

Cyprus Peace Poll 2 – Confidence Building Measures - ‘Peace is not enough’

About the Cyprus Peace Polls

Dr Colin Irwin is a Senior Research Fellow in the Department of Politics at the University of Liverpool. He conducted all the public opinion polls in support of the Northern Ireland peace process and on the completion of their Good Friday Agreement was first invited to Cyprus by the Greek Turkish Forum in 1998. He has visited Cyprus from time to time since then and has now completed two surveys about the current Cyprus negotiations which were conducted by Noverna in the Greek Cypriot community and Lipa in the Turkish Cypriot community. His work is funded by Interpeace. Some of the central findings of Dr. Irwin’s polls are published here with the full reports available on his website at <http://www.peacepolls.org>

GCc Poll undertaken by Noverna Analytics & Research

Interview mode: Telephonic via CATI from Noverna Call Center in Nicosia

Representative sample of adult population aged 18 years +, based on random selection

Sample size 600 with a margin of error of between +/- 2.9% and +/- 4.0% at the 95% confidence level

Interview dates: March 27th to April 11th 2017

TCc Poll undertaken by Lipa Consultancy

Interview mode: Face-to-Face PAPI

Representative sample of adult population aged 18 years +, based on random selection using stratified rural and urban groups with a total of 67 PSUs (primary sampling units)

Sample size 1200 with a margin of error of +/- 2.82% at the 95% confidence level

Interview dates: March 30th to April 7th 2017

Cyprus Peace Poll 2 Report – Confidence Building Measures (CBMs)

‘Peace is not enough’ - Colin Irwin, University of Liverpool - April 2017.

E colin.irwin@liverpool.ac.uk W www.peacepolls.org

The importance of Confidence Building Measure

On 11 February 2014 the leaders of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities and UN agreed a Joint Declaration that set out the parameters for reaching a settlement of the Cyprus problem. It included requirements for the implementation of Confidence Building Measures (CBMs).¹ Although a start has been made on CBMs more could be done. The top priority for the two sides and UN remains the reaching of an agreement on the future of Cyprus that is acceptable to both communities. However, that agreement must also pass a referendum and in this context CBMs may have an important role to play. So firstly then how important do the GC and TC communities consider the role of CBMs? Table 1 gives the results and there is little or no significant difference between the TC and GC opinion on this point. They are sceptical about the ability of the two sides to implement CBMs, but they do want CBMs and do believe they could help negotiations.

Table 1. The importance of CBMs

Do you expect the two sides to implement many of these CBMs? Yes/No

	Yes	No	D.K.
GC	27%	63%	10%
TC	28%	71%	1%

Would you like to see many of these CBMs implemented by the two sides? Yes/No

	Yes	No	D.K.
GC	83%	15%	2%
TC	86%	14%	-

If the two sides implement these CBMs do you think that will improve the chances of reaching a final agreement on the future of Cyprus? Yes/No

	Yes	No	D.K.
GC	69%	26%	5%
TC	65%	34%	1%

¹ Clause 7 of the Joint Declaration - The sides will seek to create a positive atmosphere to ensure the talks succeed. They commit to avoiding blame games or other negative public comments on the negotiations. They also commit to efforts to implement confidence building measures that will provide a dynamic impetus to the prospect for a united Cyprus.’

What CBMs and When?

Critically if CBMs are to help the negotiations and peace process in general they need to have maximum positive effect at minimum political cost at just the right time – during negotiations, after an agreement is reached but before a referendum or after a referendum as part of a new plan of government. Deciding which CBMs to implement when is a political decision for the two sides but here, from a list of 37 CBMs tested are the ‘top ten’ for the GC and TC communities in Table 2a and 2b.

Table 2a. Top Ten (Essential + Desirable) CBMs for GCs with results for TCs

GC Top Ten CBMs		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	D.K.
1. Turn off the lights of the Turkish Cypriot flag to show TC support for the negotiations	GC	68%	13%	11%	2%	5%	1%
	TC	4%	5%	6%	10%	74%	1%
2. Ensure a common time zone across the whole of Cyprus.	GC	57%	14%	18%	4%	6%	2%
	TC	37%	36%	19%	3%	4%	1%
3. Allow owners of property in Varosha to visit their properties.	GC	47%	22%	21%	3%	7%	1%
	TC	22%	29%	27%	10%	11%	1%
4. Return Icons to their rightful owners.	GC	53%	15%	19%	2%	9%	2%
	TC	19%	29%	28%	13%	9%	1%
5. Allow the Greek Church in Famagusta to be opened for Easter services.	GC	44%	23%	22%	3%	8%	1%
	TC	10%	24%	33%	13%	19%	2%
6. For example allow the vacated Archbishopric in Kyrenia to be restored and made available for religious festivals.	GC	43%	21%	24%	6%	7%	1%
	TC	12%	20%	31%	16%	20%	1%
7. Arrange meetings between North and South fire brigades to agree joint procedures for dealing with catastrophic fires.	GC	48%	14%	23%	5%	9%	1%
	TC	49%	28%	17%	3%	2%	1%
8. Make vacated military installations on religious and public property available to their owners.	GC	40%	21%	26%	3%	6%	5%
	TC	13%	20%	26%	13%	27%	1%
9. Coordinate and finance the repair and maintenance of cemeteries and graves in the North and South.	GC	37%	23%	26%	3%	10%	2%
	TC	46%	32%	17%	4%	1%	1%
10. Being able to use your mobile phones on both sides of the island without limitation on where you are.	GC	43%	12%	23%	5%	12%	6%
	TC	31%	44%	19%	3%	3%	1%

Table 2b. Top Ten (Essential + Desirable) CBMs for TCs with results for GCs

TC Top Ten CBMs		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	D.K.
1. Coordinate and finance the repair and maintenance of cemeteries and graves in the North and South.	TC	46%	32%	17%	4%	1%	1%
	GC	37%	23%	26%	3%	10%	2%
2. Arrange meetings between North and South fire brigades to agree joint procedures for dealing with catastrophic fires.	TC	49%	28%	17%	3%	2%	1%
	GC	48%	14%	23%	5%	9%	1%
3. Facilitate the purchase of car insurance to cover both sides of the island at the same rates.	TC	47%	29%	18%	3%	2%	1%
	GC	29%	15%	25%	8%	20%	3%
4. Being able to use your mobile phones on both sides of the island without limitation on where you are.	TC	31%	44%	19%	3%	3%	1%
	GC	43%	12%	23%	5%	12%	6%
5. Ensure a common time zone across the whole of Cyprus	TC	37%	36%	19%	3%	4%	1%
	GC	57%	14%	18%	4%	6%	2%
6. Remove the requirement for the Enosis plebiscite to be commemorated in GC schools.	TC	44%	21%	17%	9%	9%	1%
	GC	15%	8%	15%	6%	47%	9%
7. Allow all persons born or not born in Northern Cyprus with a right to vote in a referendum have access to the South.	TC	36%	29%	19%	6%	7%	2%
	GC	16%	10%	15%	7%	46%	6%
8. Complete and open the new crossing in Famagusta at Dherynia without any further delay.	TC	32%	32%	20%	7%	9%	-
	GC	27%	17%	25%	9%	20%	3%
9. Complete the North/South electricity interconnector without further delay.	TC	26%	37%	25%	5%	-	-
	GC	21%	14%	22%	9%	29%	4%
10. Promote North/South trade by extending the scope of Green Line regulations	TC	25%	37%	30%	3%	4%	1%
	GC	17%	12%	20%	7%	39%	4%

Significantly symbolic CBMs that touch on questions of national identity, culture and religion are as important or sometimes more important than more practical CBMs associated with commerce and economic development. This is particularly true for the Greek Cypriot community. Full results for all the CBMs and their rank order are given in Appendix 1.

Peace Agreements and ‘Packages’

Table 3a and 3b list four CBMs that were also tested as a ‘package’. In Northern Ireland and Israel and Palestine agreement ‘packages’ always got or get a better result than the individual items in those ‘packages’ as the costs of one item is balanced out by the benefits of another. Essentially - ‘the whole is greater than the sum of its parts’.

Table 3a. A TC ‘package’ of CBMs individually and as a group.

1. Under UN supervision return Varosha to its legal owners and in return open Ercan airport and port of Famagusta for international trade.	12%	21%	25%	10%	32%	-
2. Establish a UN bi-communal Committee for Hydrocarbon development and in return Turkey recognizes the Cyprus economic zone.	16%	23%	31%	12%	18%	-
3. The gradual reduction of Turkish troops and demining of the island in return for a gradual reduction in the National Guard.	9%	16%	24%	13%	38%	1%
4. Intensify GC and TC cultural and educational exchanges under UN supervision to promote understanding and trust.	19%	32%	32%	8%	9%	-
(TC only) All of these four proposals together as a part of a plan for the future of Cyprus.	9%	18%	30%	15%	27%	1%

Table 3b. A GC ‘package’ of CBMs individually and as a group.

1. Under UN supervision return Varosha to its legal owners and in return open Ercan airport and port of Famagusta for international trade.	19%	15%	18%	6%	38%	4%
2. Establish a UN bi-communal Committee for Hydrocarbon development and in return Turkey recognizes the Cyprus economic zone.	17%	12%	17%	5%	42%	7%
3. The gradual reduction of Turkish troops and demining of the island in return for a gradual reduction in the National Guard.	27%	14%	15%	7%	33%	3%
4. Intensify GC and TC cultural and educational exchanges under UN supervision to promote understanding and trust.	24%	22%	24%	9%	18%	3%
(GC only) A plan for the future which will include: ² <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Return Varosha to its legal owners under UN supervision • Opening Ercan airport under EU supervision • Establish a UN bi-communal Committee for Hydrocarbon development • Gradual reduction of Turkish troops • Gradual reduction in the National Guard • Intensify GC and TC cultural and educational exchanges 	19%	21%	18%	10%	28%	4%

² This question/methodology used phones on the GC side and face-to-face on the TC side.

This effect does show up here for Cyprus but that effect is not as nearly as strong as it was or is in Northern Ireland, Israel and Palestine perhaps because in Cyprus the status quo is acceptable to a significant section of the population while in Northern Ireland, Israel and Palestine the status quo of continued violent conflict was not or is not acceptable to a very significant majority. Clearly in Cyprus the benefits of an agreement will need to be emphasised and in this context CBMs may have an important role to play. Peace is not enough.

Support for an Agreement

The GC vote for an agreement went down a little in February due to a negative press following the failed negotiations in Switzerland and then the break down of negotiations also indicated a slight shift to 'no' from 'undecided'. Our most recent poll in March does not indicate any recovery in the 'yes' vote or further shift to 'no'.

When compared to the SEED result (collected at the same time as our first poll in December) the proportion of 'undecided' is much higher in our sample due to a different question being asked. To clearly identify the undecided voters we only asked if the informant would vote 'Yes' or 'No' or were they 'Undecided'. However SEED asked if they were 'Yes' or 'Leaning to Yes' or 'No' or 'Leaning to No' or 'Undecided' (Table 4a).

Table 4a. If we assume a scenario where the 2 leaders agree on a solution and a referendum is held, how would you be likely to vote, would you vote YES or would you vote NO?

GC - All	Dec 16 SEED ³	Dec 16 Percent Pre Switzerland	Feb 17 Percent Post Switzerland ⁴	Feb 17 Percent Post Switzerland ⁵	March 17 Percent
Yes	15+23	28	25	28	26
No	32+12	26	29	30	29
Not decided/ it depends/DK/NA	18	46	45	42	45

On the GC side these changes in support for an agreement are also mirrored in another question that creates an index as follows: "Based on what you know from the negotiations so far, please tell me to what degree you agree with the solution being discussed on a scale of 1 to 10 where 10 means agree completely and 1 means disagree completely?"

This produced an average score for all the GC community in December 2016 of 5.6, and then February 2017 at 4.6 and finally March 2017 at 4.4.

³ SEED 'Yes' as 'Yes' + 'leaning to Yes' and 'No' as 'No' + 'leaning to No'

⁴ Sample collected before break down of negotiations.

⁵ Includes sample collected after break down of negotiations.

The TC results are more consistent with the SEED results perhaps because the proportion of TC undecided in the North is lower. Additionally on the TC side a filter was used for those who said they would vote (about 70%) so that those who said they would not vote could be removed from the sample. When this was done another poll (not reported here) indicated that the support for an agreement fell significantly directly after the failed negotiations in Switzerland but that vote recovered later in February prior to the break down of negotiations (Table 4b). Our most recent poll seems to suggest that the TC 'undecided' voters are moving to either 'yes' and 'no' but in equal proportions.

Table 4b. If we assume a scenario where the 2 leaders agree on a solution and a referendum is held, how would you be likely to vote, would you vote YES or would you vote NO?

TC - All	Dec 16 SEED ⁶	Dec 16 Percent Pre Switzerland ⁷	Dec 16 Percent Pre Switzerland ⁸	Feb 17 Percent Post Switzerland	March 17 Percent
Yes	23+21	40	44	46	49
No	17+16	36	34	37	39
Not decided/ it depends/DK/NA	24	24	22	17	12

Following our last poll the point was made that failed negotiations and/or a break down in negotiations seem to move undecided voters to 'no' and that new negotiations that are not likely to produce a result should not be 'hyped up' too much. Hopefully some carefully selected CBMs implemented at the right time can help to support a recovery in the 'yes' vote along with that most important of CBMs – an agreement acceptable to both communities.

Changes in support for an agreement based on contents of questionnaire

In addition to asking those being interviewed if they would be inclined to vote 'yes' for an agreement on the future of Cyprus or 'no', or were 'undecided' a follow up question was introduced to see if their views had changed after they had completed the questionnaire. This was done on the TC side with the same question to all persons interviewed in both polls 2 and 3 (Table 5a). Significantly Poll 2 dealt with the most difficult issues to be negotiated and indicated a shift away from 'yes' and 'no' to 'undecided'. However poll 3 that dealt with every day issues designed to build confidence in the peace process produced an opposite effect with potential voters moving from 'undecided' and 'no' to 'yes'.

Table 5b gives the results for the GCs for the same two polls. Here the methodology was a little different with only 'undecided' voters being asked if they had changed their opinions after working through the questionnaire. The results are a little better

⁶ SEED 'Yes' as 'Yes' + 'leaning Yes' and 'No' as 'No' + 'leaning No'

⁷ Complete sample with no filter for those who said 'Yes' or 'No' they will or will not vote.

⁸ Sample with filter for those who said 'Yes' they will vote.

for the poll that focuses on CBMs in contrast to the poll that dealt with difficult issues in the negotiations but only marginally so and the results are still not as good as the results for the December poll run before the break down in negotiations (Table 5c).

Table 5a. TC support for an agreement in Poll 2 on ‘negotiations’ and Poll 3 on ‘CBMs’ at the beginning of the interview and again at the end of the interview

TC-All	Negotiations poll before interview	Negotiations poll at end of interview		CBM poll before interview	CBM poll at end of interview
Yes	46%	44%		49%	67%
No	37%	31%		40%	24%
DK/Undecided	17%	25%		11%	9%

Table 5b. GC support for an agreement in Poll 2 on ‘negotiations’ and Poll 3 on ‘CBMs’ at the beginning of the interview and again at the end of the interview

GC-All	Negotiations poll before interview	Negotiations poll at end of interview		CBM poll before interview	CBM poll at end of interview
Yes	28%	36%		26%	40%
No	30%	39%		29%	38%
DK/Undecided	45%	25%		45%	22%

Table 5c. GC support for an agreement before the break down in negotiations.

GC-All	December poll before interview	December poll at end of interview
Yes	28%	44%
No	26%	32%
DK/Undecided	46%	25%

In an effort to try and make some sense of these different dynamics Table 6 lists the ‘top ten’ negotiation issues from poll 2 and CBM issues from poll 3 together, in their rank order as ‘Essential’, for both the TC and GC communities. The GC and TC priorities are very different. But some of these top priorities can be easily done before the negotiation of an agreement on the future of Cyprus is completed. So if restoring confidence in the peace process is essential for the success of negotiations then the two sides and international community would do well to take what steps they can to implement what they can from these lists. (See Appendix 2 for a full list).

Table 6. Top Ten items from peace polls 2 and 3 as per cent 'Essential'

Rank	TC	Per cent Essential	GC	Per cent Essential
1	Ensure quality of education to EU standards for both the TCs and GCs on the island of Cyprus	56	Turn off the lights of the Turkish Cypriot flag to show TC support for the negotiations	68
2	Ensure quality of all services and infrastructure to EU standards on both the North and South of the island	55	Ensure a common time zone across the whole of Cyprus	57
3	Heavy penalties for ethnic/sectarian hate crime	53	Return Icons to their rightful owners.	53
4	There will be guarantees to secure the unity of Cyprus	52	All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus immediately	50
5	Arrange meetings between North and South fire brigades to agree joint procedures for dealing with catastrophic fires.	49	Arrange meetings between North and South fire brigades to agree joint procedures for dealing with catastrophic fires.	48
6	There will be guarantees to protect the security of the communities of Cyprus	48	Allow owners of property in Varosha to visit their properties.	47
7	Fairly distribute ministries and responsibilities between the two communities at the federal level of government	47	Allow the Greek Church in Famagusta to be opened for Easter services.	44
8	Facilitate the purchase of car insurance to cover both sides of the island at the same rates.	47	Being able to use your mobile phones on both sides of the island without limitation on where you are.	43
9	There will be guarantees to protect Cyprus from external threats such as terrorism and other similar threats	46	For example allow the vacated Archbishopric in Kyrenia to be restored and made available for religious festivals.	43
10	Coordinate and finance the repair and maintenance of cemeteries and graves in the North and South.	46	Ensure quality of education to EU standards for both the TCs and GCs on the island of Cyprus	40

APPENDIX 1

Question 1. Confidence Building Measures

Please indicate which Confidence Building Measures you consider to be 'Essential,' 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

Per Cent TC	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	D.K.
Being able to use your mobile phones on both sides of the island without limitation on where you are.	31%	44%	19%	3%	3%	1%
The establishment of a truth and reconciliation commission, to investigate for the truth regarding past events and hurts of the two communities, with a view to mutual forgiveness and reconciliation.	17%	32%	27%	7%	13%	3%
Mutual official apologies to be offered by the leaderships of the two communities for past mistakes and hurts.	20%	27%	20%	9%	22%	1%
Increase access to churches in the North and Mosques in the South for more religious events and services.	22%	34%	30%	7%	7%	1%
Allow the Greek Church in Famagusta to be opened for Easter services.	10%	24%	33%	13%	19%	2%
Remove the requirement for the Enosis plebiscite to be commemorated in GC schools.	44%	21%	17%	9%	9%	1%
Remove radical nationalistic issues from children's schoolbooks on both sides starting with Primary books.	31%	26%	20%	6%	16%	1%
The two leaders of the GC and TC communities should agree to stop certain commemorations of events which alienate one community from the other.	21%	37%	24%	7%	10%	-
The two leaders should go to some of the most important public events in the North and South together.	14%	28%	31%	9%	17%	1%
Request the EU to help implement a universal phone system for Cyprus.	19%	34%	33%	7%	5%	1%
Ask the EU to have both official languages of Cyprus become official languages of the EU.	17%	24%	31%	7%	19%	1%
All public information websites	22%	35%	31%	6%	6%	1%

on both sides of the island should be available in Greek and Turkish						
Display both names of towns and villages across the whole island	25%	35%	25%	5%	9%	1%
Promote North/South trade by extending the scope of Green Line regulations	25%	37%	30%	3%	4%	1%
Complete the North/South electricity interconnector without further delay.	26%	37%	25%	5%	-	-
Facilitate the purchase of car insurance to cover both sides of the island at the same rates.	47%	29%	18%	3%	2%	1%
Arrange meetings between North and South fire brigades to agree joint procedures for dealing with catastrophic fires.	49%	28%	17%	3%	2%	1%
Facilitate meetings between TC and GC school children and educators.	17%	29%	30%	10%	13%	1%
Ask the UN to facilitate the use of space in the buffer zone for a TC and GC integrated school.	11%	23%	25%	16%	24%	1%
Establish a permanent joint office to coordinate the development of all Nicosia on both sides	21%	32%	31%	7%	8%	-
Establish a permanent joint office to coordinate the development of Famagusta on both sides	23%	30%	32%	7%	8%	1%
Complete and open the new crossing in Famagusta at Dherynia without any further delay.	32%	32%	20%	7%	9%	-
Make vacated military installations on religious and public property available to their owners.	13%	20%	26%	13%	27%	1%
For example allow the vacated Archbishopric in Kyrenia to be restored and made available for religious festivals.	12%	20%	31%	16%	20%	1%
Coordinate and finance the repair and maintenance of cemeteries and graves in the North and South.	46%	32%	17%	4%	1%	1%
Allow owners of property in Varosha to visit their properties.	22%	29%	27%	10%	11%	1%
Opening of Varosha as an inter-communal area under UN and	18%	26%	28%	10%	18%	-

EU auspices, where Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots can live and work together.						
Return Icons to their rightful owners.	19%	29%	28%	13%	9%	1%
Allow all persons born or not born in Northern Cyprus with a right to vote in a referendum have access to the South.	36%	29%	19%	6%	7%	2%
Ensure a common time zone across the whole of Cyprus	37%	36%	19%	3%	4%	1%
Turn off the lights of the Turkish Cypriot flag to show TC support for the negotiations	4%	5%	6%	10%	74%	1%
Set up on-line companies of joint G/C and T/C companies to operate and serve clients on both sides of the island	13%	34%	40%	7%	7%	-
1. Under UN supervision return Varosha to its legal owners and in return open Ercan airport and port of Famagusta for international trade.	12%	21%	25%	10%	32%	-
2. Establish a UN bi-communal Committee for Hydrocarbon development and in return Turkey recognizes the Cyprus economic zone.	16%	23%	31%	12%	18%	-
3. The gradual reduction of Turkish troops and demining of the island in return for a gradual reduction in the National Guard.	9%	16%	24%	13%	38%	1%
4. Intensify GC and TC cultural and educational exchanges under UN supervision to promote understanding and trust.	19%	32%	32%	8%	9%	-
(TC only) All of these four proposals together as a part of a plan for the future of Cyprus.	9%	18%	30%	15%	27%	1%

Question 1. Confidence Building Measures

Please indicate which Confidence Building Measures you consider to be 'Essential,' 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

Per Cent GC	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	D.K.
Being able to use your mobile phones on both sides of the island without limitation on where you are.	43%	12%	23%	5%	12%	6%
The establishment of a truth and reconciliation commission, to investigate for the truth regarding past events and hurts of the two communities, with a view to mutual forgiveness and reconciliation.	36%	15%	21%	8%	19%	1%
Mutual official apologies to be offered by the leaderships of the two communities for past mistakes and hurts.	30%	17%	21%	7%	23%	2%
Increase access to churches in the North and Mosques in the South for more religious events and services.	37%	16%	24%	7%	15%	2%
Allow the Greek Church in Famagusta to be opened for Easter services.	44%	23%	22%	3%	8%	1%
Remove the requirement for the Enosis plebiscite to be commemorated in GC schools.	15%	8%	15%	6%	47%	9%
Remove radical nationalistic issues from children's schoolbooks on both sides starting with Primary books.	28%	14%	15%	6%	33%	4%
The two leaders of the GC and TC communities should agree to stop certain commemorations of events which alienate one community from the other.	23%	11%	13%	7%	42%	5%
The two leaders should go to some of the most important public events in the North and South together.	16%	16%	26%	10%	30%	2%
Request the EU to help implement a universal phone system for Cyprus.	29%	18%	25%	9%	17%	3%
Ask the EU to have both official languages of Cyprus become official languages of the EU.	12%	11%	19%	10%	45%	3%
All public information websites on both sides of the island should be available in Greek	25%	14%	26%	8%	24%	3%

and Turkish						
Display both names of towns and villages across the whole island	22%	12%	23%	9%	33%	1%
Promote North/South trade by extending the scope of Green Line regulations	17%	12%	20%	7%	39%	4%
Complete the North/South electricity interconnector without further delay.	21%	14%	22%	9%	29%	4%
Facilitate the purchase of car insurance to cover both sides of the island at the same rates.	29%	15%	25%	8%	20%	3%
Arrange meetings between North and South fire brigades to agree joint procedures for dealing with catastrophic fires.	48%	14%	23%	5%	9%	1%
Facilitate meetings between TC and GC school children and educators.	29%	21%	24%	9%	17%	1%
Ask the UN to facilitate the use of space in the buffer zone for a TC and GC integrated school.	16%	16%	24%	9%	30%	5%
Establish a permanent joint office to coordinate the development of all Nicosia on both sides	26%	19%	25%	7%	20%	3%
Establish a permanent joint office to coordinate the development of Famagusta on both sides	28%	17%	24%	5%	22%	4%
Complete and open the new crossing in Famagusta at Dherynia without any further delay.	27%	17%	25%	9%	20%	3%
Make vacated military installations on religious and public property available to their owners.	40%	21%	26%	3%	6%	5%
For example allow the vacated Archbishopric in Kyrenia to be restored and made available for religious festivals.	43%	21%	24%	6%	7%	1%
Coordinate and finance the repair and maintenance of cemeteries and graves in the North and South.	37%	23%	26%	3%	10%	2%
Allow owners of property in Varosha to visit their properties.	47%	22%	21%	3%	7%	1%
Opening of Varosha as an inter-communal area under UN and EU auspices, where Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots	34%	20%	20%	5%	19%	2%

can live and work together.						
Return Icons to their rightful owners.	53%	15%	19%	2%	9%	2%
Allow all persons born or not born in Northern Cyprus with a right to vote in a referendum have access to the South.	16%	10%	15%	7%	46%	6%
Ensure a common time zone across the whole of Cyprus	57%	14%	18%	4%	6%	2%
Turn off the lights of the Turkish Cypriot flag to show TC support for the negotiations	68%	13%	11%	2%	5%	1%
Set up on-line companies of joint G/C and T/C companies to operate and serve clients on both sides of the island	22%	19%	25%	6%	23%	5%
1. Under UN supervision return Varosha to its legal owners and in return open Ercan airport and port of Famagusta for international trade.	19%	15%	18%	6%	38%	4%
2. Establish a UN bi-communal Committee for Hydrocarbon development and in return Turkey recognizes the Cyprus economic zone.	17%	12%	17%	5%	42%	7%
3. The gradual reduction of Turkish troops and demining of the island in return for a gradual reduction in the National Guard.	27%	14%	15%	7%	33%	3%
4. Intensify GC and TC cultural and educational exchanges under UN supervision to promote understanding and trust.	24%	22%	24%	9%	18%	3%
(GC only) A plan for the future which will include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Return Varosha to its legal owners under UN supervision Opening Ercan airport under EU supervision Establish a UN bi-communal Committee for Hydrocarbon development Gradual reduction of Turkish troops Gradual reduction in the National Guard Intensify GC and TC cultural and educational exchanges 	19%	21%	18%	10%	28%	4%

Rank order of CBMs as per cent 'Essential + Desirable'

Rank	TC	Per cent Essential or Desirable	GC	Per cent Essential or Desirable
1	Coordinate and finance the repair and maintenance of cemeteries and graves in the North and South.	78%	Turn off the lights of the Turkish Cypriot flag to show TC support for the negotiations	81%
2	Arrange meetings between North and South fire brigades to agree joint procedures for dealing with catastrophic fires.	77%	Ensure a common time zone across the whole of Cyprus	71%
3	Facilitate the purchase of car insurance to cover both sides of the island at the same rates.	76%	Allow owners of property in Varosha to visit their properties.	69%
4	Being able to use your mobile phones on both sides of the island without limitation on where you are.	75%	Return Icons to their rightful owners.	68%
5	Ensure a common time zone across the whole of Cyprus	73%	Allow the Greek Church in Famagusta to be opened for Easter services.	67%
6	Remove the requirement for the Enosis plebiscite to be commemorated in GC schools.	65%	For example allow the vacated Archbishopric in Kyrenia to be restored and made available for religious festivals.	64%
7	Allow all persons born or not born in Northern Cyprus with a right to vote in a referendum have access to the South.	65%	Arrange meetings between North and South fire brigades to agree joint procedures for dealing with catastrophic fires.	62%
8	Complete and open the new crossing in Famagusta at Dherynia without any further delay.	64%	Make vacated military installations on religious and public property available to their owners.	61%
9	Complete the North/South electricity interconnector without further delay.	63%	Coordinate and finance the repair and maintenance of cemeteries and graves in the North and South.	60%
10	Promote North/South trade by extending the scope of Green Line regulations	62%	Being able to use your mobile phones on both sides of the island without limitation on where you are.	55%
11	Display both names of towns and villages across the whole island	60%	Opening of Varosha as an inter-communal area under UN and EU auspices, where Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots can live	54%

			and work together.	
12	The two leaders of the GC and TC communities should agree to stop certain commemorations of events which alienate one community from the other.	58%	Increase access to churches in the North and Mosques in the South for more religious events and services.	53%
13	Remove radical nationalistic issues from children's schoolbooks on both sides starting with Primary books.	57%	The establishment of a truth and reconciliation commission, to investigate for the truth regarding past events and hurts of the two communities, with a view to mutual forgiveness and reconciliation.	51%
14	All public information websites on both sides of the island should be available in Greek and Turkish	57%	Facilitate meetings between TC and GC school children and educators.	50%
15	Increase access to churches in the North and Mosques in the South for more religious events and services.	56%	Mutual official apologies to be offered by the leaderships of the two communities for past mistakes and hurts.	47%
16	Request the EU to help implement a universal phone system for Cyprus.	53%	Request the EU to help implement a universal phone system for Cyprus.	47%
17	Establish a permanent joint office to coordinate the development of all Nicosia on both sides	53%	4. Intensify GC and TC cultural and educational exchanges under UN supervision to promote understanding and trust.	46%
18	Establish a permanent joint office to coordinate the development of Famagusta on both sides	53%	Establish a permanent joint office to coordinate the development of all Nicosia on both sides	45%
19	Allow owners of property in Varosha to visit their properties.	51%	Establish a permanent joint office to coordinate the development of Famagusta on both sides	45%
20	4. Intensify GC and TC cultural and educational exchanges under UN supervision to promote understanding and trust.	51%	Facilitate the purchase of car insurance to cover both sides of the island at the same rates.	44%
21	The establishment of a truth and reconciliation commission, to investigate for the truth regarding past events and hurts of the two communities, with a view to mutual forgiveness and	49%	Complete and open the new crossing in Famagusta at Dherynia without any further delay.	44%

	reconciliation.			
22	Return Icons to their rightful owners.	48%	Remove radical nationalistic issues from children's schoolbooks on both sides starting with Primary books.	42%
23	Mutual official apologies to be offered by the leaderships of the two communities for past mistakes and hurts.	47%	Set up on-line companies of joint G/C and T/C companies to operate and serve clients on both sides of the island	41%
24	Set up on-line companies of joint G/C and T/C companies to operate and serve clients on both sides of the island	47%	3. The gradual reduction of Turkish troops and demining of the island in return for a gradual reduction in the National Guard.	41%
25	Facilitate meetings between TC and GC school children and educators.	46%	(GC only) A plan for the future which will include:.. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Return Varosha to its legal owners under UN supervision • Opening Ercan airport under EU supervision • Establish a UN bi-communal Committee for Hydrocarbon development • Gradual reduction of Turkish troops • Gradual reduction in the National Guard • Intensify GC and TC cultural and educational exchanges 	40%
26	Opening of Varosha as an inter-communal area under UN and EU auspices, where Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots can live and work together.	44%	All public information websites on both sides of the island should be available in Greek and Turkish	39%
27	The two leaders should go to some of the most important public events in the North and South together.	42%	Complete the North/South electricity interconnector without further delay.	35%
28	Ask the EU to have both official languages of Cyprus become official languages of the EU.	41%	The two leaders of the GC and TC communities should agree to stop certain commemorations of events which alienate one community from the other.	34%
29	2. Establish a UN bi-communal Committee for	39%	Display both names of towns and villages across	34%

	Hydrocarbon development and in return Turkey recognizes the Cyprus economic zone.		the whole island	
30	Allow the Greek Church in Famagusta to be opened for Easter services.	34%	1. Under UN supervision return Varosha to its legal owners and in return open Ercan airport and port of Famagusta for international trade.	34%
31	Ask the UN to facilitate the use of space in the buffer zone for a TC and GC integrated school.	34%	The two leaders should go to some of the most important public events in the North and South together.	32%
32	Make vacated military installations on religious and public property available to their owners.	33%	Ask the UN to facilitate the use of space in the buffer zone for a TC and GC integrated school.	32%
33	1. Under UN supervision return Varosha to its legal owners and in return open Ercan airport and port of Famagusta for international trade.	33%	Promote North/South trade by extending the scope of Green Line regulations	29%
34	For example allow the vacated Archbishopric in Kyrenia to be restored and made available for religious festivals.	32%	2. Establish a UN bi-communal Committee for Hydrocarbon development and in return Turkey recognizes the Cyprus economic zone.	29%
35	(TC only) All of these four proposals together as a part of a plan for the future of Cyprus.	27%	Allow all persons born or not born in Northern Cyprus with a right to vote in a referendum have access to the South.	26%
36	3. The gradual reduction of Turkish troops and demining of the island in return for a gradual reduction in the National Guard.	25%	Remove the requirement for the Enosis plebiscite to be commemorated in GC schools.	23%
37	Turn off the lights of the Turkish Cypriot flag to show TC support for the negotiations	9%	Ask the EU to have both official languages of Cyprus become official languages of the EU.	23%

APPENDIX 2

Rank order of all items from peace polls 2 and 3 as per cent 'Essential'

Rank	TC	Per cent Essential	GC	Per cent Essential
1	Ensure quality of education to EU standards for both the TCs and GCs on the island of Cyprus	56	Turn off the lights of the Turkish Cypriot flag to show TC support for the negotiations	68
2	Ensure quality of all services and infrastructure to EU standards on both the North and South of the island	55	Ensure a common time zone across the whole of Cyprus	57
3	Heavy penalties for ethnic/sectarian hate crime	53	Return Icons to their rightful owners.	53
4	There will be guarantees to secure the unity of Cyprus	52	All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus immediately	50
5	Arrange meetings between North and South fire brigades to agree joint procedures for dealing with catastrophic fires.	49	Arrange meetings between North and South fire brigades to agree joint procedures for dealing with catastrophic fires.	48
6	There will be guarantees to protect the security of the communities of Cyprus	48	Allow owners of property in Varosha to visit their properties.	47
7	Fairly distribute ministries and responsibilities between the two communities at the federal level of government	47	Allow the Greek Church in Famagusta to be opened for Easter services.	44
8	Facilitate the purchase of car insurance to cover both sides of the island at the same rates.	47	Being able to use your mobile phones on both sides of the island without limitation on where you are.	43
9	There will be guarantees to protect Cyprus from external threats such as terrorism and other similar threats	46	For example allow the vacated Archbishopric in Kyrenia to be restored and made available for religious festivals.	43
10	Coordinate and finance the repair and maintenance of cemeteries and graves in the North and South.	46	Ensure quality of education to EU standards for both the TCs and GCs on the island of Cyprus	40
11	TC police service in TC state	44	Make vacated military installations on religious and public property available to their owners.	40
12	Or the Presidency should be shared equally with 1 term for a GC President followed by 1 term for a TC President	44	Ensure quality of all services and infrastructure to EU standards on both the North and South of the island	37
13	Remove the requirement for	44	Heavy penalties for	37

	the Enosis plebiscite to be commemorated in GC schools.		ethnic/sectarian hate crime	
14	Create a wealth fund from oil and gas revenues for Cypriot business development	42	Increase access to churches in the North and Mosques in the South for more religious events and services.	37
15	Create a wealth fund from donor contributions for Cypriot business development	41	Coordinate and finance the repair and maintenance of cemeteries and graves in the North and South.	37
16	The number of Greek and Turkish troops on Cyprus should be the same	39	Completely abolish the system of Guarantor nations all together	36
17	All Turkish Citizens that are living in Turkey to have the four freedoms as those enjoyed by Greek Citizens	39	Create a wealth fund from oil and gas revenues for Cypriot business development	36
18	Federal GC and TC police to deal with federal crime across the island	37	The establishment of a truth and reconciliation commission, to investigate for the truth regarding past events and hurts of the two communities, with a view to mutual forgiveness and reconciliation.	36
19	Greece and Turkey	37	A criminal justice system to the highest international UN and EU standards	35
20	Ensure a common time zone across the whole of Cyprus	37	Opening of Varosha as an inter-communal area under UN and EU auspices, where Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots can live and work together.	34
21	Allow all persons born or not born in Northern Cyprus with a right to vote in a referendum have access to the South.	36	EU sanctions if EU agrees request from Cyprus	31
22	Rotate the Federal Presidency between the two communities	35	UN sanctions if UN agrees request from Cyprus	31
23	Keep the Guarantor system as it is now without any change	34	Federal GC and TC police to deal with federal crime across the island	31
24	GC police service in GC state	34	Mutual official apologies to be offered by the leaderships of the two communities for past mistakes and hurts.	30
25	Complete and open the new crossing in Famagusta at Dherynia without any further	32	Completely demilitarize Cyprus	29

	delay.			
26	Being able to use your mobile phones on both sides of the island without limitation on where you are.	31	The EU	29
27	Remove radical nationalistic issues from children's schoolbooks on both sides starting with Primary books.	31	Request the EU to help implement a universal phone system for Cyprus.	29
28	Intervention if ALL Guarantor nations agree (UK, Greece and Turkey)	28	Facilitate the purchase of car insurance to cover both sides of the island at the same rates.	29
29	Any Turkish Citizen can establish a business and provide services in Cyprus freely without any restrictions	28	Facilitate meetings between TC and GC school children and educators.	29
30	Direct intervention by Greece ONLY in the GC state or by Turkey ONLY in the TC state	27	Create a wealth fund from donor contributions for Cypriot business development	28
31	Any Turkish Citizen who wants to invest in Federal Cyprus can do so without any restrictions	27	Remove radical nationalistic issues from children's schoolbooks on both sides starting with Primary books.	28
32	Keep the Guarantor system as it is now but without the right of unilateral action	26	Establish a permanent joint office to coordinate the development of Famagusta on both sides	28
33	Any Turkish citizen living in Turkey who would like to visit Federal Cyprus as a tourist can come without requiring a visa	26	There will be guarantees to protect Cyprus from external threats such as terrorism and other similar threats	27
34	Complete the North/South electricity interconnector without further delay.	26	GC police service in GC state	27
35	Display both names of towns and villages across the whole island	25	Complete and open the new crossing in Famagusta at Dherynia without any further delay.	27
36	Promote North/South trade by extending the scope of Green Line regulations	25	3. The gradual reduction of Turkish troops and demining of the island in return for a gradual reduction in the National Guard.	27
37	Any Turkish Citizen who wants to work in Federal Cyprus can come to work without any restrictions	23	Establish a permanent joint office to coordinate the development of all Nicosia on both sides	26
38	Establish a permanent joint office to coordinate the development of Famagusta	23	All public information websites on both sides of the island should be available in	25

	on both sides		Greek and Turkish	
39	Increase access to churches in the North and Mosques in the South for more religious events and services.	22	There will be guarantees to protect the security of the communities of Cyprus	24
40	All public information websites on both sides of the island should be available in Greek and Turkish	22	4. Intensify GC and TC cultural and educational exchanges under UN supervision to promote understanding and trust.	24
41	Allow owners of property in Varosha to visit their properties.	22	The two leaders of the GC and TC communities should agree to stop certain commemorations of events which alienate one community from the other.	23
42	The two leaders of the GC and TC communities should agree to stop certain commemorations of events which alienate one community from the other.	21	There will be guarantees to secure the unity of Cyprus	22
43	Establish a permanent joint office to coordinate the development of all Nicosia on both sides	21	All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus within 1 year	22
44	Mutual official apologies to be offered by the leaderships of the two communities for past mistakes and hurts.	20	The UN	22
45	Cyprus should have their own Federal Army from both the GC and TC communities in equal numbers	19	Display both names of towns and villages across the whole island	22
46	Request the EU to help implement a universal phone system for Cyprus.	19	Set up on-line companies of joint G/C and T/C companies to operate and serve clients on both sides of the island	22
47	Return Icons to their rightful owners.	19	Complete the North/South electricity interconnector without further delay.	21
48	4. Intensify GC and TC cultural and educational exchanges under UN supervision to promote understanding and trust.	19	1. Under UN supervision return Varosha to its legal owners and in return open Ercan airport and port of Famagusta for international trade.	19
49	Opening of Varosha as an inter-communal area under UN and EU auspices, where Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots can live and work together.	18	(GC only) A plan for the future which will include:.. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Return Varosha to its legal owners under UN supervision • Opening Ercan airport 	19

			<p>under EU supervision</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establish a UN bi-communal Committee for Hydrocarbon development • Gradual reduction of Turkish troops • Gradual reduction in the National Guard • Intensify GC and TC cultural and educational exchanges 	
50	(d) The federal state by a simple majority AND both communities, Greece or Turkey can take action.	17	Fairly distribute ministries and responsibilities between the two communities at the federal level of government	18
51	The establishment of a truth and reconciliation commission, to investigate for the truth regarding past events and hurts of the two communities, with a view to mutual forgiveness and reconciliation.	17	Promote North/South trade by extending the scope of Green Line regulations	17
52	Ask the EU to have both official languages of Cyprus become official languages of the EU.	17	2. Establish a UN bi-communal Committee for Hydrocarbon development and in return Turkey recognizes the Cyprus economic zone.	17
53	Facilitate meetings between TC and GC school children and educators.	17	Cyprus should have their own Federal Army from both the GC and TC communities	16
54	2. Establish a UN bi-communal Committee for Hydrocarbon development and in return Turkey recognizes the Cyprus economic zone.	16	The two leaders should go to some of the most important public events in the North and South together.	16
55	The federal government institutions will have a balanced 50:50 ratio of TC and GC members and voting in the federal government on political issues will require a simple majority but with at least one vote from each community.	15	Ask the UN to facilitate the use of space in the buffer zone for a TC and GC integrated school.	16
56	(c) The federal state by a simple majority, Greece or Turkey can take action.	14	Allow all persons born or not born in Northern Cyprus with a right to vote in a referendum have access to the South.	16

57	The two leaders should go to some of the most important public events in the North and South together.	14	Remove the requirement for the Enosis plebiscite to be commemorated in GC schools.	15
58	A new treaty of alliance between the new Federal Cyprus and Greece and Turkey to have the collective responsibility to deal exclusively with external threats against Cyprus and nothing else	13	TC police service in TC state	14
59	Voting in the federal government institutions on purely administrative issues will only require a simple majority.	13	Cyprus should join NATO for protection from external threats	13
60	Make vacated military installations on religious and public property available to their owners.	13	All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus within 5 years	13
61	Set up on-line companies of joint G/C and T/C companies to operate and serve clients on both sides of the island	13	All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus within 3 years	13
62	For example allow the vacated Archbishopric in Kyrenia to be restored and made available for religious festivals.	12	All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus within 15 years	12
63	1. Under UN supervision return Varosha to its legal owners and in return open Ercan airport and port of Famagusta for international trade.	12	A multinational police force	12
64	(b) The federal state, Greece or Turkey can take action depending on who is calling from the federal state.	11	Ask the EU to have both official languages of Cyprus become official languages of the EU.	12
65	Have both the new treaty and membership of NATO	11	A new treaty of alliance between the new Federal Cyprus and Greece and Turkey to have the collective responsibility to deal exclusively with external threats against Cyprus and nothing else	11
66	Ask the UN to facilitate the use of space in the buffer zone for a TC and GC integrated school.	11	All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus within 10 years	11
67	(a) The relevant constituent	10	Intervention if ALL Guarantor	9

	state, Greece or Turkey can take action depending on who is calling.		nations agree (UK, Greece and Turkey)	
68	Allow the Greek Church in Famagusta to be opened for Easter services.	10	Have both the new treaty and membership of NATO	9
69	EU sanctions if EU agrees request from Cyprus	9	Keep the Guarantor system as it is now but without the right of unilateral action	7
70	Cyprus should join NATO for protection from external threats	9	Voting in the federal government institutions on purely administrative issues will only require a simple majority.	7
71	The EU, Turkey and Greece	9	Keep the Guarantor system as it is now without any change	6
72	3. The gradual reduction of Turkish troops and demining of the island in return for a gradual reduction in the National Guard.	9	Direct intervention by Greece ONLY in the GC state or by Turkey ONLY in the TC state	6
73	(TC only) All of these four proposals together as a part of a plan for the future of Cyprus.	9	Rotate the Federal Presidency between the two communities	6
74	Intervention if two Guarantor nations agree (UK and/or Greece and/or Turkey)	8	The EU, Turkey and Greece	6
75	The EU	8	The federal government institutions will have a balanced 50:50 ratio of TC and GC members and voting in the federal government on political issues will require a simple majority but with at least one vote from each community.	5
76	UN sanctions if UN agrees request from Cyprus	7	Greece and Turkey	5
77	950 Greek and 650 Turkish troops can remain on Cyprus under existing agreements	7	(a) The relevant constituent state, Greece or Turkey can take action depending on who is calling.	4
78	The UN	6	Intervention if two Guarantor nations agree (UK and/or Greece and/or Turkey)	4
79	Completely abolish the system of Guarantor nations all together	5	Or given the different sizes of the two communities the ratio should be 2 terms for the GC President for 1 term of the TC President	4
80	Intervention if any Guarantor	5	Or 4 terms for the GC	4

	nation decides (UK or Greece or Turkey)		President for 1 term of the TC President	
81	Turn off the lights of the Turkish Cypriot flag to show TC support for the negotiations	4	(b) The federal state, Greece or Turkey can take action depending on who is calling from the federal state.	3
82	Completely demilitarize Cyprus	3	Or 3 terms for the GC President for 1 term of the TC President	3
83	All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus immediately	2	Or 5 terms for the GC President for 2 terms of the TC President	3
84	All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus within 1 year	2	All Turkish Citizens that are living in Turkey to have the four freedoms as those enjoyed by Greek Citizens	3
85	All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus within 5 years	2	Turkish Citizens can enjoy freedom of movement but their number cannot exceed 1/2 of the population of the Greek Citizens in Cyprus	3
86	All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus within 15 years	2	Turkish Citizens can enjoy freedom of movement but their number cannot exceed 1/4 of the population of the Greek Citizens in Cyprus	3
87	Or 2 terms for the GC President for 1 term of the TC President	2	(c) The federal state by a simple majority, Greece or Turkey can take action.	2
88	A multinational police force	2	(d) The federal state by a simple majority AND both communities, Greece or Turkey can take action.	2
89	Turkish Citizens can enjoy freedom of movement but their number cannot exceed 1/2 of the population of the Greek Citizens in Cyprus	2	Intervention if any Guarantor nation decides (UK or Greece or Turkey)	2
90	All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus within 3 years	1	950 Greek and 650 Turkish troops can remain on Cyprus under existing agreements	2
91	All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus within 10 years	1	The number of Greek and Turkish troops on Cyprus should be the same	2
92	Or given the different sizes of the two communities the ratio should be 4 terms for the GC President for 1 term of the TC President	1	The Presidency should be shared equally with 1 term for a GC President followed by 1 term for a TC President	2
93	Or 3 terms for the GC President for 1 term of the TC President	1	Turkish Citizens can enjoy freedom of movement but their number cannot exceed 1/3 of the population of the	2

			Greek Citizens in Cyprus	
94	Turkish Citizens can enjoy freedom of movement but their number cannot exceed 1/4 of the population of the Greek Citizens in Cyprus	1	Any Turkish citizen living in Turkey who would like to visit Federal Cyprus as a tourist can come without requiring a visa	2
95	Turkish Citizens can enjoy freedom of movement but their number cannot exceed 1/3 of the population of the Greek Citizens in Cyprus	0	Any Turkish Citizen who wants to invest in Federal Cyprus can do so without any restrictions	2
96	A criminal justice system to the highest international UN and EU standards	No value	Any Turkish Citizen who wants to work in Federal Cyprus can come to work without any restrictions	1
97	Or 5 terms for the GC President for 2 terms of the TC President	No value	Any Turkish Citizen can establish a business and provide services in Cyprus freely without any restrictions	1