

## **Cyprus Peace Poll 1 - Critical issues in the Cyprus negotiations**

### **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 800 with a margin of error of between +/- 2.5% and +/- 3.5% at the 95% confidence level

Interview dates: February 2<sup>nd</sup> to February 17<sup>th</sup> 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: February 3<sup>rd</sup> to February 11<sup>th</sup> 2017

## 1. Priorities for a successful agreement

This poll deals with the most difficult issues in an agreement and points the way to some potential solutions. When combined with the more positive aspects of an agreement a total 'package' should be able to achieve a 'Yes' vote in a referendum. Table 1 lists the top 10 issues dealt with in this poll, for each community, in order of importance as per cent 'essential' for an agreement.

Table 1. Top 10 priorities for TCs and GCs (see Appendix for full table)

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	All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus immediately	50
2	Ensure quality of all services and infrastructure to EU standards on both the North and South of the island	55	Ensure quality of education to EU standards for both the TCs and GCs on the island of Cyprus	40
3	Heavy penalties for ethnic/sectarian hate crime	53	Ensure quality of all services and infrastructure to EU standards on both the North and South of the island	37
4	There will be guarantees to secure the unity of Cyprus	52	Heavy penalties for ethnic/sectarian hate crime	37
5	There will be guarantees to protect the security of the communities of Cyprus	48	Completely abolish the system of Guarantor nations all together	36
6	Fairly distribute ministries and responsibilities between the two communities at the federal level of government	47	Create a wealth fund from oil and gas revenues for Cypriot business development	36
7	There will be guarantees to protect Cyprus from external threats such as terrorism and other similar threats	46	A criminal justice system to the highest international UN and EU standards	35
8	TC police service in TC state	44	EU sanctions if EU agrees request from Cyprus	31
9	Or the Presidency should be shared equally with 1 term for a GC President followed by 1 term for a TC President	44	UN sanctions if UN agrees request from Cyprus	31
10	Create a wealth fund from oil and gas revenues for Cypriot business development	42	Federal GC and TC police to deal with federal crime across the island	31

The most important items for the TC community relate to better education (56% essential), services and infrastructure (55%), dealing with hate crime (53%) and security (52%). For the GC community the top item is removal of the Turkish troops (50% essential) followed by better education (40%), then services and infrastructure as well as hate crime at 37%. Significantly both the TC and GC communities want better education, services and infrastructure as a first or second priority. A commitment for the Turkish troops to leave is clearly essential for the GC community and the TC community require effective security guarantees. Providing these most basic security needs can be met the social and economic development of Cyprus has the potential to meet the future aspirations of all Cypriots and ensure their support for a peace and reunification agreement.

## 2. Voting for an Agreement

The GC vote for an agreement has gone down a little which is probably due to a negative press following the failed negotiations in Switzerland. However we were also able to conduct a 'natural experiment' with this sample, as a preliminary result collected before the break down of negotiations in February indicate a slight shift to 'no' from 'undecided'. While the total sample for the GC community collected both before and after the break down of negotiations suggest a continuation of that trend (Table 2).

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 2).

Table 2. 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?

<b>GC - All</b>	Dec 16 SEED <sup>1</sup>	Dec 16 Percent Pre Switzerland	Feb 17 Percent Post Switzerland <sup>2</sup>	Feb 17 Percent Post Switzerland <sup>3</sup>
Yes	15+23	28	25	28
No	32+12	26	29	30
Not decided/ it depends/DK/NA	18	46	45	42

<sup>1</sup> SEED 'Yes' as 'Yes' + 'leaning to Yes' and 'No' as 'No' + 'leaning to No'

<sup>2</sup> Sample collected before break down of negotiations.

<sup>3</sup> 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 3).

Table 3. 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?

<b>TC - All</b>	Dec 16 SEED <sup>4</sup>	Dec 16 Percent Pre Switzerland <sup>5</sup>	Dec 16 Percent Pre Switzerland <sup>6</sup>	Feb 17 Percent Post Switzerland
Yes	23+21	40	44	46
No	17+16	36	34	37
Not decided/ it depends/DK/NA	24	24	22	17

The point to make here is that failed negotiations and/or a break down in negotiations seem to move undecided voters to 'no'. Clearly new negotiations that are not likely to produce a result should not be 'hyped up' too much.

### 3. Guarantees and Guarantors

A significant majority in both communities do want Guarantees (Table 4) although the GC community are split on this issue with a significant minority (36 per cent) not wanting guarantees at all while 80 per cent of the TC community consider their abolition 'unacceptable' (29 per cent for GCs).

Additionally they have very different views on what those guarantees should be. The GCs would prefer no Turkish involvement at all (Table 5) while the TCs always want Turkish involvement so the solution to this apparently intractable problem would seem to be the least worst options for both communities. What are they?

The most acceptable interventions are sanctions from the EU or UN and 'If ALL Guarantor nations agree (UK, Greece and Turkey)'. Other options do not seem viable (Table 6). So perhaps this could be called a 'Triple Lock'.

<sup>4</sup> SEED 'Yes' as 'Yes' + 'leaning Yes' and 'No' as 'No' + 'leaning No'

<sup>5</sup> Complete sample with no filter for those who said 'Yes' or 'No' they will or will not vote.

<sup>6</sup> Sample with filter for those who said 'Yes' they will vote.

Table 4. With regards to Guarantees and the Guarantors please indicate which general proposals for both communities you consider to be Essential, Desirable, Acceptable, Tolerable or Unacceptable.

<b>GC – All per cent</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	DK
There will be guarantees to secure the unity of Cyprus	22	10	18	8	36	5
There will be guarantees to protect the security of the communities of Cyprus	24	10	20	8	34	4
There will be guarantees to protect Cyprus from external threats such as terrorism and other similar threats	27	11	21	7	31	3
Keep the Guarantor system as it is now without any change	6	4	10	7	66	6
Keep the Guarantor system as it is now but without the right of unilateral action	7	7	14	10	55	7
Completely abolish the system of Guarantor nations all together	36	13	11	6	29	5

<b>TC – All per cent</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	DK
There will be guarantees to secure the unity of Cyprus	52	30	12	2	3	1
There will be guarantees to protect the security of the communities of Cyprus	48	32	14	2	3	1
There will be guarantees to protect Cyprus from external threats such as terrorism and other similar threats	46	30	16	3	4	1
Keep the Guarantor system as it is now without any change	34	25	22	7	11	1
Keep the Guarantor system as it is now but without the right of unilateral action	26	27	21	11	14	1
Completely abolish the system of Guarantor nations all together	5	4	5	5	80	1

Table 5. To be more specific, intervention can only take place after all agreed measures in the constitution have been taken, and as a last resort, on condition of a call from:

<b>GC – All per cent</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	DK
(a) The relevant constituent state, Greece or Turkey can take action depending on who is calling.	4	3	6	6	78	3
(b) The federal state, Greece or Turkey can take action depending on who is calling from the federal state.	3	4	7	7	75	4
(c) The federal state by a simple majority, Greece or Turkey can take action.	2	4	8	8	74	4
(d) The federal state by a simple majority AND both communities, Greece or Turkey can take action.	2	3	10	9	72	5

<b>TC – All per cent</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	DK
(a) The relevant constituent state, Greece or Turkey can take action depending on who is calling.	10	21	40	15	9	5
(b) The federal state, Greece or Turkey can take action depending on who is calling from the federal state.	11	18	40	14	11	6
(c) The federal state by a simple majority, Greece or Turkey can take action.	14	21	27	12	15	11
(d) The federal state by a simple majority AND both communities, Greece or Turkey can take action.	17	17	29	12	14	11

Table 6. If the new constitution and security in Cyprus come under threat what steps should be taken to restore Constitutional Order and security. Please indicate which proposals you consider to be Essential, Desirable, Acceptable, Tolerable or Unacceptable.

<b>GC – All per cent</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	DK
EU sanctions if EU agrees request from Cyprus	31	14	23	6	21	4
UN sanctions if UN agrees request from Cyprus	31	13	22	7	22	5
Intervention if ALL Guarantor nations agree (UK, Greece and Turkey)	9	6	14	7	61	4
Intervention if two Guarantor nations agree (UK and/or Greece and/or Turkey)	4	4	9	7	71	5
Intervention if any Guarantor nation decides (UK or Greece or Turkey)	2	3	6	4	80	5
Direct intervention by Greece ONLY in the GC state or by Turkey ONLY in the TC state	6	3	10	7	69	5

<b>TC – All per cent</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	DK
EU sanctions if EU agrees request from Cyprus	9	14	22	9	42	4
UN sanctions if UN agrees request from Cyprus	7	7	14	14	54	4
Intervention if ALL Guarantor nations agree (UK, Greece and Turkey)	28	9	26	8	28	1
Intervention if two Guarantor nations agree (UK and/or Greece and/or Turkey)	8	8	17	15	50	2
Intervention if any Guarantor nation decides (UK or Greece or Turkey)	5	8	15	9	61	2
Direct intervention by Greece ONLY in the GC state or by Turkey ONLY in the TC state	27	19	32	8	13	1

#### 4. External Security

A new treaty between Federal Cyprus, Greece and Turkey is also acceptable on both sides (Table 7) but there is also resistance to NATO on both sides (Tables 7, 8 and 9) so perhaps any question of joining NATO could be left until after an agreement is reached and fully implemented. Other options do not work for both communities but the 'Triple Lock' does and hopefully will provide an adequate sense of security for both communities when combined with a new treaty and the possibility of EU and/or UN sanctions if a request comes from Cyprus.

Table 7. With regards to external threats to the island of Cyprus please indicate which proposals you consider to be Essential, Desirable, Acceptable, Tolerable or Unacceptable.

<b>GC – All per cent</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	DK
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	11	23	10	38	6
Cyprus should join NATO for protection from external threats	13	10	21	11	36	8
Have both the new treaty and membership of NATO	9	9	19	11	44	8

<b>TC – All per cent</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	DK
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	17	20	21	24	5
Cyprus should join NATO for protection from external threats	9	11	17	7	51	5
Have both the new treaty and membership of NATO	11	10	16	8	50	5



Table 8. Given a choice do you prefer the new treaty with no unilateral rights or NATO?

<b>GCC - All</b>	Percent
New Treaty	36
NATO	36
DK/NA	29

<b>TCC - All</b>	Percent
New Treaty	73
NATO	23
DK	4

Table 9. But if you had to choose between the existing treaty of Guarantor powers with unilateral rights and NATO what would you prefer?

<b>GCC - All</b>	Percent
Existing Treaty	23
NATO	46
Dk/NA	31

<b>TCC - All</b>	Percent
Existing Treaty	76
NATO	20
DK	4

## 5. Internal Security

Internal security arrangements are acceptable (Table 10) with 'Heavy penalties for ethnic/sectarian hate crime' being the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> priority for the TC and GC communities in their 'top ten' list of 'essential' concerns (Table 1).

Table 10. With regards to internal security on the island of Cyprus please indicate which proposals you consider to be Essential, Desirable, Acceptable, Tolerable or Unacceptable.

<b>GC – All per cent</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	DK
TC police service in TC state	14	9	25	14	34	4
GC police service in GC state	27	11	29	10	20	2
Federal GC and TC police to deal with federal crime across the island	31	14	29	8	16	2
A criminal justice system to the highest international UN and EU standards	35	22	25	5	9	4
Heavy penalties for ethnic/sectarian hate crime	37	16	24	7	13	3

<b>TC – All per cent</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	DK
TC police service in TC state	44	30	16	3	6	1
GC police service in GC state	34	38	14	4	9	1
Federal GC and TC police to deal with federal crime across the island	37	25	20	4	13	1
A criminal justice system to the highest international UN and EU standards <sup>7</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Heavy penalties for ethnic/sectarian hate crime	53	26	13	4	3	1

<sup>7</sup> This question was not asked on the TC side but a pilot seems to suggest that there is some resistance to EU and UN involvement in TC affairs as noted in Table 6. Perhaps 'International Standards' would be more acceptable.

## 6. Military Forces

GCs want the Turkish troops out within three years maximum (Table 11). But this could be linked to the establishment of a Cypriot Federal Army that both sides want as well as TCs implementing all aspects of the agreement before a TC President is elected (See Implementation Safeguards Table 12 - GCs only). However it should be noted that peace agreements can not be expected to succeed unless the top concerns for each community are addressed and the removal of the Turkish troops is the GCs number one concern (Table 1). With this point in mind it will be important for some action to be taken on this issue at the earliest possible opportunity as a confidence building measure. Significantly only 7 per cent of the TC community consider it 'unacceptable' for the number of Greek and Turkish troops on Cyprus to be the same.

Table 11. With regards to military forces on Cyprus please indicate which proposals you consider to be Essential, Desirable, Acceptable, Tolerable or Unacceptable.

<b>GC – All per cent</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	DK
950 Greek and 650 Turkish troops can remain on Cyprus under existing agreements	2	4	18	14	60	2
The number of Greek and Turkish troops on Cyprus should be the same	2	3	8	9	76	2
All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus within 15 years	12	8	10	7	60	4
All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus within 10 years	11	8	11	7	59	3
All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus within 5 years	13	9	15	9	50	4
All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus within 3 years	13	13	15	9	46	3
All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus within 1 year	22	17	14	11	33	3
All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus immediately	50	16	9	3	19	3
Cyprus should have their own Federal Army from both the GC and TC communities	16	14	22	12	32	4
Completely demilitarize Cyprus	29	16	16	5	32	3

<b>TC – All per cent</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	DK
950 Greek and 650 Turkish troops can remain on Cyprus under existing agreements	7	5	22	18	47	1
The number of Greek and Turkish troops on Cyprus should be the same	39	30	17	6	7	1
All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus immediately	2	2	3	3	88	2
All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus within 1 year	2	2	3	3	88	2
All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus within 3 years	1	3	3	4	87	2
All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus within 5 years	2	2	6	4	85	1
All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus within 10 years	1	2	7	5	83	2
All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus within 15 years	2	3	8	5	80	2
Cyprus should have their own Federal Army from both the GC and TC communities in equal numbers	19	13	27	12	28	1
Completely demilitarize Cyprus	3	3	4	5	84	1

## **7. Effective participation and Federal Presidency**

Economic and social development is clearly as important or more important than constitutional reform for most Cypriots (Table 12) and all these issues need to be explored in a poll in preparation for a referendum. They are the first priority for the TC community and second priority for the GC community (Table 1).

A Rotating Presidency is acceptable in both communities at the one to two terms level of rotation and clearly would be more acceptable if it included effective checks and balances to avoid abuse of power as well as having the TCs and T fully implement all aspects of the agreement before a TC becomes President (See Implementation Safeguards Table 14 - GCs only). But GCs are split on this issue with their support for a TC Presidency being damaged by the recent break down of negotiations in February (Table 14). Clearly repairing this damage must be a priority for both leaders going forward to a referendum if a 'Presidency' is to be part of the solution to the Cyprus problem.

Table 12. A number of steps can be taken to make sure both communities fully benefit from all the provisions of the New Cyprus Peace Plan. Please indicate which proposals you consider to be Essential, Desirable, Acceptable, Tolerable or Unacceptable.

<b>GC – All per cent</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	DK
Fairly distribute ministries and responsibilities between the two communities at the federal level of government	18	12	22	11	25	10
Create a wealth fund from donor contributions for Cypriot business development	28	28	26	5	8	4
Create a wealth fund from oil and gas revenues for Cypriot business development	36	24	25	6	7	2
Ensure quality of education to EU standards for both the TCs and GCs on the island of Cyprus	40	21	23	5	8	2
Ensure quality of all services and infrastructure to EU standards on both the North and South of the island	37	20	23	7	8	4
Rotate the Federal Presidency between the two communities	6	7	16	13	53	6
The Presidency should be shared equally with 1 term for a GC President followed by 1 term for a TC President	2	3	10	9	72	3
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	6	14	11	61	4
Or 3 terms for the GC President for 1 term of the TC President	3	8	13	11	60	4
Or 5 terms for the GC President for 2 terms of the TC President	3	7	13	9	63	4
Or 4 terms for the GC President for 1 term of the TC President	4	9	15	10	58	5
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	6	17	14	52	6
Voting in the federal government institutions on purely administrative issues will only require a simple majority.	7	11	27	16	30	8

<b>TC – All per cent</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	DK
Fairly distribute ministries and responsibilities between the two communities at the federal level of government	47	25	16	5	6	1
Create a wealth fund from donor contributions for Cypriot business development	41	33	19	3	3	1
Create a wealth fund from oil and gas revenues for Cypriot business development	42	31	19	2	3	1
Ensure quality of education to EU standards for both the TCs and GCs on the island of Cyprus	56	26	11	2	4	1
Ensure quality of all services and infrastructure to EU standards on both the North and South of the island	55	27	11	1	5	1
Rotate the Federal Presidency between the two communities	35	22	20	3	19	1
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	1	1	2	93	2
Or 5 terms for the GC President for 2 terms of the TC President	-	-	-	-	-	-
Or 3 terms for the GC President for 1 term of the TC President	1	2	3	5	87	2
Or 2 terms for the GC President for 1 term of the TC President	2	7	13	9	67	2
Or the Presidency should be shared equally with 1 term for a GC President followed by 1 term for a TC President	44	23	10	3	19	1
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	25	34	10	9	7
Voting in the federal government institutions on purely administrative issues will only require a simple majority.	13	21	31	13	15	7

## 8. Implementation Safeguards

With regards to implementation (Table 13) the GCs do not want any involvement of Turkey while the TCs always want the involvement of Turkey so the only possible compromise would seem to be the UN with the nominal participation of Turkey.

Table 13. With regards to the new Cyprus agreement please indicate who you consider to be Essential, Desirable, Acceptable, Tolerable or Unacceptable to monitor, support and implement the agreement:

<b>GCC – All per cent</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	DK
Greece and Turkey	5	4	10	9	69	3
The UN	22	14	27	11	24	2
The EU	29	14	29	9	16	3
The EU, Turkey and Greece	6	6	11	11	64	2
A multinational police force	12	12	24	12	35	5

<b>TCC – All per cent</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	DK
Greece and Turkey	37	19	24	6	12	12
The UN	6	6	15	9	59	5
The EU	8	6	17	8	56	5
The EU, Turkey and Greece	9	7	23	14	41	5
A multinational police force	2	2	4	5	82	5

Table 14. (GCs Only) Would you consider as a safeguard for the implementation of the agreement that a TC will take the Presidency ONLY after Turkey implement their responsibilities under the agreement?

	Per cent before negotiation break down	Total Per cent after negotiation break down
YES	46	42
NO	48	51
DK/NA	5	6

(GCs Only) Would you accept giving the Rotational Presidency to a TC in exchange for the withdrawal of Turkish forces from Cyprus and their right of unilateral intervention in Cyprus?

	Per cent before negotiation break down	Total Per cent after negotiation break down
YES	42	39
NO	49	52
DK/NA	9	8

## 9. The rights of Greek and Turkish citizens in Cyprus

GCs are opposed to extending the 4 EU freedoms to Turkish citizens (Table 15). However while in principle the TCs accept this idea they are split on it in practice. For example 'Any Turkish Citizen can establish a business and provide services in Cyprus freely without any restrictions' (28% Essential, 12% Desirable, 23% Acceptable, 15% Tolerable and 21% Unacceptable). This issue is clearly very critical for GCs and needs to be eliminated in its present form and/or modified significantly in some way if it is to be part of a new treaty between Federal Cyprus and Turkey.<sup>8</sup>

Table 15. Under EU law, as members of the European Union, Greek citizens have the right of freedom of capital, people, services and goods in Cyprus along with all other EU citizens – these rights are called the 'four freedoms' under European law. What rights should be extended to Turkish citizens with respect to Cyprus? Please indicate which options you consider to be Essential, Desirable, Acceptable, Tolerable or Unacceptable.

<b>GCC – All per cent</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	DK
All Turkish Citizens that are living in Turkey to have the four freedoms as those enjoyed by Greek Citizens	3	2	7	7	78	3
Turkish Citizens can enjoy freedom of movement but their number cannot exceed 1/2 of the population of the Greek Citizens in Cyprus	3	3	8	9	74	4
Turkish Citizens can enjoy freedom of movement but their number cannot exceed 1/3 of the population of the Greek Citizens in Cyprus	2	4	10	12	69	4
Turkish Citizens can enjoy freedom of movement but their number cannot exceed 1/4 of the population of the Greek Citizens in Cyprus	3	4	13	16	61	3
Any Turkish citizen living in Turkey who would like to visit Federal Cyprus as a tourist can come without requiring a visa	2	2	12	12	71	2
Any Turkish Citizen who wants to invest in Federal Cyprus can do so without any restrictions	2	2	8	10	77	2
Any Turkish Citizen who wants to work in Federal Cyprus can come to work without any restrictions	1	2	5	8	82	1
Any Turkish Citizen can establish a business and provide services in Cyprus freely without any restrictions	1	2	7	10	77	2

<sup>8</sup> For suggestions on this point see Neophytos Loizides 'The four freedoms debate is not new' in the Cyprus Mail Online available at: <http://cyprus-mail.com/2017/02/05/four-freedoms-debate-not-new/>



<b>TCC – All per cent</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	DK
All Turkish Citizens that are living in Turkey to have the four freedoms as those enjoyed by Greek Citizens	39	23	22	5	10	1
Turkish Citizens can enjoy freedom of movement but their number cannot exceed 1/4 of the population of the Greek Citizens in Cyprus	1	1	6	13	77	2
Turkish Citizens can enjoy freedom of movement but their number cannot exceed 1/3 of the population of the Greek Citizens in Cyprus		1	7	15	75	2
Turkish Citizens can enjoy freedom of movement but their number cannot exceed 1/2 of the population of the Greek Citizens in Cyprus	2	4	16	19	57	2
Any Turkish citizen living in Turkey who would like to visit Federal Cyprus as a tourist can come without requiring a visa	26	16	28	10	19	1
Any Turkish Citizen who wants to invest in Federal Cyprus can do so without any restrictions	27	15	28	12	17	1
Any Turkish Citizen who wants to work in Federal Cyprus can come to work without any restrictions	23	15	28	15	18	1
Any Turkish Citizen can establish a business and provide services in Cyprus freely without any restrictions	28	12	23	15	21	1

## 10. Returning to property

Q22 Before 1974 did you live permanently in the north?

Q23 Before 1974 did your parent live permanently in the north?

Q24. Do you have property in the occupied parts that you are entitled to inherit;

	Respondent	Parents	Inherit
Yes	1	1	1
No	2	2	2
Dk/ NA	3	3	3

Q25. Would you return to your property under a solution, under Turkish Cypriot Administration?

Q26. Would you return to your property under a solution, under Greek Cypriot Administration?

	Turkish Cypriot Administration	Greek Cypriot Administration
Yes	1	1
No	2	2
Dk/ NA	3	3

### Share of Persons who Would go back under T/ C Administrations

	Refugees who lived in the north themselves or their parents before 1974	Persons who are entitled to inherit property in the North
	%	%
Yes, would go back	26	30
No, would not go back	54	61
Dk/ na	20	9

### Share of Persons who Would go back under G/ C Administration

	Refugees who lived in the north themselves or their parents before 1974	Persons who are entitled to inherit property in the North
	%	%
Yes, would go back	63	74
No, would not go back	17	19
Dk/ na	20	7

Appendix: Rank order of all 60 items in this peace poll 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	All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus immediately	50
2	Ensure quality of all services and infrastructure to EU standards on both the North and South of the island	55	Ensure quality of education to EU standards for both the TCs and GCs on the island of Cyprus	40
3	Heavy penalties for ethnic/sectarian hate crime	53	Ensure quality of all services and infrastructure to EU standards on both the North and South of the island	37
4	There will be guarantees to secure the unity of Cyprus	52	Heavy penalties for ethnic/sectarian hate crime	37
5	There will be guarantees to protect the security of the communities of Cyprus	48	Completely abolish the system of Guarantor nations all together	36
6	Fairly distribute ministries and responsibilities between the two communities at the federal level of government	47	Create a wealth fund from oil and gas revenues for Cypriot business development	36
7	There will be guarantees to protect Cyprus from external threats such as terrorism and other similar threats	46	A criminal justice system to the highest international UN and EU standards	35
8	TC police service in TC state	44	EU sanctions if EU agrees request from Cyprus	31
9	Or the Presidency should be shared equally with 1 term for a GC President followed by 1 term for a TC President	44	UN sanctions if UN agrees request from Cyprus	31
10	Create a wealth fund from oil and gas revenues for Cypriot business development	42	Federal GC and TC police to deal with federal crime across the island	31
11	Create a wealth fund from donor contributions for Cypriot business development	41	Completely demilitarize Cyprus	29
12	The number of Greek and Turkish troops on Cyprus should be the same	39	The EU	29
13	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 donor contributions for Cypriot business development	28
14	Federal GC and TC police to deal with federal crime	37	There will be guarantees to protect Cyprus from external	27

	across the island		threats such as terrorism and other similar threats	
15	Greece and Turkey	37	GC police service in GC state	27
16	Rotate the Federal Presidency between the two communities	35	There will be guarantees to protect the security of the communities of Cyprus	24
17	Keep the Guarantor system as it is now without any change	34	There will be guarantees to secure the unity of Cyprus	22
18	GC police service in GC state	34	All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus within 1 year	22
19	Intervention if ALL Guarantor nations agree (UK, Greece and Turkey)	28	The UN	22
20	Any Turkish Citizen can establish a business and provide services in Cyprus freely without any restrictions	28	Fairly distribute ministries and responsibilities between the two communities at the federal level of government	18
21	Direct intervention by Greece ONLY in the GC state or by Turkey ONLY in the TC state	27	Cyprus should have their own Federal Army from both the GC and TC communities	16
22	Any Turkish Citizen who wants to invest in Federal Cyprus can do so without any restrictions	27	TC police service in TC state	14
23	Keep the Guarantor system as it is now but without the right of unilateral action	26	Cyprus should join NATO for protection from external threats	13
24	Any Turkish citizen living in Turkey who would like to visit Federal Cyprus as a tourist can come without requiring a visa	26	All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus within 5 years	13
25	Any Turkish Citizen who wants to work in Federal Cyprus can come to work without any restrictions	23	All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus within 3 years	13
26	Cyprus should have their own Federal Army from both the GC and TC communities in equal numbers	19	All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus within 15 years	12
27	(d) The federal state by a simple majority AND both communities, Greece or Turkey can take action.	17	A multinational police force	12
28	The federal government institutions will have a balanced 50:50 ratio of TC and GC members and voting	15	A new treaty of alliance between the new Federal Cyprus and Greece and Turkey to have the collective	11

	in the federal government on political issues will require a simple majority but with at least one vote from each community.		responsibility to deal exclusively with external threats against Cyprus and nothing else	
29	(c) The federal state by a simple majority, Greece or Turkey can take action.	14	All Greek and Turkish troops should leave Cyprus within 10 years	11
30	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	Intervention if ALL Guarantor nations agree (UK, Greece and Turkey)	9
31	Voting in the federal government institutions on purely administrative issues will only require a simple majority.	13	Have both the new treaty and membership of NATO	9
32	(b) The federal state, Greece or Turkey can take action depending on who is calling from the federal state.	11	Keep the Guarantor system as it is now but without the right of unilateral action	7
33	Have both the new treaty and membership of NATO	11	Voting in the federal government institutions on purely administrative issues will only require a simple majority.	7
34	(a) The relevant constituent state, Greece or Turkey can take action depending on who is calling.	10	Keep the Guarantor system as it is now without any change	6
35	EU sanctions if EU agrees request from Cyprus	9	Direct intervention by Greece ONLY in the GC state or by Turkey ONLY in the TC state	6
36	Cyprus should join NATO for protection from external threats	9	Rotate the Federal Presidency between the two communities	6
37	The EU, Turkey and Greece	9	The EU, Turkey and Greece	6
38	Intervention if two Guarantor nations agree (UK and/or Greece and/or Turkey)	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
39	The EU	8	Greece and Turkey	5

40	UN sanctions if UN agrees request from Cyprus	7	(a) The relevant constituent state, Greece or Turkey can take action depending on who is calling.	4
41	950 Greek and 650 Turkish troops can remain on Cyprus under existing agreements	7	Intervention if two Guarantor nations agree (UK and/or Greece and/or Turkey)	4
42	The UN	6	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
43	Completely abolish the system of Guarantor nations all together	5	Or 4 terms for the GC President for 1 term of the TC President	4
44	Intervention if any Guarantor nation decides (UK or Greece or Turkey)	5	(b) The federal state, Greece or Turkey can take action depending on who is calling from the federal state.	3
45	Completely demilitarize Cyprus	3	Or 3 terms for the GC President for 1 term of the TC President	3
46	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
47	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
48	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
49	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
50	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
51	A multinational police force	2	(d) The federal state by a simple majority AND both communities, Greece or Turkey can take action.	2
52	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

53	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
54	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
55	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
56	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 Greek Citizens in Cyprus	2
57	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
58	A criminal justice system to the highest international UN and EU standards	No value	Any Turkish Citizen who wants to invest in Federal Cyprus can do so without any restrictions	2
59	Or 5 terms for the GC President for 2 terms of the TC President	No value	Any Turkish Citizen who wants to work in Federal Cyprus can come to work without any restrictions	1
60	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 can establish a business and provide services in Cyprus freely without any restrictions	1