive. When the strategies of Kofi Annan in mediating Cyprus conflict are analyzed, it is clearly seen that he played an active role which is considered as directive strategies. His shuttle diplomacy between parties and taking individual initiative in filling the gaps in draft agreement and proposing it to the parties with the name of "Annan Plan" are examples of his active strategy.

George Mitchell, in mediating Northern Ireland conflict, was also an active mediator with directive strategies. His important role in election of parties to the table and similar to Kofi Annan, taking individual initiative in drafting the agreement are examples of this active strategy. Since the hypothesis proposes that mediators with directive strategies have a better chance of success in international mediation, both mediators, with their active strategies, had a high chance of being successful.

When cases are analyzed and compared under these eight hypotheses, an interesting cross-case conclusion is reached which is summarized in the following table. Mediation efforts and the mediators in both the Cyprus case and the Northern Ireland case comply with three of the eight hypotheses. In Cyprus case three variables which are regime types, issues and strategies of the mediator comply with highest possibility of success. In the other five variables which are relative power, previous relations, duration, intensity and the identity of the mediator Cyprus case is under the category of lower possibility of success. The mediation effort in Northern Ireland also complies with highest possibility of success in three variables and with lower possibility of success in five variables. The most interesting finding is that the variables that match with highest possibility of success and lower possibility of success are the same variables for both of the cases. In other words, when we give "yes" and "no" according to compliance with the highest possibility of success, both of the cases get three "yes" and five "no" on same variables.

TABLE 16. Cross-Case Conclusions

Eight Hypothesis	Cyprus	Northern Ireland
Multi Party Democracy	YES	YES
Roughly Equal Power	NO	NO
History of Friendship	NO	NO
Intervention in One to Three Months	NO	NO
Low Intensity	NO	NO
Territory and Security Issues	YES	YES
Government Leader with Leverage	NO	NO
Directive Strategies of Mediator	YES	YES

According to the analysis of these two cases under the determinants of success put forward by Bercovitch, theoretically both of the mediation attempts are expected to fail. However, in reality while Kofi Annan's attempt was unsuccessful in Cyprus, George Mitchell's attempt was successful in Northern Ireland. Therefore the conclusion is that the outcomes of international mediation efforts of Kofi Annan in Cyprus and George Mitchell in Northern Ireland cannot be explained by context and process variables of Contingency Model of Mediation and quantitative conclusions of Jacob Bercovitch.

During the data collection part of the research, variables other than those proposed by the model are also tried to be discovered. Analysis of the documents and interview results showed other factors which affected the result of the mediation attempts. Additional three context variables and two process variables, which had dramatic effects on success and failure of the cases, were found.

To start with additional context variables, the intensity of international pressure played an important role on the outcome of two mediations. The US president Bill Clinton gave promises to American citizens of Irish origin that he will put efforts in solving the conflict in Northern Ireland. Therefore, after he got elected as the president, he considered Northern Ireland issue as a personal one and pressured the parties to find a solution to the conflict. With this aim, he sent George Mitchell as the mediator to the conflict. The US was not the only international actor which was pressuring for a solution. The EU was also pushing for a solution as it finds such a conflict within the EU territories shameful and contradictory to the basic values of the union. Together with the pressure, the EU also invested considerable amount of funds to the peace process in Northern Ireland. However, when we look at the Cyprus conflict, we do not see any pressure from strong states of the international community. Although this conflict was also within the European territories, the EU did not pressure and invest enough to make parties reach a solution. By declaring that Republic of Cyprus will become a member of the EU on May 2004 even if it does not find a solution to its border problem with the North, the EU even played a destructive role in the peace process. If the EU had used its "carrot" which is the membership more wisely, the mediation affords of Kofi Annan could have ended differently. So international pressure was high in Northern Ireland, it was relatively low in Cyprus.

Another additional context variable is the involvement of civil society in the peace process. In Northern Ireland, the number of peace projects at grassroots level and the number of NGOs operating in this area was much higher than those in Cyprus. The amount of the EU funds available for such projects in Northern Ireland made it easier to support the formal efforts with efforts at grassroots level. Although there were informal initiatives in Cyprus mostly by foreign academic, the grassroots level peace initiatives were relatively weak. The grassroots projects in Northern Ireland prepared a positive public opinion to a solution. So the number of informal initiatives was high in Northern Ireland and relatively low in Cyprus.

Yet another additional context variable is language which was repeatedly emphasized during the interviews. In Northern Ireland, both parties' and the mediator's native language was English. That played a crucial role in facilitating the communication and decreasing the misunderstandings. At grassroots level, speaking the same language increased the chance of social interactions between two communities. However, in Cyprus case, Turkish side is speaking in Turkish, Greek side is speaking in Greek and as a diplomat from Gana, Kofi Annan was speaking in English. Therefore, the mediation process continued with the help of interpreters, which made it more possible for misunderstandings. Moreover, since two communities speak different language, the interactions between them were also limited. So language played a facilitating role in Northern Ireland, but a destructive role in Cyprus.

Secondly, two additional process variables were found, first of which is the nature of the peace talks. In Cyprus, Kofi Annan was mediating between presidents of Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Since in both communities presidents are elected, they represent their constituencies. So in peace talks the opposition leaders and their constituencies were not represented. This exclusive nature of the peace talks in Cyprus played a negative role during the referenda for Annan Plan. However, in Northern Ireland, George Mitchell came up with a formula which enabled even smaller parties to have representatives on negotiation table. Not only main unionist and republican parties but also neutral parties such Alliance party or small parties such as Women's Coalition were present on the table. This inclusive nature of peace talks played an important role in getting a high percentage of "YES" votes for the agreement. So exclusive nature of Cyprus negotiations, and inclusive nature of Northern Ireland negotiations made a crucial impact on the result of the mediation attempts.

The second additional process variable is the role of leaders during the negotiations and referenda. In Northern Ireland, after inclusive negotiations, almost all parties on the table reached a consensus on the draft agreement which would be put on a referenda. Since the agreement was mutually created and satisfactory for all parties, each of them made a "YES" campaign before the voting. However, in Cyprus, the leaders of the two communities were not satisfied with the agreement from the beginning. Since neither of them wanted to be seen as deal-breaker in the eyes of international community, they both agreed the terms of the agreement. Contradictory to what they agree on table, both leaders started a "NO" campaign before the referenda. Although the "NO" campaign of the Turkish leader was not success, since majority of the Turkish community voted for the agreement, it had a negative impact on votes of the Greek community who voted "NO" to the agreement. So in Northern Ireland the leaders played a constructive role in affecting the public vote for the agreement, while in Cyprus the leaders played a destructive role with their "NO" campaigns.

The following chart summarizes the differences in additional context and process variables which are considered as a better explanation for success and failure of the mediation attempts in Cyprus and Northern Ireland.

TABLE 17. Additional Variables

Context Variables:	Cyprus	Northern Ireland
International Pressure	Relatively Low	Relatively High
Informal Peace Initiatives	Relatively Low	Relatively High
Language	Different	Same
Process Variables:		
Nature of the Peace Talks	Exclusive	Inclusive
Role of the Leaders	Destructive	Constructive

CONCLUSION

The aim of this research was to find the answer to the question of "what are the determinants of the success and failure in international mediation?" By examining the mediation efforts of Kofi Annan in Cyprus conflict and George Mitchell in Northern Ireland conflict, the effects of context and process variables on outcome of mediation were tried to be understood.

In doing so, the determinants in Jacob Bercovitch's Contingency Model of Mediation were taken as independent variables. Eight hypotheses related to context variables (nature of parties, nature of dispute and nature of mediator) and process variable (strategies of the mediator) were tested on two cases. With the light of data collected by three different methods (documentary information, interviews and direct observation), the cases were examined to understand whether or not they are in line with the eight hypothesis. At the end, it was found that each case falls under the category of high percentage of success in three hypotheses which are "multi party democracies", "territory and security issues" and "directive strategies of the mediator". Under remaining five hypotheses, the cases fall under the category of low percentage of success. From this analysis, it was concluded that theoretically both mediations attempts should have been unsuccessful. However, in reality Cyprus case was a failure while Northern Ireland case was a success.

During the data collection part of the research, possible determinants other than those proposed by Bercovitch were also tried to be discovered. At the end of the research, those additional factors better explained the results of the mediations. Low level of international pressure, low number of informal initiatives, different languages, exclusive nature of the peace talks and destructive role of the leaders made a crucial impact in unsuccessful outcome of Kofi Annan's mediation in Cyprus. On the other hand, high level of international pressure, high number of informal initiatives, same language, inclusive nature of the peace talks and constructive role of the leaders made a positive impact on successful outcome of George Mitchell's mediation in Northern Ireland.

Finally, it can be said that by examining two cases, because of the complex nature of international mediation, hypothesis of Jacob Bercovitch and the variables in his Contingency Model is not sufficient to explain the success or failure of a mediation attempt. Additional context and process variables should also be examined in order to have a better understanding

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of the outcome of an international mediation attempt. As a future research proposal, the additional variables proposed in this research should be examined on other cases of international mediation. An increase in the number of case specific researches will enable us to have better understanding of determinants of success in international mediation.

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