

**THE IMPACT OF TURNING POINTS ON THE CHANGE OF IMAGES IN A
CONFLICT SOCIETY: A STUDY OF NARRATIVES IN CYPRUS**

BY

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CONFLICT SOCIETY: A STUDY OF NARRATIVES IN CYPRUS**

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To my parents and Thanos,
whose valuable support helped me complete this journey...

ABSTRACT

THE IMPACT OF TURNING POINTS ON THE CHANGE OF IMAGES IN A CONFLICT SOCIETY: A STUDY OF NARRATIVES IN CYPRUS

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M.A. in Conflict Analysis and Resolution

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Turning points are considered to be one of the key factors that can influence not only the formation of negative images but also their perpetuation or elimination in a conflict society. As a result, the examination and analysis of potential negative and/or positive turning points for a specific conflict are of central importance since they can reveal a great deal of both the already existing images and the possible shifts in these images. In the present study, a negative and a positive turning point in the Cyprus Conflict were chosen to be examined.

The violent incidents in the Green Line in 1996 are described as one of the worst episodes since the partition of the island. They caused the lives of at least three people, whereas many others were seriously injured. Inevitably, it led to the escalation of the conflict. On the other hand, the opening of the checkpoints in 2003 is characterized as the first serious attempt for the resolution of the conflict. For the first time after thirty

years, they had the chance to meet and talk to the ‘other’ by visiting their places of origin.

This thesis examines the negative or positive impact of turning points on the change of images in the case of Cyprus Conflict. The data were derived from citizens’ narratives published as articles in the press. Content analysis was used for their analysis, whereas a coding schema was created for the depiction of the potential changes in the images.

The results of the research suggest that positive turning points lead to positively changing in the images that each party holds for the ‘other’ and, respectively, negative turning points lead to the negatively changing in the images that each party holds for the ‘other’.

Key Words: International Image Theory, Turning Points, Narratives, Cyprus, Violent Incidents in the Green Line in 1996, Opening of the Checkpoints in 2003

ÖZET

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Uyumsuzluk Analizi ve Çözümü Yüksek Lisans, Sanatta Yeterlilik Tezi

Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Ayşe Betül Çelik

Dönüm noktaları, çatışma içindeki bir toplumda, negatif yansımaların sadece oluşumunu değil aynı zamanda idame veya yok edilmelerini de etkileyebilen anahtar faktörlerdendir. Bunun sonucunda, belirli bir çatışma için potansiyel negatif ve/veya pozitif dönüm noktalarının incelenme ve analizi hayati önem taşır çünkü hem halihazırdaki yansımalar hem de bu yansımalarındaki değişimlerle ilgili çok şey ortaya koyabilir. Bu çalışmada, Kıbrıs Sorunu'ndaki bir pozitif ve bir negatif dönüm noktası incelenmek üzere seçilmiştir.

1996'da Yeşil Hat'taki olaylar adanın taksiminden bu yana olan en kötü dönemlerden sayılmaktadır. En az üç kişinin hayatına mal olmuş ve birçoğu da ciddi olarak yaralanmıştır. Bu da kaçınılmaz olarak, çatışmanın tırmanmasına yol açmıştır. Öte yandan, 2003'te control noktalarının açılması, sorunun çözümü için ilk ciddi teşebbüs olarak tanımlanmıştır. Otuz sene üzerine ilk defa, köklerinin bulunduğu yerleri ziyaret ederek “öteki” ile tanışıp, konuşma fırsatı bulmuşlardır.

Bu tez Kıbrıs Sorunu'ndaki yansımalarla olan değişimlerde dönüm noktalarının negatif ve pozitif etkisini incelemektedir. Data, basında makaleler şeklinde yayımlanan vatandaşların anlatılarından toplanmıştır. Analizlerinde içerik analizi kullanılmıştır ve yansımalarla ilgili potansiyel değişimleri yansıtmak için de bir kodlama şeması oluşturulmuştur.

Bu araştırmanın sonuçları göstermiştir ki pozitif dönüm noktaları iki tarafın da “öteki” için olan yansımalarında pozitif değişimlere sebep olmuştur ve aynı şekilde, negative dönüm noktaları da iki tarafın “öteki” için olan yansımalarında negative değişim yapmıştır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Uluslararası Yansıma Teorisi, Dönüm Noktaları, Anlatılar, Kıbrıs

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The formation of stereotypes or intergroup images about the ‘other’ and their role in the relationships among certain groups has attracted much attention from scholars from different disciplines. Especially in the field of conflict analysis and resolution, the acknowledgement of the important role that perceptions can play in the escalation or de-escalation of a conflict has captured the interest of many scholars. Many studies have been conducted focusing on ways which elimination of perceptions and change in images can be achieved. In all the above studies, the ultimate aim is, of course, the reduction or resolution of a conflict.

Towards this direction, this thesis attempts to explore the impact of turning points on the change of images in a conflict society. In order to have a more concrete idea and a more thorough and practical understanding of the subject, I chose Cyprus conflict as my case study. In other words, an effort will be made to determine possible connection between positive and negative turning points and change in the images of the ‘other’ by analyzing citizens’ narratives published in the press.

More analytically, the six chapters of the thesis aim to offer a comprehensive understanding of the subject. In particular, in the second chapter a literature review is given defining and summarizing the main concepts which will be used in the current research. Firstly, the concept of ‘image’ as emerged in the international relationships and used in the realm of conflict analysis and resolution is discussed. In addition, the notion and role of turning points and narratives are introduced. Finally, a description of

the chosen case study follows with the emphasis put in the selection of the particular turning points (opening of the checkpoints in 2003 and violent incidents in the Green Line in 1996).

In the third chapter, the reader will be familiarized with the methodology chosen to address this issue. The data were derived from citizens' narratives published as articles in a Greek - Cypriot newspaper, called 'Alithia' by a Turkish Cypriot journalist, Sevgül Uludağ. Content analysis was used for the analysis of the data, focusing in the period of six months before and after each turning point occurred. Finally, a coding schema had been created depicting the components of each type of image, according to the international image theory, in order to observe both separately the change of images in each one of the categories formed but also the general picture of each type of image.

In the fourth chapter, the findings of this research are presented. A full description of the images found in each period for each turning point is given, as well as the overall change between the two periods in each turning point.

In the fifth chapter, a discussion over the findings of this research takes place with the emphasis put in the prediction or not of the propositions made in the beginning. Moreover, an attempt to explain what the findings represent has been made.

Finally, in the last chapter, firstly the conclusions derived from the particular research and their contribution are discussed and secondly some suggestions are given for possible future research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 General Overview

This chapter attempts to present the existent literature on the basic concepts that this research focuses on, in order to familiarize the reader with its scope. For the better understanding of its content, a description of its components will follow. Therefore, the main concepts discussed and analyzed here are these of images, turning points and narratives. For the first one, definitions are given both from the realm of the international relations and conflict analysis and resolution field in order to explain its structure and role. As for the remaining two, their role in the formation, perpetuation or change of the images is addressed. Finally, it includes a briefly description of the chosen case study.

2.2 Images in International Relations

The formation of stereotypes and the role of intergroup perceptions in the relationships among certain groups are popular subjects among scholars in social psychology. On the other hand, the study of images which nations hold about themselves and each other in the international environment has captured the interest of political scientists for many decades. The attempt to study these two in relation to each other leads the scholars to a new theory: the international image theory.

The concept of image in international relations was first introduced by Boulding (1959, p.120-121) who defined it as “total cognitive, affective and evaluative structure of the behaviour unit or its internal view of itself and its universe”. He suggested that in international relations images reflect the picture of a nation for itself and the other basic actors around it, in terms of predicting and explaining their behaviour. Usually, the case is that decision-makers’ actions are determined by variables such as the level of hostility or friendliness towards another nation, the perceived strength or weakness of that nation and the stability or security of such a relationship. In the end, all these variables shape the ‘image’ which each nation holds for each other and itself. Each nation responds to a certain situation depending on the constructed ‘image’ of the situation rather than the situation itself. The significant and influential role that self-images and other's images can play on the relations among states in the international environment became a popular subject among scholars for many decades (Boulding, 1959; Holsti, 1962; Jervis, 1976; Cottam, 1977).

In all of the above studies there was a reference to the complex formation of a nation’s image, since a nation is represented by a multiplicity of subjects, each of whom holds different perceptions about its own actions and other’s image. However, they concluded that research should focus on images developed by two main groups: a) that of the powerful elite, which is the central actor in decision making mechanisms and b) of the masses who do not directly play a key-role in the decision-making but are the ones who suffer from the consequences. It is true, though that the first group received more attention in the literature through the years. That is logical to a certain extent since in the realm of international relations the powerful elite is represented by a very

few individuals who hold key positions in the decision-making mechanism. However, it is also essential to examine and take into consideration the ordinary people's reaction to crucial events that have a great impact in shaping their worldview of 'oneself' and the 'other'.

As mentioned above, a lot of studies exist that examine the relationship between 'belief systems', perceptions/images and decision-making. According to Boulding (1959: 121), the image is "a product of messages received in the past and developed partly by its inputs and outputs of information and partly by internal messages and its own laws of growth and stability". More specifically, the belief system of a decision-maker is composed of many 'images' deriving from the past, present and future including, of course, his/her worldview of 'oneself' and the 'other'. According to the information received about a certain situation the decision-maker shapes his/her perceptions of reality and defines his/her behaviour towards itself and the other nations involved. However, there is always a possibility that one's belief system can change in case the structure changes by the impact of the information received (Holsti; 1962: 245).

A serious concern here arises from the important role that stereotyped national images can hold in the dynamics of the international system. Mainly, they are formed during our childhood and transmitted from generation to generation through family culture. Other factors such as propaganda or education can contribute to the further maintenance of those images. Propaganda is considered to be an asset, sometimes though a dangerous one, in the hands of powerful elites. Usually, it is used in order to manipulate masses in constructing negative 'images' about a particular group or nation. It emphasizes the advantages of the 'self' and creates enemy images of the 'other'. The negative attributes of the 'other' constitute the reference point against which the positive attributes of 'self' are clearly illustrated in a pattern of binary oppositions. The most popular example that can be drawn from the history is the anti-Semitic propaganda used by the Nazi during the World War II.

On the other hand, each nation's education system is designed to satisfy its needs for the maintenance of the already constructed national images. It is well-known that education can play a vital role in shaping and preserving these images. The latter can be achieved through teaching of history in schools. Usually, what is the case is the fact that

people are taught and learn history only from their national's perspective. Moreover, they tend to highlight their own role in the history telling and ignore this of the others.

In this regard, it is easy to explain why national images are so strong and very difficult to change. As Boulding mentions (1959: 122) the reason lies on the fact that “an image which extends through time, backward into a supposedly recorded or mythological past and forward into an imagined future”. The more and better somebody is taught about his/her own history the stronger his/her national image will be. The use of extreme images not only enables the marginalization of the mass but also serves as a perfect justification for certain violent actions against another state or group of people. In that sense, it is easy to conclude why each state perceives itself as the 'defensive' one whereas the other is always described as the 'aggressive'. In other words, each believes that its own actions are legitimate, whereas the others are illegitimate (Snyder & Diesing, 1977: 293).

The relationship of national images to international conflicts led Wright (1957: 266) to conclude that “international conflict frequently is not between states, but rather between distorted images of states”. This connection between the two variables is also explored by Stein. She refers to the concept of image as “a set of beliefs or the hypotheses and theories than an individual or group is convinced as valid. It also includes both experience-based knowledge and values, or beliefs about desirable behavior” (Stein, 2001:190). In other words, individuals can form their images of the ‘self’ and the ‘other’ based on two factors: on hostile actions taken by another nation or group and/or their carefully constructed belief system shaped by the information, education and propaganda received through the years. Consequently, intergroup differences and embedded images can play an important role in the eruption of violent conflicts.

2.3. Images as Schemas

Image theory suggests that the images or stereotypes each state holds for itself and other states in the international system influence significantly its strategic decision-making. It is worth mentioning that these images derive from the existing relations among the states and explain their behavior towards one another. More specifically, the concepts that refer to self's and other's behavior are structured in group schemas with well-defined cognitive elements. Image theory borrows the notion of schema from the psychological realm, where schema is defined as a "cognitive structure that represents knowledge about a concept or type of stimulus, including its attributes and the relations among these attributes" (Fiske and Taylor; 1991: 98).

According to schema theory an individual's knowledge about a certain situation or another actor is organized into clusters. This enables the individual's mind to handle a variety of information by influencing the selection, interpretation and memory of them. In other words, schemas help a subject's perceptions to be shaped either by reducing the information that do not correlate with their existing knowledge or by analyzing the information in correspondence to the existing schema. Actually, what we can infer from the above is the fact that a person tends to explain the behavior of another actor based on the knowledge and image that already holds for that actor.

At the international level, schema theory proved extremely helpful in assuming, clarifying and finally predicting decision-maker's foreign policy choices. There is no need anymore to identify every aspect of a subject's perceptions in order to explain his/her behavior; it is enough to recognize some aspects of it. As a result, the schematic patterns can provide us with the basis for predicting foreign policy choices.

2.4 International Image Theory

The literature until very recently focuses, mainly, on enemy images, the construction of which is one of the most serious barriers in the effort of conflict reduction and resolution. Much attention has been paid, so far, by a number of scholars (e.g. Herrmann, 1985; Hurwitz & Puffley, 1990; Silverstein, 1989) on the study of the enemy images generated during the period of the Cold War (U.S. & Soviet Union) and their impact on the decision-making. Jervis's studies on enemy images lead him to conclude that the enemy is perceived as "motivated by a very few self-serving interests, all of which are judged to be evil and immoral" (as quoted in M.Alexander, M. Brewer & R. Herrmann, 1999:78). He continues by suggesting that the enemy image describes its opponent as conspirator and the decision-making system as deep, monolithic and hierarchical. In addition, according to Thompson (1991:155) the enemy image is viewed as "a necessary precondition for aggressive competition between nations, and essential for the maintenance of armed hostilities". Finally, it should be noted that the creation of enemy images among adversaries for each other can only lead to further tension even to a possible escalation on their relationship.

However, many scholars including White (1968), R. Cottam (1977), M.L. Cottam (1986, 1994) and Herrmann & Fischerkeller (1995) emphasize the fact that enemy images have proved unsatisfactory for explaining all different forms of strategic relations between states. The formation of new images (such as the ally, imperialist, colonialist, degenerate and barbarian image), was based on the organization of basic parts of the images into sets of attributes. These attributes describe the target country's motivations, the decision-making process in the target country and the willpower and abilities of the country. Herrmann et.al (1997) came into the conclusion through their research that "these attributes were connected to each other in systematic ways and that enemy, ally, colony and degenerate images had schematic properties" (as quoted in M.Alexander, M. Brewer & R. Herrmann, 1999:78).

Therefore, they suggest that for the purpose of identifying the different types of images and their components, it is necessary to come up with a theory of strategic decision-making. Therefore, strategic decision-making should include the particular

features which represent foreign policy choices towards the 'other'. They imply that these features are the following: a) the perceived relative capability of the other actor, b) the perceived threat and/or opportunity another actor represents and finally c) the perceived culture of the other actor. The first two have their origins in the international relations realm, especially in the realist theory, whereas the third in that of the sociology and psychology. As a result, the relationships which are analyzed through these three elements, can offer insights about the other's actor motivations, decision-making process and willpower which in return provide necessary explanations about 'self's' and 'other's' behavior. Judging from the above, it is easy to conclude that the formation of images serve exactly this purpose to highlight in-group and out-group behavior and justify hostility actions against each other (See Appendix II).

In this theoretical account, it will be useful to describe the characteristics of each of the images mentioned above. Each image illustrates the perceptions about other actor's capabilities (higher, lower or equal to one's state or group), its motivation (what does the other represent: a threat or an opportunity) and its cultural status (superior, inferior or equivalent). Each type of image is defined based on the three dimensions analyzed above. For instance, the enemy image reflects the hostility and evil motives of the other but also its roughly equal power and cultural status. On the other hand, the ally image is the exactly opposite of the former. It reflects a cooperative intention which outweighs the importance of perceived capability or cultural judgments. At this point, it should be noted that the enemy and ally images are symmetric ones. In other words, if the involved actors view the relationship at the same way then the constructed stereotypes will be minor images of each other. On the contrary, the degenerate image represents the opportunity of exploiting the other which shares the same capability but is inferior culturally. The colony image is the one which refers to the other as a great opportunity to exploit in comparison with the fact that the other is perceived as both weaker and culturally inferior. In contrast, the imperialist image refers to the other as a great threat which is more powerful but not culturally superior. From the above structure, it can be inferred that decision-making process is an indicator, which is being influenced by the image that one state has for itself and the others in the international system.

Research on the role and structure of perceptions in the social psychological realm enable us to have a better and more complete picture of the formation of in-group and out-group stereotypes. Empirical tests show that the idea of goal compatibility plays an important role in the appearance of intergroup attitudes and perceptions. In addition to this, status and power relations among groups can also be included in the factors which influence the creation of positive or negative stereotypes. According to Alexander et.al (2005:29) “these three dimensions determine threat or opportunity appraisals of the other nation, which then generate behavioral tendencies toward the nation and evoke specific cognitive schema, or images of that nation”.

Furthermore, it is worthy mentioning about the relationship between images, emotions and action tendencies. There is this idea in the field of psychology that the “cognitive attributes a subject associates with an observed target will be in harmony or balance with the emotional affective sentiment the subject feels toward the observed target” (Herrmann et al; 1997: 412). The way certain events are perceived by the individuals shape their images of the situation, trigger negative or positive emotions which in return lead to different behavior tendencies. The above can be illustrated better by using one type of the images mentioned before as an example. In other words, let’s think of a situation in which a subject perceives another actor in the system as threatening its existence and believes that the threat should be handled with any cost. However, at the same time, s/he hesitates to take a decision because s/he evaluates its opponent’s capability as dangerous and cultural status as being comparable to its own. As a result, the formation of an enemy image seems as the ideal way of explaining and justifying its behavior. Mainly, because not only will allow him/her to act the way s/he wants but also justifies his/her actions (attack) and feelings (threat) towards the other actor. In general, image theory suggests that intense affect will lead to the creation of stereotypical cognitive schemata, which in return will allow us to predict the policy choice/action tendency which each actor will adopt.

2.4.1. Social Identity Theory

The analysis of intergroup relations captured the interest of the social psychologists scholars for many decades. Tajfel and Turner (1982) articulate a theory called the social identity theory, which attempts to explain such relations in depth. As they argue (1982: 255), what defines an individual's social identity is "his or her knowledge that he belongs to a certain social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that group membership". People tend to seek for their self-identity or status by identifying themselves within a group. Therefore, part of an individual's self concept derives from the group membership. They invest their identity with the group that they are part of and try to maintain the sense of self-worth by making sure that their in-group remains favorable comparing to the other out-groups. Out-group threats to the identity can provoke the emergence of various perceptions. To the degree up to which these perceptions can be considered positive or negative has to do with the sense of belonging to the group and how strong it is. A conclusion that can be derived from the above is the following: the more people identify themselves with a certain group the more dependent their self image will be to that group and the strongest the motivation will be to sustain their positive social identity.

Therefore, the image of oneself and of other is mainly constructed by one's identity, but also social interaction and experiences play a significant role in this construction. Thus, change in one of the above elements can provoke a change in the images as well. Nevertheless, Stein (2001) claims that when individuals' images become part of a certain group's images, which come in contradiction with another group's images, then these images become stereotyped. Once these stereotyped images are shaped, it is very difficult to change. However, she suggests that under certain circumstances this transformation can take place: firstly, when a party receives "large amounts of contradictory data" about/for its rival (what it is used to be believed which then comes into contrast with the new information), secondly when people are exposed gradually to certain information concerning the other, that are opposing to what they believed so far about it (when they realize that what they believed so far doesn't exist or have changed they are willing to change their images of the 'other' as well), thirdly when significant social and political changes occur in the international arena (for

instance terrorist attacks, elections etc.), and lastly when there is a shift on the political succession and domestic politics with the emphasis put on the role of leaders (for instance when the control of the state is not anymore in the hands of the extremists).

2.5. Some Empirical Studies on Image Theory

Different scholars decided to study further and test the international image theory. One of them, Ayres (1997) goes a step further by examining the relationship between mediation and image change through the cases of Egypt and Israel, Greek and Turkish Cypriots and Iran and Iraq. In order to observe the images, he uses Herrmann & Fischerkeller's (1995) categorization, while for the change over time he underlines the importance of selecting several time-points in each case based on the context of each conflict. Finally, his data derive from public statements of the leaders published either in the press or in official documents. He used content analysis for the analysis of the data. His conclusions support his hypothesis that there is a relationship between image change, mediation and resolution.

Finally, Alexander et al. (2005) conducted a quantitative analysis in order to explore the relationship between individual's social identity and the development of images of oneself and the 'other'. The survey contained questions about perceived goal compatibility, relative power and relative status of the United States vis-à-vis Lebanon. The results with which they came up supported their initial hypothesis, regarding image theory predictions in including the above elements for the construction of each type of images. The importance of this study lies on the fact that "one way to change international images is to alter perceptions of the relative power, status and goal compatibility of countries in relation to one another" (Alexander et al., 2005: 42).

2.6. Images & Turning Points

One of the most important barriers that leads to further perpetuation of a conflict and prevents its resolution is considered to be the formation of negative, mainly enemy images, between the parties involved. Many attempts have been made so far, not only to define the concept of image and its components but especially to identify the factors which permit its change, and most of these were successful. One of those key factors is the notion of turning points.

Druckman has, firstly, introduced the concept of ‘turning points’ for the study of any negotiation process. He described them as “events or processes that mark passage from one stage to the next, signalling progress from earlier to later phases” (Druckman 1997b: 92). In other words, they represent specific factors or events, which influence not only the process of the negotiations itself but also the possible outcomes. They can be either positive or negative showing in the first case the progress that can be achieved during the process, whereas in the second case a possible stalemate that may occur. Different case analyses illustrate that two types of turning points exist: a) these that take place after a period where there was no progress between the parties involved and b) those that occur after a threat which jeopardises the continuation of the talks. The former is defined as an impasse, whereas the latter as a crisis (Druckman, 1986).

The idea of turning points is also common to other scholars’ research. In most of the cases is used under the spectrum of examining the influence of certain endogenous or exogenous factors in the resolution of a conflict. As mentioned before, according to international image theory clusters of knowledge about other actors in the system are organized into group schemas, which lead to the formation of images or stereotypes. Images consist of cognitive elements describing other actor’s relative capability and cultural status along with the threat or opportunity for cooperation the other represents. Consequently, to specify and examine possible turning points during that process may help us understand not only the already shaped images but also the possible changes from one image to the other. The study of emotional cognitive patterns which appear prior to, during and after turning points can tell us a lot about the success or not of the conflict resolution process. According to the literature, the reason behind the

importance of studying turning points lies on the fact that they, among other factors, are considered as catalysts of deadlock/crisis or resolution attempts.

In the current study, the concept of ‘turning points’ will be defined as events (positive or negative) that mark passage from one stage of a conflict to the next, signalling progress or not from earlier to later phases. For the purposes of the particular research a positive (opening of the checkpoints in 2003) and a negative (violent incidents in the Green Line in 1996) turning point will be analysed. The researcher came up with two propositions which will be tested and analysed. On the one hand that positive turning points can lead to positively changing in the images that each party holds for the ‘other’ which can lead to the improvement of the relationship between the parties involved or even the resolution of a conflict and on the other hand that negative turning points can lead to negatively changing in the images that each party holds for the ‘other’ which can lead to the dissociation of the relationships between the parties involved or even the escalation of the conflict.

2.7 Images & Narratives

Every culture and society has its own narratives, which refer to certain events in the past, present and sometimes also to a view of the future and show how people perceive and interpret different stimuli of their environment. According to Chaitin (2003:1), they “combine either real or imagined events and include stories of greatness and heroism, or stories of periods characterized by victimhood and suffering”. In the end, “they are connected in such a way to provide a chain of events that are recounted to others” with the ultimate aim to create a common history by connecting people in time and space (McAdams, 1993).

Narratives are perceived as the major mechanisms through which misperceptions, mistrust, enemy images, sense of vulnerability are being generated. This phenomenon is related to the psychological dimension of human nature and can be explained through psychological processes that show how the same event may be

interpreted in a contradictory way by different subjects. More frequently than not, this is the case, when perceptions of the parties engaged in a conflicting relationship are concerned. These different accounts of the same reality are often referred to as narratives –explanations of events in short and simple –but emotionally powerful- forms (Ross, 2003). They are mental representations of past events, however often perceptually and cognitively distorted, as in such cases “the desire for certainty often is greater than the capacity for accuracy” (Ross, 2001:161).

Narratives can develop into a shared and usually exaggerated conception of the differences between one’s group and the ‘other’ (Volkan, 1988, as cited in Ross, 2001). Especially, under the conditions of conflict, where the impact of narratives on group’s psychology is crucial, it is common for negative attitudes and perceptions to develop. There are a series of psychological forces that shape people’s behavior in such conflict spirals. “Four psychological states are particularly prominent in such a cycle: blame of Other, anger toward Other, fear of Other and perceived threats to Party’s image” (Rubin, Pruitt and Kim, 1994).

Strong and national narratives are responsible not only for the creation of national images but also for their further maintenance through key mechanisms such as the education system and propaganda. Boulding (1959: 123) argues that “in the formation of the national image the consciousness of great shared events and experiences is of the utmost importance”. He continues by stating that since a nation represents many and different people, there should be a reference point that connects each one of them to the group’s identity. To that direction, the discovery of a common shared experience or event it is necessary. It doesn’t really matter if it is relatively old; the case is to enable to convert it through the rituals and the historical memory. In order to achieve the latter, the nation uses two mechanisms: its education system and propaganda. The former (education system) is constructed in a way to remind the elderly and transfer to the youth the vital importance of specific events. It always highlights the glory of its own nation actions and totally neglects the role of the other nations in history. The latter (propaganda) is usually used by the powerful elite to convince the mass of their nation’s superiority and significance. It can be proved dangerous as not only it undermines the opponent nations or actors but also dehumanizes them.

As it is clear, in efforts to explain and analyze a conflict, popular narratives are a significant factor to be taken into consideration, as they “can tell us a great deal about how individuals and groups understand the social and political worlds in which they live...and... can reveal deep fears, perceived threats and past grievances that drive a conflict” (Ross, 2003: 303). The last decades, the value of narratives, as means which can lead to the reduction of intergroup conflicts and the potentially reconciliation of the parties involved, is widely recognized. They have been used in the cases of Catholics and Protestants in N. Ireland, blacks and whites in South Africa, Israelis and Palestinians and descendants of Holocaust survivors and Nazi perpetrators (Chaitin, 2003).

2.8. Case Study

This research attempts to explore the connection between positive and negative turning points and image changes by focusing on one case study, the Cyprus conflict. Over the last decades the issue of Cyprus has been one of the most difficult problems to be resolved by the international community. Many initiatives have been taken by several actors for its resolution, but so far none of them has been successful. Therefore, in order to understand the importance of turning points, it is essential to describe first the history of the conflict.

Due to the geopolitical and strategic location of the island, Cyprus was co-quested a lot of times during its history and by different actors. In the thirteen century BC, ancient greek tribes (the Aachean) settled on the island and the greek language and culture was spread and dominated in the area since then. In 1571, Cyprus became part of the Ottoman Empire, which enabled the settlement of many Turks, mainly peasants and artisans from the mainland (C. Dodd, 1999). As a result, the population of the island changed once and for all. The former is used from the Greek-Cypriots to claim the ‘hellenization’ of the island, whereas the latter is used as an argument from the Turkish-Cypriots to stress the inter-ethnic character of the island (M. Hadjipavlou, 2007).

It could be argued that the roots of the conflict can be detected in the period of the British colonial rule (1925- 1960), when Greek Cypriots, dissatisfied with the British control, started raising demands for freedom and taking military action against Britain (however, the goal was not independence but rather an annexation of the island to Greece). The decades after the WW II were a period of tension between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities (78% and 18% of the population, respectively), with the former arguing for 'enosis' (union with Greece) and the latter demanding 'taxim' (partition or division of the island in two zones). A following series of hostilities between the two communities of the island took place during this period. Britain's formally decision to end the colonial rule in the island (in exchange for perceiving the right to control all military bases), led to the engagement in negotiations between Britain, Greece and Turkey for the future governance system in the island. Under this scope, in 1959 the Zurich Agreement was signed by Britain, Greece and Turkey which led to the creation of the first, independent Republic of Cyprus in 1960 (A. Borowiec, 2000). In case of any jeopardizing of the rights of either the Greek-Cypriots or Turkish-Cypriots, these three powers had the right to intervene and guarantee their safety.

Therefore, an attempt for a coup d' etat made by the Greek Cypriot National Guard (an action threatening the constitutional order on the island), led to two military interventions by Turkey, which invoked its rights under the Treaty of Guarantee, gaining control over the 37% of island's territory in the north. Since then the island has been divided into the Greek-controlled internationally recognized Republic of Cyprus and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, recognized solely by Turkey. A lot of initiatives have been taken so far, especially under the umbrella of UN, addressing the same issues: governance, security, territory, property, the 'settlers', the status of Turkish-Cypriots state, in order to find a mutual satisfied solution.

As it is obvious, during the history of the conflict many negative and few positive incidents took place with escalatory and de-escalatory consequences respectively. For the purpose of this study, I chose to focus on two of them (one positive and one negative): The violent incidents in the Green Line in 1996 and the opening of the checkpoints in 2003. In August 1996 some of the most violent incidents since the division of the island, took place in the Green Line. To begin with, a peaceful demonstration against the division of the island in the Green Line ended up in the death

of three people and the injuries of a lot more. The organization of the annually motorbike rally in the Greek side, became a way of protesting against the status quo in the island. However, the well planned peaceful protest deteriorated into stone throwing across the Green-Line. In addition, the engagement of the Grey Wolves, an ultra nationalistic Turkish group, in the incidents complicated even more the already intense situation. The results were tragic. A lot of Greek-Cypriots were seriously injured, one was killed by gun shots and one was beaten to death. Few days later, the effort of a Greek-Cypriot man to remove the Turkish flag ended up in his violent death. Nevertheless, the Turkish-Cypriot side suffered with casualties as well. Two Turkish soldiers and a journalist were mysteriously shot and died. The state held responsible some greek nationalistic groups, although it was never proved.

On the other hand, the partial opening of the borders on 23rd of April 2003 was a positive surprising decision, which allowed the parties to come in contact with the 'other' after so many years of isolation. The 112 mile long line was firstly drawn after the violent incidents in December in 1963 to prevent further violence but since 1974 serves for dividing the island in the two parts: the North and the South. It is guarded by the U.N. peacekeeping troops, but also security forces from both sides exist. As mentioned above, "it was partially opened on 23rd of April 2003 in five sites: three in the Nicosia district, one in the Famagusta area, and one in Larnaca" (M.Hadjipavlou, 2007:56). The actors who are responsible for the realization of this action are mainly, "the son of the Turkish community's longtime leader, Serdar Denktash and an active member of the bi communal groups promoting reconciliation" (Retrieved by http://www.cyprus-conflict.net/Green_line%20-%20intro.ht). However, it is important to mention that without the concession of the political elites in both sides, there wouldn't be orchestrated. Finally, what makes this event an exceptional one comparing it with the violent incidents reported in Green Line in 1996, is the fact that there was no eruption of violence. On the contrary, people responded to it so positively. Hundreds of them had the courage and anxiety to cross the checkpoints for the first time after thirty years and have the chance to return to their old houses, neighborhoods, cities. In general, their experiences and impressions of meeting the 'other' are regarded as rather positive in most of the cases.

2.9. Conclusion

In conclusion, in this chapter there was an effort to address all the basic concepts that will be used for this research. Therefore, the factors which influence the formation of a certain type of image were stressed and different indicators were derived from the international image theory to be included as components for each type of image. Moreover, the role of narratives to the creation of negative or positive images about the 'other' was underlined. In addition to the above, the potential relationship between turning points (negative and/or positive) and change in the images was examined. Finally, the presentation of the case study used as an example to illustrate all the parameters mentioned above.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In the following chapter, I will describe both the methodology used for answering the research question as posted below and also explain the design used for the particular research. To begin with, I will state the research question and the possible propositions as shaped and derived from the literature.

3.1. Research Question

The research question can be summarized as following:

***“What is the impact of positive and negative turning points
on the images of the ‘Other’ between Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots?”***

In other words, what is the role of positive or negative turning points in the change in the images of the ‘other’ in Cyprus conflict. Based on the above question but

mainly on the literature as it was explored in the previous chapter, two propositions can be suggested for further testing.

P1: Positive turning points lead to positively changing in the images that each party holds for the 'other' which can lead to the improvement of the relationship between the parties involved or even the resolution of a conflict.

P2: Negative turning points lead to the negatively changing in the images that each party holds for the 'other' which can lead to the dissociation of the relationships between the parties involved or even the escalation of the conflict.

3.2. Scope of the Research

This research aims to explore the connection between significant turning points and image changes in the context of Cyprus conflict. In other words, it is an attempt to examine in depth the effects of a positive turning point (opening of the checkpoints in 2003) and a negative one (the violent incidents in Green Line in 1996) on inter community relations and images of oneself and the other. The units of analysis of this research question are articles, which contain citizens' narratives that were published in newspapers in both communities (Greek-Cypriots & Turkish-Cypriots) in English. Deriving from the above, my research can be regarded as descriptive -research in which the primary purpose is to "paint a picture" using words or numbers and to present a profile or a classification of types - (Neuman, 2006: 33-35) quantitative one –offering the opportunity to support or falsify the propositions posted earlier.

3.3. Data

In order to measure the possible cognitive changes that negative and positive turning points can have on the parties' images of oneself and the other three hundred (300) articles were selected and coded. As mentioned above, the data for this thesis are derived from a content analysis of citizens' stories (narratives) published as articles in two newspapers "Yeniduzen" and "Alithia" in the northern and southern part of the island by the Turkish-Cypriot journalist Sevgul Uludag. Most of the narratives were first published in Yeniduzen in Turkish. Sevgul Uludag is a correspondent in this newspaper. However, the editor of Alithia gave her the opportunity to present these narratives (in English) in the southern part of the island as well.

At this point, it should be noted that Alithia (= Truth) is a Greek - Cypriot newspaper that was firstly published in 1952 weekly but in 1982 it became a daily one. It is owned by Frixos N. Koulermos and is considered to be right-wing. Since 2004, there is a weekly column in the Sunday edition of it, in which articles containing citizens' narratives from both communities are published in English. In total, almost eight hundred articles were published all these years. On the other hand, Yeniduzen (= New Order) is a Turkish - Cypriot daily, left-wing newspaper.

For the purposes of this research, it was decided that English language should be chosen as most appropriate. Mainly, two factors contribute to that conclusion: on the one hand the researcher's lack of knowledge of Turkish language and on the other hand the fact that English is considered to be a neutral language in the Cyprus context, which is used by both communities (Greek-Cypriots & Turkish-Cypriots). However, this choice may contain disadvantages as well. For instance, by translating the articles in English authenticity may be lost or certain notions that make sense only in the native language of the speaker and are important for the analysis of the research may be misinterpreted.

Furthermore, for the better examination of the impact of turning points (both positive and negative) on the change of images in Cyprus conflict, a specific time framework should be adopted. The time period in which the analysis will concentrate

on is six months before and after each turning point occurred. A six months period is not theoretical justifiable, however, the decision was taken under the spectrum that such a period would provide the researcher with safer data instead of just reflecting parties' immediate reactions to the events. Especially, if it is taken into consideration, the fact that the impact of a positive turning point takes more time to become obvious in parties' behaviour. Moreover, the existence of many articles in one year period in combination with the time this research should have been contacted wouldn't have allowed their examination. Hence for the better comparison of the two turning points, the researcher will look for narratives that were published in the press in the following periods: from March 1996 until January 1997 and from November 2002 until September 2003.



Pre 1996 Negative Turning Point After 1996
 (Violent Incidents in the Green Line)



Pre 2003 Positive Turning Point After 2003
 (Opening of the check points)

A clarification should be made regarding the above time framework. For the selection of the articles, their published date was taken into consideration and not the real time period in which the informants narrated their stories. Unfortunately, the narratives didn't contain any information about this exact time frame.

Finally, it is quite difficult to just select two of the many turning points that existed and influenced a conflict which lasts for more than thirty three years (33) now. Hence, the choice of the two turning points was made under the spectrum of representing both a positive step that was taken for the resolution of the conflict or the reconciliation of the parties, and a negative one which led firstly to the escalation of the conflict and then to a serious deadlock. The opening of the checkpoints in 2003 and the violent incidents in the Green Line in 1996 seemed the best examples for the purposes of this research.

3.4 Sample

In total, three hundred (300) articles were published during the examined period. Therefore, for the better selection of the cases, the purposive sampling method was used in order to exclude articles referring to different turning points. According to Neuman (2006: 222-223), purposive sampling is "a non-random sample in which the researcher uses a wide range of methods to locate all possible cases of a highly specific and difficult -to- reach population". This type of sampling reassures to a great extent that differences in outcomes of the research are correlated only with the two turning points under study and not with others. As a result, only one hundred (100) of them were relevant with our scope. Thus, the rest two hundred had to be excluded from the analysis.

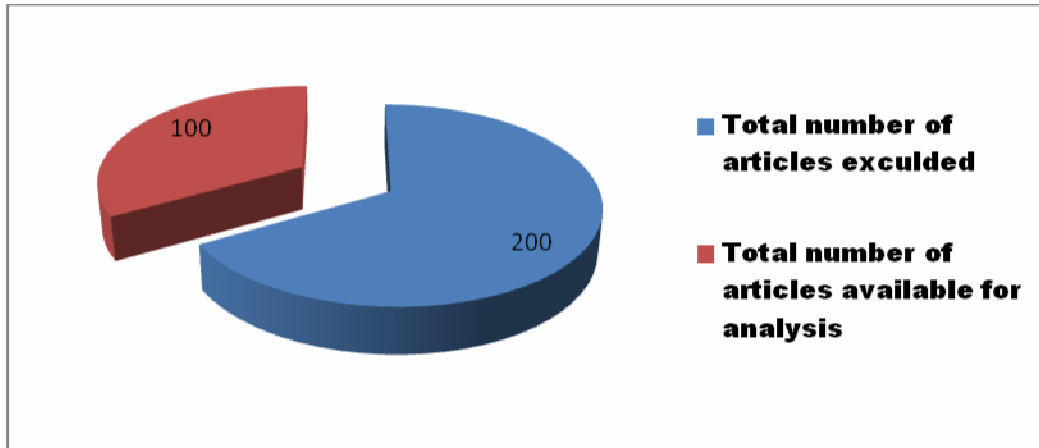


Figure 1. Distribution of the total number of articles found

3. 5. The Content Analysis

The content analysis was based on one hundred articles published in “Alithia” six months before and after each turning point took place. According to Holsti (1969:14 as quoted in Druckman, 2006) content analysis is defined as “any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages”. A coding schema was constructed based on the components of every type of image as international image theory suggests and provided the parameters for the analysis (see APPENDIX 1). The analysis was conducted with latent coding (a type of content analysis coding in which a researcher identifies subjective meaning such as themes or motives and then systematically locates them in a communication medium, Neuman, 2006: 326) because manifest coding would not have grasped the implicit meaning in the sentences. The major part of all articles which were analysed usually describes a person’s narration (either Greek or Turkish Cypriot) about how s/he interprets differently the positive and negative incidents that took place through the years, what kind of impact these have in his/her life, what kind of concerns or hope arouses and finally how each community perceives the members of the other community. Above all, it offers us an alternative view of how Cyprus conflict has influenced the lives of its people through their eyes.

In other words, the researcher had to look for the following indicators (are representing the components of an image), as they were formed in the coding schema into three main categories: 1) relationship pattern, 2) intergroup emotion and 3) action tendencies. In addition, five sub-divisions were added under each category for the better understanding of them. General sentences that didn't reflect the above categorization were recorded as blank. Some representative examples of such sentences are the following: "I had this dream the other day" (Selma, published in 'Alithia' in July 2003), "The problem in Cyprus is that the symbols are wrong" (Giannis, published in 'Alithia' in October 1996). Finally, sometimes the differences between the codes within each category were not substantial. Thus, the decision which code to apply depended mainly on the general tone of the sentence.

3.6 The Coding Schema

The coding schema was developed in accordance with the conceptualization of the term 'image'. This study will adopt both Herrmann and Fischerkeller (1995) and Alexander et. al (2005)'s categorization of images. As explained in the previous chapter, the fact that in the international system there exist more than one way for an actor to express its aggressive behaviour towards another actor made the concept of enemy image insufficient. Therefore, the suggested categorization of Herrmann and Fischerkeller (1995) provided a better and more complete understanding of what it should be included as an image when we analyze the relations among different states. However, it was decided for the better analysis of the data of the present research that two of the images included in Herrmann and Fischerkeller's (1995) categorization should be replaced by the ones appeared in Alexander et. al (2005) categorization. That means that the barbarian and dependent image instead of the degenerate and colony one will appear. Therefore, deriving from the literature (Herrmann and Fischerkeller (1995) and Alexander et. al (2005) categorization of images) there exist five dimensions of images, as mentioned above. In other words, it will be searched for the frequency of the indirect indicators for the following sub-categories (See Table 1&2) :

- Enemy Image
- Ally Image
- Barbarian Image
- Imperialist Image
- Dependent Image

A new coding schema was developed in order to meet the purposes of this study. It included three categories (1, 2 & 3) with five sub-divisions (a, b, c, d & e) each. The ultimate scope was to describe the dimensions of each one of the images as described in the international image theory. These dimensions contain characteristics of the other country's intentions, motivations and leadership elements. Therefore, the basic categories that were formed are the following: 1) Relationship Pattern, 2) Intergroup Emotion and 3) Action Tendencies. Moreover, in order to measure each one of the above categories different factors were added which derived from both the literature and the data (a, b, c, d & e). All these categories, held numerous codes as stated above in the parentheses.

In order to strengthen the reliability and validity of the particular research two different inter-coders were chosen. A sample of representative articles, randomly chosen, was given to them and then were asked to code it accordingly to the provided coding schema. Whenever it was necessary, clarifications were given. In total, the article contained ninety sentences which needed to be coded. The results are presented below. In the case of the first coder, the percentage agreement of similar coding sentences was equal to 88%, whereas in the case of the second coder it was 95%. Actually, that means that the first coder agreed with the researcher's codes in eighty out of ninety sentences, while the second coder in eighty five out of ninety sentences. The above percentages are considered more than satisfied for the further use of the coding schema, since a quite high correlation exists.

3.6.1. Perceived structural relations

The structural relations between the two parties of the conflict (Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots), were explored by items depicting the perceptions of relative power, cultural status and goal compatibility of the two communities. More specifically, relative power was explored by addressing if one community perceives the other as superior, equal or inferior in terms of military and economical power that each one holds in comparison with the other. Furthermore, cultural status was examined by containing sentences which show the perceptions of the two communities towards each other's culture. Finally, goal compatibility was addressed only with relevance to the conflict itself. It was considered more appropriate for the particular study to mainly focus in the relations and interests aroused from the conflict itself. For example, 'conflict will harm us both because we are equal militarily and economically and we are equal culturally' or 'conflict will only benefit us even though we are equal militarily and economically and we are equal culturally'.

3.6.2.. Emotions

Emotions towards one -self and the other were chosen by how each member of one community feels about the other and vice versa before and after turning points occurred. As a result, seventeen (17) emotions were listed in the coding schema: trust, gratitude, affection, anger, hostility, fury, resentment, disrespect, irritation, fear, intimidation, contempt, jealousy, envy, disgust, worry and anxiety.

3.6.3 Action Tendencies

According to the literature, action tendencies and formation of images are related. Each image can be reflected by a specific action tendency. In that case, five action tendencies were conducted in reference to the five images that appear in the coding schema. As a result, cooperation shows a tendency to form ally images, containment/attack the tendency to form enemy images, defensive/protection the tendency to form barbarian images, resistance/rebellion the tendency to form imperialist images and exploitation/paternalism the tendency to form dependent images.

3.7. Limitations

A detailed anaphora of the research strategy which was followed was described above. Nevertheless, there are some methodological concerns which should be mentioned. Firstly, the fact that this work was contacted and published only by one person, who at the same time happens also to belong to one of the parties of the conflict (she is a Turkish – Cypriot) may be questioned for its neutrality. One of the most serious objections can be the assurance of the objectivity of the presented data. However, judging from the examined articles, stereotypical data were not found.

Furthermore, another limitation that should be discussed is the fact that Sevgül Uludag is considered to be a peacebuilder (she is one of the founders of the Women's Movement for Peace and a Federal Solution, a member of Women Peacemakers Program of International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR), a member of International Alert Women Peacemakers Programme) and activist (she is a trainer of bi-communal conflict resolution women's group, a member of Bi-Communal Conflict Resolution Trainers Group, one of the initiators and the current secretary of "Hands Across the Divide", a national contact for north Cyprus for EARTHACTION) . These two characteristics of hers probably had an influence in the content and style of the

published narratives. As a result, people's emotions about the situation or the 'other' are reflected more in the published articles.

Finally, the coding schema itself as it was formed based on the existent literature includes a serious constraint. The characteristics of the second category, which describe the intergroup emotions, are clearer in comparison with the ones in the other two categories. Consequently, it becomes easier for the researcher to depict them during the codification of the articles.

Table 1. Images of Other Nations as a Function of Goal Compatibility, Relative Status, and Relative Power

Relationship Pattern of Other Nation Image of Other Nation

Goal Compatibility Status Equal Power Equal	Ally
Goal Incompatibility Status Equal Power Equal	Enemy
Goal Incompatibility Status Lower Power Lower	Dependent
Goal Incompatibility Status Lower Power Higher	Barbarian
Goal Incompatibility Status Higher Power Higher	Imperialist

(Alexander et al., 2005:3)

(Herrmann & Fischerkeller, 1995:43)

TABLE 2. *Hypothesized relationships between ideal-typical perceptions and strategic choices*

<i>Image</i>	<i>Strategic judgments the image reveals</i>	<i>Foreign policy strategy that follows from strategic judgments</i>	<i>Main goals of the strategy</i>
Enemy	Threat Comparable capability Comparable culture	Containment	Deter Protect and shield Build major alliance system Protect geopolitical assets in Third World from target Protect credibility as a major power/attractive ally for Third World
Ally	Opportunity through mutual interest Comparable capability Comparable culture	Institutional cooperation	Enhance combined capability and mutual confidence in common action Enhance third-party contribution to common cause already institutionalized between subject and target countries Reduce third-party threats that preoccupy target's capability Reduce number of power instruments tied down in auxiliary theaters and enhance positive resource contribution made by target's peripheral relations
Degenerate	Opportunity through domination Comparable/declining capability Comparable/declining culture	Revisionism	Rollback and deter Build major alliance system Protect geopolitical assets in Third World from target and attract new allies
Imperialist	Threat Superior capability Comparable culture	Independent fortress	Reduce target control Deter target intervention or compel its exit Gain support against target Reduce target's role in region Reduce target's access to resources
Colony	Opportunity through exploitation Inferior capability Inferior culture	Intervention	Ensure existence of cooperative client regime in target

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

According to Ayres (1997, p.433), “images serve to define both perceptions of the other and perceptions of the conflict situation”. Accordingly, this research intends to address the potential changes in the image of one community towards the other (Greek-Cypriots vs. Turkish-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots vs. Greek-Cypriots) before and after the occurrence of a negative and positive turning point. For the purposes of this study, violent incidents in the Green Line in 1996 and the opening of the checkpoints in 2003 were chosen respectively as the representative turning points.

In total, three hundred (300) articles were published in the press during the period which this research focuses on. However, after reviewing carefully all of them, it was clear that only the one hundred (100) were relevant to the context of this study, as already explained at the methodology chapter. The remaining two hundred were not included in the sample. Mostly, the issues addressed in those articles have to do with the problem of the missing people, the ‘settlers’ etc. The number of articles which correspond to each turning point is fifty (50). Finally, the average length of each article is around two pages, whereas the total number of coded sentences is nine thousands nine hundred forty eight (9.948).

At this point, it should be noted that the case usually is that the articles published after each turning point occurred are more in comparison with the ones published before it. The latter can be easily explained. In general, a crucial event captures media's attention after taking place and not beforehand. Usually, there are some references in the press about a potential negative or positive change in a conflict situation in advance. However, it is mainly the time period after whichever change happened that monopolizes media's interest. Therefore, it is not unusual to find more articles about an important event after it happens rather than before. Moreover, it's hard to predict such an event beforehand since there's always a possibility that things would change.

Table 3. Material Available for Analysis

Total Numbers of Articles examined	Total Numbers of Articles available for analysis	Number of Articles available for analysis for each turning point	Average Number of pages per article	Total Number of Sentences available for analysis
300	100	50	2	9.948

4.1. Findings from the Content Analysis

In order to explore the relationship, if there is any, between images and significant turning points content analysis was used. In other words, content analysis investigated whether indicators for images as mentioned and analyzed in previous chapters, appeared before and after each turning point took place. Should it be the case that an overwhelming number of indicators for images were found, it would be possible

to draw the conclusion that turning points indeed influence positively or negatively the formation of images of oneself and the other in a conflict society.

The total number of sentences that were found and coded is nine thousands nine hundred forty eight (9.948). Out of the nine thousands nine hundred forty eight (9.948) sentences, two thousands eight hundred thirty eight (2.838) were indentified as zero sentences, meaning that they didn't contain any of the indicators mentioned above and thus couldn't contribute to the particular research. Furthermore, for the study of negative turning point five thousands twelve (5.012) sentences were coded and analyzed, whereas for the positive turning point four thousands nine hundred thirty six (4.936) derived both from the articles published six months before and after a turning point occurred.

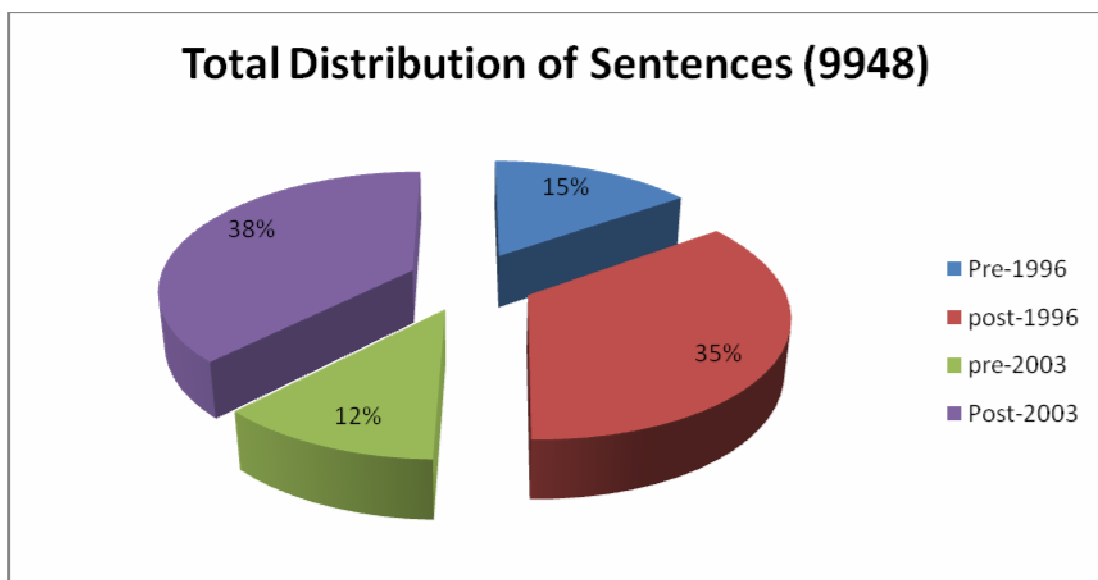


Figure 2. Distribution of the percentage of the analyzed sentences

The researcher looked in each sentence for indicators which reflect the three components, which in turn form a certain type of image (according to the international image theory). Therefore, relationship pattern, intergroup emotion and action tendencies were used as the three categories of the present coding schema. Of course, to make it even more clear each of the above categories include five sub-divisions. For each

category was used a different code. Each sentence was coded once and in the end the frequency of each category was counted.

A full description of the findings for each turning point during the specified time period will be followed. More analytically, the type of indicator, its frequency and possible changes will be presented and discussed.

Outcome: Out-group Images

As it is mentioned previously, each type of image is constructed by the three following components: i) Perceived Structural Relationships, ii) Intergroup Emotion and iii) Action Tendencies. Indicators which illustrated the above were found and analyzed according to the coding schema. More analytically, the items which constructed for addressing the structural perceptions of the relationship of the parties involved were derived for the following three dimensions as explained in the international image theory: goal compatibility, relative power and cultural status. Based on these elements and the data, five sub-divisions under the first category of the coding schema were formed reflecting each one of the images. Moreover, for exploring the emotional reactions between the parties involved seventeen (17) emotions were derived from the literature. There were listed in five sub-divisions under the second category of the coding schema as to address all the dimensions of the images included. Finally, in order to observe the action tendencies which each image is responsible for provoking; five sub- divisions were created under the third category of the coding schema. The presentation of the data will follow for describing the creation of every type of image in relevance with its components.

4.2. Results of the examination of negative turning point (Violent Incidents in the Green Line in 1996)

First of all, the impact that the negative turning point had on the perceptions of the parties about each other will be examined. The violent incidents in the Green Line in August 1996 are considered to be a serious cliffhanger for the story of the conflict itself. As it is mentioned in one of the articles “1996 was a black year for our island” (Eleni, published in ‘Alithia’, October 1996). The murders of two Greek-Cypriots citizens and one Turkish-Cypriot journalist and the interfering of the nationalistic group ‘Grey Wolves’ were the ultimate factors which provoked a serious crisis and made the resolution of the conflict to seem if not impossible to reach at least very difficult. Whichever efforts were made until that point for the reconciliation of the parties and the reduction of the conflict were forgotten and nationalistic elements started to arise.

4.2.1. Ally Image

In general, for the period of the six months before the violent incidents in the Green Line take place fifteen (15) articles were found and coded. Practically, this means the examination of one thousands five hundred twelve (1.512) sentences out of which the four hundred five (405) identified as zero. To begin with, all three components of ally image appeared seven hundred seventy six (776) times. For the better understanding of the context of each category, representative examples will be given.

More analytically, out of the remaining ones (1.107) the 1.a category which is described as “Conflict will harm us both because: we are equal militarily and economically and we are equal culturally” appeared one hundred and one (101) times.

“We will remain stuck in the ‘curse’ called the Cyprus Problem”.

Moreover, the 2.a category which includes the following three emotions: a) trust b) gratitude and c) affection appeared three hundred nine (309) times.

“We are children of the same soil...”

Finally, the 3.a category which expresses the tendency to cooperate with the other appeared three hundred sixty six (366) times.

“These two groups tried to have peace activities with Greek-Cypriots.”

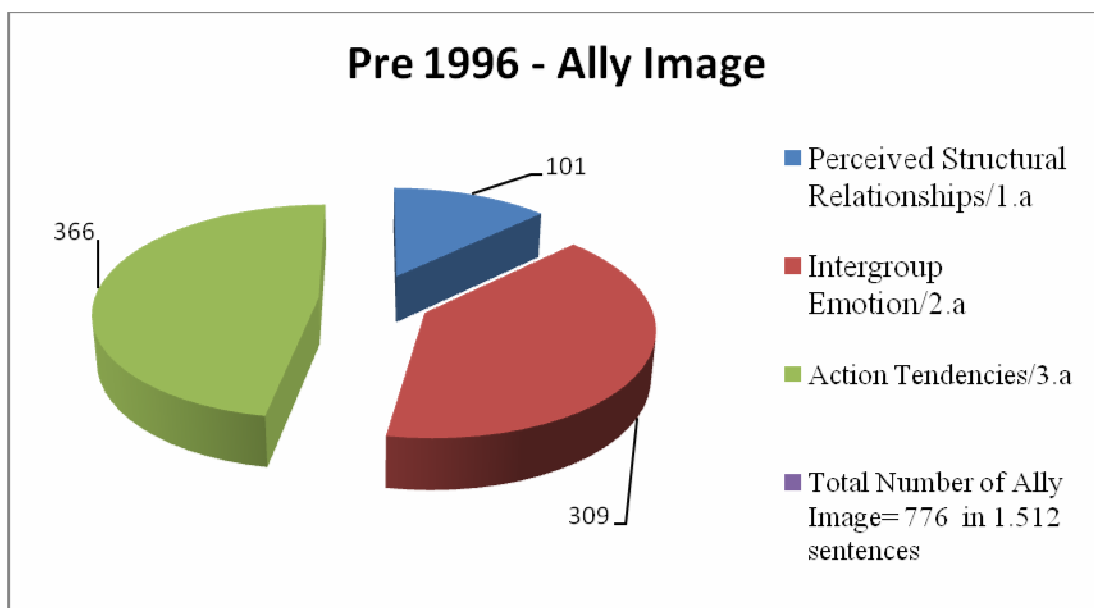


Figure 3. Distribution of ally image in 1.512 sentences/ Pre-1996

In total, for the period of the six months after the violent incidents in the Green Line take place thirty five (35) articles were found and coded. Practically, this means the examination of three thousands five hundred (3.500) sentences out of which the nine hundred ninety seven (997) identified as zero. To begin with, all three components of ally image appeared sixty eight (68) times. For the better understanding of the context of each category, representative examples will be given.

More analytically, out of the remaining two thousands five hundred three (2.503) the 1.a category which is described as “Conflict will harm us both because: we are equal militarily and economically and we are equal culturally” appeared seventeen (17) times.

“Our children should be able to move to the future, without the burden of the co-called Cyprus Problem.”

Moreover, the 2.a category which includes the following three emotions: a) trust b) gratitude and c) affection appeared thirty two (32) times.

“We have buried our ancestors on this same soil, we look at the same stars, the same sun, the same clouds.”

Finally, the 3.a category which expresses the tendency to cooperate with the other appeared nineteen (19) times.

“With the Contact Group there were many activities, one of them being, bringing the famous Turkish writer Asiz Nesin to meet Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots”.

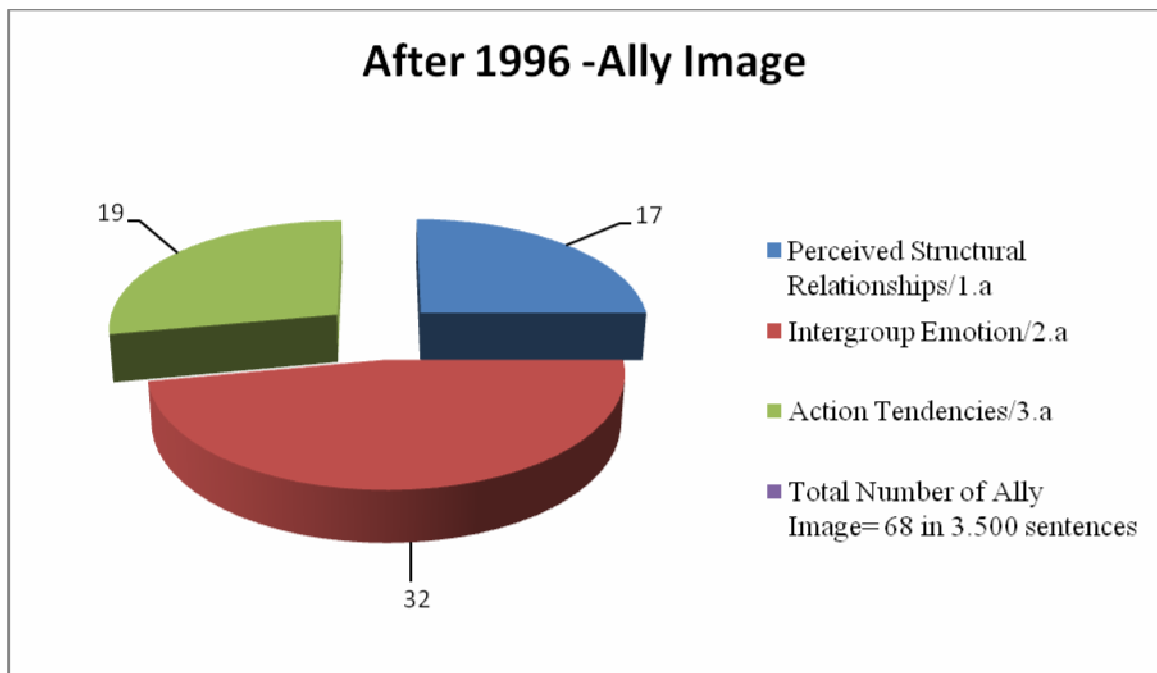


Figure 4. Distribution of ally image / After-1996

Overall, a graph will be presented below depicting the shift (in percentages) of each one of the components of the ally image before and after the examined negative turning point.

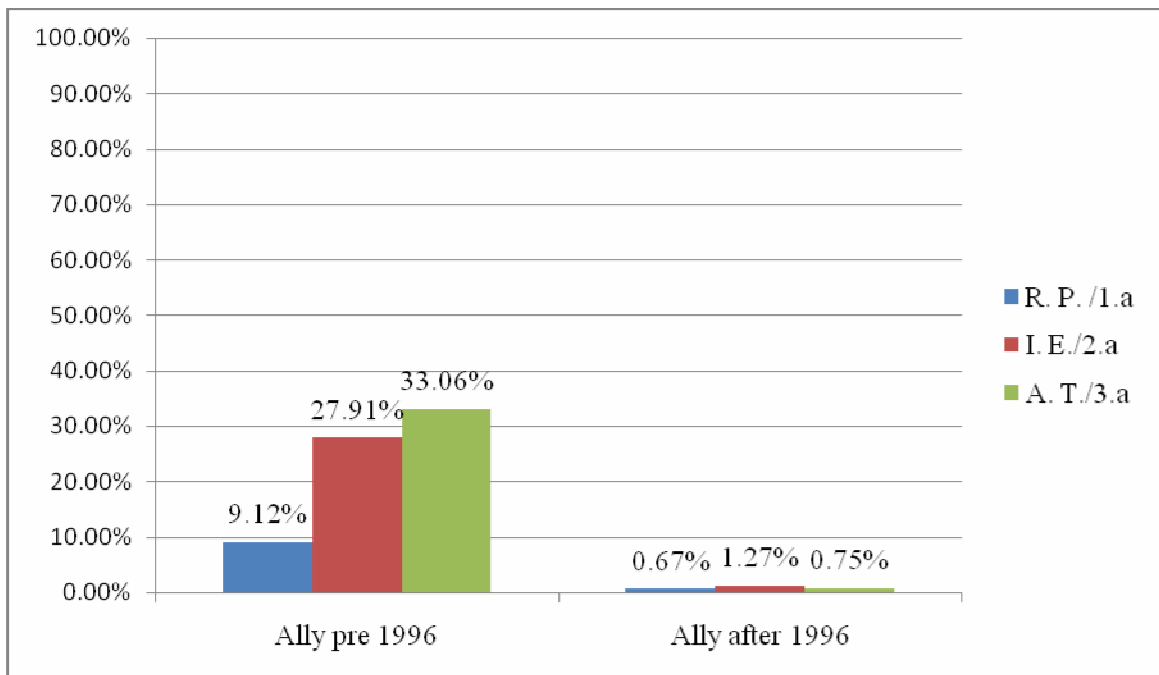


Figure 5. Shift of the ally image pre and after 1996

Table 4. Distribution of percentage in ally image pre and after 1996

	Relationship Pattern	Intergroup Emotions	Action Tendencies
Ally Image pre 1996	9.12%	27.91%	33.06%
Ally Image after 1996	0.67%	1.27%	0.75%
Change in the percentage pre – after 1996	- 8.45%	- 26.64%	- 32.31%

4.2.2 .Enemy Image

On the other hand, all three components of enemy image in the period of six months before the violent incidents in the Green Line appeared three hundred thirty three (331) times. For the better understanding of the context of each category, representative examples will be given.

Particularly, out of the remaining ones (1.107) the 1.b category which is described as “Conflict will only benefit us even though: we are equal militarily and economically and we are equal culturally” appeared 11 times.

“We have a military, a forty thousand strong army with its tanks, bombs... Our culture is of nine thousand years and we are economically independent. Why to work for the reunification of the island? For sharing all these with the ‘other’?”

In addition, the 2.b category which includes the following six emotions: a) anger b) hostility c) fury d) resentment e) disrespect and f) irritation appeared one hundred twenty six (126) times.

“Still the suspicion, the caution, the deeply buried paranoia about the ‘other’ remains.”

The 3.b category which expresses the tendency to attack the other appeared one hundred ninety four (194) times.

“Gray Wolves, another fascist organization, threatened to ‘shed blood’ if there was taken any kind of initiative for the resolution of the conflict.”

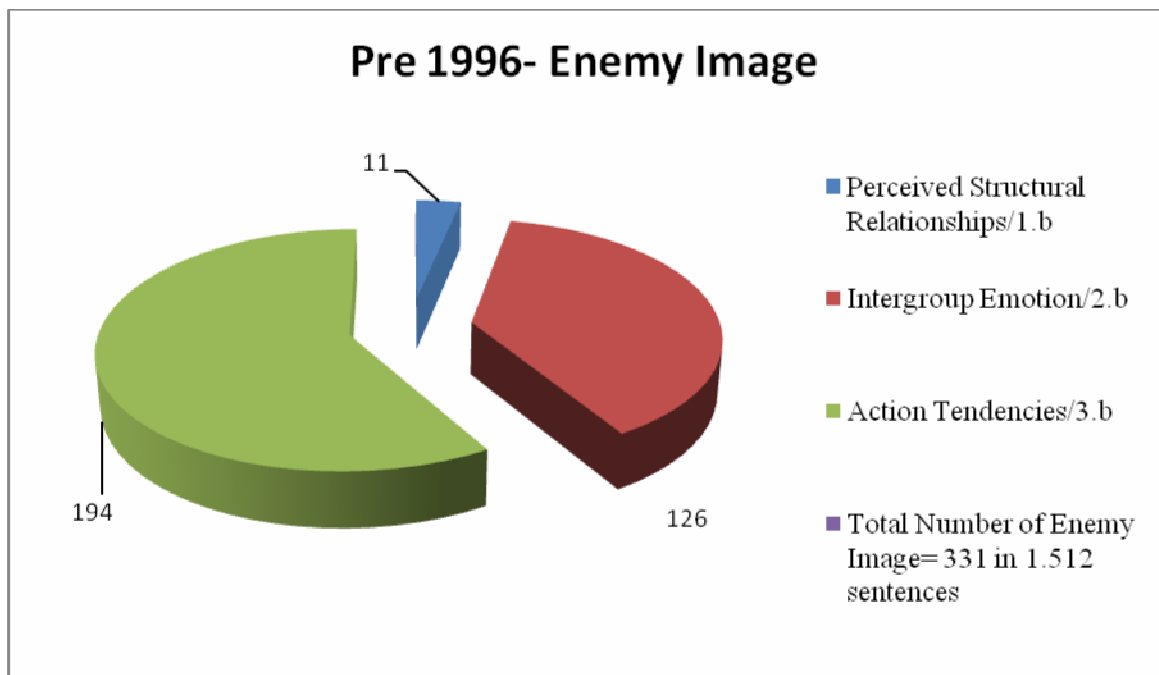


Figure 6. Distribution of the enemy image/ Pre-1996

However, in the period of six months after the violent incidents in the Green Line took place all three components of enemy image appeared two thousand four hundred thirty five (2.435) times. For the better understanding of the context of each category, representative examples will be given.

Particularly, out of the remaining ones (2.503) the 1.b category which is described as “Conflict will only benefit us even though: we are equal militarily and economically and we are equal culturally” appeared sixty (60) times.

“They are ‘animals’ ready to attack us, that’s why they have to keep us separate and between us soldiers, guns, minefields barbed wire and barricades.”

In addition, the 2.b category which includes the following six emotions: a) anger b) hostility c) fury d) resentment e) disrespect and f) irritation appeared one thousand six hundred ninety one (1.691) times.

“But none of those involved in the murders could be brought to justice. They were the ‘untouchables’. The photos of Isaac and Solomou at the checkpoints are like a ‘slogan’ without content...”

Finally, the 3.b category which expresses the tendency to attack the other appeared six hundred eighty four (684) times.

“We will break your arms, your legs...We will kill you like a dog in the street...”

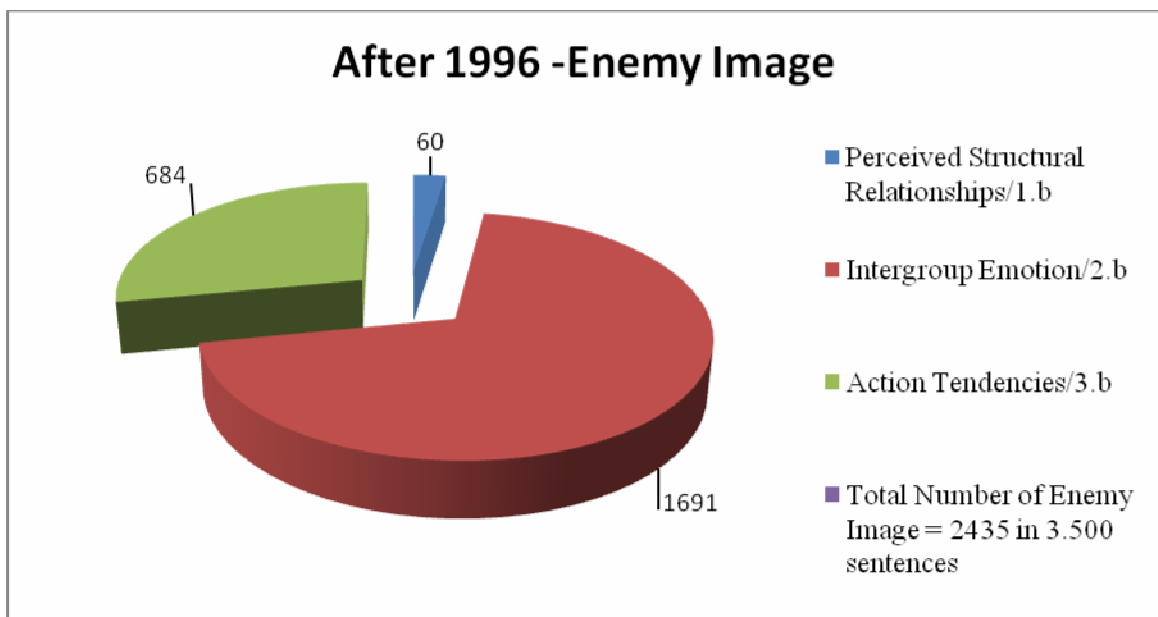


Figure 7. Distribution of the enemy image/ After-1996

It should also be important to mention that there were no indicators of the barbarian, imperialist or dependent image during the examined period. Overall, a graph will be presented below depicting the shift (in percentages) of each one of the components of the enemy image before and after the examined negative turning point.

Table 5. Distribution of percentage of Enemy Image Pre and After 1996

	Relationship Pattern	Intergroup Emotions	Action Tendencies
Enemy Image pre 1996	0.99%	11.38%	17.52%
Enemy Image after 1996			
Change in the %	2.39%	67.55%	27.32%
pre-after 1996	- 1.4%	- 56.17%	- 9.8%

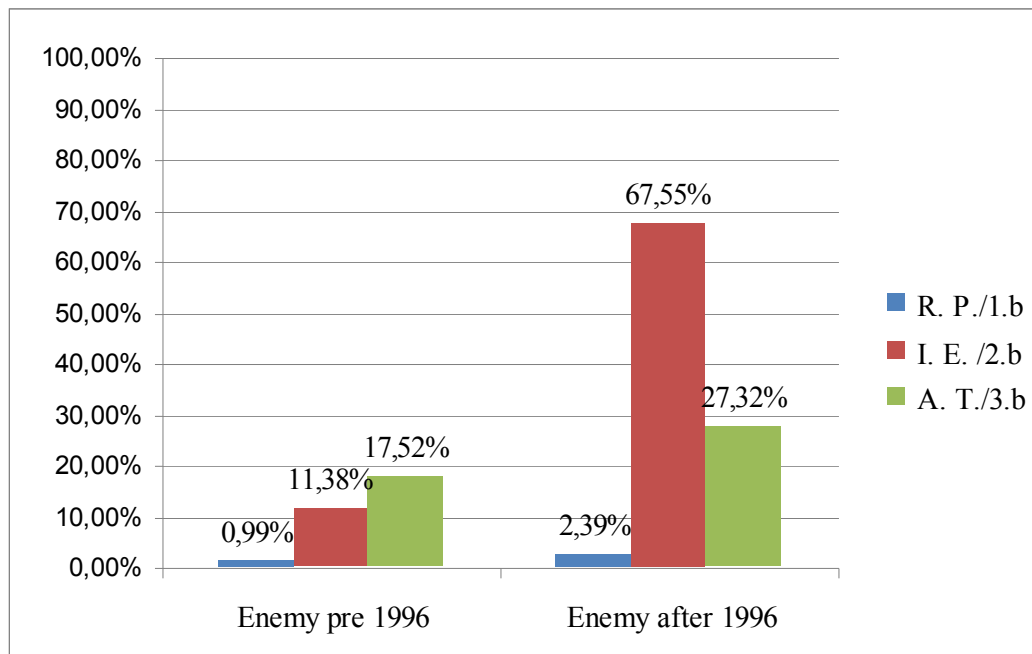


Figure 8. Shift of the enemy image pre and after 1996

4.3 Results of the examination of positive turning point (Opening of the checkpoints in 2003)

At this point, it is important to refer also to the impact of the positive turning point on the image changes of the parties involved. The opening of the checkpoints in April 2003 is considered to be a huge step towards the resolution of the conflict. For the first time after thirty years, it became possible for members of the two communities to cross the Green Line and go to the other side. The latter has a big significance since it meant that they had the opportunity to meet, talk and understand the ‘other’, with who had no direct contact for so many years.

4.3.1. Ally Image

In total, for the period of the six months before the opening of the checkpoints twelve (12) articles were found and coded. Specifically, this means the examination of one thousand one hundred eighty two (1.182) sentences out of which the three hundred forty two (342) identified as zero. To begin with, all three components of ally image appeared one hundred seventy (170) times. For the better understanding of the context of each category, representative examples will be given.

Therefore, out of the remaining eight hundred forty (840) the 1.a category which is described as “Conflict will harm us both because: we are equal militarily and economically and we are equal culturally” appeared fifty five (55) times.

“This country is ours. We should be able to have a future vision for our island. This is a necessity if we want to control our own destiny as Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots.”

Moreover, the 2.a category which includes the following three emotions: a) trust b) gratitude and c) affection appeared eighty five (85) times.

“The only thing we ca do is try to understand, feel and trust the ‘other’.”

Finally, the 3.a category which expresses the tendency to cooperate with the other appeared thirty (30) times.

“We could think together and act together, so that we can build a future together.”

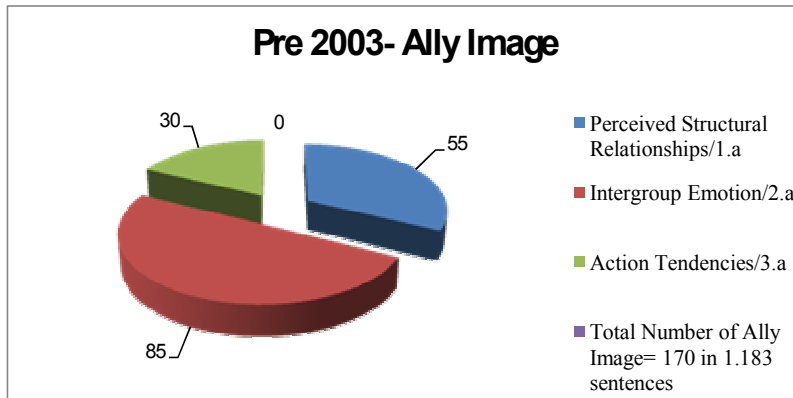


Figure 9. Distribution of the ally image/ Pre-2003

On the contrary, for the period of the six months after the opening of the checkpoints thirty eight (38) articles were found and coded. That means the examination of three thousands seven hundred fifty four (3.754) sentences out of which the one thousand ninety four (1.094) identified as zero. To begin with, all three components of ally image appeared one thousand nine hundred thirty (1.930) times. For the better understanding of the context of each category, representative examples will be given.

More analytically, out of the remaining two thousands six hundred sixty (2.660) the 1.a category which is described as “Conflict will harm us both because: we are equal militarily and economically and we are equal culturally” appeared two hundred ninety two (292) times.

“People were fed up with the interventions from Ankara, Greece, USA, they were fed up with living under the ‘uncertainty’ for the future.”

Moreover, the 2.a category which includes the following three emotions: a) trust b) gratitude and c) affection appeared nine hundred ninety two (992) times.

“Thank you for taking care of my home and property all these years.”

Finally, the 3.a category which expresses the tendency to cooperate with the other appeared six hundred forty six (646) times.

“It’s the first time I speak to a Greek-Cypriot, to you, after almost thirty years. I want to cooperate with the Greek-Cypriots.”

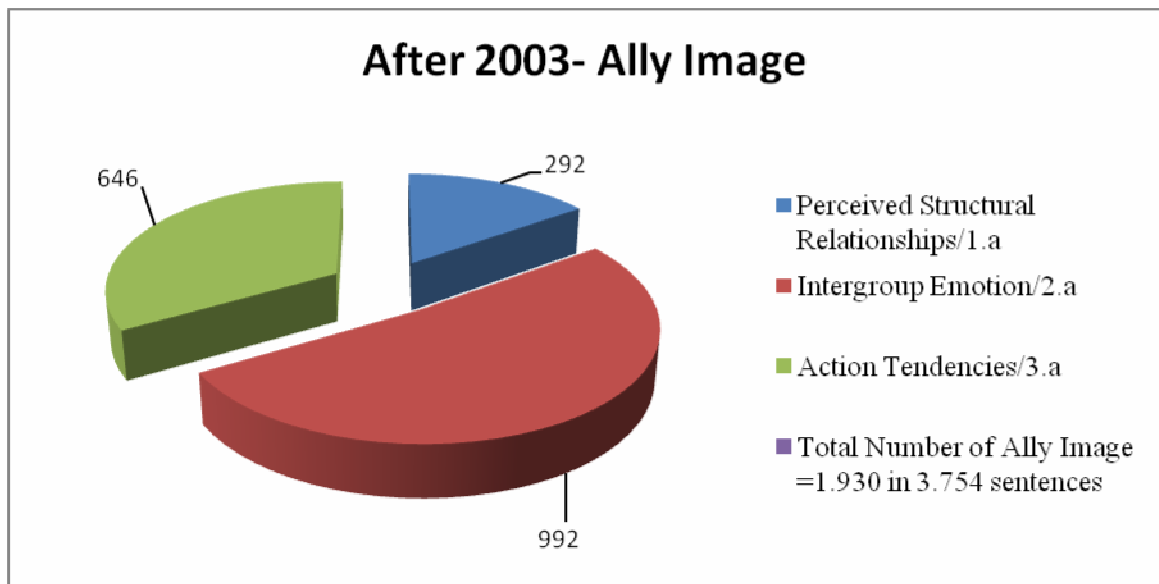


Figure10. Distribution of the ally image/ After-2003

Overall, a graph will be presented below depicting the shift (in percentages) of each one of the components of the ally image before and after the examined positive turning point.

Table 6. Distribution of percentage of ally image pre and after 2003

	Relationship Pattern	Intergroup Emotions	Action Tendencies
Ally Image pre 2003	6.54%	10.11%	3.57%
Ally Image after 2003	10.97%	37.29%	24.28%
Change in the % pre-after 1996	- 4.43%	- 27.18%	- 20.71%

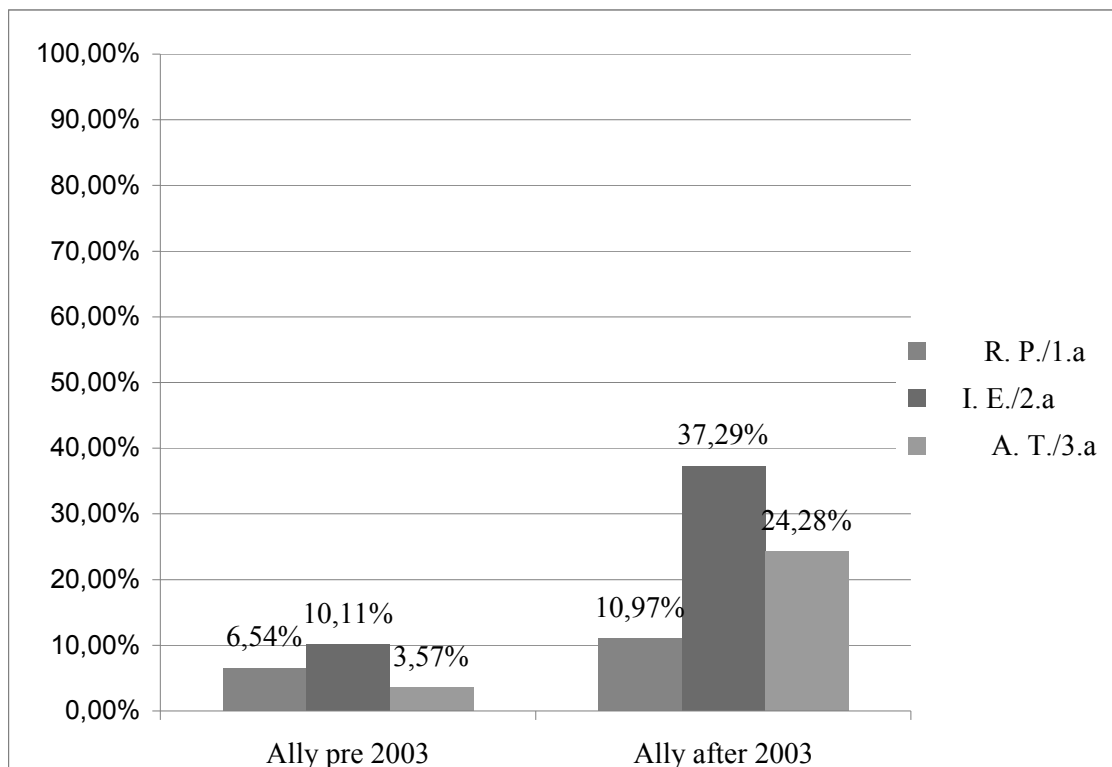


Figure 11. Shift of ally image pre and after 2003

4.3.2. Enemy Image

In general, for the period of the six months before the opening of the checkpoints twelve (12) articles were found and coded. Specifically, this means the examination of one thousand one hundred eighty two (1.182) sentences out of which the three hundred forty two (342) identified as zero. To begin with, all three components of enemy image appeared five hundred thirty six (536) times. For the better understanding of the context of each category, representative examples will be given.

Therefore, out of the remaining eight hundred forty (840) the 1.b category which is described as “Conflict will only benefit us even though: we are equal militarily and economically and we are equal culturally” appeared eighty three (83) times.

*“It’s like we are two kids, one of us is successful and more powerful, the other is restrained.
Why to seek for a way to reconcile and share?”*

In addition, the 2.b category which includes the following six emotions: a) anger b) hostility c) fury d) resentment e) disrespect and f) irritation appeared two hundred fifty nine (259) times.

“All Greeks, all Greek- Cypriots, the Greek Cypriot Orthodox Church is the same....We cannot trust them.”

Finally, the 3.b category which expresses the tendency to attack the other appeared one hundred ninety four (194) times.

“We are the ones who got attacked, were harassed and threatened.”

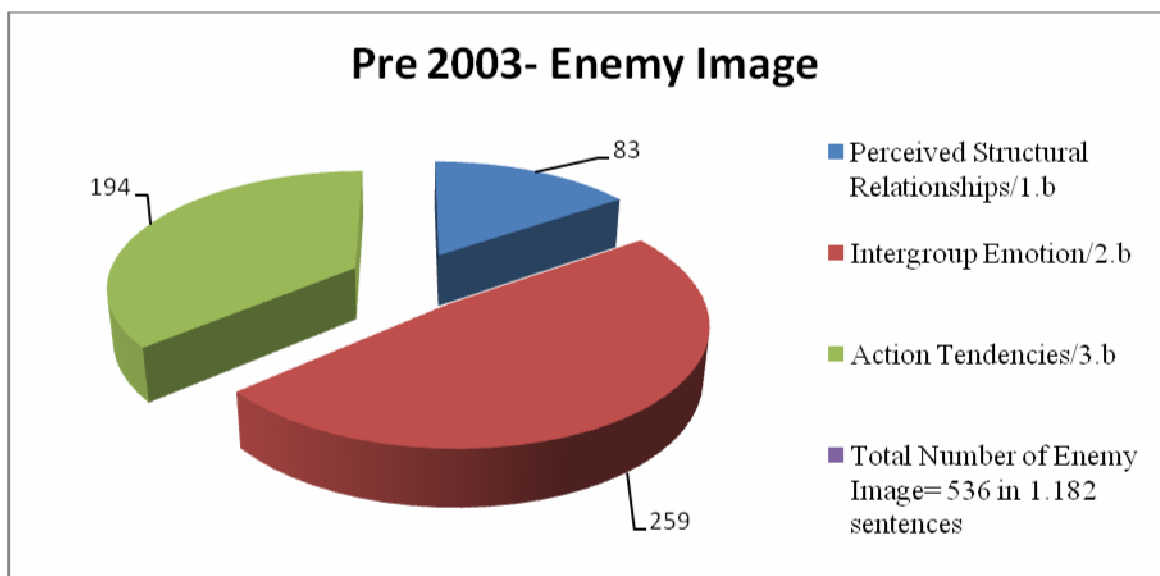


Figure 12. Distribution of the enemy image/ Pre-2003

However, for the period of the six months after the opening of the checkpoints thirty eight (38) articles were found and coded. That means the examination of three thousands seven hundred fifty four (3.754) sentences out of which the one thousand ninety four (1094) identified as zero. To begin with, all three components of enemy

image appeared one thousand six hundred five (605) times. For the better understanding of the context of each category, representative examples will be given.

More analytically, out of the remaining two thousands six hundred sixty (2.660) the 1.b category which is described as “Conflict will only benefit us even though: we are equal militarily and economically and we are equal culturally” appeared fifty eight (58) times.

“All of this because she happens to live in the southern, not the northern part of the island.”

In addition, the 2.b category which includes the following six emotions: a) anger b) hostility c) fury d) resentment e) disrespect and f) irritation appeared four hundred nineteen (419) times.

“Greek-Cypriots are bad and will kill us all one day. If you want to trust them, go ahead but not me...My house was down and turned into a restaurant.”

Finally, the 3.b category which expresses the tendency to attack the other appeared one hundred twenty eight (128) times.

“I want to return and have my property back.”

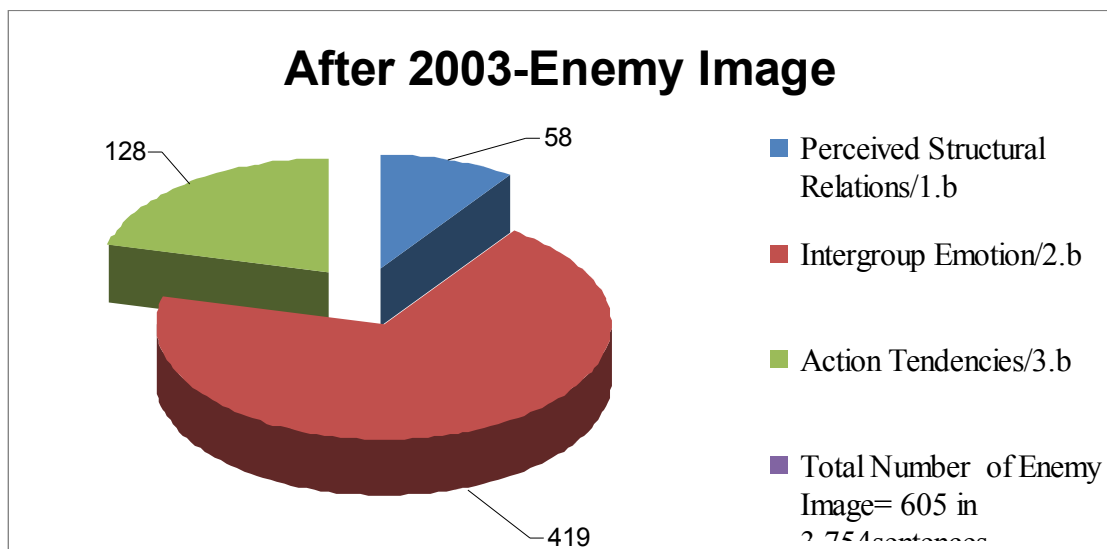


Figure 13. Distribution of the enemy image/ After-2003

Overall, a graph will be presented below depicting the shift (in percentages) of each one of the components of the enemy image before and after the examined positive turning point.

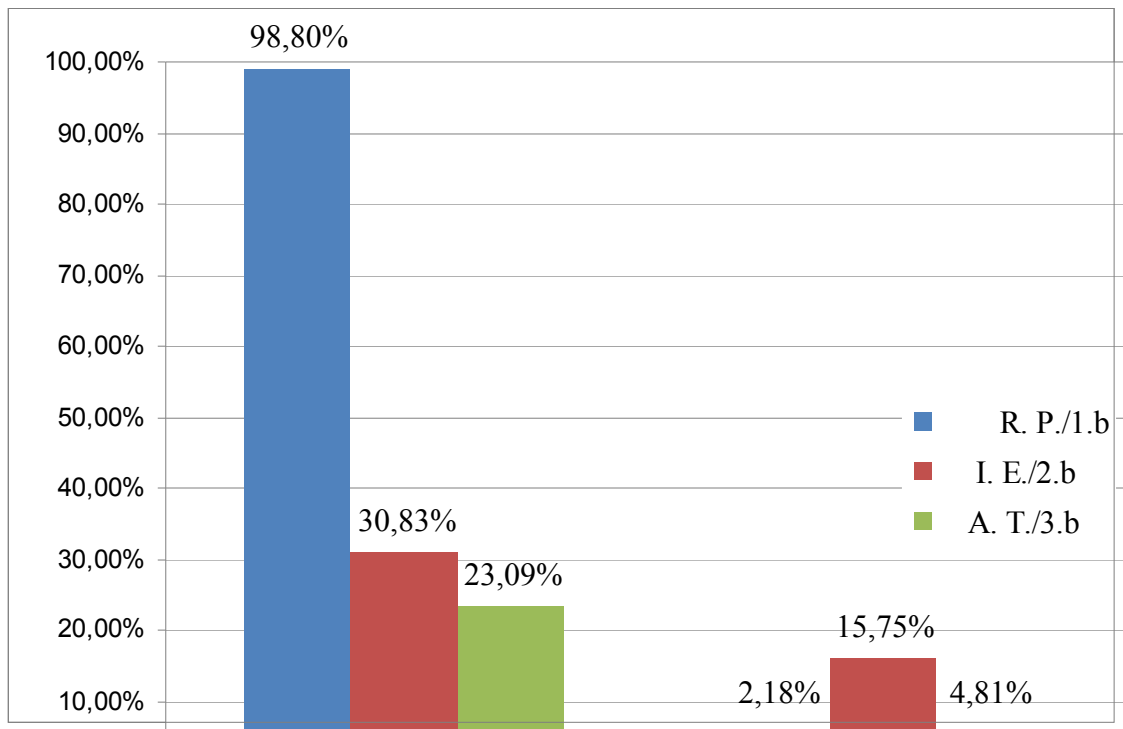


Figure 14. Shift of enemy image pre and after 2003

Table 7. Distribution of percentage of the enemy image pre and after 2003

	Relationship Pattern	Intergroup Emotions	Action Tendencies
Enemy Image pre 2003	9.88%	30.83%	23.09%
Enemy Image pre 2003	2.18%	15.75%	4.81%
Change in the % pre- after	- 7.7%	- 15.08%	- 18.28%

4.3.3. Barbarian Image

Overall, for the period of the six months before the opening of the checkpoints twelve (12) articles were found and coded. Specifically, this means the examination of one thousand one hundred eighty two (1.182) sentences out of which the three hundred forty two (342) identified as zero. To begin with, only one of the three components of the barbarian image appeared forty (40) times. For the better understanding of the context of each category, representative examples will be given.

Therefore, the 2.c category which includes the following three emotions: a) fear b) intimidation and c) contempt appeared forty (40) times.

“Since now there is only a fragile cease fire, not even an agreement about a cease fire. Of course, I am frightened.”

There were no indicators of the 1.c and 3.c categories.

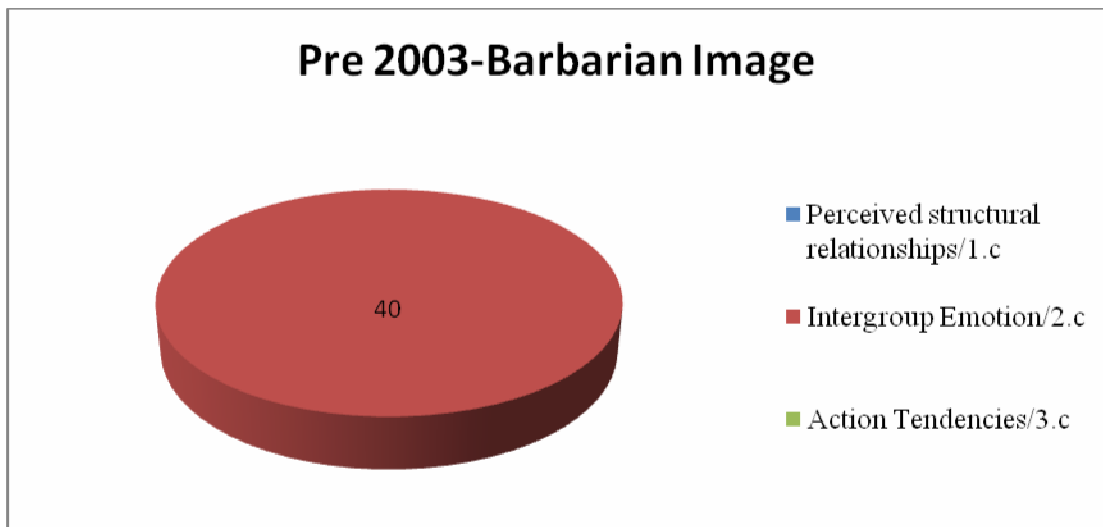


Figure 15. Distribution of the barbarian image/ Pre-2003

On the other hand, for the period of the six months after the opening of the checkpoints thirty eight (38) articles were found and coded. That means the examination of three thousands seven hundred fifty four (3.754) sentences out of which the one thousand ninety four (1.094) identified as zero. To begin with, only one of the three components of the barbarian image appeared forty three (43) times. For the better understanding of the context of each category, representative examples will be given.

Therefore, the 2.c category which includes the following three emotions: a) fear b) intimidation and c) contempt appeared forty three (43) times.

“I am afraid. I still remember when we were hiding under the bed for fear of being killed.”

There were no indicators of the 1.c and 3.c categories.

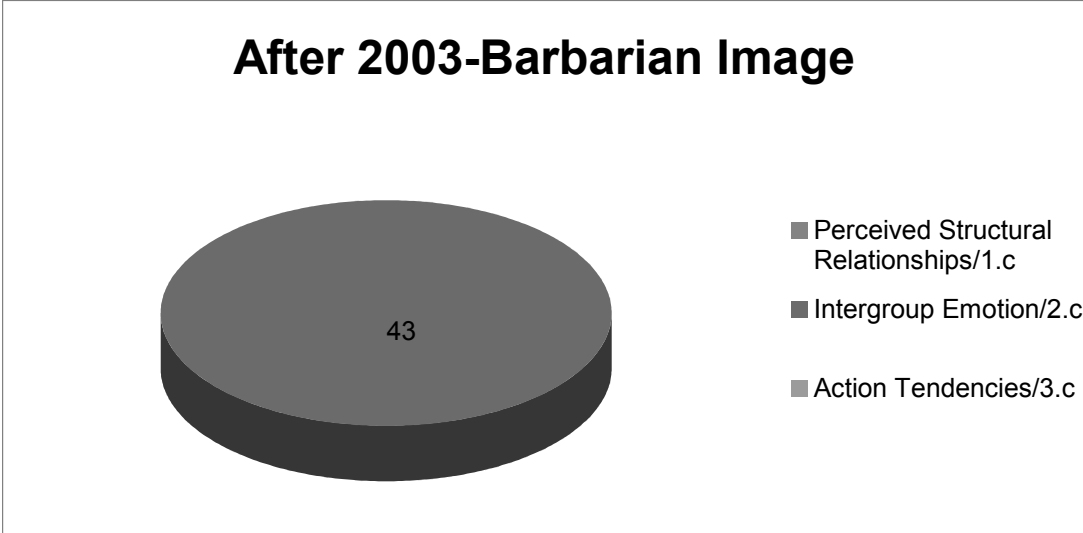


Figure 16. Distribution of the barbarian image/ After-2003

Overall, a graph will be presented below depicting the shift (in percentages) of each one of the components of the barbarian image before and after the examined positive turning point.

Table 8. Distribution of percentage of the barbarian image pre and after 2003

	Relationship Pattern	Intergroup Emotions	Action Tendencies
Barbarian Image pre 2003	0	4.76%	0
Barbarian Image after 2003	0	1.61%	0
Change in the % pre-after 2003	0	- 3.15%	0

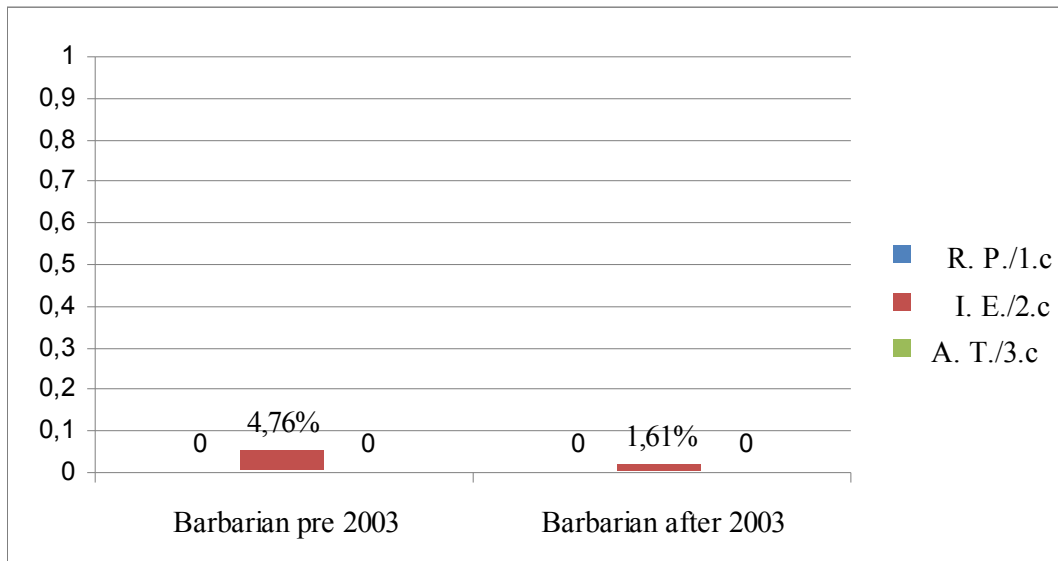


Figure17. Shift of the barbarian image pre and after 2003

4.3.4. Imperialist Image

Generally, for the period of the six months before the opening of the checkpoints twelve (12) articles were found and coded. Specifically, this means the examination of one thousand one hundred eighty two (1.182) sentences out of which the three hundred forty two (342) identified as zero. To begin with, all two of the three components of imperialist image appeared twenty (20) times. For the better understanding of the context of each category, representative examples will be given.

Therefore, out of the remaining eight hundred forty (840) the 1.d category which is described as “Conflict will benefit us at the expense of the other because: we are superior militarily and economically and we are superior culturally” appeared eight (8) times.

“Many Greek-Cypriots that I speak to think that the situation as it is, is more convenient for them. After all, they enjoy a comfortable life and invest a lot for their security.”

In addition, the 2.d category which includes the following two emotions: a) jealousy and b) envy appeared twelve (12) times. Finally, there were no indicators of the 3.d category.

“She has a comfortable life and fails to understand what sorts of conditions prevail in the northern part of the island.”

At this point, it should be noted that there were no indicators of the imperialist image within the period six months after the opening of the checkpoints.

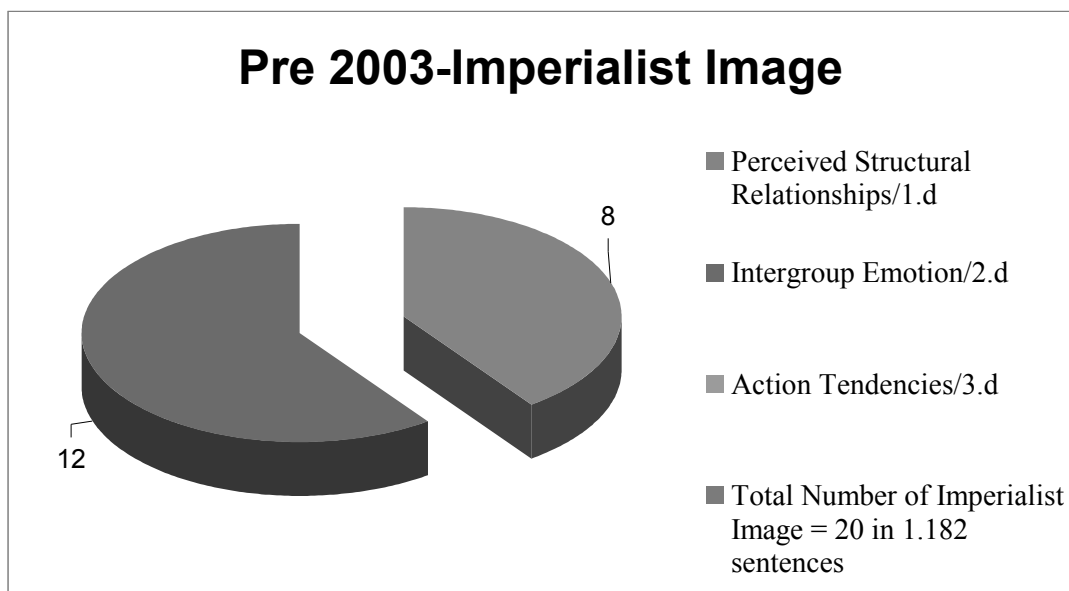


Figure 18. Distribution of the imperialist image/ Pre-2003

4.3.5. Dependent Image

Overall, for the period of the six months before the opening of the checkpoints twelve (12) articles were found and coded. Specifically, this means the examination of one thousand one hundred eighty two (1.182) sentences out of which the three hundred forty two (342) identified as zero. To begin with, all the components of dependent

image appeared seventy four (74) times. For the better understanding of the context of each category, representative examples will be given.

Particularly, out of the remaining eight hundred forty (840) the 1.e category which is described as “Conflict will harm us at the expense of the other side because: we are inferior militarily and economically and we are inferior culturally” appeared twenty (20) times.

“Ankara’s policies of constantly sending ‘new citizens’ had turned Turkish- Cypriots almost into a minority in their own country.”

Furthermore, the 2.e category which includes the following three emotions: a) disgust and b) worry and c) anxiety appeared forty four (44) times.

“But for the moment I see no joint political thinking, no joint projects for our future.”

Finally, the 3.d category which expresses the tendency to exploit the other appeared ten (10) times.

“They intervened in different ways in the daily lifes of Turkish- Cypriots.”

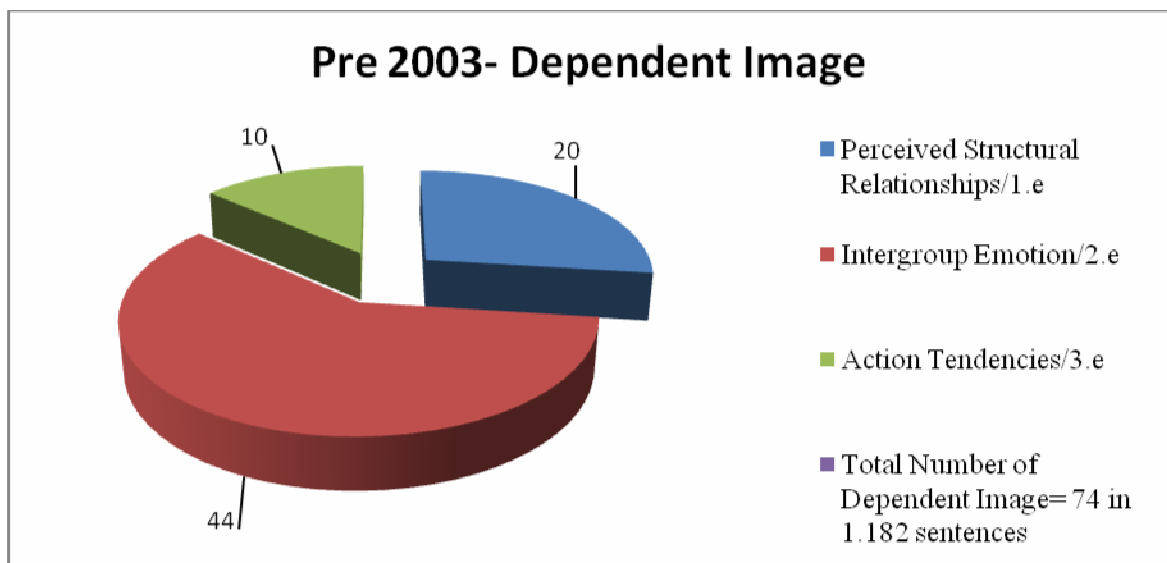


Figure 19. Distribution of the dependent image/ Pre-2003

On the contrary, for the period of the six months after the opening of the checkpoints thirty eight (38) articles were found and coded. That means the examination of three thousands seven hundred fifty four (3.754) sentences out of which the one thousand ninety four (1.094) identified as zero. To begin with, all the components of the dependent image appeared eighty two (82) times. For the better understanding of the context of each category, representative examples will be given.

Specifically, out of the remaining eight hundred forty (840) the 1.e category which is described as “Conflict will harm us at the expense of the other side because: we are inferior militarily and economically and we are inferior culturally” appeared thirty (30) times.

“We were not Cypriots enough, not civilized enough, not armed enough...”

Furthermore, the 2.e category which includes the following three emotions: a) disgust and b) worry and c) anxiety appeared forty one (44) times.

“The Greek-Cypriots did nothing to support us nor did they join us in solidarity.”

Finally, the 3.d category which expresses the tendency to exploit the other appeared eleven (11) times.

“Again, she failed to understand that Cyprus was a different country, it was not a part of Turkey and Turkish-Cypriots could have different demands and different struggles.”

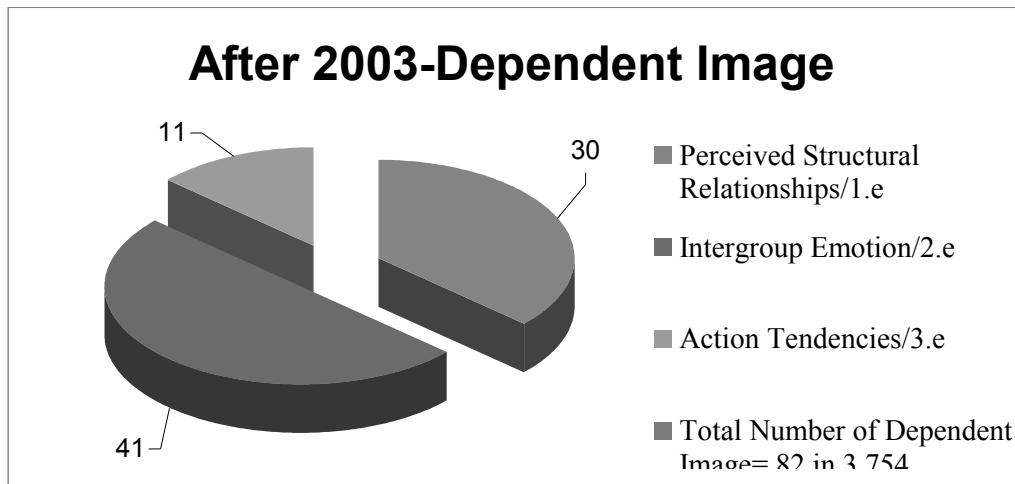


Figure 20. Distribution of the dependent image/ After-2003

Overall, a graph will be presented depicting the shift (in percentages) of each one of the components of the dependent image before and after the examined positive turning point.

Table 9. Distribution of percentage of dependent image pre and after 2003

	Relationship Pattern	Intergroup Emotions	Action Tendencies
Dependent Image pre 2003:	2.38%	5.23%	1.19%
Dependent Image after 2003:	1.12%	1.54%	0.41%
Change in the %pre-after 2003:	- 1.26%	-3.69%	- 0.78%

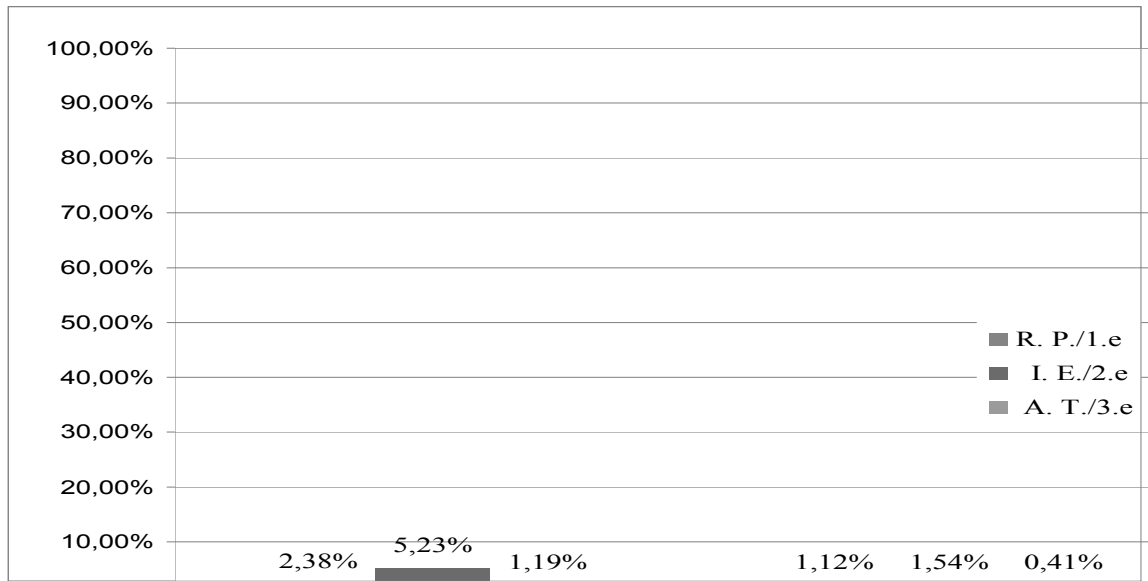


Figure 21. Shift of the dependent pre and after 2003

Finally, a table will follow depicting the frequency of each category pre and after the violent incidents in the Green Line in 1996 and respectively pre and after the opening of the checkpoints in 2003 in order to have a general idea of the data.

Table 10. Frequency of each category pre and after the v.inc. in the Green Line in 1996

	1. Relationship Pattern		2. Intergroup Emotion		3. Action Tendencies		Total Number of Images	
	Pre	After	Pre	After	Pre	After	Pre	After
							Pre - After	
							Ally	
<i>a.</i>	101	17	309	32	366	19	776 - 68	
							Enemy	
<i>b.</i>	11	60	126	1.691	194	684	331 - 2.435	
							Barbarian	
<i>c.</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0 - 0	
							Imperialist	
<i>d.</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0 - 0	
							Dependent	
<i>e.</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0 - 0	

Table 11. Frequency of each category pre and after the opening of the checkpoints in 2003

	1. Relationship Pattern		2. Intergroup Emotion		3. Action Tendencies		Total Number Of Images	
	Pre	After	Pre	After	Pre	After	Pre	After
<i>a.</i>	55	292	85	992	30	646	Ally 170 1.930	
<i>b.</i>	83	58	259	419	194	128	Enemy 536 605	

c	0	0	40	43	0	0	<i>Barbarian</i>
							40 43
d	8	0	12	0	0	0	<i>Imperialist</i>
							20 0
e	20	30	44	41	10	11	<i>Dependent</i>
							74 82

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The final analysis of the data derived from the coding schema offers interesting information about the potential impact of turning points in the change of images of the 'other' in a conflict society. The findings from the examined narratives which were published as articles in the press in both communities of the island can lead to an assumption which will support or falsify the propositions posted in the beginning. These propositions suggested on the one hand that positive turning points can lead to positively changing in the images that each party holds for the 'other' which can lead to the improvement of the relationship between the parties involved or even the resolution of a conflict and on the other hand that negative turning points lead to the negatively changing in the images that each party holds for the 'other' which can lead to the dissociation of the relationships between the parties involved or even the escalation of the conflict.

For the purposes of this research, two turning points were chosen to be examined: one negative and one positive under the context of Cyprus conflict. These are the violent incidents that took place in the Green Line in August 1996 and the opening of the checkpoints in April 2003, respectively. Narratives which were published as articles in the press within the period of six months before and after each turning point occurred were selected and analysed. A coding schema was created by including as categories the components of different types of images (ally, enemy, barbarian, imperialist and dependent) deriving from the literature. According to the international image theory, as described in details in the first chapter, causal directions exist between

perceived structural relationships, emotions and action tendencies. Therefore, the combination of these three forms a certain type of image as it is mentioned above. The objective of the current study is to present the frequency of each indicator, which leads to a certain image and explore if there was a significant change after each turning point takes place. An attempt to interpret and explain the findings presented in the previous chapter will follow.

5.1 Out group Images for the Negative Turning Point

Due to its duration, Cyprus conflict contains serious turning points both positive and negative which have changed the picture of the conflict either by creating deadlocks and crises or resolution attempts between the two parties. However, the violent incidents in the Green Line in the summer of 1996 are considered to be one of the most escalatory events in the whole history of the conflict in the island. Hence, the examination and analysis of possible changes before and after their occurrence may offer insights towards this direction.

5.1.1 Ally Image vs. Enemy Image

What is interesting to explore here is, on the one hand, the absence of any indicators of certain type of images such as the barbarian, imperialist and dependent, as they exist in the coding schema, and on the other hand, the domination of the other two images: enemy and ally. An attempt to give an explanation to this phenomenon will be made by referring both to the existent literature and to the context of the specific conflict. First of all, the dynamics of the particular turning point should not be neglected, in order to understand the appearance of the last two images (enemy, ally). The fact that a motorbike rally in the Greek-Cypriot side, which started as a way to

protest peacefully against the division of the island and ended up in violent clashes costing the lives of three people and the injuries of many others, gave rise to assumptions such that a peaceful co-existence with the 'other' will never be successful, let alone desirable. In addition, the involvement of the 'Grey Wolves', a Turkish ultra-nationalist group, in the above incidents may be perceived as the factor/actor which can ensure the balance of power between the parties involved. The reason lies on the fact that Turkish-Cypriots seek for a strong ally in order to minimize the costs deriving from their population number or status and Greek -Cypriots are reminded of taking seriously the other party. As a result, each party started to perceive the 'other' as a real and powerful threat to its community and reacts with hostility. Therefore, the existence of elements of enemy image (perceived structural relations, emotions and action tendencies) is obvious. Finally and most importantly, the notions which are used for the formation of the barbarian, imperialist and dependent image are not relevant in the context described above. For instance, even though the perceived threat from a party towards the 'other' exists in all of the three images, the big difference lies on the fact that in their case the 'other' is perceived inferior either in terms of goal compatibility, relative power or cultural status.

Overall, the components of first category which lead to the creation of an ally image appeared seven hundred seventy six (776) times within the period of six months before the violent incidents take place, whereas this number drops significantly to sixty eight (68) within the period of six months after these incidents occurred. In other words, the percentage of the ally image as a whole before the negative turning point is 70% (70.09%), but after the events in the Green Line goes down to 2.69%. Conversely, the components of the second category which lead to the formation of an enemy image appeared three hundred thirty one (331) times in the time framework before the eruption of the turning point and two thousands four hundred thirty five (2.435) times after it. The percentage which the enemy image holds before the eruption of the negative turning point is almost 30% (29.89%) and 97.26% after it. In both cases, there is a significance change of the existing images after the violent events in the Green Line in the summer of 1996.

At this point, it should be noted that many initiatives had been taken during the first half part of the 90's for the rapprochement of the parties. Series of conflict resolution techniques had been applied with the most prominent one the contacting of workshops, in which people from both communities had the opportunity to meet and talk with the 'other'. In these workshops, emphasis had been put on both listening and understanding each other's perspectives. Very well-known scholars and practitioners (B. Broome, R. Fisher, H.Kelman, M. Turk) from the conflict analysis and resolution field orchestrated such activities both in the island and abroad. As it is reflected in the numbers, these initiatives probably proved very fruitful by having a positive impact on the elimination of stereotypes and enemy images and the creation of ally images instead. The latter can also explain the percentages appeared in the second and third category, intergroup emotions and action tendencies respectively. Emotions such as trust, gratitude and affection concentrate almost 28% (27.91%) of the total, whereas action tendencies which suggest cooperation with the 'other' party 33.06%. Finally, the first category which represents the structural relationships of the parties is limited to 9.12%. Similarly, emotions as anger, hostility, and resentment are limited to 11.38% and action tendencies which suggest attack to the 'other' party follows by 17.52%. Lastly, the percentage of the first category which represents the structural relationships of the parties is extremely low, 0.99%.

It seems that even though it takes a lot of effort and time to bring the parties together and build sentiments as trust between them (emergence of ally images), it takes no more than a triggering event to blow whatever was achieved (emergence of enemy images). The latter reflects exactly the case after the violent incidents took place in the Green Line. What is illustrated by the change in the percentages of ally and enemy images is the following fact: sentiments of trust and actions of cooperation give their place to those of anger, hostility, resentment and fury and actions of attack. Intergroup emotions and action tendencies of the enemy image correspond to the 67.55% and 27.32% respectively, instead of the 1.27% and 0.75% that the ally image holds. The percentages of the first category are pretty low (2.39% and 0.67%) but even there the tendency to shift from ally to enemy image is obvious. For the better understanding of the change in the images which occurred before and after a negative turning point the following graph was constructed.

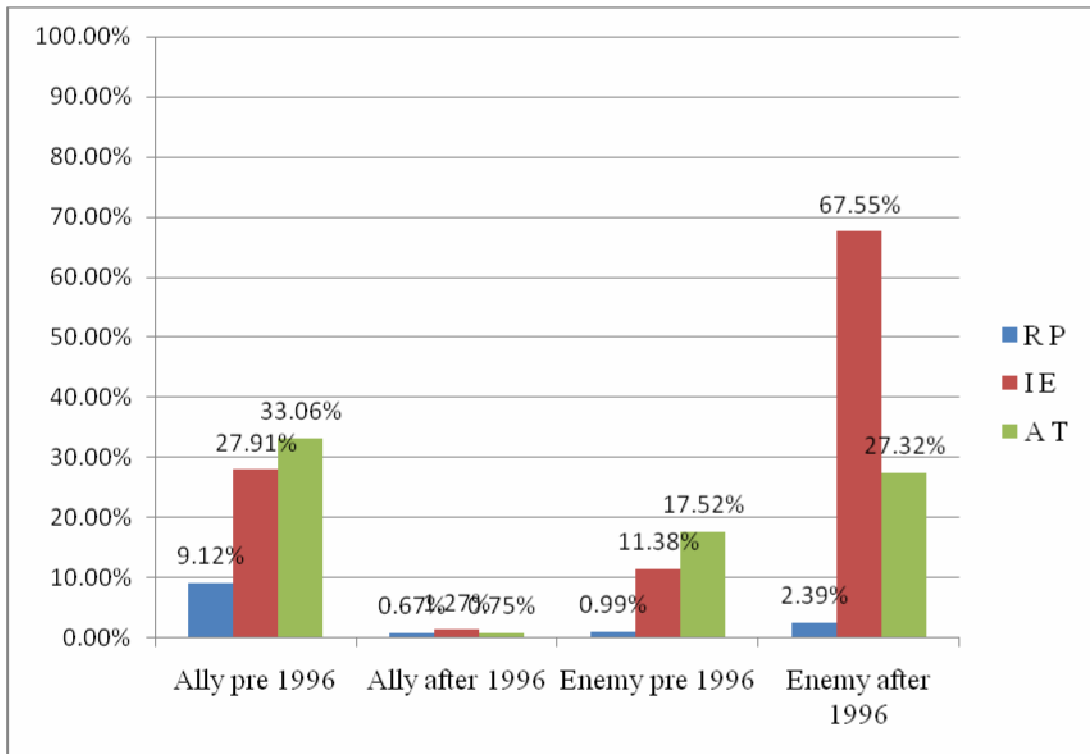


Figure 22. Shift of the images pre and after 1996

Table 12. Distribution of the % of the images pre and after 1996

	Relationship Pattern	Intergroup Emotions	Action Tendencies
Ally Image pre 1996	9.12%	27.91%	33.06%
Ally Image after 1996	0.67%	1.27%	0.75%
Enemy Image pre 1996	0.99%	11.38%	17.52%
Enemy Image after 1996	2.39%	67.55%	27.32%

A general comment that can be derived from the above is the big difference in the percentages that the second and third categories have in comparison with the first one. This phenomenon can be connected with two factors. On the one hand, emotions are in general the first and easiest way for a party to express its feelings for the conflict, the other parties involved etc. In addition to the above, emotions tend to lead to immediate actions both towards the resolution of the conflict or its escalation depending on the given situation. On the other hand, perceived structural relationships are more complicated to be achieved and usually don't only require the fully involvement of the parties but also time to be fulfilled. Lastly, the weaknesses arouse of the coding schema itself should not be neglected. As discussed earlier, the category which includes the intergroup emotions is easier to be depicted during the codification of the articles in comparison with the other two and especially with the first one (perceived structural relationships).

In conclusion, the further analysis of the presented data suggests that a negative turning point, in our case the violent incidents in the Green Line in 1996, can have a great impact on the formation of the perceptions/images of the 'other' by leading to an important reduction (as in the case of ally image) or to an important increase (as in the case of enemy image) of the one that they held beforehand.

5.2. Out group Images for the Positive Turning Point

The Green Line (or Ceasefire Line or Dead Zone) -a 112 miles line which was drawn after the violent incidents in December in 1963 to prevent further violence- is the symbol of the division of the Cyprus Island in two parts: the North and the South. Therefore, the partially opening of the checkpoints on the 23rd of April 2003 is considered to be a positive turning point (and as such it will be examined) which mainly provides the opportunity to the parties to meet and understand the 'other' after so many years of isolation. Thus, the examination and analysis of potential change in the images of the 'other' is being of huge importance under this research.

In general, the findings derived from the codification of the articles indicate the existence of all types of images within the period of six months before the opening of the checkpoints, whereas in the next six months followed the opening there were found no indicators of the imperialist image. Moreover, the percentages that each one of the barbarian, imperialist and dependent image share are extremely low in comparison with the remaining two (ally and enemy). The other interesting fact is that for both the barbarian and imperialist images were not found elements of all the three categories proposed by the coding schema. Especially, the third category which includes the action tendencies is missing in both of the images. The combination of the above factors may lead to the conclusion that the conflict setting during the examined period is one which doesn't leave much space for the formation of the particular images. Once again, emphasis is put on the expression of different emotions rather than action tendencies and much more than perceived structural relationships. Finally, it seems that the majority of the parties involved perceived the 'other' as equal in terms of goal compatibility, relative power and cultural status and then they may differentiate their attitude according to the type of image they reflect on.

5.2.1 Ally Image vs. Enemy Image

In total, the components of the ally image in the period before the opening of the checkpoints are calculated to one hundred seventy (170) times, however, in the period after this event took place the number reached to one thousand nine hundred thirty (1.930) times. It will be better for the visualization of the change occurred to give the numbers in percentages. Therefore, the percentage of the ally image as a whole before 2003 is 20.22% and six months after increased almost four times the first and reached the percentage of 72.54 %. Furthermore, the percentages of each one of the categories were also either doubled or tripled. For instance, perceived structural relationships have 6.54% before, which became 10.97% after the opening. Intergroup emotions tripled

their percentage from 10.11% to 37.29%. Finally, in the third category, action tendencies appeared to have the biggest change of all three of them (3.57% - 24.28%).

However, these remarkable changes should not surprise us. According to the literature, stereotypes, misperceptions and enemy images are part of each conflict's context and most of them are constructed and learnt through education and propaganda. Hence, as Contact Theory (Allport, as cited in Brown, 2000; Pettigrew, 1988) suggests, it is not at all surprising that by meeting the 'other' all these parameters tend to decrease and give rise to more positive ones (Lederah, 1997, as cited in M. Hadjipavlou, 2007). Linda Tropp specifically mentions the decades of research that have concluded that contact between members of different groups can lead to reductions in prejudice along with a variety of other positive outcomes (Tropp, 2003: 131), such as improvements in relationships. Once you acknowledge the 'other' as a human being who has the same needs with you, suffers from the consequences of certain situations as you do, then both your emotions and behavior towards the 'other' should change significantly. Most of the researchers who have intergroup contact agree to that (Miller, 2002; Brown, 2000; Hewstone and Cairns, 2001).

The same way as the ally image is portrayed, follows the enemy image. Overall, the number of all three components of enemy image before the positive turning point takes place appeared five hundred thirty six (536) times. During the given time framework after the opening of the check points appeared one thousand six hundred five (605) times. More analytically, the percentage decreased more than half, from 63.8% to 22.74%. A decrease appears in all of the categories from emotions (30.83% - 12.75%) to action tendencies (23.09% -4.81%) and perceived structural relationships (9.88% - 2.18%). As M. Hadjipavlou (2007) suggests by contacting the 'other' and try to understand also his/her perspective, stereotypes, misperceptions and eventually enemy images will be softened and may even disappear.

5.2.2. Barbarian, Imperialist and Dependent

As it is mentioned above, the percentages in these categories are very low, such that no further deductions can be made. Imperialist image fails to appear in the second period, whereas the barbarian one appears only in the second category. In general, the percentages are not so important since they hold just a small portion of the whole pie. Each of the components of every type of images is decreasing after the positive turning point. Lastly, it may be deduced that these images were used to describe the ‘other’ as s/he was constructed in parties’ mind by their previous memories during the eruption of violence and conflict. The fact that the two parties were isolated from each other for so many years gave legitimacy to the existence of these images. However, after the opening of the checkpoints, an event which gave them the opportunity to realise who the ‘other’ is in reality and what represents, these images either decreased even more their number or disappeared.

To conclude with, the presentation and analysis of the selected data suggest that positive turning points (in our case the opening of the checkpoints in 2003) can have a great impact and can lead to the significant decrease of the number of negative images and the formation of new, positive ones about the ‘other’.

For the better understanding of the change in the images which occurred before and after a positive turning point the following graph was designed.

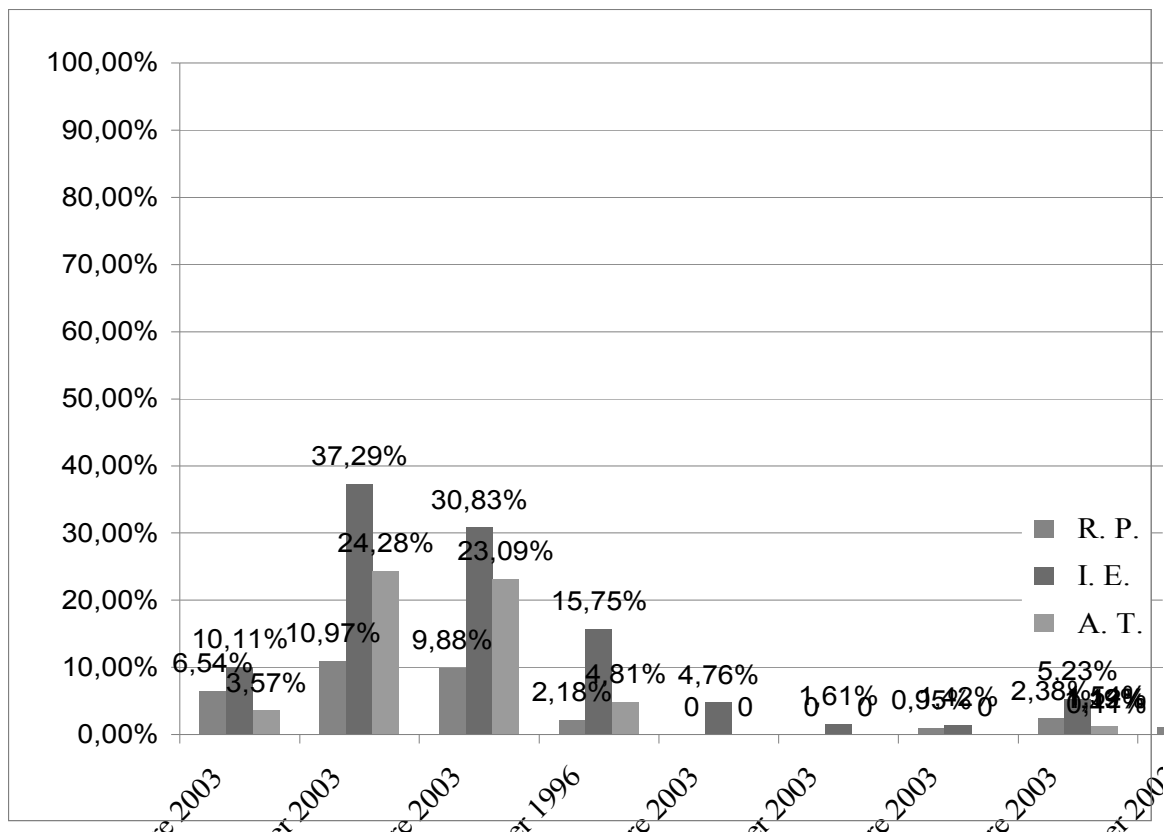


Figure 23. Shift of images pre and after 2003

Table 13. Distribution of the percentage among the images pre and after 2003

	Relationship Pattern	Intergroup Emotions	Action Tendencies
Ally Image pre 2003	6.54%	10.11%	3.57%
Ally Image after 2003	10.97%	37.29%	24.28%
Enemy Image pre 2003	9.88%	30.83%	23.09%
Enemy Image pre 2003	2.18%	15.75%	4.81%

Barbarian Image pre 2003	0	4.76%	0
Barbarian Image after 2003	0	1.61%	0
Imperialist Image pre 2003	0.95%	1.42%	0
Dependent Image pre 2003	2.38%	5.23%	1.19%
Dependent Image after 2003	1.12%	1.54%	0.41%

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

The goal of this research was to examine the existence of possible connection between negative and positive turning points and change in the images of the ‘other’ in the Cyprus context. The units of analysis were citizens’ narratives published as articles in the press six months before and after each turning point occurred. For the purpose of the research, a positive – the opening of the checkpoints in 2003- and a negative – the violent incidents in the green Line in 1996- turning point was examined and analyzed.

In order for the results to be more concrete a certain path was followed. To begin with, the basic concepts which monopolized this study were introduced, defined and explained in the literature review, which composes the first chapter. Furthermore, the methodology which was used in order to collect the data was explained in depth in the second chapter. Information about the sample, the codification of the data and the formation of the coding schema were given. Finally, in the two remaining chapters the findings of the codification of the articles were presented and analyzed separately for each turning point and the overall change in the images were illustrated and discussed. In the current chapter, the findings from the analysis of the two turning points are compared and further assumptions are made.

6.1. Ally Image in 1996 vs. Ally Image in 2003

As it is made clear from the graphs, there was a huge decrease in the ally image (in all the categories) after the violent incidents took place in the Green Line in 1996, whereas there was a significant increase in the percentage of the ally image (in all the categories) after the opening of the checkpoints in 2003. More analytically, the percentage of all categories of ally image in 1996 dropped to 1/8, 1/22 and 1/32 respectively. On the other hand, the percentage of all categories of ally image in 2003 increased twice, four times and eight times respectively. By comparing the two, it is obvious that the decrease is more significant than the increase. From the latter, it can be concluded that a negative turning point has a bigger impact in the change of images than a positive one. It seems that a triggering event can easily and very fast jeopardize the possible progress made until that point and allow old perceptions and images of the 'other' to be reestablished again. Of course, the impact of a positive turning point is not undermined; however, it is clear that building a constructive relationship between the parties is much more difficult and it takes time to be reflected in the intergroup images.

6.2. Enemy Image in 1996 vs. Enemy Image in 2003

On the other hand, as it derives from the charts there was a big increase in the percentage of the enemy image after the violent incidents in the Green Line in 1996 and an important decrease in its percentage after the opening of the checkpoints. In particular, all categories increased but the big difference is illustrated in the second category, since the percentage was increased even to seven times. In contrast, after the positive turning point occurred there was a drop in the percentage of all categories. In the first two categories, the percentage dropped by half, whereas in the last one by 1/6. By contrasting the two, it is very interesting to observe that the difference between the two is not as big as one may assume based on the analysis of the data but still is bigger in the case after the negative turning point took place. It seems that a positive turning

point can have an impact on the elimination of the enemy images, though it is important to mention that other negative images can also emerge (as it was the case). Finally, the role of the negative turning point in the emergence of enemy images should not be ignored.

6.3. Intergroup Emotions as the category with the most frequency

It is important to underline the fact that from the three categories of the coding schema, the second one (Intergroup Emotions) appears the most times almost in all cases in both turning points. In general, emotions reflect one's feelings about a subject or a situation. In a conflict environment, the need to express either negative or positive emotions about the other party or the situation itself is more immediate. Turning points can trigger such emotions in one way or another and in turn emotions can lead to different actions. In addition, emotions are easy to be addressed and explained. Furthermore, the way the coding schema was constructed contributed as well to the configuration of the final results. As discussed in previous chapters, both the first (Relationship Pattern) and third category (Action Tendencies) are more ambiguous and difficult to be recognized in comparison with the second one (Intergroup Emotions). Finally, the fact that the unit of analysis of this research are narratives (published in the press as articles) should not be neglected. Every society has its own narratives, oral or written stories, about its past, present and sometimes its view of the future. These stories, especially the ones which refer to periods characterized by victimhood and suffering are full of emotions (Chaitin, 2003). All the factors above make this finding not to seem so surprising.

6.4. Contribution of the research

This research attempted to examine the impact of turning points on the change of images of the 'other' in Cyprus context. In order to achieve this goal, two propositions

were made. These propositions suggested on the one hand that positive turning points can lead to positively changing in the images that each party holds for the ‘other’ which can lead to the improvement of the relationship between the parties involved or even the resolution of a conflict and on the other hand that negative turning points lead to the negatively changing in the images that each party holds for the ‘other’ which can lead to the dissociation of the relationships between the parties involved or even the escalation of the conflict. As a result, both propositions were supported by the findings of this research as analysed in previous chapters.

This research is of particular interest for two reasons. Firstly, at the theory level, the study contributes to the theoretical literature on turning points and their role in the change of images in a conflict society. Secondly, in terms of the case study, it provides useful insights for a conflict situation that has been monopolized the interest of many scholars so far by emphasizing the Cypriots’ perceptive on how influential some events can be in changing their image for the ‘other’.

6.5. Implications for Future Research

The current thesis offers valuable information on how influential turning points (negative or positive) are in the change of images of the ‘other’. Nevertheless, it also gives some stimuli for further research. It will be interesting, for instance, to observe if the results will be the same in another context. Therefore, more research can be done by examining other conflict societies as well, which will provide the certainty to generalize and build a theory on the role of positive and negative turning points.

Finally, the fact that positive turning points led to the change in images of the ‘other’ in a positive way can be proved very useful at the policy level. For instance, how policy –makers can take advantage of this and act accordingly for achieving the ultimate goal which is the resolution of the conflict.

APPENDIX 1 (Coding Schema)

1. Relationship pattern

2. Intergroup Emotion

3. Action tendencies

Outgroup Images

a. Conflict will harm us both **because:**

We are equal militarily and economically

We are equal culturally

Trust

Gratitude

Affection

Cooperation

Ally

b. Conflict will only benefit us **even though:**

We are equal militarily and economically

We are equal culturally

Anger

Hostility

Fury

Resentment

Disrespect

Irritation

Containment / Attack

Enemy

<p>c. Conflict will harm us because:</p> <p><i>The other nation is inferior culturally but</i></p> <p><i>Superior militarily and economically</i></p>	<p>Fear</p> <p>Intimidation</p> <p>Contempt</p>	<p>Defensive/ Protection</p>	<p>Barbarian</p>
<p>d. Conflict will benefit us at the expense of other</p> <p><u>Because:</u> <i>We are superior culturally</i></p> <p><i>We are superior militarily and economically</i></p>	<p>Jealousy</p> <p>Envy</p>	<p>Resistance / Rebellion</p>	<p>Imperialist</p>
<p>e. Conflict will harm us at the expense of the other side</p> <p><u>Because:</u> <i>We are inferior culturally</i></p> <p><i>We are inferior militarily and economically</i></p>	<p>Disgust</p> <p>Worry</p> <p>Anxiety</p>	<p>Exploitation/ Paternalism</p>	<p>Dependent</p>

APPENDIX 2

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TABLE 1. Perceived Relationships and Images in International Relations

<i>Foreign Policy Challenge</i>				
THREAT				
		<u>Superior</u>	<u>CULTURE</u> <u>Similar</u>	<u>Inferior</u>
CAPABILITY	Superior	(1)	(2) Imperialist	(3) Barbarian
	Similar	(4)	(5) Enemy	(6)
	Inferior	(7)	(8)	(9)
MUTUAL GAIN				
		<u>Superior</u>	<u>CULTURE</u> <u>Similar</u>	<u>Inferior</u>
CAPABILITY	Superior	(10)	(11)	(12)
	Similar	(13)	(14) Ally	(15)
	Inferior	(16)	(17)	(18)
OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLOIT				
		<u>Superior</u>	<u>CULTURE</u> <u>Similar</u>	<u>Inferior</u>
CAPABILITY	Superior	(19)	(20)	(21)
	Similar	(22)	(23) Degenerate	(24)
	Inferior	(25)	(26)	(27) Colony

(Herrmann & Fischerkeller, 1995:409)

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