

# Sex Trafficking, Peace Processes & Local Discourses

- Cyprus -



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# Abstract

When dealing with a process aiming for peace it is common to focus on the conflict issues themselves, and leave other issues to deal with later. But what if these other issues are obstacles to the peace process itself? The purpose of this thesis is to widen the perspective of peacebuilding studies, and shed some light on the issue of sex trafficking and its relation to peace processes. To investigate this further the case of Cyprus is taken as vantage point with the question: *How can trafficking in human beings for the purpose of sexual exploitation affect a peace process, and in particular the process in Cyprus?* More specifically this thesis investigates how local discourses on sex trafficking are constructed in Cyprus and what has been done concerning the issue and how it affects security equality. The material that forms the base of this study is drawn from government documents, reports and local articles. The outcome of the study shows a complicated relationship where the local discourses on sex trafficking are affecting the security equality, which in turn can affect the peace process, but also that the peace process itself is affecting the issue of sex trafficking in Cyprus.

*Key words:* sex trafficking, peace processes, security equality, discourse analysis, Cyprus

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# Abbreviations

CST	Cyprus Stop Trafficking
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CMIRS	Centre for Migration and Rights Studies
EU	European Union
FEMA	North Cyprus Feminist Atelier
GRETA	Group of Experts on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings
IR	International Relations
KAYAD	Association of Women to Support Living
KISA	Equality, Support, Antiracism
MCG	The Multidisciplinary Coordinating Group
MIGS	Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies
NAP	National Action Plan
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
THB	Trafficking in Human Beings
TIP	Trafficking in Persons
TRNC	Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus
RoC	Republic of Cyprus
SBAs	Sovereign Base Areas
SC	Security Council
STIGMA	Organisation for Protection of Victims of Sexual Abuse and Exploitation
UN	United Nations
US	United States
UNFICYP	United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus

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# 1 Introduction

There are many examples of protracted peace processes that never seem to reach closure. Peace agreements are signed, broken and war is back. Processes take new shapes and actors get new roles, war and peace are complex phenomena, and in some cases a frozen conflict has become the reality of the everyday life. One example of a case like this is Cyprus where the external peace-builders have managed to freeze the armed conflict but no solution has yet been reached. A frozen conflict can be described as “...recognized by the absence of large-scale violence, but with persistent inter-communal insecurity, discrimination of out-group members and where ethno-national groups continue to face societal security dilemmas” (Aggestam & Björkdahl, 2009: 23). The “Cypriot problem” has for many years taken all of the focus of the local political processes and has been one of the top-level negotiations on the UN table. The negotiation process has been located in so called “Western bubbles” or in “the green zone” with a few local elites present (Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013: 763-764).

During the years of negotiations and focus on the “Cypriot problem” other issues have grown in magnitude, such as the issue of trafficking in human beings for the purpose of sexual exploitation. International reports have painted the picture of Cyprus as a destination country and as a transit channel for people trafficked for this purpose. The latest US Trafficking in Persons Report states the Republic of Cyprus to be a “tier 2 watch list country”, and that the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus would be a tier 3 country if included in the study (US TIP Report Cyprus, 2014). The first report at the EU level of statistics on trafficking in human beings was published in 2013 and is encompassing the years of 2008 - 2010. In this report the Republic of Cyprus was stated as having the highest number of identified and presumed victims per 100 000 inhabitants, in the European Union (Eurostat Report, 2013: 31). The following report in 2014 showed some difference in the statistics but the Republic of Cyprus was still among the worst cases (Eurostat Report, 2014: 23). The victims are overwhelmingly foreigners and the number of people trafficked internally in Cyprus is very little (Eurostat Report, 2013: 50). Identified victims of trafficking within the EU are first of all mainly from South Eastern European countries, both from non-EU members and from within the EU. Others originate mainly from African countries and the Middle East, and least of all from Latin America and East and South Asia (Rusev, 2013: 2-3). This is also the situation in Cyprus which is part of the main route of victims trafficked into the EU, by the eastern borders (Rusev, 2013: 3).

The definition of trafficking this thesis relates to is the definition of the UN Protocol To Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially

## Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime (2000):

“Trafficking in persons” shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs” (UN Protocol, 2000, §3a).

Human trafficking today, as in historical times, comprises of different kinds of businesses and purposes but this thesis will focus on the issue of trafficking in human beings for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Victims of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation are victims of human rights abuse and marked for life. Even though it is possible for some to come home, the majority will hide their experience, facing multi-faceted problems and will have family questioning why they cannot provide for their children (Brunovskis & Surtees, 2012). These victims have been exposed to a form of violence that many times includes a stigma where they are labelled as guilty as the perpetrator (Olsson, 2009: 25). At the individual level it is a devastating issue, but how can this issue affect processes on another level in a society, like an ongoing peace process?

How THB for the purpose of sexual exploitation is approached and studied, in relation to peace processes, is dependent on how the researcher perceives peace. Peace between states has been and is still the priority in IR theory and research but this thesis is an attempt to bring in more of an “everyday life” approach to peace, since it argues that peace needs to become embedded within the everyday life of people. With a realist notion of peace as being a negative peace, a goal itself with a peace agreement and ceasefire (Richmond, 2008: 154), the main concerns with THB for the purpose of sexual exploitation would be the border issues such as migration, organised crime and national security. But if we start from a post-structuralist perspective on peace, it is perceived as a positive ontology of peace(s), being more than a ceasefire and a peace agreement between states or warring parties (Richmond, 2008: 134-135). It is then not enough with absence of violence between states but we have to broaden our views on security and look at what is shaping and affecting the individual security of people. This perspective stresses the need for more locally owned peace processes in order to move forward, not neglecting the need for outside actors to play their part.

How the issue of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation is perceived and dealt with in a society, affects the security equality of that society. Security equality as: “[...] the distribution of protection between men and women in terms of measures undertaken to enhance protection from physical violence” (Olsson, 2009: 27). In this study discourse theory and method is applied together with security equality, in relation to the social practices, in order to get a better understanding of the possible relationship between sex trafficking and peace processes.

## 1.1 Aim and Research Question

The aim of this thesis is to start to fill the gap of research on the issue of trafficking in human beings for the purpose of sexual exploitation and its relation to peace processes through using the concept of security equality. First it hopes to bring a new perspective to the specific case, and further to contribute to peacebuilding studies in general. Peacebuilding studies are dealing with a broad range of issues, and therefore different kinds of approaches are required in order to get a better understanding of the problems we face in societies that are in the middle of peace processes. Issues other than the “conflict issues” themselves can be of great importance in relation to a peace process and in this thesis it is the phenomenon of sex trafficking that is analysed further. This thesis argues that it is one of the pieces that needs to be brought into light in the puzzle of peacebuilding studies. In order to shed some light on the issue this thesis takes as its vantage point a case study on the situation in Cyprus with the overarching research question:

*How can trafficking in human beings for the purpose of sexual exploitation affect a peace process, and in particular the process in Cyprus?*

Trafficking in human beings for the purpose of sexual exploitation will from now on be defined as 'sex trafficking' in short. “[...] sex trafficking involves the movement of a person(s) to a new location for the purpose of sexual exploitation facilitated by a third party, despite the former’s consent, if such consent is a product of a use of force” (Constantiou, 2013b: 166). More specifically this thesis investigates how local discourses on sex trafficking are constructed in Cyprus and what has been done concerning the issue and how it affects security equality. The notion of security equality will further be explained and elaborated in the section of this thesis theoretical point of departure.

## 1.2 Outline of the Thesis

Following this introduction a theoretical framework is presented which includes a presentation of previous research, discourse analysis as theory, and this thesis theoretical point of departure. In chapter 3 the research design is outlined followed by a discussion on the material and limitations. In the end of chapter 3 the choices of analytical tools are presented. The empirical part starts off in chapter 4 with a contextual background description on the conflict, the peace process and on the issue of sex trafficking in Cyprus. Chapter 5 includes a presentation of the empirical material and findings. In chapter 6 the final analysis and concluding remarks are presented followed by further research in the last chapter of the thesis.

## 2 Theoretical Framework

The purpose of this study is to build further on the existing research and contribute with new perspectives. Since it is crucial to situate the research in previous studies in order to see what further contribution can be made, I will first present some of the previous research that can be found on the issue of sex trafficking.

### 2.1 Previous Research

Previous research on the issue of sex trafficking focuses mainly on migration, organised crime, poverty, gender violence in war, human rights and peacekeeping.

Scholars arguing that sex trafficking is an issue of *migration* put the main focus on border security (Rusev, 2013: 1; Andrijasevic, 2003). The governments following this line put an emphasis on taking repressive measures against migrants and sex workers, because they see it as an issue of national security, and therefore they fail to protect individuals (Andrijasevic, 2010: 142; Corrin, 2007: 186). Sex trafficking is a blurry border issue most of the time even though internal trafficking is also an issue. In Europe, for example, one third of the victims of trafficking do not have to pass border controls (Rusev, 2013: 3). But the tightening of the controls we have, push migrants into the informal organised crime (Rusev, 2013: 6).

Some previous researches argue that trafficking in people is best conceived with an *organised crime* approach (Smith & Smith, 2011: 126). Sex trafficking is one of the fastest growing areas of criminal activity and is on its way to surpassing drug and arms trafficking in magnitude (Andrijasevic, 2010: 7; Ngwe & Elechi, 2012: 104). Research on organised crime also points at the links between these different kinds of trafficking businesses (Ngwe & Elechi, 2012: 105). Not all types of big organized crime gangs are dealing with human trafficking though. Groups united by close family ties, or previous criminal activity, are more likely to deal with it, than hierarchical mafia formations (McRedmond, 2010: 184). But trafficking cannot only be ascribed to the big organised crime networks, it is also an issue of small, sometimes family run, activities (Andrijasevic, 2010: 8; Dawson, 2008: 124, 132, 135; McRedmond, 2010: 183). It's a lucrative business because the risk for traffickers to be caught is low and because the victims can be resold (Corrin, 2007: 183).

*Poverty* is an issue that is seen as one of the main causes of sex trafficking. There are studies showing that vulnerable people living in poverty more easily



end up as victims of sex trafficking (Corrin, 2005: 545). It is also many times explained by the “feminisation of poverty”, where women are the most vulnerable in situations of poverty (Corrin, 2007: 186). But some research also shows that there are victims coming from well-educated backgrounds and not from poverty (Corrin, 2005: 547), pointing towards the complexity of the issue.

*War* is seen as a “state” where sex trafficking is “born”. There are people escaping from war that end up as victims, and gender based violence used in war forms a continuation of profit after war (Clark, 2003; 254; Corrin, 2005: 552; Farr, 2009: 1; Morris, 2010:185). Kathryn Farr’s research, which includes 23 countries with active intra-state conflicts or just ended conflicts, shows how increase in supply, demand and porous borders together with what she calls “war-related male groupings” turn the countries into source, transit and destination for sex trafficking (2009: 6, 10-17). Farr’s conclusion is that: “Trafficking women and children into prostitution and other forms of enslaved labour extends beyond a given war’s lifetime, and thus what began as war related abuse becomes a general form of gender-based violence and exploitation” (Farr, 2009: 23).

When focusing on the state-centred security issues, the biggest issue of them all - sex trafficking as a violation of *human rights* - is “forgotten”. Corrin stresses that we cannot only see it as a fight against criminal networks and illegal migration but we must acknowledge it as a violation of human rights (Corrin, 2005: 545). Previous research shows us that the focus on illegal migration has been an obstacle to improve women’s human rights which is something that must be respected in order to reach peace (Corrin, 2005: 545, 551). Being a threat to human rights, to the individual, it also affects society in large as we are shown in the Nigerian example (Nnadi, 2013: 186). Through previous research we can see that Nigeria is experiencing great difficulties with this issue. When it comes to sex trafficking into Europe from Africa and the Middle East, Nigeria is the main country of origin (Rusev, 2013: 2-3).

Previous research also brings up the relationship between *peacekeeping* and sex trafficking (Agathangelou & Ling, 2003; Chinkin & Charlesworth, 2006: 947; Corrin, 2005: 543,552; Mendelson, 2005; Smith & Smith, 2011). Agathangelou and Ling emphasises peacekeeping’s colonial logic asking what kind of global governance the international community is licensing in the name of peace (Agathangelou & Ling, 2003). Jennings argues that there is a possible link between foreign military presence and sex tourism, and that the UN is responsible for preventing this from happening, even though it is not only involving UN personnel (Jennings, 2010). Not forgetting that there is a zero-tolerance policy in the UN against sexual exploitation and abuse (Jennings & Nikolic-Ristanovic, 2013: 42). Smith and Miller-de la Cuesta construct a set of hypotheses supported by case studies of several UN interventions: “The increase in demand which accompanies force deployments in humanitarian interventions will give rise to a concomitant increase in trafficking” and “[...] the increase will be relative to the size of the force [...]” (Smith & Miller-de la Cuesta, 2010: 296). Mendelson shows us in her research on peacekeeping and sex trafficking in the Balkans that how the local people view the peacekeeping mission is itself a security issue (Mendelson, 2005: 68).

Some argue for more women in the interventions, which is also a request that is stated by the UN itself in the Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325, 2000), and others say it is a structural change in the military culture that is needed (Godec, 2010: 257-258; Hudson, 2012: 452). Not to forget that protection of women and their participation at the negotiation table in a peace process are fundamentally linked (Hudson, 2012: 453). Claire Morris argues that sex trafficking hampers the peacebuilding process and that the demand needs to be viewed as a threat to human security in order to deal with it and hold peacekeepers accountable (Morris, 2010: 195). These issues of peacekeeping and personnel's behaviour have not been focused on in mainstream research, and the feminist research that can be found on the issue is mainly focusing on the effects on victims and not the effects on peace itself (Olsson, 2009: 41).

Although the research on sex trafficking is rich and includes many perspectives, there is a gap when it comes to research on sex trafficking and its impact on or relation to peace processes. This gap is a problem first of all because sex trafficking is related to so many other issues somehow related to peace-processes: based on previous research we can see that war, gender based violence, poverty, organised crime, migration are all related to the issue of sex trafficking (Farr, 2009; Corrin, 2007; Corrin, 2005; Andrijasevic, 2010; Rusev, 2013). In order to start to fill this gap I have chosen to focus on security equality and its relation to sex trafficking.

This thesis examines the local discourses of sex trafficking in Cyprus, an island with disputing parties that have been in a peace-process for many years. The existing international discourses and norms of sex trafficking today are telling us that sex trafficking is illegal and needs to be dealt with. In addition, we are told by the UN conventions and protocols and the EU directives related to the issue that it is a human rights abuse (UN Protocol, 2000; EU Directive 2011/36). But we have to acknowledge though that there are differences with how the issue is dealt:

“Domestic discourses are important because they determine the context in which an international norm is given meaning at the domestic level. It should also be noted that norm acceptance or rejection at the domestic level may be by the governing elite, societal elite, the masses, or any other subset of society, or a combination there of; no universal outcome is assured” (Banta & Martineau & Green, 2010: 17).

Based on this it can be argued that investigating local discourses is an important piece in understanding how certain phenomenon are made possible. This is where we can start to investigate how the situation we have today in Cyprus is made possible, and how it can affect the peace process.

## 2.2 Discourse Analysis as Theory

To understand what is determining the context and constructing the issue of sex trafficking in Cyprus this thesis approaches the issue with a discourse analysis perspective. Discourses are understood as: “[...] groups of statements that structure the way a thing is thought, and the way we act on the bases of that thinking” (Rose, 2012: 190). Due to data limitations and reluctance among governments and people involved, sex trafficking is a difficult phenomenon to study (Smith & Smith, 2011: 127). Approaching this with a constructionist perspective, viewing discourses as constructing the social world in meaning, gives us a possibility to study sex trafficking in a way that is not dependent on access to the actual phenomenon. How discourses are understood varies between different scholars and perspectives. A presentation and a background to discourse analysis as theory will be presented here followed by an outline of the theoretical framework that will be guiding this study.

Discourse analysis can be seen as both theory and method in the social sciences (Bergström & Boréus, 2005: 306). Michel Foucault was the front figure for the first generation of discourse analysis. He viewed truth as (mostly) being created discursively holding the social constructionist approach that knowledge is not just a reflection of reality (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 13). Foucault developed a theory of power/knowledge, where power is not only seen as repressive but also productive, whereas power constitutes discourses. Power is central in his research as holding the conditions of possibility for the social world (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 13). Foucault emphasised on regularities and orders in discourses and had the tendency to focus on one major discourse in each of his studies (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 13). But in contemporary discourse analysis it is more common to focus on conflictual discourses.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) expanded the view on discourses and one of the most prominent scholars with this perspective is Norman Fairclough. In CDA discourses are perceived as a form of social practice, both socially constitutive and socially constituted (Bergström & Boréus, 2005: 308, 325), stating that discourses are in a dialectical relationship with other social dimensions and cannot stand alone (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 65-66). Also here the issue of power becomes evident, some discourses are being operationalised and some are not. What is said and what is done is dependent on which discourse is mainly articulated (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012: 85). CDA brings in the critical part into discourse analysis, and discourses into critical social sciences (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012: 78). Critical in the sense that CDA is not only focusing on describing societies but also on evaluating possibilities and obstacles for change (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012: 79).

CDA takes on a model that is more focused on creating tools for empirical research, whereas posts-structuralists like Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe bring the perspective on discourses even further, they view all social phenomenon as discourses and have more of a theoretical approach (Bergström & Boréus, 2005: 314; Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 30, 65). They have left the assumption that

discourses are also shaped/constituted by other social dimensions (Bergström & Boréus, 2005: 315, 325): an assumption that shows the meta-theoretical difference between CDA and Laclau and Mouffe's ontological and epistemological point of departure. The discourses themselves are shaping/constitutive of the social which means that the social world is a discursive construction. Laclau and Mouffe have clearly a post-structuralist perspective when analysing discourses, no discursive formation or moment in a discourse is totally fixated according to this approach, there is always a possibility of change (Howarth, 2007: 119; Laclau & Mouffe, 2001: 106).

## 2.3 This Thesis Theoretical Point of Departure

### 2.3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis as Theory

When the thesis is guided by a social constructionist approach there is a problem dealing with "truths" since the researcher is seen as being a part of creating it (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 21-22). The common view is that: "[...] discourse analysis aims to be persuasive rather than truthful, and this entails 'a certain modesty in our analytic claims'" (Rose, 2012: 222). This makes it important for me as an analyst to be clear about my intentions and ontological and epistemological point of departure in this thesis. My meta-theoretical perspective will be that of a social constructionist, my basic assumptions of the complex phenomenon I am studying and the complex every-day society surrounding it requires this kind of an approach.

The theoretical framework for this research is built upon Fairclough's CDA perspective on discourses as both socially constitutive and socially constituted (Bergström & Boréus, 2005: 308, 325). This leaves room for other social dimensions to play their part in the complex space of every-day society. It embraces the perspective that: "Discourse is but one "moment" of the social among other kinds of social practices" (Banta, 2012: 392). In choosing Fairclough's theoretical perspective on discourses it is not the critical part of emancipation in CDA that I primarily embrace, but the perspective on discourses as both socially constitutive and socially constituted.

Benjamin Banta argues that it is possible to work with discourse analysis and search for causality when departing from CDA because of its perspective on discourses as standing in a dialectical relationship to other non-discursive forms of social practice (Banta, 2012: 379, 396). This is an important meta-theoretical difference from, for example, other post-structuralist points of departure that the IR scholar Benjamin Banta, along with Fairclough, argues (Banta, 2012). "What we can do, though, is identify the key aspects inside and outside of discourse which are in mechanistic relation with another; we can measure causation as directionality, as enablement or constraint on agents' desires and practices" (Banta,

2012: 391). In this respect we can assume that there is a possibility to find the relationship between the key aspects of the discursive practice and the key aspects of social practice. But discourses do not automatically produce practices and vice versa, but there is continuously an indeterminacy at play (Doty, 1997: 377). “Possibilities are not explained by the *prior* existence of structures or social actors, but rather by the continual and simultaneous production of subjects and structures” (Doty, 1993: 305). A perspective that is pointing at what is difficult when claiming causality analysing discourses even according to Banta himself (2012: 391). To explore the possibilities of causality in this case would be interesting, but it would require further analysis in an interdisciplinary manner. It is hard to demonstrate any evidence on possible causality in this case and this is still in the exploring phase of research on the possible relationship between sex trafficking and peace processes.

This thesis departs from the perspective that discourses make certain practices possible though: “[...] how the subjects, objects and interpretive dispositions were socially constructed such that certain practices were made possible” (Doty, 1993: 298). Still embracing the perspective that there is a constant articulation over time, discourses are never completely stable. Even though this thesis starts out with Fairclough’s theoretical perspective I will work across the approaches and take advantage of the strengths in Laclau and Mouffe’s analytical tools when analysing the discourses. These tools will be described in the next chapter.

### 2.3.2 Security Equality

For the non-discursive “social practice” part my point of departure will be from the concepts of gender and security, and more specifically security equality as mentioned earlier. Louise Olsson developed the concept of security equality during her research in Timor Leste on gender power-relations and peace operations. Security equality is to be understood as “[...] the distribution of protection between men and women in terms of measures undertaken to enhance protection from physical violence” (Olsson, 2009: 27). Olsson is building her concept on previous research showing that men and women are not only being targets of different forms of violence but are also being protected differently (Olsson, 2009: 6, 24). “Thus, the analysis of security equality has its foundations in the observed difference in violence and protection between men and women, to develop how we can understand equality in security terms” (Olsson, 2009: 147). Protection is in this case understood as measures taken by state institutions to obtain or enhance security equality, including all people in the area of study. She is dividing violence into “conflict violence” which includes violence conducted by the warring parties, and “non-conflict violence” conducted by any other (Olsson, 2009: 27). She approached security equality from the perspective of peace operations and their effect but here the approach is from the local discourses on sex trafficking and how they affect security equality. In this thesis sex trafficking is a form of “non-conflict” violence. When referring to violence in this thesis the

element of exploitation as in the form presented in the UN Protocol from 2000: “Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery [...]” (UN Protocol, 2000, §3a), is also included. Why is security equality important then?

Having a gender perspective on security in this study moves the focus from solely national security and comes closer to the notion of individual security or human security. This thesis perceives the securitisation of issues as a process of social construction, which means that issues are not inherently security issues (Doty, 1998: 72-73). But the focus on individual security in this thesis does not exclude the need for other forms of security like national security. But it wants to emphasise the need to focus on the individuals in the everyday society since it is an issue inseparable from security on other levels. Human security is focusing on individual human beings and their security but at the same time it is about the everyday lives of people as a group (Doty, 1998: 81-82, 93). And if there is a lack of individual security there is a risk of more insecurity for the whole population (Olsson, 2009: 35). The concepts of national security and societal security are excluding, self and other or inside and outside, when focusing solely on them while human security is an including concept (Doty, 1998: 82). Broadening the agenda for security, widening the definition of violence, also affects the definition of peace from being more than just a negative peace (Sheehan, 2005: 124). Through the concept of security equality the local discourses on sex trafficking are placed in their social and political context.

## 3 Methodology

My aim is to try to understand how the discourses on sex trafficking are constructed in a case where we have a protracted peace process and where sex trafficking is an issue in the everyday life. A large number of trafficked persons exist in Cyprus (GAT Report Cyprus, 2012: 25), and the peace process shares all the characteristics of an intractable conflict (Hadjipavlou, 2007: 350). In this chapter the research design of this thesis will be presented followed by a discussion of delimitation and material and in the end an outline of discourse analysis as a method will be presented together with the analytical tools that will be used in this thesis.

### 3.1 Research Design

Approaching a complex issue that affects the security of individuals requires a qualitative point of departure. This study is a qualitative in-depth case study with a within case analysis (George & Bennett, 2005: 18), where the aim is to say something about the specific case and in doing so also to contribute to peacebuilding studies in general. This thesis departs from the understanding that a case study is: “an intensive study of a single unit for the purpose of understanding a larger class of (similar) units” (Gerring, 2004: 342). The different types of case-study designs that are frequently used in research are ideal-types, which means that often in practice the different aims from the different types are combined (Gerring, 2004: 346; Levy, 2008: 3). This thesis can best be called a theory-guided case-study with an exploratory strategy of research (Gerring, 2004: 346). Theory-guided case studies are: “[...] explicitly structured by a well-developed conceptual framework that focuses attention on some theoretically specified aspects of reality and neglects others” (Levy, 2008: 4). Explorative in the sense that it explores the possible relationship between sex trafficking and peace processes in a new way.

There is no major focus on generalisation in this study, because building my theoretical discussions on one single case limits the possibilities for further generalisation, but it is still possible to contribute and develop theories through single case-studies (George & Bennett, 2005: 32; May, 2011: 242). A case is mainly described “[...] as an instance of something else, of a theoretically defined class of events” (Levy, 2008: 2), and Cyprus can be viewed as a case of protracted peace processes. My choice of Cyprus as a case is based upon the fact that the peace process has been going on for 50 years without reaching any solution and

meanwhile the issue of sex trafficking has reached a level of being a part of the everyday life.

A case study is context specific and I cannot address the phenomenon of sex trafficking in Cyprus without addressing the context which it is situated in. Including the context in a sensitive manner secures internal validity to the research. But analysing a single case like this can be an issue of low external validity. The fact that this is a single case-study can be argued to be one of the main limitations, but a focus on singularity is enabling the researcher to go deeper and get a better understanding of the complexity in our social world (Gerring, 2004: 345; May, 2011: 224).

The local areas of Cyprus that are studied specifically in this thesis are the Republic of Cyprus (RoC) and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). The British Sovereign Base Areas (SBAs) are also a part of Cyprus with their own jurisdiction and administration but in this thesis they will be excluded since they are not a primary part of the peace process itself. This said, it is not forgotten that they are actors that very much affect the local context and processes. It was considered to include these areas in the study also, since they are a part of Cyprus, but it would require another kind of approach. Important to note though is that they have a trafficking law (SBAs Trafficking Law, 2009). The SBAs are under their own jurisdiction but the borders separating them from the other areas are “invisible”. The areas are not closed off military bases but include villages with inhabitants that are both British, Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots and other. Separating the case like this is for analytical purposes. This is done in order to give a clearer picture of where the different materials are coming from and also in order to be sensitive to the differences in the surrounding contexts.

Discourse analysis is used as the qualitative research method in the analysis of the material in line with the choice of theoretical framework and the analytical tools used in this thesis are presented at the end of this chapter. There are international discourses concerning sex trafficking that are affecting the local reality through EU directives and UN conventions that are signed and, through the presence of the hegemonic norms, are shaping international relations. But this thesis focuses on the local discourses because they are the ones primarily affecting the local social reality in Cyprus, forming a base for what policies and strategies are built upon.

## 3.2 Delimitations & Material

Discourses are defined in relation to other discourses and there is always a possibility of a discursive struggle. And the discursive practices have their origins in different voices from different times and contexts not only determined by the present speaker (Doty, 1997: 385). *Intertextuality* is the concept explaining that all communicative events are built upon earlier communicative events, a web of



possible meanings (Doty, 1993: 302; Jorgensen; Phillips, 2002: 73; Rose, 2012: 191, 198 ). It's impossible to include "all" earlier communicative events but at the same time it is important to acknowledge that perspective. The analysis needs to be based on different kinds of texts in order to be solid, and include all parts of the texts in order to be comprehensive (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 173). In order to present the analysis in a transparent way links to the texts are made available to the reader and extracts of the texts are included in the analysis.

The gathering of material is a process where the findings and the results can lead to the choice of further material search (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 27-28). This research is at first delimited to texts that in some way are specifically related to the issue of sex trafficking and other issues clearly connected with sex trafficking like prostitution, brothels and cabarets. This thesis starts with "sex trafficking" as the guiding notion when searching for material and further guiding notions are found in the process. The material the discourse analysis is built upon consists of laws, reports, policies and articles. In making this choice of material this thesis acknowledge the importance of including different kinds of material from different sources in order to be more solid. If only one kind of material from one kind of source had been used it would only have shown the possible discourse in that specific area of study and any discursive struggles would have been missed.

Texts included in the analysis from the RoC are for example two governmental reports: the *Remarks of the Republic of Cyprus in the GRETA Report from 2011*(2011) and the follow up *Report Submitted by the Cypriot Authorities on Measures Taken to Comply with Committee of the Parties Recommendation CP(2011)2 on the Implementation of the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings* (2013). Another text on the political level is the trafficking law from 2007: *The Combatting of Trafficking and the Exploitation of Human Beings and the Protection of Victims Law* (RoC 87(1), 2007). This analysis also includes a report from the non governmental organisation Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies (MIGS): *Mapping the Realities of Trafficking in Women for the Purpose of Sexual Exploitation in Cyprus, 2007*. A few texts from a couple of other NGOs are also included. The web based news articles used in this thesis from the RoC are derived from *Cyprus Mail*, *Famagusta Gazette*, *Cyprus Weekly* and *Cyprus News Report*. The articles form an important part of the material in this thesis since media plays a big part in the construction of meaning in the public, everyday space of society.

In the TRNC there is a big difference when it comes to available articles in the online newspapers to the amount found in the RoC. This is something that also will be considered in the analysis. *LGC News*, *Online News for North Cyprus*, *North Cyprus Daily* and *KP Daily News* are online newspapers that will be used in this analysis. One report that will be included in this part of the analysis is *Women Trafficking in the Turkish Cypriot Community* (TRNC Study, 2006). Concerning governmental texts on the issue they are almost non existent in the TRNC and, for example, there is no law regarding sex trafficking.

The articles are drawn from web based news media written in English. English has been one of the main languages in Cyprus ever since the colonial period and is

still broadly used even though the English language is less common in the TRNC than in the other areas. Using only materials written in English is one of the limitations of this thesis. When it comes to local discourses it would have been an advantage to gain access to material written in Greek, Turkish and other local languages. This is because when approaching different documents in social research authenticity, credibility and representativeness are issues to consider in relation to the documents (May, 2011: 206-208).

The choice of material is first of all dependent on what is official and available. This means that I am departing from material that most of the people living in Cyprus could access and relate to. In some areas, the material is scarce but the issue of finding material or not can also be a part of the analysis (Rose, 2012: 219). The flexibility when working with discourse analysis allows the researcher to return to the material when new questions come up during the process of analysis (Rose, 2012: 215). The empirical material that the analysis of this thesis is based upon is not predating the year of 2004 but it is stretching to present time. In the year of 2004 the Republic of Cyprus entered the European Union and during the same year the proposed Annan Plan was voted down. Since the failure of the Annan Plan 2004 (The Annan Plan, 2004) the international community has recognised the need for the peace process to be unambiguously Cypriot owned, which means that UN has taken on a “good office” role since then (Kaymak & Alexandros & Tocci, 2008: 1-2). Considering the “localness” of the peace process this was an important year and therefore the material is dated from then until today.

### 3.3 Discourse Analysis as Method

Relevant to this research is the CDA perspective, Fairclough’s in particular, because I want to look at what is said and what is done also in relation to other social dimensions. When using discourse analysis as the method the purpose is not to look behind the discourses and try to find out why things are said in that specific way. The discourses themselves are the objects of analysis and the purpose is to see what has actually been said and written and what social consequences they have (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 21). Fairclough views every instance of language use as consisting of a *text*, a *discursive practice* and a *social practice* (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 68). The discursive practices are, with this perspective, the bridge between the texts and the social practices. The discourses themselves affect other social phenomenon that also in their turn affect the discourses. This research departs from the CDA theory on discourses but the analytical point of departure is taken from Laclau and Mouffe’s perspective when it comes to analysing the texts and locating the possible discourses. It is common to mix approaches in discourse analysis and their tools for analysing can be imported into research that use CDA theory as point of departure (Jorgensen &

Phillips, 2002: 54). When approaching the texts with this perspective some concepts are more important than others and they will be presented here.

As Jorgensen & Phillips puts it: “The aim of discourse analysis is to map out the processes in which we struggle about the way in which the meaning of signs is to be fixed, and the processes by which some fixations of meaning become so conventionalised that we think of them as natural” (2002: 25-26). These construction processes in the texts are the target of the analysis (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 33). A discourse according to Laclau and Mouffe can be envisioned like a fishing-net where all the knots are the fixed signs called moments, that are fixed in relation to the difference from one another (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 26). In this way the meaning of a sign is determined by its relationship to other signs, since they always refer to other signs (Doty, 1997: 378). The concepts referred to as *elements* are signifiers whose meanings are multiple and have not yet been fixed in a discourse (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001: 105). Elements become *moments* when their meanings become partially fixed through the construction of a discourse. Partially since they can never be completely fixed with this perspective on discourses (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001: 110, 113). It is a constant struggle of what meaning should be put in place in our every day societies. “[...] it is through conventions, negotiations and conflicts in social contexts that structures of meaning are fixed and challenged” (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 25).

The main signs which order other signs in this relational net and organise discourses are called *nodal points*. They are the hub in the discourses, the centre that all the other elements are related to (Bergström & Boréus, 2005: 318; Laclau & Mouffe, 2001: 112). Finding the nodal points when analysing the construction of a discourse is therefore crucial. The construction of nodal points then, that partly fixates meaning and shapes the relationships, is called *articulation* (Bergström & Boréus, 2005: 318; Howarth, 2007: 118). Articulation is the practice that shapes certain relationships between different elements that together can form a base for a discourse (Bergström & Boréus, 2005: 318).

*Nodal points* are *key signifiers* along with *master signifiers* and *myths* in the social organisation of meaning. *Master signifiers* are those who organise identity, such as “woman” and “man” and so forth and *myths* are seen as a concept organising social space, such as “the west”. When key signifiers are connected through *chains of equivalence* they gain their meaning. (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 50) When discerning what elements have a positive function in relation to the nodal point and what elements have a negative function, chains of equivalence are constructed (Bergström & Boréus, 2005: 317). When constructing the chains of equivalence the researcher can visualise and form a web where all the moments are connected with the nodal point. When approaching the texts at first it might not be evident what the nodal points are and what relations there are between the different elements, but then in relation to what is further found in the other texts, the process of finding the chains of equivalence will start. Here is where the notion of *intertextuality* becomes important in the discursive analysis of texts. Intertextuality as in: “[...] how an individual text draws on elements and discourses of other texts” (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 7). The gathering of

material is not only something that is done separately before analysing, the findings and results can lead to the choice of searching for further material.

Another important concept in this thesis is that of *subject positions*, referring to what positions the subjects have in the discourses. An agent is, with this perspective, seen as having more than one subject position and the subject positions are discursively constructed, never totally fixed, but still a part of the analysis (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001: 115). However, I will hold on to the fact that statements coming from sources with some kind of authority are more likely to be more productive than from marginalised sources (Rose, 2012: 220). In addition to that is the possibility that not everyone has access to all subject positions and that there is the issue of power present (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 55). Through the concept of subject-position we come closer to the notions of agency and structure that are at play when analysing discourses (Doty, 1997: 385). It can be said that different degrees of agency are present in the different subject-positions within the discourses (Doty, 1997: 384). In Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory individuals are viewed "only" as subjects of discourse, the subject-positions determine how a subject acts (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 7, 19). I am departing from Laclau and Mouffe's tools in this study but when it comes to the notion of agency I will include the view of Doty and hold on to the perception of agency always as possible. "[...] because discourses are inherently unstable, open and often contradictory, as are the subject-positions that are made available within them, there exists the possibility for variation in this process of repetition and dissemination. Herein lies the possibility for agency" (Doty, 1997: 385).

Elements that are particularly open to different ascriptions of meaning can be nodal points in different discourses and are called *floating signifiers* (Bergström & Boréus, 2005: 316). Sometimes they stand in antagonistic opposition to each other and collide and at different times one or the other hegemonically puts the meaning in place (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 50-51). Antagonism is when there is a conflict about what meaning should be shaped within a discourse (Bergström & Boréus, 2005: 319). An element such as democracy, for example, is in a constant conflict about what meaning should be fixed. This struggle is always important to take into account. Taking on Laclau and Mouffe's tools in discourse analysis it is rather relations in opposition to each other, than in consensus, that I am focusing on (Bergström & Boréus, 2005: 320). Since this thesis is searching for what local discourses there are, floating signifiers can be of interest in the analysis. With this perspective power in the social world is not only about class struggle and direct violence, but it can be present through perceptions and values that are hegemonically dominating (Bergström & Boréus, 2005: 321).

As this thesis stated in the beginning it departs from the CDA approach, viewing discourses as both constitutive and constituted, including other social dimensions. When approaching the other social dimensions the concept of security equality is guiding the process. This thesis evaluates what elements are present in the local articulation in Cyprus, and tries to locate what meanings are fixed and have become so conventionalised that they are thought of as natural.

# 4 Cyprus

Cyprus is a small island situated in the very eastern corner of the Mediterranean sea and the island's total population is a little over 1 million people. Due to its location it has been an island inhabited by different peoples, conquered and lost many times in history. As of today the situation is still precarious and all other issues are overshadowed by the “Cypriot problem”. Due to the present situation it is important to be clear about the definitions of the different areas. When using Cyprus in this thesis I will be referring to the whole island including all the three areas. When I am referring to a specific area it will be clearly mentioned by name or abbreviation as The Republic of Cyprus (RoC), the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) or as the British Sovereign Base Areas (SBAs). The empirical part of the thesis will start with a presentation of the background of the case in order to give life to the context surrounding the phenomenon.

## 4.1 On the Conflict

Cyprus was a British protectorate from the year of 1878, received from the Ottoman Empire, until 1914 when the Ottoman Empire declared war - a war that was lost by the Ottomans. Cyprus was declared a Crown colony in the British Empire in 1925. During the colonial epoch there were hopes and wishes among the population in Cyprus for independence. The Greek Cypriot's struggle for independence was shaped by the thought of *enosis*, unification with Greece, and the Turkish Cypriot's wanted *taksim*, a partition of the island between Greece and Turkey (Galvanek, 2013: 68). In the year of 1960 the British colonial rule was ending in Cyprus and independence was at hand. The possibility for limited independence was based on three foreign guarantor nations: United Kingdom, Turkey and Greece (Trimikliniotis & Bozkurt, 2012: 8). This solution was meant to be a compromise in relation to the different wishes (Galvanek, 2013: 68). Or as Hadjipavlou puts it: “[...] a settlement imposed from above leading to the establishment of a 'reluctant republic’” (2010: 82). Included in this settlement there were the two British Sovereign Base Areas, Dhekelia and Akrotiri, that the British still maintain today (Hadjipavlou, 2010: 83).

In 1963 a constitutional crises occurred when the Turkish representatives left the government because the Greek Cypriot political leaders amended the constitutional provisions for representations of the communities (Galvanek, 2013: 68). A security council resolution stated that the situation was likely to threaten international peace and security and recommended a UN peacekeeping force to enter the island to prevent recurrence of fighting, and to contribute to the

maintenance of law and order (Resolution 186, 1964). In the years after 1963 Cyprus witnessed unequal social and economic developments. The Greek Cypriots experienced what was positive about being connected to international organisations and the Turkish Cypriots became more and more dependent on Turkey (Hadjipavlou, 2010: 86).

In 1974 there was a Greek led military coup that forced the Greek Cypriot leader, Archbishop Makarios, to leave the country, then Turkey invaded the northern part of the island (Galvanek, 2013: 69; Berg & Toomla, 2013: 276). Between the 20<sup>th</sup> of July and the 16<sup>th</sup> of August, 3500 people were killed and 2000 were missing. At that time the population was estimated to 574 000 and about one third of them became refugees because of the conflict (Berg & Toomla, 2013: 276). Since then the UNFICYP has supervised the ceasefire line, the buffer-zone between the two areas. In the year of 1983 the north declared independence as the “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus” and since then they are only recognised as a sovereign state by Turkey (Trimikliniotis & Bozkurt, 2012: 9). The partition of the island has been a fact for a little more than 40 years now. The TRNC is dependent on Turkey politically and economically. A third of the governmental budget has its origin in Turkey (Trimikliniotis & Bozkurt, 2012: 16).

When it comes to the perception of root causes of the conflict both communities point, among other things, to the role of outside powers, religion, nationalism, leadership and elites of the other side and their own side (Hadjipavlou, 2007: 354-355). In Cyprus both the internal and the contextual factors have been downplayed whereas the focus has been on the external factors and power plays (Hadjipavlou, 2007: 359). Ethnic religious and cultural differences, economic inequalities and the building up of “us and them” mentality are contextual factors that play their part (Hadjipavlou, 2007: 359-360). The historical factors are very much present in the schools and homes of the island. The school books are based on national narratives on chosen glories and traumas very much connected to the “motherlands”, Greece and Turkey. “Greek-Cypriot children learn that the island was and ‘will always be Greek’, and Turkish Cypriots learn that ‘the island is Turkish and should go back to Turkey” (Hadjipavlou, 2007: 357).

UNFICYP including the peacekeeping force, UN Police and nowadays the Civil Affairs section, still has its mandate to guard the Green Line (Resolution 2114, 2013; UN Peacekeeping Fact Sheet 2013). The border was closed until 2003 when the first crosspoint was opened and today there are seven crossings available. Cyprus is still a heavy militarised place, even though the exact number of troops is hard to find. For many years the amount of stationed Turkish soldiers in the TRNC has been approximately 36 000, but during 2013 they amounted to 43 000 (Cyprus Mail July 3, 2013). In the RoC the Greek force amounts to 2 500 soldiers and the British Sovereign Base Areas have approximately 3 100 soldiers (Constantionou, 2008: 24). The UN peacekeeping force includes nearly 1 000 peacekeepers ([www.unficyp.org](http://www.unficyp.org)), and moreover there are also the local forces. Cyprus is considered to be one of the most militarised areas in the world, in relation to its population (Hadjipavlou, 2010: 93; Vassiliadou, 2002: 471), a fact that is affecting the local context in Cyprus.

## 4.2 On the Peace Process

UNFICYP was established in Cyprus in 1964 which tells us that this peace process has been going on for 50 years in different forms led by the UN. There have been several attempts but the most encompassing one was the Annan Plan, “the Comprehensive Settlement of the Cyprus Problem” (The Annan Plan, 2004). This was the culmination of 30 years of negotiations coinciding with the final stages of EU accession and changes in the Cypriot society (Trimikliniotis & Bozkurt, 2012: 10-11). The Annan plan was based on the idea of a United Cyprus Republic with a federal government. It was rejected by the Greek Cypriots (76%) while the Turkish Cypriots (67%) voted yes (Galvanek, 2013: 69). One of the big issues was the continued allowed presence of foreign forces, even though there was a proposed demilitarisation. In 2004, Cyprus became the first EU member with an occupied territory and the RoC aimed at making the “Cyprus problem” an European problem (Christou, 2010: 67). Most of the Turkish Cypriots want Cyprus to stay as a bi-communal state and have no wish to rejoin in government with the Greek Cypriots (Galvanek, 2013: 72). The Greek Cypriots have freedom of movement, settlement and property rights highest on their agenda and want reunification as it was before the division of the island with no Turkish troops present (Galvanek, 2013: 71). These different goals and priorities have held a status quo present for many years.

The Green Line does not constitute an external border to the EU since the northern part is not recognised as its own sovereign state by anyone other than themselves and Turkey. The northern side of the line is thus seen as an area of the island that the RoC does not exercise control over (Galvanek, 2013: 74). A special agreement was formed in 2004 concerning the export and import over the border between the RoC and the TRNC, the Green Line Regulation. The aim is to foster economic cooperation through giving a mechanism where goods from both sides can be formally exported over the border (Christou, 2010: 65; Galvanek, 2013: 74). But there is still a resistance to products from the “other side” and people are refusing to cooperate. The focus on economic integration as a way towards conflict resolution is one of the ways that the EU works with though (Galvanek, 2013: 75-76).

The role of the external actors in the peace process has been very present historically at the roots of the problem and still in the peace process itself. Greece, Turkey and Great Britain have been there from the beginning and UN since 1964. Since the RoC started the process to join EU and joined 2004, the EU has also been one of the external actors involved (Galvanek, 2013: 73). The link between track one diplomacy and types of track two diplomacy, based in the civil society, has been missing (Hadjipavlou & Cockburn, 2006: 524). Eiki Berg and Raul Toomla draws the conclusion in their research on the situation in Cyprus today that it is the fear of domination in both sides that is the main obstacle for a solution to the “Cypriot problem”. From the Greek Cypriot’s side it is the fear of the TRNC being a sovereign state completely linked to Turkey and from the Turkish Cypriot’s side it is the fear of being an impoverished minority in a Greek-

dominated state (Berg & Toomla, 2013: 277-278). A fear that encompasses the “Cyprus problem” showing the distrust of each other and their external partners (Hadjipavlou & Cockburn, 2006: 525; Kaymak & Alexandros & Tocci: 2008: 5). Even though this fear is stated as being a big issue most of the population of Cyprus, including both Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots, see themselves as first of all Cypriots (Kaymak & Alexandros & Tocci: 2008: 6-7). According to Berg and Toomla the Turkish Cypriots have abandoned serious talks since the EU accession of the RoC (Berg & Toomla, 2013: 278). When Berg and Toomla did their quantitative analysis in 2012 most of the people in the RoC supported status quo while most people in the north wanted independence (Berg & Toomla, 2013: 282). Since the year of 2009, when the National Unity Party won the elections, there has been more of a secessionist course in force in the TRNC (Berg & Toomla, 2013: 284).

There has been a lack of local ownership of the peace process and the bi-communal civil society organisations that are grassroots actors for conflict resolution are mostly supported by various international organisations that are active in Cyprus. In general, the local civil society organisations are seen as very weak by the international actors, and as lacking capability to advocate for their rights to be a part of the peace process (Galvanek, 2013: 76; Kaymak & Alexandros & Tocci: 2008: 5). But the reason for this lack of capability might not be coming from themselves as organisations. The political parties, on both sides of the divide, perceive the civil society organisations as a threat to their power instead of a help to the local ownership of the peace process; an issue that puts constraints on their possibilities to act. People engaged in interethnic bi-communal peacebuilding activities have been subject to abuse and harassment both from society and administration on both sides (Galvanek, 2013: 76). These local interethnic attempts that encompass the “hidden agency” in the peace process could be what the politicians and elites learn from instead, as Galvanek argues (2013: 78).

Cyprus is a case known for its top-down focus during the peace process. Local initiatives have not been encouraged or paid attention to until the year of 2004 when the focus is said to have changed (Kaymak & Alexandros & Tocci, 2008: 1-2). In a report from 2004 to the UN on the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action (1995) the Republic of Cyprus states that actions to ensure gender equality is a reality in RoC. “[...]the way has unreservedly been paved for further catalytic advancement of women in the country” (Cyprus National Report, 2004: 11). This was a positive way of describing the situation and future of women’s participation in the RoC on the verge of entering the EU but the reality was different. It continued to be a lack of interest in the gendered aspect of the national question and other issues concerning women, and women are still marginalised at every level of the peace process and the political processes (Hadjipavlou, 2010: 2, 10, 41). Women and attempts at raising other issues than “the conflict issue” are given the answer: “[...] not now but later when the problem has been solved” (Hadjipavlou, 2010: 42).

In the UN Open Days of Women Peace and Security in 2012 it was still stated that there is a lack of incorporation of gender in the peace process (Women, Peace



and Security, 2012: 15). The big issues raised concerning this was that women are trapped in the national problem, showed in the lack of civil society independent actions, lack of access to decision making and political bodies and that there is a lack of understanding of the UNSCR 1325 (Women, Peace and Security, 2012: 16). Cyprus women have never been seated at the negotiating table during all the years (GAT Report Cyprus, 2012: 8; Hadjipavlou, 2010: 10). In a UN resolution from 2013 on Cyprus the importance of women's participation in the peace process is stated: "*Agreeing* that active participation of civil society groups, including women's groups, is essential to the political process and can contribute to making any future settlement sustainable, *recalling* that women play an important role in peace processes..." (Resolution 2114, 2013). This must be viewed with the fact that the UN has the UNSCR 1325 to relate to which has the three main themes: protection of women's rights, participation of women at all levels of institutions in the work on peace, and the inclusion of a gender perspective in the UN peacekeeping operations (GAT Report Cyprus 2012: 4; UNSCR 1325, 2000). The Gender Advisory Team's report from 2012 on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 shows that there is an urgent need to act on the inclusion of gender perspective in the process (GAT Report Cyprus, 2012). The issue of women's participation in the public sphere is similar in the TRNC and the RoC, lacking in both (Yirmibeşoğlu, 2008: 695). As in the RoC issues related to women's rights have been overlooked in the presence of the big issue of the "Cyprus problem" (Yirmibeşoğlu, 2008: 696). The women of Cyprus have been hidden away by the Cyprus problem for a long time and they have not taken advantage of the spaces in the nationalist struggle to address their own issues (Vassiliadou, 2002: 463, 473). The fact that the focus on the conflict issues dealt with on a high level is putting other issues aside is something that is reoccurring in the articles, reports and other materials on Cyprus.

From the perspective of national security, the latest decade of peace process proved rather good, despite the fact that the Republic of Cyprus is having an occupied north. In the latest International Crisis Group Report on Cyprus they stated: "The status quo has proved durable and peaceful and is constantly improving. Nobody has been killed on the Green Line dividing the island since 1996" (ICG Report Cyprus, 2014: executive summary). But if we, as in this thesis, take more of an individual approach to security in the everyday life of people, and in particular in the everyday life of women, the situation can be perceived differently. International actors involved in the process in Cyprus point to the fact that the "Cyprus problem" overshadows many other issues on the island that are left subordinated and maybe not even dealt with at all (Galvanek, 2013: 76; Vassiliadou, 2002: 468; Yirmibeşoğlu, 2008: 696). The increase in women being trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation is and was such an issue already in 2004, according to Myria Vassiliadou.

"The border has not opened for equality of treatment and respect of the 'other', or for the eventually demilitarization of the island. The border has opened to allow some men, for example, in the two communities to evade the law, smuggle, increase women trafficking [...]" (Thompson & St. Karayanni & Vassiliadou, 2004: 294).

In the light of this background I argue that the lack of focus on other issues than the conflict issues themselves that are affecting the society, can be an obstacle to the peace process itself.

### 4.3 On the Issue of Sex Trafficking

“[...]trafficked women are a part of Cyprus life and both the authorities and the people at large seem not to acknowledge the gravity of the problem but rather see these women as a threat to local family structures” (MIGS Report, 2007:4-5).

The issue of trafficking in human beings for the purpose of sexual exploitation has reached a level in Cyprus where it has become an issue of the everyday life of people. Some of the explanations stated why the importation of foreign sex workers has reached this level are the prolonged settlement of foreign troops, tourism, the sex industry in the north and the local male population (Constantinou, 2008: 21). The latest United States Trafficking in Persons Report 2014 stated the Republic of Cyprus (RoC) to be a “tier 2 watch list country” which means that the number of victims for severe forms of trafficking is significant and that there is a failure to provide evidence of increasing efforts even though some efforts are made (US TIP Report Cyprus, 2014). This ranking is one step worse than the year before when they were ranked as a “tier 2” country (US TIP Report 2103). The US TIP Report does not ascribe the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus a formal ranking since the US do not recognise them, but if they did it would be a tier 3 ranking (US TIP Report Cyprus, 2014). This shows that the situation is worse, or dealt with differently, in the TRNC. The issue of human trafficking is a growing problem (Kaymak & Alexandros & Tocci: 2008: 49). It was not addressed publicly in the RoC by the authorities before the year of 2004 (Vassiliadou, 2004: 60), and the first local report was published in RoC in 2007 by Mediterranean Institute of Gender studies (MIGS Report, 2007). In the British Sovereign Base Areas the activity of sex trafficking appears to be less of an issue. It is difficult to gain access to data concerning the military base areas which makes it harder to get a clear picture of the situation concerning the issue of sex trafficking in the British SBAs. What we can know though is that commercial sex entities are established close to the army bases and they are frequently offering discounted services to army personnel (Constantinou, 2008: 25).

Taking a historical perspective, including all present areas in Cyprus, we can see that already in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century prostitution was linked to trafficking of women, most of them being foreigners. When it comes to prostitution in Cyprus “[...] foreign female workers have been its nucleus, the heart of local sexual entertainment” (Constantiou, 2013a: 287). Prostitution has never been strictly regulated in Cyprus even though there were regulations of the

public space when moving the prostitutes from the streets to special places during the colonial period (Constantiou, 2013a: 283). Brothels were abolished in 1932 but it took new forms of disguised coffee shops and during the second world war the boom of cabaret shows came (Constantiou, 2013a: 285-286). The presence of the British army gave great profits to the local sex industry to an extent that the government got the nickname: “The Cabaret Government of Cyprus” (Constantiou, 2013a: 286).

The regulatory approach to prostitution that exists today in the RoC has existed since the colonial times and makes it possible for the government to have an ambivalent approach to sex trafficking and its industries in order to gain revenue enhancement (Constantiou, 2013a: 280). The law on prostitution in the RoC criminalises living off the earnings of prostitution, a law that is very seldom put into action (Trimikliniotis; Demetriou, 2009: 4). Constantinou points at the complex webs of economic interests in the phenomenon of sex trafficking not only relating to organised crime but also to the government itself. “Cyprus is a place where prostitution has been accepted as part of society and 'ierothoules' (sacred servants/legal prostitutes) have been serving the 'common good'; organised crime has 'got in the way' of smoothly run patriarchal affairs” (Vassiliadou, 2004: 60). There are economic gains in the sex industry that contribute to the local economy and growth, and the economic factors are navigating national legislations and practices (Constantinou, 2008: 32,36; Trimikliniotis & Demetriou, 2009: 26). Constantinou argues further that the Cypriot case is exemplary in showing us how local factors such as historical, cultural, geopolitical and socioeconomic are directing the approach to sex trafficking and the industries surrounding it (Constantinou, 2013a: 282, 288).

The perception of the trafficked women presented in the local studies are an important part in this analysis too. Greek Cypriot children’s constructions of Romanian and Russian immigrant women were addressed in a study in 2013 which wanted to shed some light on how the children are a part of creating and contributing to the local discourses on foreign women (Spyrou, 2013: 341). Many of the trafficked women are coming from Romania and Russia. The school children perceived them mainly as poor women with a bad character, nothing like the local women, coming to destroy the families and emphasising that there are too many of them (Spyrou, 2013: 331-335, 339). Spyrou considered it to be a contribution by the children to the production and prolonging of the RoC's moral sense (2013: 327).

A study addressing the discourses on the demand side of prostitution and trafficking in Cyprus showed that most of the interviewed men had the perception that the women knew what was going to happen to them before they came to Cyprus, and that they do this because they want to and enjoy in it (Trimikliniotis; Demetriou, 2009: 15-16). Especially the unmarried men did not see them as victims of trafficking (Trimikliniotis; Demetriou, 2009: 16). The study shows there are a lot of young men that are users and underaged men had no problem being admitted into the cabarets and bars (Trimikliniotis; Demetriou, 2009: 15). This research is also one example showing that Cypriot men talk freely about the

women working as “artists”, that they are prostitutes (Trimikliniotis; Demetriou, 2009).

Research about local women and discourses on “otherhood” was done by Myria Vassiliadou, the EU Anti-Trafficking Coordinator and formerly a researcher from Cyprus (Vassiliadou, 2004). The women participating in the study were from different groups from both sides of the divided line, Greek Cypriot, Turkish Cypriot, Armenian and Maronite (Vassiliadou, 2004: 54). The research showed that local women perceived foreign women as only being there for Cypriot men to have sex with. Many of the women she interviewed acknowledged the foreign women’s oppression but still had clear perceptions of them just being there to steal their men and also of being a threat to the Cypriot women’s identity (Vassiliadou, 2004: 61-62).

There are international voices raised on the issue of trafficking in human beings for the purpose of sexual exploitation in Cyprus, together with local voices mainly from women's organisations about the seriousness of the situation. In the GRETA report, concerning the implementation of the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human beings by Cyprus, they state that the new kind of visa policy does not eliminate the sexual exploitation of trafficked women by itself and considers the RoC not to have taken adequate measures (GRETA report 2011: 7, 24). The GAT report from 2012 also raises the issue of trafficking in human beings. They ask for: a federal task force on trafficking with women represented on all levels, legislation that penalises the traffickers and not the victims and that the status of “victim of trafficking” should not only be given if they consent to testify against the traffickers (GAT Report, 2012: 13). There are different kinds of requests coming from outside calling on the governments of Cyprus to deal with the issue of sex trafficking. To further explore the issue of sex trafficking in the case of Cyprus, this thesis will continue with a discourse analysis on what meanings are constructed in the local societies.

# 5 The Local Contexts

I have chosen to separate my “field” of analysis into the Republic of Cyprus (RoC) and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). The ambivalent situation of the definition of the northern part of Cyprus is fully acknowledged in this thesis, despite using the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) when referring to the area. This chapter will give a presentation of the discursive practices and the social practices. The texts are not presented one by one but it is rather the different elements that are guiding the process. The issue of “security equality” is related to the social practices, but the discussion of the overarching research question will be in the following chapter. In the appendixes of this thesis there is a list of all included texts in the analysis from the different areas, while the bibliography only includes the texts directly referred to in the thesis.

## 5.1 The Republic of Cyprus

### 5.1.1 The Discursive Practices

“CABARET artistes are not forced into prostitution. They are free to come and go as they please. They are not beaten into submission. Their passports are not taken from them. They are not duped into coming to work in Cyprus. They do not wear provocative clothes. They are not allowed to give private dances. Anyone who said otherwise was lying” (Cyprus Mail 16 October, 2008).

A quote by Cabaret owners during an open protest that captures a great deal of the meaning being discursively constructed in the Republic of Cyprus. They, the cabaret artists, are constructed as free agents working in the cabarets and, at the same time, the meaning of them as possible victims is excluded. But there are also discourses present in the Roc where the element victim has a positive function in relation to cabaret artistes or “foreign women” in particular. What is first of all searched for in the texts are the key signifiers: nodal points (the hubs), master signifiers (identity) and myths (social space). By investigating the chains of equivalence discourses can gradually be identified.

Early in the analysis of the texts it is evident that one of the hubs, nodal points, that order the local discourses on sex trafficking is “foreign women”. This because foreign women are the element connected with all the other elements and that appears to, at some instances, take a different meaning in the local discourses on sex trafficking. It could be said that without the notion “foreign women” there

would be no local discourses on sex trafficking. Some elements have a positive relation to the nodal point and some have a negative relation. The nodal point “foreign women” is equated with “sexual services” or “prostitution”, since they are presented to be in the RoC in order to make the sex industry work. Already in 2004 it was articulated in the articles that everyone, including the government, knew what was going on with the foreign women working in the cabarets:

“Different ministers have repeatedly condemned prostitution in cabarets, but have done nothing to stop the practice. For instance the interior ministry, according to the ombudswoman’s report, grants 1,000 work permits for cabaret artistes every six months. Everyone knows what these women will have to do as soon as they start work in a cabaret, yet the ministry of interior continues to issue work permits. If the government wanted to stop the exploitation of women it should simply stop issuing work permits, or close down the cabarets which are centres of exploitation” (Cyprus Mail, 7 November, 2004).

The construction of “foreign women” as victims of trafficking is denied and the only form of victim that is repeatedly articulated is that of “poverty”. They come to work in Cyprus from poor countries and it’s inclined that they should be happy about the opportunity that they are given. “Foreign women” are constructed in the articles, during the years, as coming willingly to Cyprus. No form of force or exploitation is mentioned in this construction of the “foreign women”. As Sophocles Flyttis, the House of Human Rights Committee chairman at the time, puts it:

“Female artistes come here with some dodgy people who exploit them sexually, then go back to their countries and then come back here,” he said, implying the women came here willingly to work as prostitutes” (Cyprus Mail 7 November, 2007).

When the cabaret owners and others are voiced in the articles it is repeatedly denied that there is prostitution in the cabarets, but at the same time they emphasise that the women are regularly medically checked and that they themselves would never allow their own daughters to work there:

”The cabaret owners expressed horror at Sylikiotis’ suggestions that they hire Greek Cypriot women. Under the new employment policy, cabarets will have to first offer jobs to locals and EU nationals. Michalis Lazarou said he had three daughters and he’d never allow them to work at his two Limassol businesses, Crazy Girls and Diapio. His wife never even went inside the place. [...] Artiste agent Christos Georgiou said there was no prostitution in cabarets. “But the minister [Sylikiotis] is saying there is and then he’s saying to put Greek Cypriot women in cabarets. So our women are supposed to be prostitutes? This minister should resign,” he said” (Cyprus Mail 16 October, 2008). - Neoklis Sylikiotis was the Interior Minister at the time

The nodal point “foreign women” is a clear example of a subject position or collective identity constructed in opposition to “local women”. The dichotomy “us and them” is evident, they are what “the Cypriot women” are not. The cypriot women can not be working in the “cabarets” and share the same space as the

“foreign women”. “Foreign women” are also constructed as “necessary”, as “a service to society”, in order to avoid the local women to be victims of sexual assault:

“Owner of 1+1 in Paphos, Christodoulos Christodoulou, also pointed out cabarets provided an inadvertent service to society. “Take soldiers or 16 and 17 year olds. Where are they going to get their experience from? Are they going to rape our sisters and aunts? When these [cabarets] exist they don’t do that,” he said” (Cyprus Mail 16 October, 2008).

“Though denying that cabarets are in the prostitution business, Kleiovoulou argues that sexual services perform a vital social function. “Even here in Cyprus we’re seeing an increase in sex crimes, minors being raped and what not. Now imagine what would happen if someone could no longer pay for sex. Things would get worse” (Cyprus Mail 5 April, 2009). - Kleitos Kleiovoulou, owner of Mirage nightclub in Limassol

Through this construction of the “foreign women” as necessary as a service to society the construction of the Cypriot men as in a need of this service is evident. A right that can’t be denied and if it’s not there, they have to go elsewhere. The occupied area, “the north”, is constructed as a social space that will take both the “local men” and the “foreign women” if the service is not provided in the RoC.

“Do they want to send everyone to the occupied areas? Because that is what will happen. They already go to casinos which we don’t have here, said Fytos Neophytou, owner of Limassol’s Mouses cabaret” (Cyprus Mail 16 October, 2008).

The services are taken as far as being a constitutional right of the Cypriots and prostitution is constructed as in opposition to a religious government. During a protest when cabaret owners were occupying the Interior Ministry Building in Nicosia following statements were made:

“The government is sensitive about the human rights of foreigners, but it tramples on the constitutional rights of the ‘natives’.” “With these new rules, Cyprus will become one of a handful of countries in the world where strip joints are banned. Great! Now we can join the ranks of Saudi Arabia and the Vatican,” said Kleitos Kleiovoulou, owner of the Mirage cabaret in Limassol. “If this is all about vice, you just can’t regulate morals by passing laws. It’s not a theocracy,” he added” (Cyprus Mail 17 February, 2009).

The key signifiers constructing the discourses in the articles with the nodal point “foreign women” are: “artists”, “husband stealer”, “sex worker”, “poor”, “service to society”, “voluntary”, “entertainment”, “prostitution”, “nightclubs”, “cabarets”, “the North”, “not Cypriot.” Identities constructed besides the “foreign women” are: “local women”, “local men”, “the government”. Some of the social spaces in the articulation of the discursive practices are: “the north”, “the cabarets”, “the

streets”, “the village coffee houses”. But there are also voices articulated that are showing another construction of the “foreign women”:

”Let’s not kid ourselves: the cabaret industry is a sex industry, and the women we are importing as ‘artistes’ are not working as prostitutes because they enjoy it, whatever our Minister of Justice may believe. The vast majority are deceived or forced into prostitution, they are being abused on a daily basis and, should they seek to escape from their predicament, the system is massively weighted in favour of their employers” (Cyprus Mail 10 June, 2005).

The nodal point “foreign women” is a floating signifier that gains a different meaning in the different discourses on sex trafficking. The perception of sex trafficking is different when the NGOs are bringing up the subject in the RoC. Here the nodal point “foreign women” is equivalent to the elements of “victims”, “mothers”, “daughters”, “cabarets”, “artists”, “women”, “humans”, “poor”, “exploited” but elements like “cabarets”, “artists”, “poor” are taken for granted across the discourses.

“Don’t be blind to the signs [...] Humans are not objects [...] End trafficking human slavery [...] My right to wear what I want does not give you any right on me [...] End abuse, break free, seek help, speak up, trust again” (STIGMA, 2015).

The subject position of the government is constructed as a slow turtle not taking the responsibility but handing it over to others like the NGOs to deal with.

“As far as Justice is concerned it is well known that it moves at the pace of a turtle. This is responsible to a great extent for the impunity enjoyed by the traffickers. A trial that starts five years later and lasts three more years favors the accused. How can a victim give a satisfactory testimony of the horrors she has been subjected to after six years?” (CST News June 25, 2014)

And: “Despite the fact that the state shelter remained closed for a year because, according to the authorities’ claim, there were no women victims of sex trafficking, the government refused to operate the shelter to accommodate other victims of trafficking such as labour trafficking. As a result, NGOs and charities are left to provide for the victims’ accommodation” (KISA Press Release 26 February, 2015).

“The other thing that worried us and still does, is the fact that although the Office of the Police responsible for combatting human trafficking has now eight policemen it still seems to operate in an unsatisfactory manner. We know that the infrastructure of the Police is in the form of a pyramid and follows a very rigid hierarchy. We often have the impression that between the Office of the anti-trafficking unit and the Chief of Police there is a hitch (obstacle). Is this due to bureaucracy or is it because some high ranking police officers have not yet understood what human trafficking is all about, in spite of European Directives, and do not consider combatting this crime important” (CST News 25 June, 2014).



In what is articulated in the governmental laws and reports there is the acknowledgment of “foreign women” as victims but many times when the government is bringing up the issue they enhance themselves and their efforts:

“Regarding the abolishment of the artiste visa we consider this as a positive development, since it proves that government is making sincere and serious efforts to establish legal and administrative procedures that will effectively contribute to the elimination of the possibility of abuse for unlawful purposes” (Remarks of the Republic of Cyprus, 2011: 49).

They are identifying victims of trafficking, doing their job, as long as it’s in their area of jurisdiction.

“In practice, the Police identify victims of THB whether they cooperate in the criminal proceedings or not and regardless of whether a criminal case can be pursued. In a number of cases Police identify victims who enter the Republic through the occupied areas, where they had been subjected to exploitation and consequently no criminal case can be opened” (Cyprus follow up Report on GRETA, 2013: 5-6).

In line with the international norms sex trafficking it is stated by the government as being a very serious crime and that it is one of their priorities on their agenda to deal with:

“On his part, Minister of the Interior Socrates Hasikos assured, on the occasion of the EU Anti-Trafficking Day, on October 18, that combating human trafficking for sexual and labour exploitation, which are the most frequent kinds of human trafficking in Cyprus, is one of the priorities of the ministry and the competent coordinating group. Hasikos referred to the fact that legislation was voted this year in line with the EU directive on combating human trafficking and protecting its victims, adding that at the same time the 2013-2015 National Action Plan against human trafficking is being implemented, setting a comprehensive framework adjusted to Cyprus’ particularities. He stressed that human trafficking is a very serious crime, a hideous violation of fundamental human rights and transnational organized crime which cannot be easily addressed” (Famagusta Gazette 20 October, 2014).

There is a struggle for what meaning should be put in place when it comes to the local discourses on sex trafficking in the Republic of Cyprus. It could even be said that they are standing in antagonistic opposition to each other concerning some of the meanings that are put in place. The nodal point of “foreign women” is somehow equivalent to different signs articulated by the government, the NGOs and “the people”. “Foreign women” is a floating signifier that can attain different meanings and be a nodal point in different discourses. The structure of meaning is challenged through the floating signifier “foreign women” but power can be present through perceptions and values that are hegemonically dominating. So the question is what articulation of discourse is first of all affecting the social practices? In order to get a better understanding of which discourse is the

hegemonic one, if there is one in the local society of the Republic of Cyprus, we need to relate them to the social practices.

### 5.1.2 The Social Practices

In this part we are looking at which measures have been taken by state institutions to obtain or enhance security equality, the distribution of protection between men and women, including all people in the Republic of Cyprus. By doing so the social practices are put in relation to the concept of security equality. From 2004 and onwards there have been several different attempts by the government in the Republic of Cyprus to deal with the issue of sex trafficking. Attempts like laws, National Action Plans, amending the artiste visa, starting a Trafficking Police Unit and a Multidisciplinary Coordinating group but there seems to be a struggle when it comes to the actual implementation.

Since the year of 2007 there is a law prohibiting human trafficking (Constantiou, 2013b: 168; Trafficking Law RoC 87(1), 2007). The purpose of the law is: “[...] criminalization of trafficking in human beings, exploitation of human beings and child pornography, the taking of measures for the protection and support of victims of the said offences as well as the establishment of a monitoring mechanism for the implementation of the said measures [...]” (Trafficking Law RoC 87(1), 2007: 12). In part two paragraph 9 sexual exploitation of adult persons is specified as a criminal offence including threats, use of force or other forms of coercion, abduction, fraud or deception, abuse of power and giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve control over a person (Trafficking Law RoC 87(1), 2007: 15-16). But even though there is a law that also includes protection for the victims when detected and during trials, the issue of sex trafficking is so sensitive and sometimes it is dangerous to witness, so many court cases against traffickers are dropped (Constantiou, 2013b). It is very common that traffickers take passports and travel documents from the victims, which is something that the law states as a criminal offence but at the same time it allows the police to do it and states that it is illegal not to have ones passport when residing in the RoC (Trafficking Law RoC 87(1), 2007: 18, 24, 31). The law states that the social welfare service shall establish and operate shelters for the found victims, there is one in Nicosia (Trafficking Law RoC 87(1), 2007: 34). Victims are allowed to stay there only for a short period. The government does not provide any half-way homes for victims who cannot go back home directly afterwards but one NGO, Wellspring, opened a place in 2014 (Cyprus Mail April 2, 2014). The law on paper and the law in practice is very different. But it gave the Multidisciplinary Coordinating Group (MCG) that also includes NGOs that are working with the issue of sex trafficking. A special trafficking police unit was also instigated as a result of the law. This is a way of enhancing the security equality in the RoC.

There was a new trafficking law, 60(1)/2014 that was adopted in April 2014 after the ratification of the EU Directive on trafficking 2011/36. Unfortunately

there is no official English version of the law, only a Greek version, and no cases yet. The new law is an attempt to incorporate the EU directive's framework and includes all forms of trafficking. But there are issues concerning the protection of the victims of trafficking during criminal proceedings that are worse than the former law (KISA Report July 2014: 11-12).

The main "vessel", among others, used by the traffickers to get women into the Republic of Cyprus has been the "artist visa" (MIGS Report, 2007: 7). It is widely denied that prostitution takes place in the cabarets with the help of the artists visas that have been issued in their thousands each year for non-EU citizens (Trimikliniotis; Demetriou, 2009: 2). Approximately 2000 foreign women have entered RoC as "artistes" each year (MIGS, 2007: 8). This is a big number considering the amount of inhabitants in the RoC and it does not include the rest of the women who are trafficked but not employed as "artistes". The artist visa was issued for women to work as entertainment dancers in cabarets and nightclubs until the year of 2008 when it was abolished (GRETA report 2011: 11), an action taken by the government after all the international complaints about the visa. The question is, can one abolish the abuse of the victims through abolishing a legal immigration channel (Stoyanova, 2012: 176)? But there has been a replacement with a new type of visa for "performing artists" instead (GRETA report 2011: 23). The difference with this visa is that the employer has to apply for the work permit and be approved by the Department of Labour (GRETA report 2011: 23). The old artiste visas were not under the Department of Labour and so the jobs as entertainment artistes were not available for the Cypriots: "Third country nationals, members of Cypriot families and holders of Cyprus residency are forbidden from working in cabarets, night clubs, bars etc..." (MIGS, 2007: 9). This is referring to high risk entertainment establishments since, of course, Cypriots are working in "other" bars and night clubs. Some cabarets have closed but there is a change of pattern and so called "sex cafés" have become the new tools in the business where barmaids instead of artistes are employed (Cyprus Mail 3 June, 2010). It is still widely acknowledged today that this is the fact and that the channels have just taken another path into bars and massage parlours instead of only the night clubs (KISA Report July 2014: 4; Spyrou, 2013: 331). The changed form of the artist visa has not proved yet to be an enhancement of protection, even though that was the said intention by the government.

The opening of the border in 2003 has not only made it possible for people to visit their homes but it also made it possible for buyers from the southern part to go to the TRNC to the casinos and night clubs, which has led to a competition among the entrepreneurs in the sex industries (Constantionou, 2008: 22). Parts of the sex industry in the RoC were transferred to the north after the opening of the borders (Cyprus Mail November 28, 2004), a fact that is putting further pressure on the government in RoC. "Unlike the northern part, commercial gambling in Cyprus has thus far been prohibited, but this is bound to change since the government custodians are determine to shift the current capital spending at the sex and gambling industry from the north to the south" (Constantionou, 2008: 23). A change that became the reality in 2014 as the first casino with two extra "satellite casinos" opened in the RoC (Cyprus Mail 20 February, 2014). If the

casinos will function like the ones in the TRNC, they will most likely contribute to fuel the demand of women being trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation. This is a way that the government in the RoC has chosen to deal with the competition.

The UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (2000) was ratified by the RoC in August 2003. The Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings was ratified by the RoC in December 2007. A new law was ratified in April 2014, aligned with the Council Directive 2011/36/EU. Social practices that point to the fact that several agreements have been signed to work for combatting the issue of sex trafficking but still it is an issue that continues to affect the society in the Republic of Cyprus. In 2007 it was pointed out in the MIGS report that there was a significant gap between what policies concerning sex trafficking there were and what was actually implemented (2007: 13). Most of the women being victims are foreign women and the MIGS report indicated that the reasons for women being victims of trafficking were because of poverty and gender inequality in their home countries, but also in Cyprus (MIGS, 2007: 18). Even though it is so the prevention strategies and legislation leave out the gender perspective (MIGS, 2007: 19).

When it comes to this practice the connection with the notion of “foreign women” as necessary is very evident. To “import” women as entertainers becomes tolerated in the society, fuelling the sex industry, and we can see that the discursive practices of “foreign women” and “local women” are affecting the social practices and procedures concerning the visas issued by the government. There is an indication of what local discourse is affecting the social practices more than the others. Taking all of the analysis into account, the dominant local discourse on sex trafficking appears to be with “foreign women” as the nodal point with the fixed signifiers “artists”, “husband stealer”, “sex worker”, “poor”, “service to society”, “voluntary”, “entertainment”, “prostitution”, “nightclubs”, “cabarets”, “the North”, “not Cypriot”, leaving out the element of “victim”. Even though there are laws and mechanisms in place the government seems to struggle with the actual implementation and fails to enhance the distribution of protection between men and women which is affecting the security equality.

## 5.2 The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus

The self-declared Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is struggling with a number of things due to their status as a state only recognized by Turkey. One issue that the government of the TRNC is denying as being a problem is the issue of sex trafficking. Therefore the government documents on the issue are few accompanied by the fact that their presence online is minimal. These facts limit the availability of texts to analyse.

## 5.2.1 The Discursive Practices

“Nightclubs have come effectively to function as brothels. Prostitution is illegal in the TRNC, and conviction carries a two-year jail sentences and fines of 1,000 Turkish Lira for bar girls who prostitute themselves or for those who force them to do so. Yet, in the words of former social services officer Baris Basel, “*The state acts as a middleman in the prostitution trade.*” (LGC News 11 October, 2013).

The lack of voices heard on the issue of sex trafficking in the TRNC makes it harder to determine what constructions of discourses there are but the words spoken by a former social services officer say a lot: “The state acts as a middlemen in the prostitution trade”. The articulation, the practice that gives meaning to the discourses, in the case of the TRNC is very much in the hands of the government with its administration. When reading the texts in search for the web of meaning when it comes to sex trafficking in the TRNC you can see that it is blankly denied, but the construction of denial does not mean that there is no sex trafficking or discourse on sex trafficking.

In the analysis of the report *Women Trafficking in the Turkish Cypriot Community* from 2006 along with the other material the denial element becomes clear. What is happening is well known by the police and other authorities but just as much denied (TRNC Study, 2006: 4). When the report was conducted, in 2006, the definition of “women trafficking” was not known at all in the society (TRNC Study, 2006: 6), so finding material predating this year is very hard in the scope of this thesis. The women working in the night clubs were just received as prostitutes that are bad for the moral values and not as possible victims of sex trafficking.

The nodal point, the hub, that this thesis considers the construction of local discourse on sex trafficking in the TRNC is built around is also “foreign women”. “Foreign women” are equated with “risk” as they are perceived as “not clean”:

“The women are taken from the airport, straight to the hospital where they are kept until all their health checks are carried out. Some try to escape from the window and we call the police (Hospital employee)” (TRNC Study, 2006: 5).

“The paper interviewed Dr Arif Albayrak, a CTP Member of Parliament and gynaecologist who said that the prostitution industry had grown rapidly. He estimates that the nightclubs pay the state some TL20 million annually. Because of this the government ignores the risks posed by the rapid spread of HIV which Dr Albayrak claims is now more widespread in the North than the South” (LGC News 18 January, 2013).

The confiscation of the passports keeps the “foreign women” in their allocated social space as they are only allowed to stay in the designated “casino” or “nightclub”, and are not allowed to work in another or to get friendly with the local TRNC society.

“The confiscation of the passports of prostitutes, who arrive on the status of ‘workers,’ is at the core of sex slavery. The agencies that bring the women seize their passports as soon as they arrive to prevent them from working for rival companies or going to the South. In this sense, the state is aiding businesses involved in white slave trafficking,” writes Arslan Menguc in the Turkish Cypriot daily Vatan” (LGC News 11 October, 2013).

“These women generally have worked in Turkey, Cyprus, Dubai, Germany, Lebanon. This is what they do and they know about it. 6-7 years ago may be they would come here without knowing what they would be doing but now everyone in their country knows. Even their families know. I have had cases where the brother came here to sell a sister to us (Night Club Manager)” (TRNC Study, 2006: 9).

The TRNC police are doing raids in the nightclubs but that is claimed as actions based on a need to count the girls in order for the government to see that they are taking enough taxes out from the owners of the clubs and as showpiece raids (LGC News 18 January, 2013; LGC News 11 October, 2013). Things that make the construction of denial even more obvious, and the gains of the government:

“Well, they are free to leave but there are expenses associated with each women. There is the agents fee, all the fees for the government. I mean look at the government. They give permits for 40-50 night clubs. They know what is going on here. They take 100,000 -200,000 per night club for a permit. Some one paying this much for a permit expects to do business. Night clubs can make up this amount in a month or 2. It is big money. The monthly income is about 250,000, with a spending of 50,000. So the net profits per month is 200,000 YTL. Even the prime minister does not make this every month. So it is a good business (Night Club Manager)” (TRNC Study, 2006: 9-10).

There are some worries about the picture that is produced of the TRNC, expressed for example, by the Turkish Cypriot Tourism and Travel Agency Association leader Orhan Tolun:

“Tolun noted that for the past seven years, the TRNC government had failed to promote North Cyprus, that there was a lack of advertising and the country has been referred to as the country of nightclubs and casinos” (LGC News 29 September, 2014).

There are a couple of NGOs and active politicians that try to articulate the issue of sex trafficking in a different way but it is continuously in antagonistic opposition to what is mainly articulated and not gaining any space in the discursive construction of sex trafficking in the TRNC. Mine Yucel from the Centre for Migration and Rights Studies is one of the few voices heard together with Dogus Derya, a politician and the head of the NGO North Cyprus Feminist Atelier (FEMA).

“Speaking at an international conference on *The Changing Facets of Trafficking in Human Beings* in Nicosia, Yucel said that she has interviewed trafficked women working in cabarets who are terrified of being tortured by their bosses. Although she has not independently confirmed the

existence of torture chambers, her interviews with the women make it clear that the threat alone is enough to intimidate them into doing what the cabaret owners want."(In Cyprus) We are the demand side of this problem. We are part of the problem," says Yucel, whose low-key, quiet and reasoned speech builds a frighteningly realistic picture of women held against their will and forced into prostitution" (Cyprus News Report 6 April, 2011).

Stating that "we are the demand side of this problem" does not go along with the view of "foreign women" in the dominant discursive practices. The key signifiers constructing the chains of equivalence to "foreign women" are: "nightclubs", "not clean", "moral danger", "sexual diseases", "sexual services", "prostitution", "risk", "tourism", "consomatrices", "casinos", "good business", "for sale", "Turkey". Because of the lack of local voices on the issue there are not really any discursive struggles where different meanings are constructed on sex trafficking in TRNC but there are certain perceptions and values that are hegemonically dominating. But, as was stated in the beginning of the thesis, there is a constant articulation over time because discourses are never completely stable and agency is always possible.

## 5.2.2 The Social Practices

How is the issue of sex trafficking dealt with in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus then? What practices are made possible by the discursive practices and how are they affecting the security equality in TRNC? The latest US Trafficking in Persons Report on the activities after the report in 2013:

"Turkish Cypriot authorities did not allocate funding to anti- trafficking efforts. Police were not trained to identify victims of trafficking, and authorities provided no protection to victims. The lack of anti-trafficking "legislation" and lack of efforts to identify and protect victims indicated that Turkish Cypriot authorities tolerated human trafficking" (US TIP Report, 2014: 154).

In the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus there is no law yet that prohibits human trafficking and the authorities are not giving any funding to anti-trafficking efforts (US TIP Report Cyprus, 2014: 154). There is no shelter for trafficking victims provided by the government and almost all foreign victims are deported to Turkey, no matter if it's their country of origin or not (US TIP Report, 2014: 154). The result that has been seen is dept bondage and forced labour as the most important human rights abuses (TRNC Study, 2006: 9-10). In 2007 there was an anti-trafficking bill but it has not been processed any further. This means that no formal definition on trafficking exists in the TRNC. In 2011 there was some recognition by Turkish Cypriot officials of sex trafficking as a problem but most authorities continue to deny that trafficking is a significant problem in the TRNC (US TIP Report Cyprus, 2013). Prostitution is legal in licensed brothels but such places do rarely exist because of the regulation that makes them unprofitable

(Güven-Lisaniler; Uğural; Rodriguez, 2008: 438). These are indications that victims of sex trafficking are not protected by the government since there is a denial of the very existence of the phenomenon. This indicates that there is less protection for women than for men since the victims of sex trafficking are mostly women.

There are nightclubs and pubs that are registered to employ foreign women and they are employed as *konsomatrices*: “[...] woman who eats and drinks with clients at a night club and make an income of it” (Güven-Lisaniler; Rodriguez; Uğural, 2008: 439). The *konsomatrice* work visa does not allow them to work with commercial sex but immediately when they enter the TRNC they are checked for sexually transmitted diseases. It is a well known fact that sexual services are what they are brought in for, but still it is blankly denied by officials and the system itself (Güven-Lisaniler; Rodriguez; Uğural, 2008: 439-441). They are in debt to the employer when they start and there is no specific regulation on how they are paid (Güven-Lisaniler; Rodriguez; Uğural, 2008: 442). The women that are coming “legally” through the hostess visas are bound to their employer in the night club from the moment they arrive at the airport in Nicosia.

There is a “nightclub law” that regulates the *konsomatrice* work visa and the employers obligations. The law requires first a pre-contract before arrival and then an official written contract on arrival which are both in Turkish. If they are clean they are sent to the Immigration Office of the Police Department but if they are not “clean”, they are sent back to where they came from. In the report there is an indication that many are sent back to Turkey something that points to where the main route comes from (TRNC Study, 2006: 5-6). They need to leave their passports and return tickets with the police on arrival, the employers have to pay for return ticket and the housing and the visa is valid for six months (Güven-Lisaniler; Uğural; Rodriguez, 2005: 84-85). There are some uncertainties about who is actually taking the passports, the night club owners or the police, but the women do not have them (TRNC Study, 2006: 9). Weekly health controls for sexually transmitted diseases are imposed on the *konsomatrices* by the nightclub law, and at the same time the law states that acts of prostitution by the *konsomatrices* are illegal and will be punished (Güven-Lisaniler; Uğural; Rodriguez, 2005: 85). The nightclubs are subjected to several different fees and taxes which depend on the size of the nightclub and how many *konsomatrices* there are, but it is a practice that varies and the club owners are negotiating the basis of calculations. This law provides a possibility for the government to take part of the income from sexual services even though prostitution is illegal (Güven-Lisaniler; Uğural; Rodriguez, 2005: 86). The club owners work with agents in the different countries of origin, since the working visa is only valid for six months they need new faces in their nightclubs. The agents are paid by the club owners for the women and the amount paid depends on things like beauty, age and nationality (Güven-Lisaniler; Uğural; Rodriguez, 2005: 87). Güven-Lisaniler, Uğural and Rodriguez can't say that they found any evidence of forced commercial sex during their study in 2005 but they concluded that if trafficking is the case the Nightclub law is making it legitimate (Güven-Lisaniler; Uğural; Rodriguez, 2005: 88). This makes the denial part even more visible, if there is no



form of “non-conflict violence” of sex trafficking, there is no need of protection concerning the issue.

Unregistered sex workers work from *kahvehanes* (coffeehouses for men) or pubs which are places visited by the Turkish soldiers stationed in the TRNC (Güven-Lisaniler; Rodriguez; Uğural, 2008: 438). Güven-Lisaniler, Uğural and Rodriguez states in their research that the majority of the unregistered sex workers are Turkish while the konsomatrices are mainly from Moldavia, Ukraine, Russia and Romania (2008: 438, 440). They also say that until the research was done, in 2008, there had been no victim of trafficking brought to the attention of the authorities in TRNC (2008: 446). But considering that there is no legislation and no formal definition of what trafficking is, there can be no cases. The ambivalent situation of the status of the TRNC, only recognised as a sovereign state by Turkey, gives them flexibility with their own regulations.

The present economic crisis in the RoC has even led to an increase in the sex trade to the TRNC, a crisis that has also lowered the payments for sex (LGC News 14 May, 2013). There has been an inflow from the RoC to the TRNC of sex workers since the economic crisis started, as in some aspects the TRNC is seen as more “stable” at the moment. In this trade the refugees by the border are extra vulnerable along with local women from the south due to the crisis (LGC News 14 May, 2013). According to Mine Yucel from CMIRS (Centre for Migration and Rights Studies) in the TRNC the sex industry is thriving there because of cheap prices in relation the prices in Turkey and because there is a lower risk for police raids (Cyprus Mail 7 June, 2011). In the TRNC there is no NGO working directly with the issue of sex trafficking, but CMIRS is one of the NGOs that is working with domestic violence and women’s issues that at some point include sex trafficking victims. There is also FEMA (North Cyprus Feminist Atelier), and KAYAD (Association of Women to Support Living).

When it comes to the social practice concerning the issue of sex trafficking in the TRNC it is not dealt with by the government and is continuously denied. The understandings of sex trafficking that have become so fixed that they are thought of as natural in the local society in the TRNC are clearly based on denial. The only attempt of protection for the “foreign women” is through the Nightclub law, a law that seems to serve the nightclub owners and the government best. The only protection that is articulated is that of the local people in the TRNC against the sexually transmitted diseases. NGOs and women’s rights organisations are ignored by the government, there are occasional showpiece raids that might result in a waiter or victim getting arrested (LGC News 23 June 2013; LGC News 18 January, 2013). If the understandings of sex trafficking as non existent have become so fixed that it is thought of as natural in the local society of the TRNC, there will be no protection measures to enhance security equality in the society. It has gone so far that the political system itself denies it. Here we can see how the discursive practice and the social practice affect each other since there is a continuously indeterminacy at play.

## 6 Concluding Remarks

The aim of this thesis, as stated in the beginning, was to take a first step to start to fill the gap of research on the issue of trafficking in human beings for the purpose of sexual exploitation and its relation to peace processes through using the concept of “security equality”. The local discourses on sex trafficking in the Republic of Cyprus and in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus have been constructed by the help of Laclau and Mouffe’s analytical tools and Fairclough’s CDA theoretical perspective. The social practice part that includes other social non-discursive phenomena has been presented and related to the notion of “security equality”. At this stage it is time for an overall analysis where this thesis build the bridge between the discursive practices and the social practices and discuss the possible further relationship to the peace process.

It is first when the discursive practices are analysed in relation to the social practices that we can see if there are any antagonistic oppositions and if any specific discourse is hegemonically taking over. In the Republic of Cyprus there are discursive struggles, the nodal point “foreign women” is somehow ascribed different meanings and acts as a floating signifier. One discourse seems though to take more of a dominant place in the local everyday society. Even if there are several mechanisms in place for the government to be able to deal with the sex trafficking issue, and enhance security equality, there are problems with the actual implementation. We can assume that one reason for that is the dominant discourse which is not seeing “foreign women” as victims. In the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus there have been no attempts at all since the proposed trafficking bill that was issued in 2007, and was never processed any further. The international norms and laws concerning the issue of sex trafficking have gained some response in the Republic of Cyprus when both the discursive practices and the social practices are concerned, but the effect of the local dominant discursive practice is visible in the reluctance of implementation. Through discourse analysis it is possible to get a better understanding of what is making certain phenomena possible, something that also offers us a possibility to deal with it.

The question asked in the beginning of the process of this explorative study was: *How can trafficking in human beings for the purpose of sexual exploitation affect a peace process, and in particular the process in Cyprus?* This thesis approached the question through analysing the local discourses on sex trafficking and their relation to security equality. The outcome of the study shows that local discourses on sex trafficking in the different areas in Cyprus are affecting the security equality of Cyprus. When the issue of sex trafficking isn’t dealt with there is less protection for women, which results in security inequality instead. The security of individuals in the everyday society has been the focus of this thesis, stating it to be an issue inseparable from security on other levels, and

actually inseparable from the everyday lives of people as a group. When having a perspective on peace where individual security is in focus the failing of enhancing security equality could be seen as having a negative effect on the peace process.

Based on the contextual background we can see that there are other social practices connected with the phenomenon of sex trafficking that affects a peace process, like economic and political gains and border issues for example. But the peace process itself also affects the sex trafficking issue. In Cyprus the porous border, the situation in the occupied area and the amount of foreign troops has contributed to a convenient environment for traffickers. How the peace process develops is also something that affects the sex trafficking issue itself. There is a relationship and it is complicated. The main contribution of this thesis is that it is shedding some light on this complexity.

Is it possible to apply this result to a wider context? The case of Cyprus became more of an illustrative case, in this explorative study, illustrating the importance of looking at other issues than solely the conflict issues themselves during a peace process. Which is something that is important in all kinds of peace processes. The intention of this thesis was only to start to shed some light on the issue of sex trafficking and its possible relation to peace processes. The first step is done with the help of discourse analysis. This is one way to go when we want to get a better understanding of the relationship between two complex phenomena. It was important for me to choose the perspective of discourses as both socially constitutive and socially constituted in order to be able to include other social practices. But with this perspective it is also hard to say what practice, discursive or social, is the first thing to affect the other. The overall analysis and conclusions are interesting and are giving an example on how discourses are making things possible or not, but it also shows that it is a dialectical relationship where the social practices also are affecting the discourses themselves. I have chosen to tackle the overarching question in one way but there are also other possible answers to how sex trafficking can affect a peace process, in Cyprus or elsewhere. This thesis shed some light on the issue of sex trafficking and its relation to peace processes but further research is needed.

## 7 Further Research

To use discourse analysis as a tool investigating a phenomenon is one way to approach a complex matter such as the issue of sex trafficking and its relationship to peace processes. This thesis takes the form of a theory guided explorative study and further research is required. During the process of building this thesis it has been more than evident that there is a need to do further qualitative research on the issue of sex trafficking and on the issue of peace processes, especially in this specific case. The local voices constructing meaning to the discourse of sex trafficking in the British SBAs appears to be non-existent in the open debate. Is this implying that there is no issue of sex trafficking in these areas of Cyprus? A question for further research in this specific case. Another way to continue using discourse analysis, in the case of Cyprus, would be to include Banta's perspective of critical discourse analysis as giving the possibility to search for causal relations (Banta, 2012: 391).

This thesis highlighted the importance to not only focus on the so-called "conflict issues" themselves, but to widen the perspective when aiming for a locally owned peace process. In general in the cases of protracted peace processes it is important to put focus on including the local voices, in order to get a better understanding of what is important in each case. But there is also a need for quantitative comparative studies to challenge and enhance knowledge in peacebuilding studies. In general there is a need for further interdisciplinary research if we want to get a better understanding of peacebuilding and its processes. Interdisciplinary research is important because a recognition of complexity is needed, in order to include the everyday realm into IR and peacebuilding studies.

## 8 Appendixes

Analysed texts:

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*"Somewhere between the frontlines and the sweatshops in which I have seen children exploited, between the girls raped in war and prostituted in peace, I have lost the clear distinction dividing war and peace. I think this is a positive step, a useful ambiguity. It is a step that leads us into questions of who profits from war, from silence, and from the lives and labour of girls on a global scale. It is a step that opens a door on a vast horizon of political ploys and economic gains" (Nordstrom, 1999: 16).*