The pulse of reunification

Thinking behaviorally in Cyprus

May 2019

WORLD BANK GROUP
Poverty & Equity

eMBeD
Mind, Behavior, and
Development Unit

Overview

1. Trends

2. Ideas

3. Discussion

What is this?

This brief is part of a quarterly series of knowledge products that the World Bank and the European Union are producing in support of the economic convergence of the Turkish Cypriot community (TCC) and as part of the reunification process efforts in Cyprus. The brief is part of the Economic Analysis Programme for Growth and Sustainable Development which is funded through the European Union's aid regulation "Council Regulation (EC) No. 389/2006" of 27 February 2006. The opinions expressed in this brief do not reflect any official opinion by the European Commission and the World Bank's Board of Executive Directors, nor do they intend to make any judgment on the legal or other status of the territories concerned. The main trends are based on data collected by CYMAR Market Research Ltd and Prologue Consulting Ltd, using a representative sample of 1,000 individuals on the whole island. Complementary information is based on work done with local partners, including the Centre for Sustainable Peace and Democratic Development (SeeD). If you would like to learn more, please contact eMBeD@worldbank.org.

These results reflect data collected in March 2019 unless stated otherwise

Main messages: In a nutshell

Support for a solution continues

People in both the GCC and TCC want a solution. The status quo is not acceptable by the majority. A bi-zonal bicommunal federation is perceived as one of the viable models for a solution.

Inaction requires a future orientation mental model

Indecision and inaction are prevalent. A move to action requires leaders and citizens alike to first shift to a future orientation by defining aspirations, identifying common goals, and creating empathy for oneself and others.

Facilitate social contact and defining shared goals at scale

Thinking creatively to increase social contact, helping citizens to understand their shared aspirations and showcasing role models can lead to action. Doing this at scale is essential.

# Part I: Recent Trends

Status quo not acceptable by the majority

Widespread support for solution

A bi-zonal bicommunal federation acceptable

Both communities want a solution & are willing to take action

Over 7 out of 10 respondents **desire a solution** (67% in the GCC and 78% in the TCC).

Desire does not translate directly to support for a solution (especially in the GCC). Still, **5 out of 10 respondents would vote yes in a referendum*** (58% in the TCC and 46% in the GCC).

73% of respondents desire a solution

Overall 52% would vote 'yes'

GCC 46% would vote 'yes'

TCC 58% would vote 'yes'
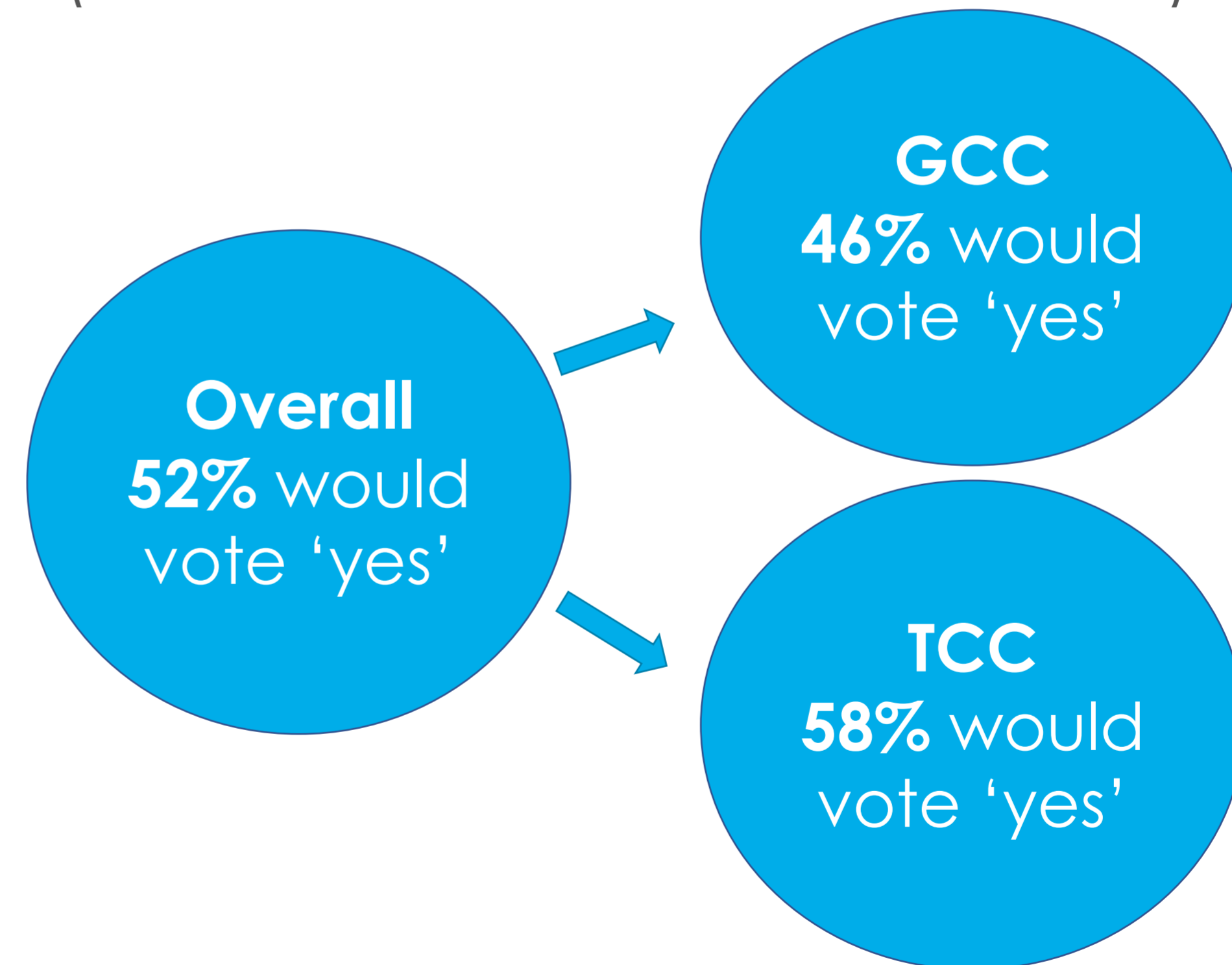
Notes: "Yes" vote refers to the following question: "How are you most likely to vote in a possible referendum for a solution plan agreed between the leadership of the two communities?" In addition, unless noted otherwise, these estimates and in the rest of the brief treat those refusing to answer or undecided as preferring "no support", providing a conservative low bound estimate for those who support reunification.

Urgency: engage now, public support can fade

The summer of 2018 was the first time in recent years that **the majority of both sides would have voted yes** in a referendum.

Still, support for a solution falls during periods of **inaction and uncertainty**, so there is **urgency** to act.
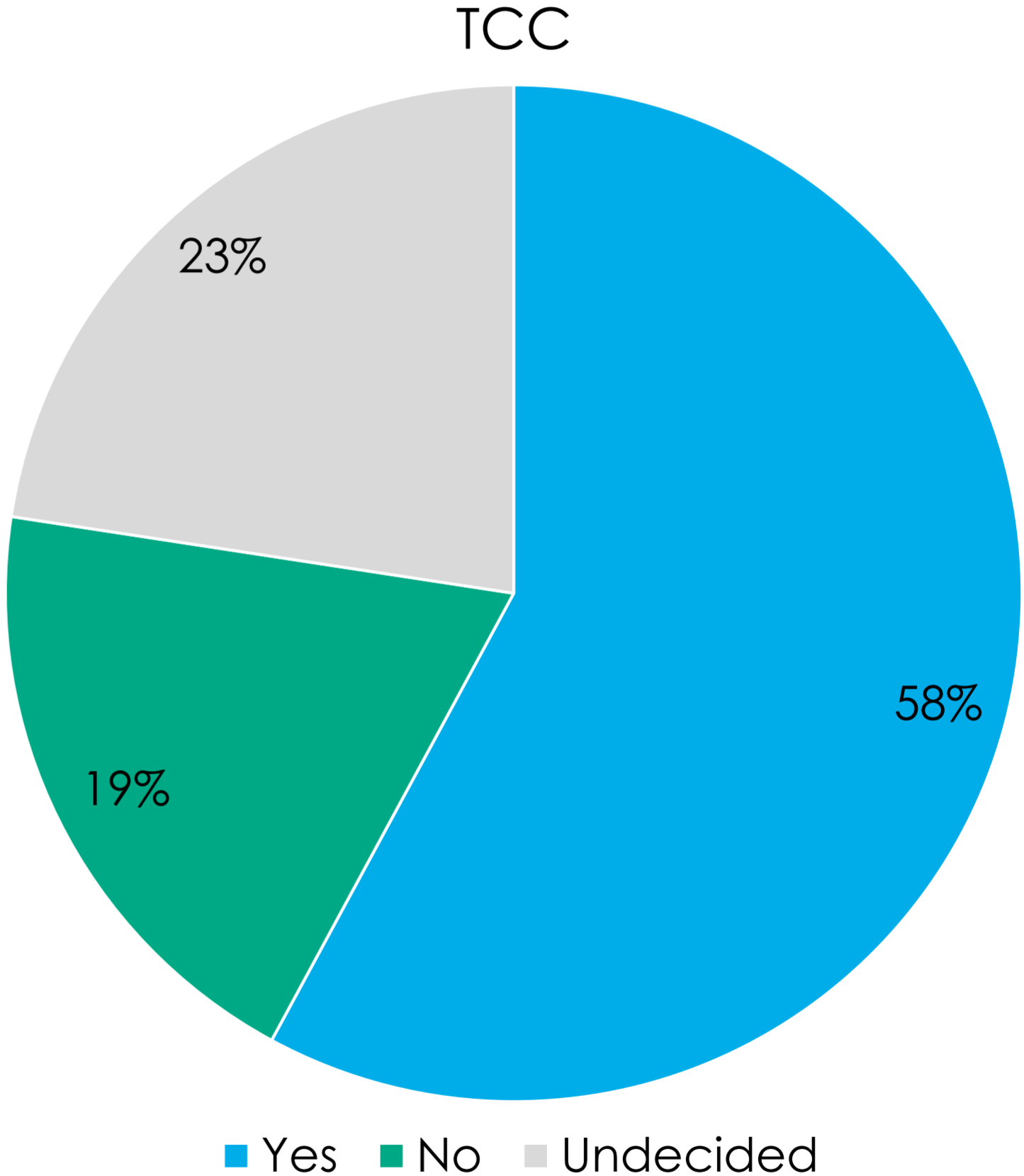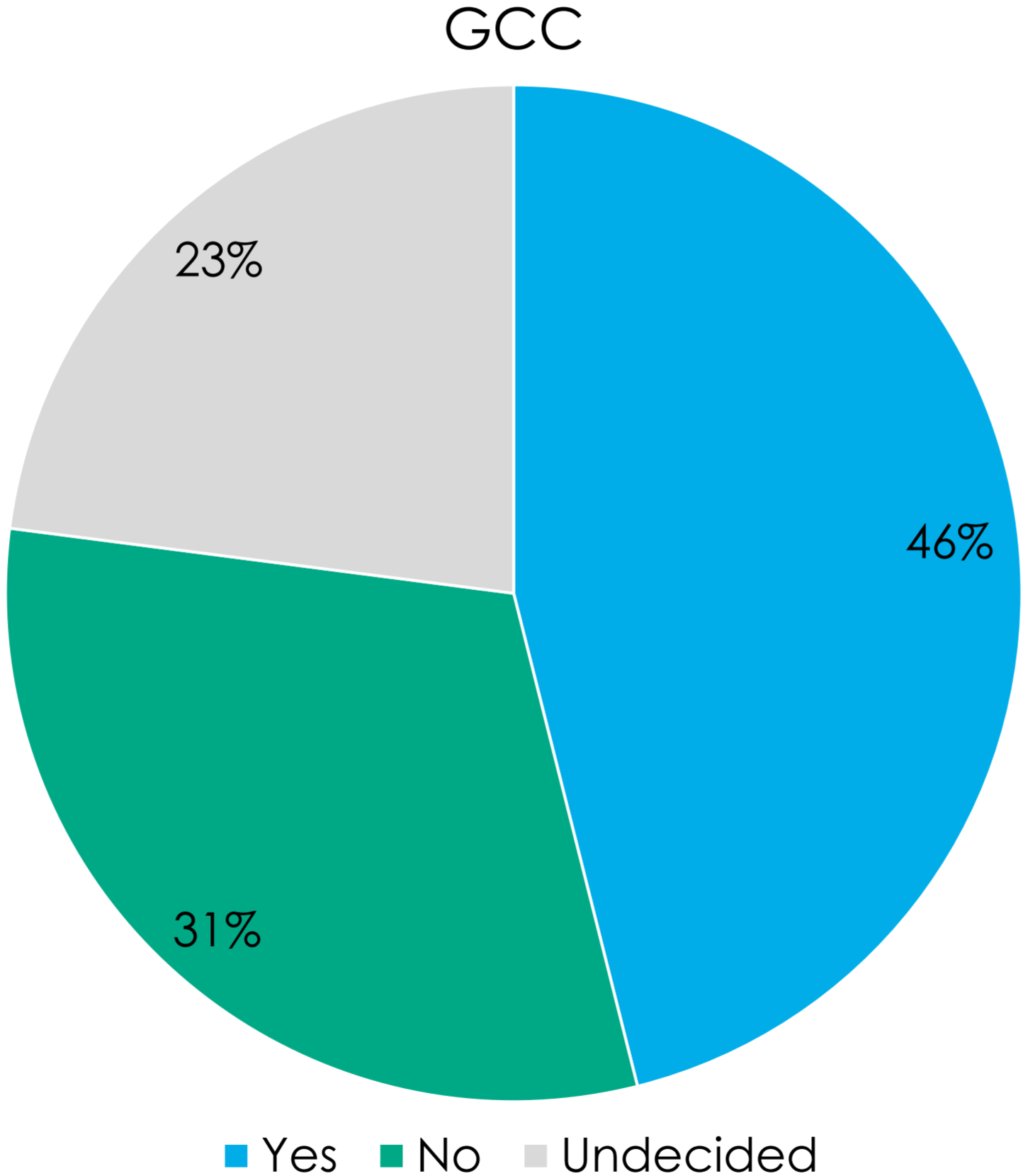

% who would vote 'yes' in a referendum

GCC
TCC
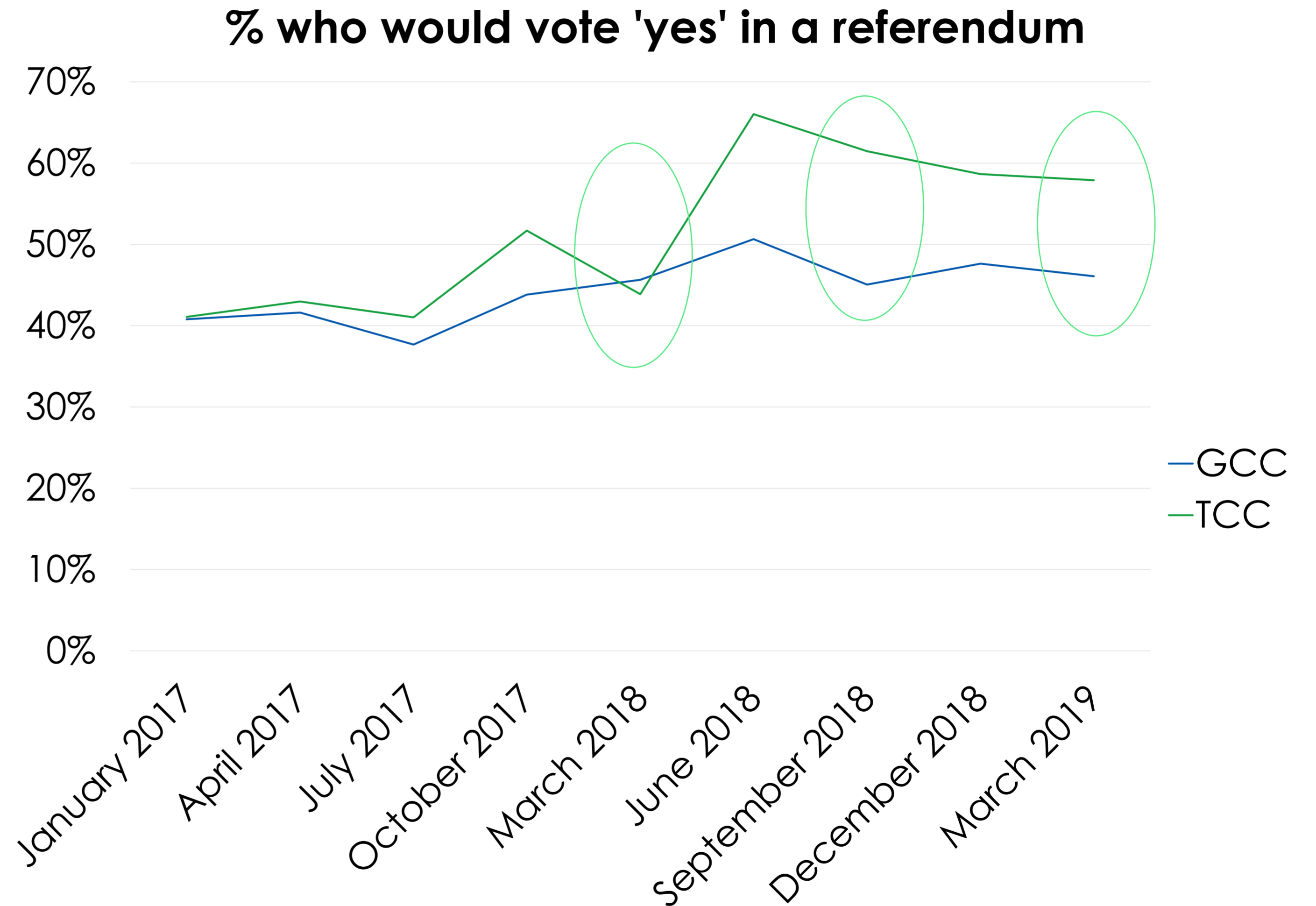
# Many citizens are still undecided about how to act

Almost 1 our of every 4 respondents is **undecided** (or **refused** to answer) how they would vote in a referendum.

Understanding how to help citizens make an informed decision is key.

How would you vote in a potential referendum agreed by the leaders?

GCC

46%
31%
23%

■ Yes ■ No ■ Undecided

TCC

58%
19%
23%

■ Yes ■ No ■ Undecided

Among decided respondents, 2 out of three would vote yes

Excluding those who are undecided or did not answer

Overall
67% would vote 'yes'

GCC
60% would vote 'yes'

TCC
75% would vote 'yes'
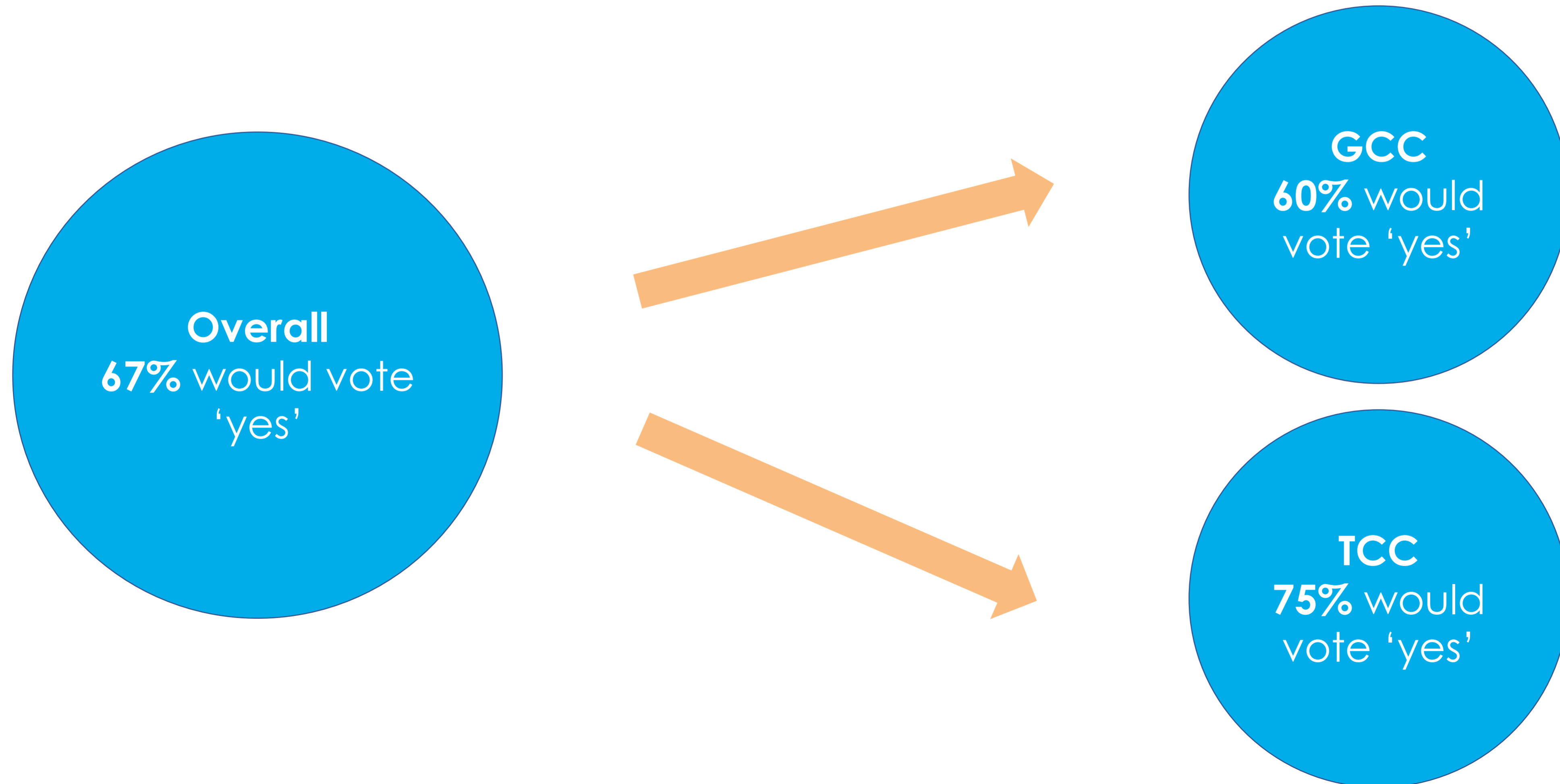
Understanding the diversity of views is important

Groups with highest support for a given attitude towards a referendum

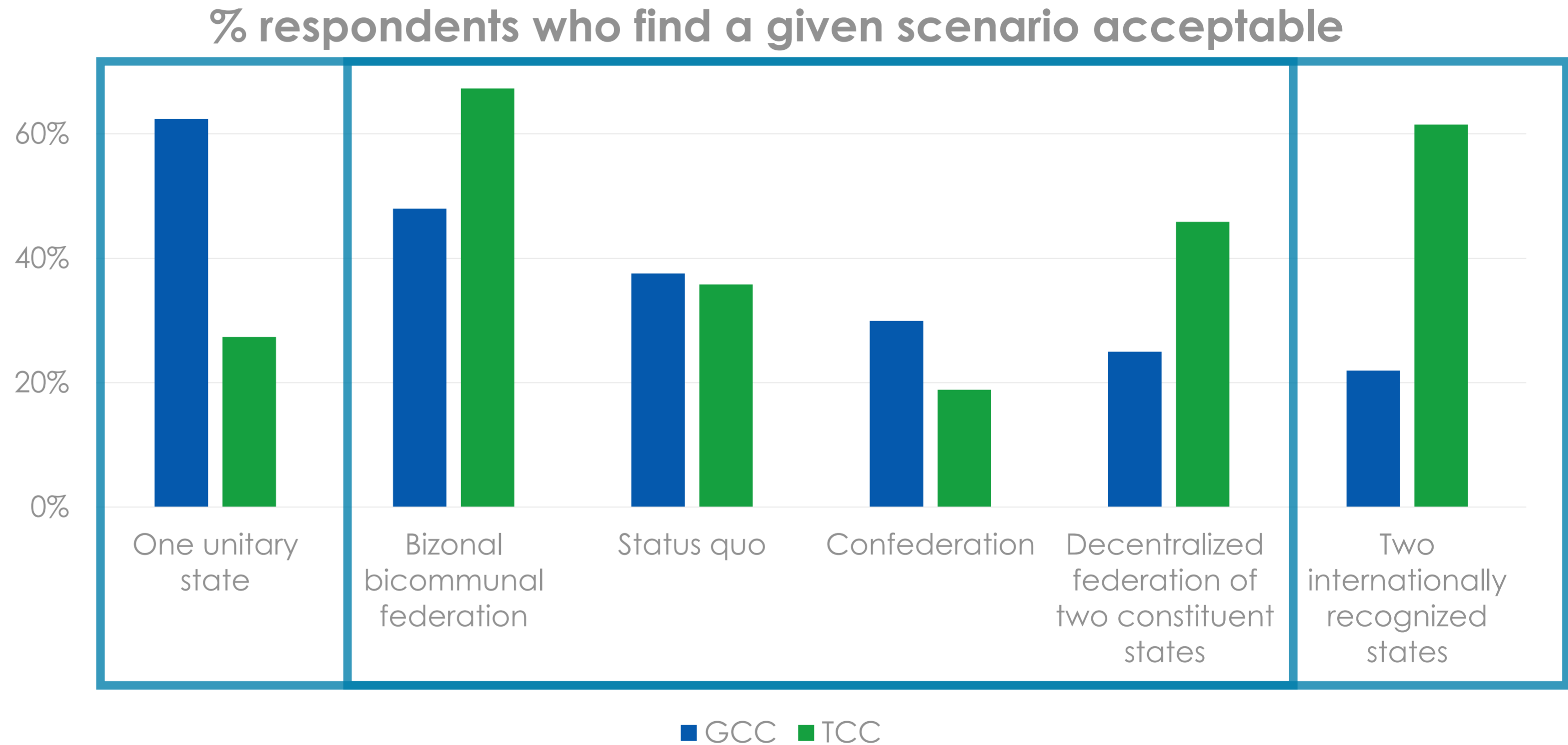|		GCC	TCC
Attitudes towards a referendum agreed by leaders	Yes	Tertiary educated Over 35 Female	Tertiary educated Over 35 Female
	No	Under 35 Male Secondary or less	Under 35 Vulnerable Rural
	Undecided	Over 35 Vulnerable Rural	Over 35 Male Urban

What solution? Viability of solution models

Less than 4 out of 10 respondents want the status quo in both communities

Opposing views about the relative merits of a unitary state or two separate states

The bi-zonal, bicommunal federation model is the most acceptable model in the TCC , and second most acceptable in the GCC, suggesting that it is one of the viable options for a solution

% respondents who find a given scenario acceptable

Legend: GCC (blue), TCC (green)

Categories: One unitary state, Bizonal bicommunal federation, Status quo, Confederation, Decentralized federation of two constituent states, Two internationally recognized states

Part 2: Thinking about Cyprus behaviorally – towards action and future orientation

Creating future orientation mindsets – a pathway

Moving towards action for leaders and citizens alike requires a number of behaviors

1. Do not just inform - promote civil engagement
2. Help people aspire and set goals
3. Create self-empathy – think AND care about the future
4. Increase empathy for others – facilitate social contact across communities
5. Understand common goals
6. Harness the power of positive role models

- All of these are happening in Cyprus as we speak
- But at small scale, and usually without any wider outreach

Facilitate scale and outreach

From information to civil engagement

To help citizen decide and take action more clarity and communication is required...

Lack of clarity of what BBF means

Support for a **bi-zonal bicommunal federation** (58% of respondents) doesn't perfectly correlate to reunification support. More communication is needed.

38% of supporters of a BBF still would NOT support a referendum on an agreed upon solution.

38% of those who do not support a BBF would vote yes in a referendum anyway.

	Yes in a referendum	No in a referendum	Total
BBF acceptable	62%	38% (need details on BBF)	100%
BBF not acceptable	38% (need details on solution)	62%	100%

Engage citizens on issues that matter most to them

TCC

What would increase your support towards supporting a solution?

In the TCC, clarity on **autonomy and citizenship concerns** remain what matter most for a yes vote

Reassurance of autonomy/self-rule for each community under Federal system

Favourable terms nationality regulations (legal standing of individual)
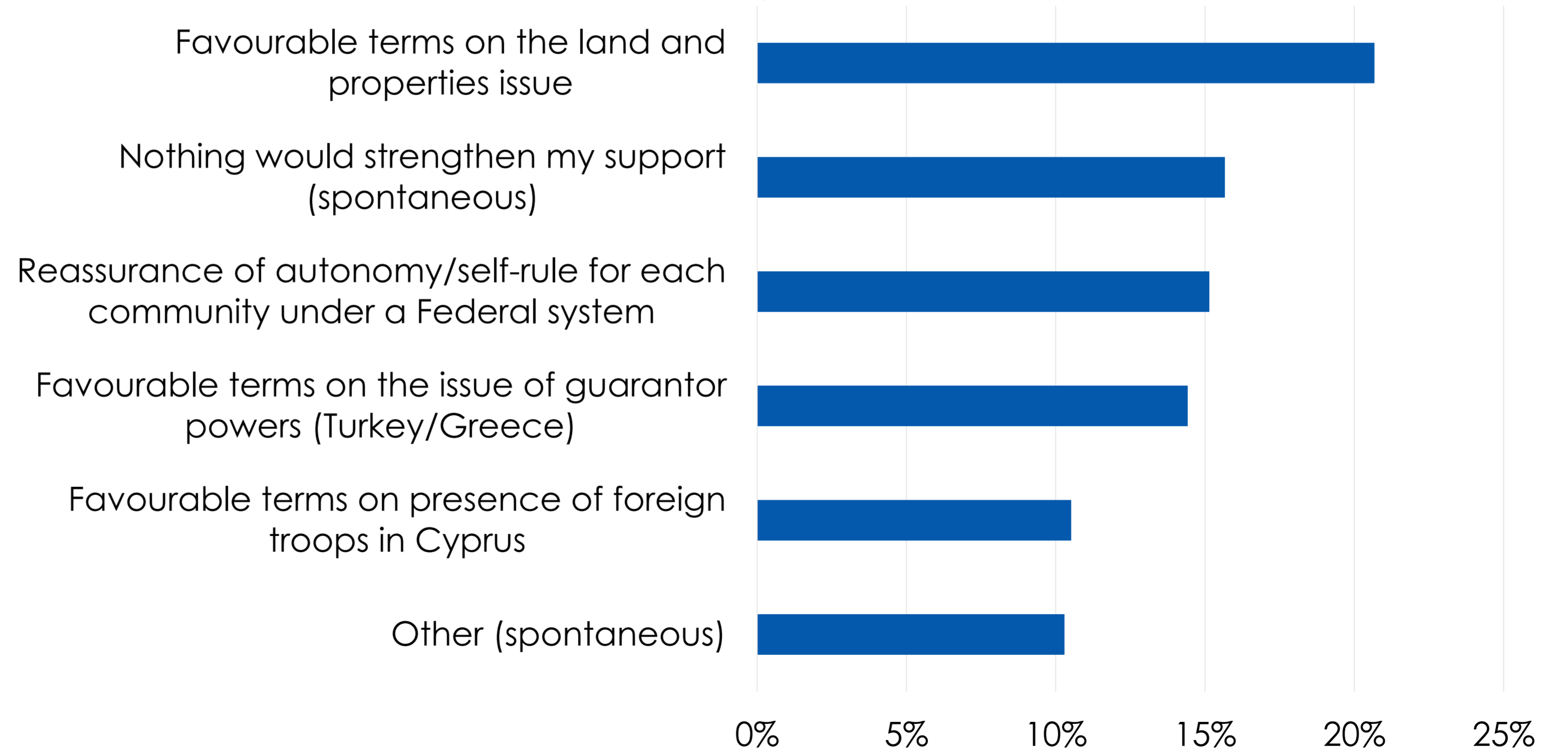
Favourable terms on the land and properties issue

0% 5% 10% 15% 20% 25% 30% 35%

Engage citizens on issues that matter most to them

GCC
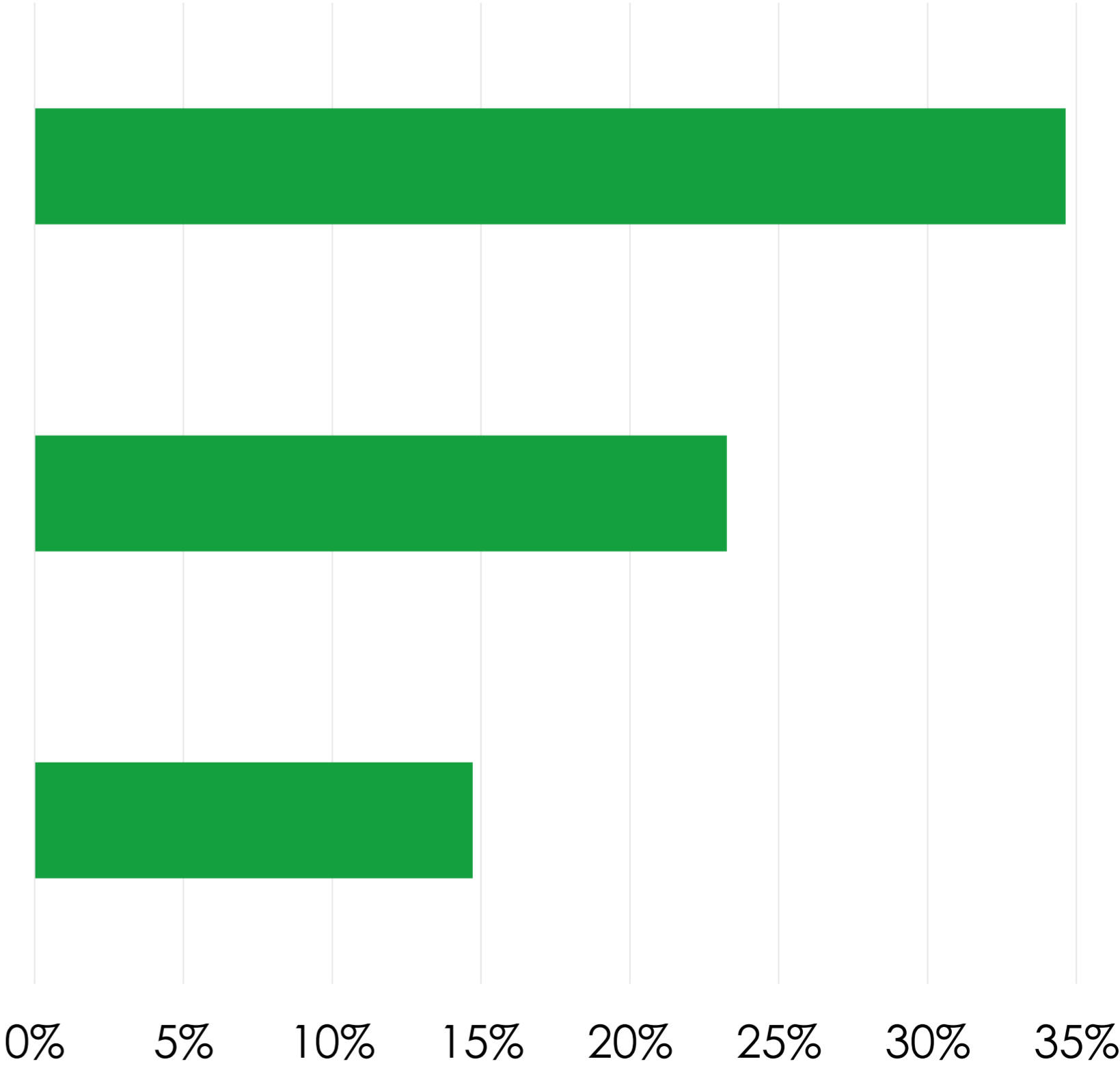
In the GCC **clarity on land and property issues** is at the top of the list. But more **clarity** is needed across a broad range of issues, indicating that different groups across the GCC have different priorities with respect to a solution.

What would increase your support towards supporting a solution?

Category	
Favourable terms on the land and properties issue	~21%
Nothing would strengthen my support (spontaneous)	~15.5%
Reassurance of autonomy/self-rule for each community under a Federal system	~15%
Favourable terms on the issue of guarantor powers (Turkey/Greece)	~14%
Favourable terms on presence of foreign troops in Cyprus	~10.5%
Other (spontaneous)	~10%

0% 5% 10% 15% 20% 25%

Ask people specifics on what they want – they know better and can facilitate transparency and effective outcomes

56% TCC
38% GCC
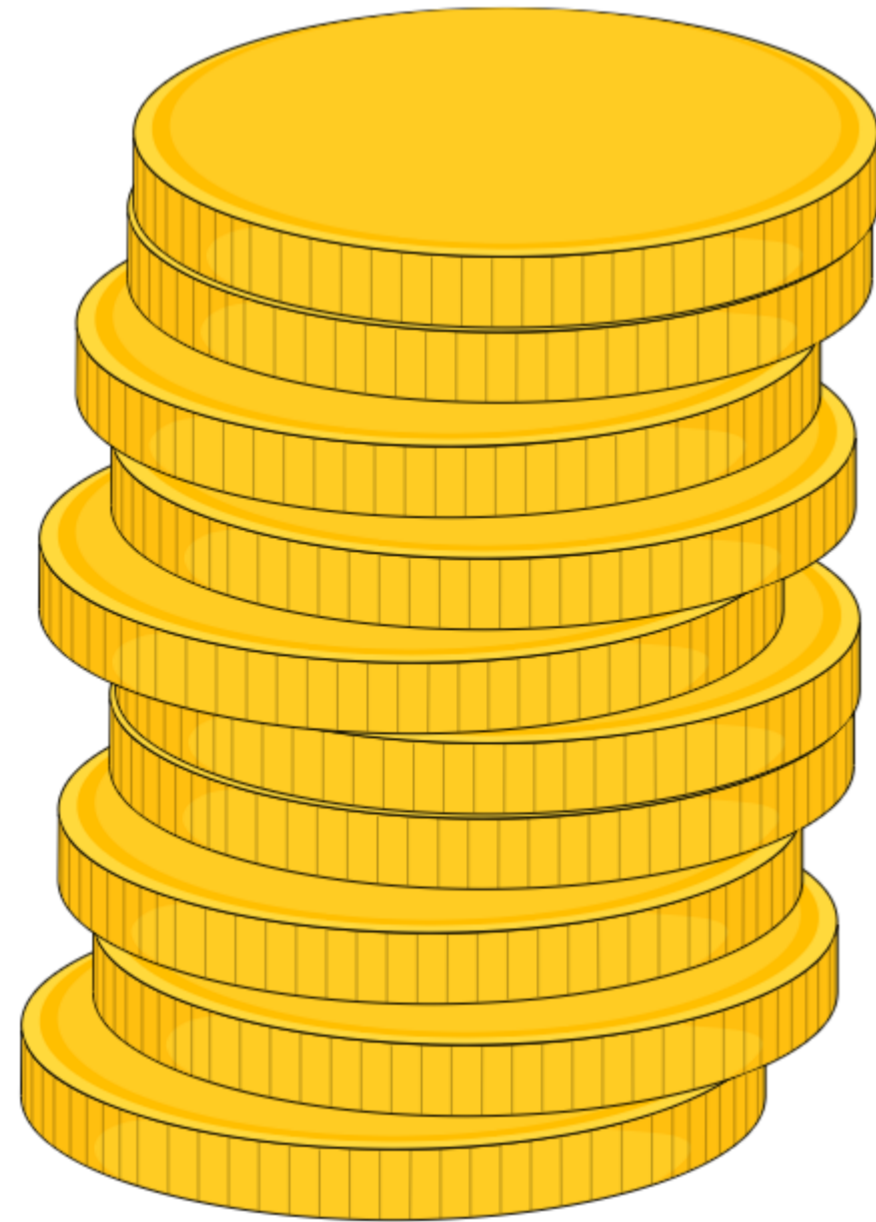
When choosing between restitution and compensation, many Cypriots for whom the land issue is relevant would actually **prefer monetary compensation** as a solution to this.
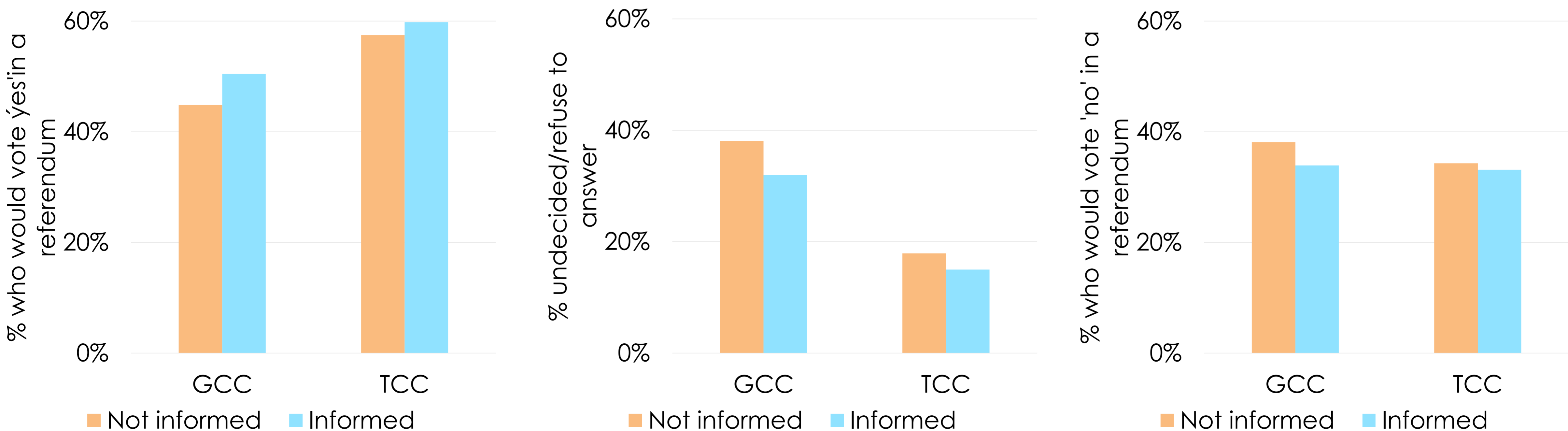
From information to civil engagement

To help citizen decide and take action more clarity and communication is required…

…but how to do it matters

Harness existing trust across the communities. Learning about the other community's views changes attitudes

Reminding citizens that there is wide support for a solution across both communities **increases their willingness to vote yes on an agreed solution in a referendum** (to a majority in both communities), shifts people from **undecided to a yes vote** and, to a lesser extent, from a **no vote to a yes**. Indirectly, this suggests that there is trust across communities that can be harnessed.

Effect of informing people about the perceptions of the other group

From information to civil engagement

Do not just inform…empower citizens to act and connect them with leaders, improving inclusion and trust

# An online citizen engagement platform for maximum inclusion

1. Platform. Provide a safe digital space for citizens to offer solutions for a given problem

2. Interaction. Citizens propose and discuss with one another

3. Social cohesion. Automatic language translation allows citizens to learn about the other community and boost trust

6. Transparency. Increased transparency and trust facilitates future engagement

5. Trust. Leaders' engagement with priority issues and solutions help to build trust between citizens and leaders

4. Upstream Engagement. Leaders learn about the priorities and solutions generated by citizens which allows them to respond and act in a timely way

Pousoula
Πούσουλας

Pusulacyprus.org: an online citizen engagement platform for maximum inclusion

First call for action – June 2019

- What is a goal that you have which you think is shared across most inhabitants on the whole island?

- How would you encourage the inhabitants of Cyprus to work together achieving this goal?

What could you do with Pusula? Call citizens for:

- Solicit ideas on peace process
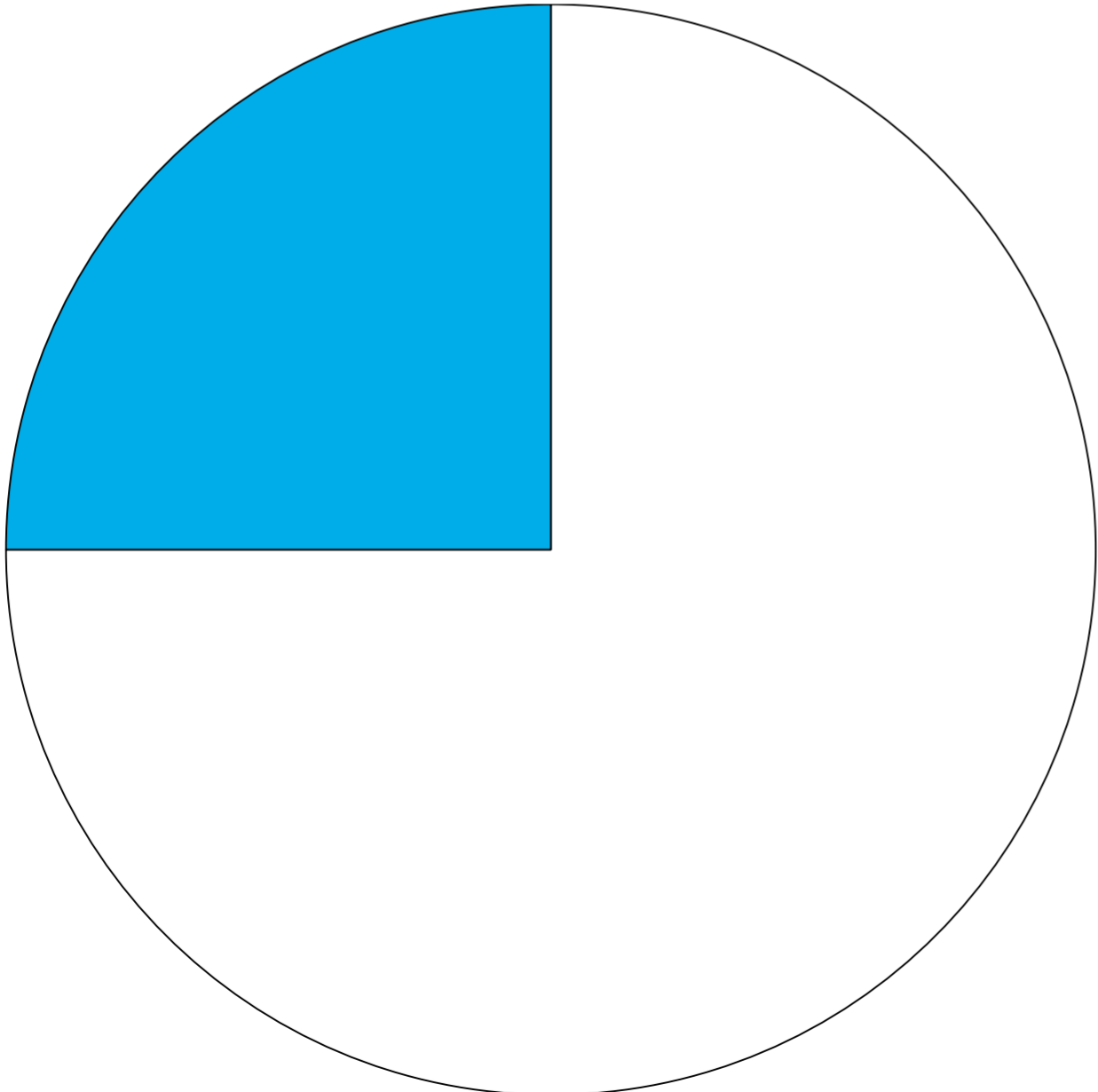- City improvements
- Neighborhood renovation projects
- Prototype municipal council
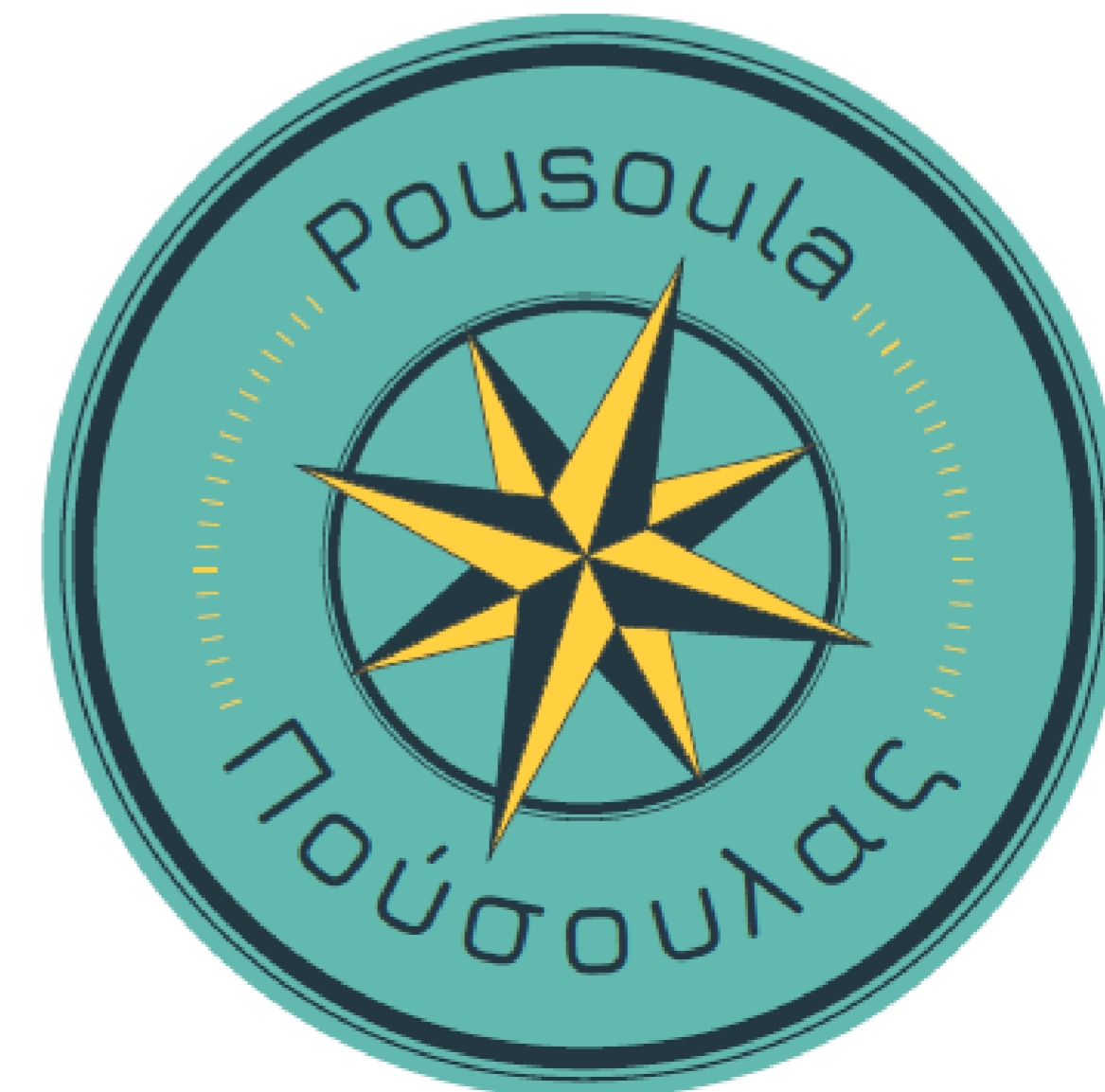
Increase empathy for others – facilitate social contact across communities

Contact between the GCC and TCC is already widespread

Last 7 days:

Nearly **1 in 4** respondents had experienced contact in the past 7 days

164,463

Ever:

3 in 4 respondents had experienced contact at some point in the past
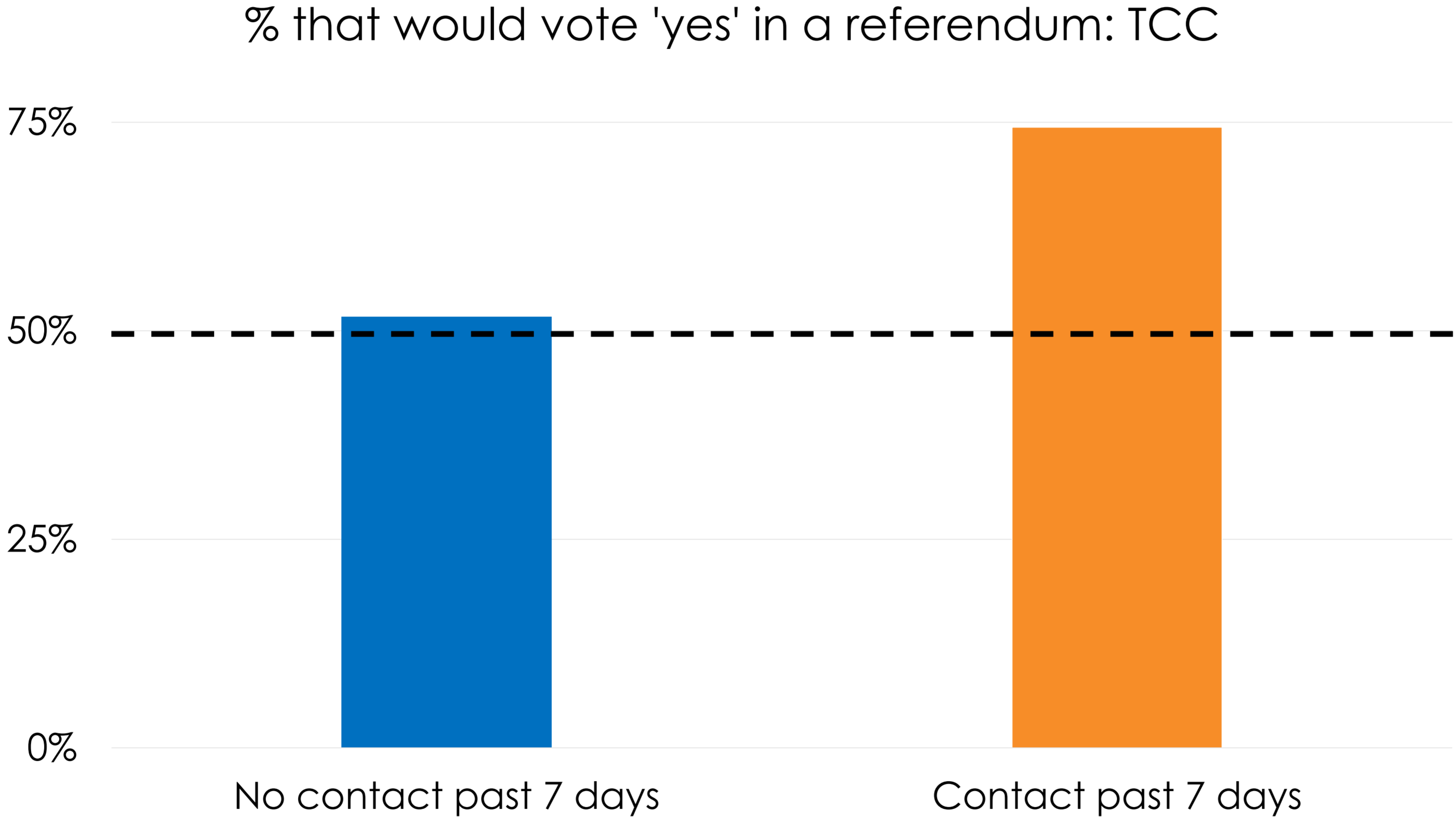
524,690
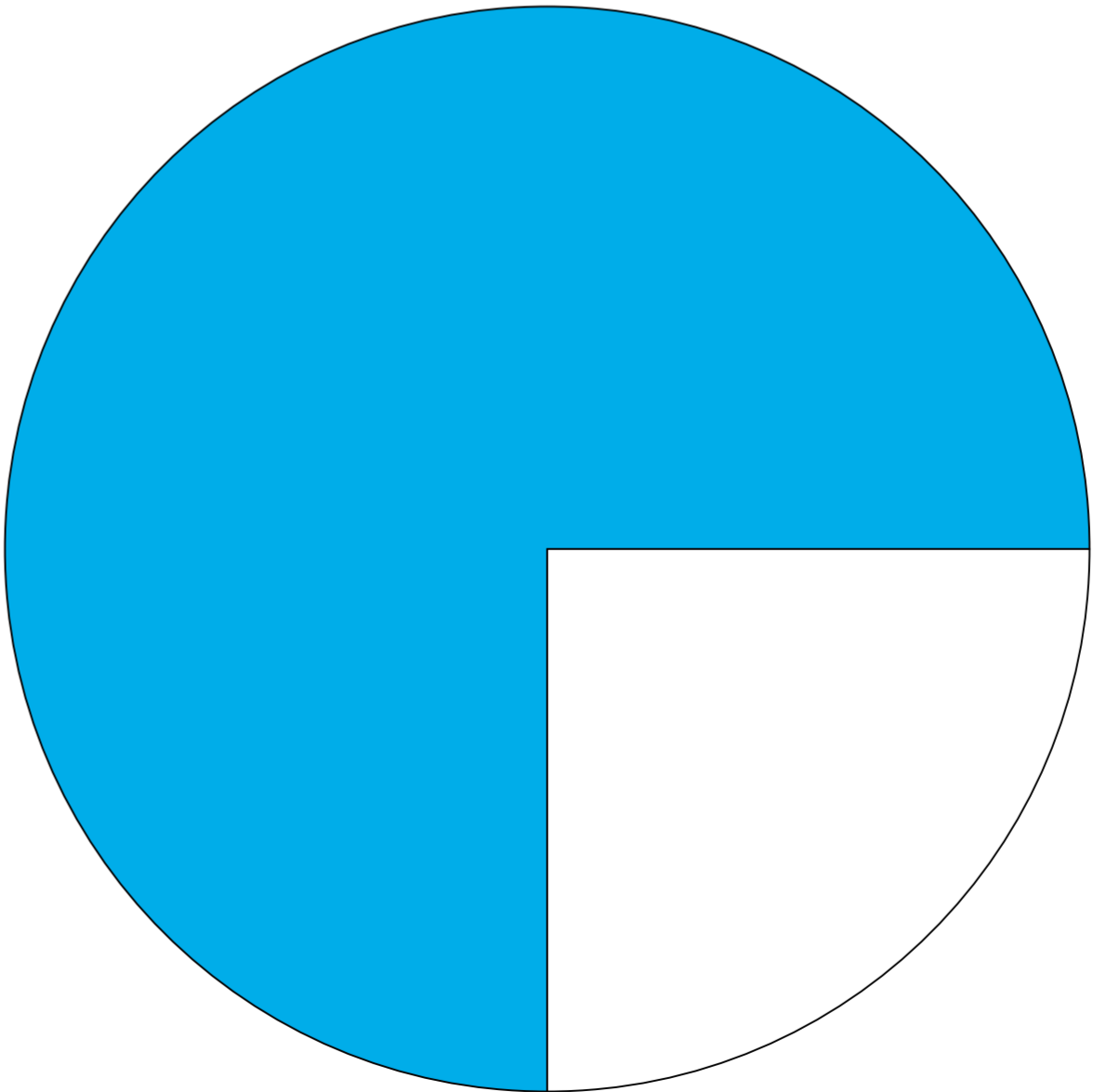
Contact is often deliberate and meaningful

Types of contact in the last 7 days

Bar chart showing types of contact in the last 7 days, comparing GCC (blue) and TCC (green).

Type of contact	Value	GCC	TCC
Greeted	125,229	~13%	~24%
Chatted	105,532	~11%	~20.5%
Socialized	66,518	~7.5%	~11.5%
Purchased from	40,284	~4.5%	~7.5%
Did business with	33,432	~4%	~5%
Worked with	36,782	~4.5%	~5.5%
Crossed over	62,703	~6%	~13%

Legend: ■ GCC ■ TCC
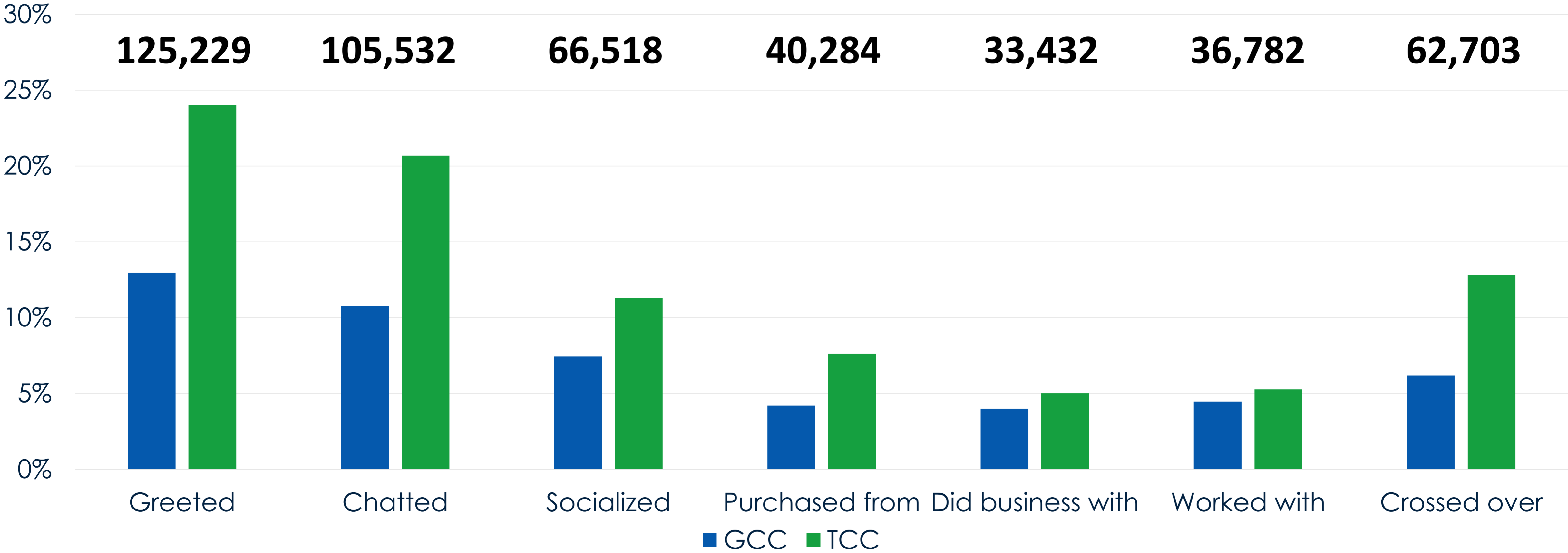
Contact is powerful: positively associated with support in a referendum (TCC)

% that would vote 'yes' in a referendum: TCC

Turkish Cypriots engaged in recent contact with the other community are **39%** more likely to vote yes in referendum relative to those without recent contact

15. Contact is powerful: it is positively associated with a yes vote in a referendum (GCC)

% that would vote 'yes' in a referendum: GCC
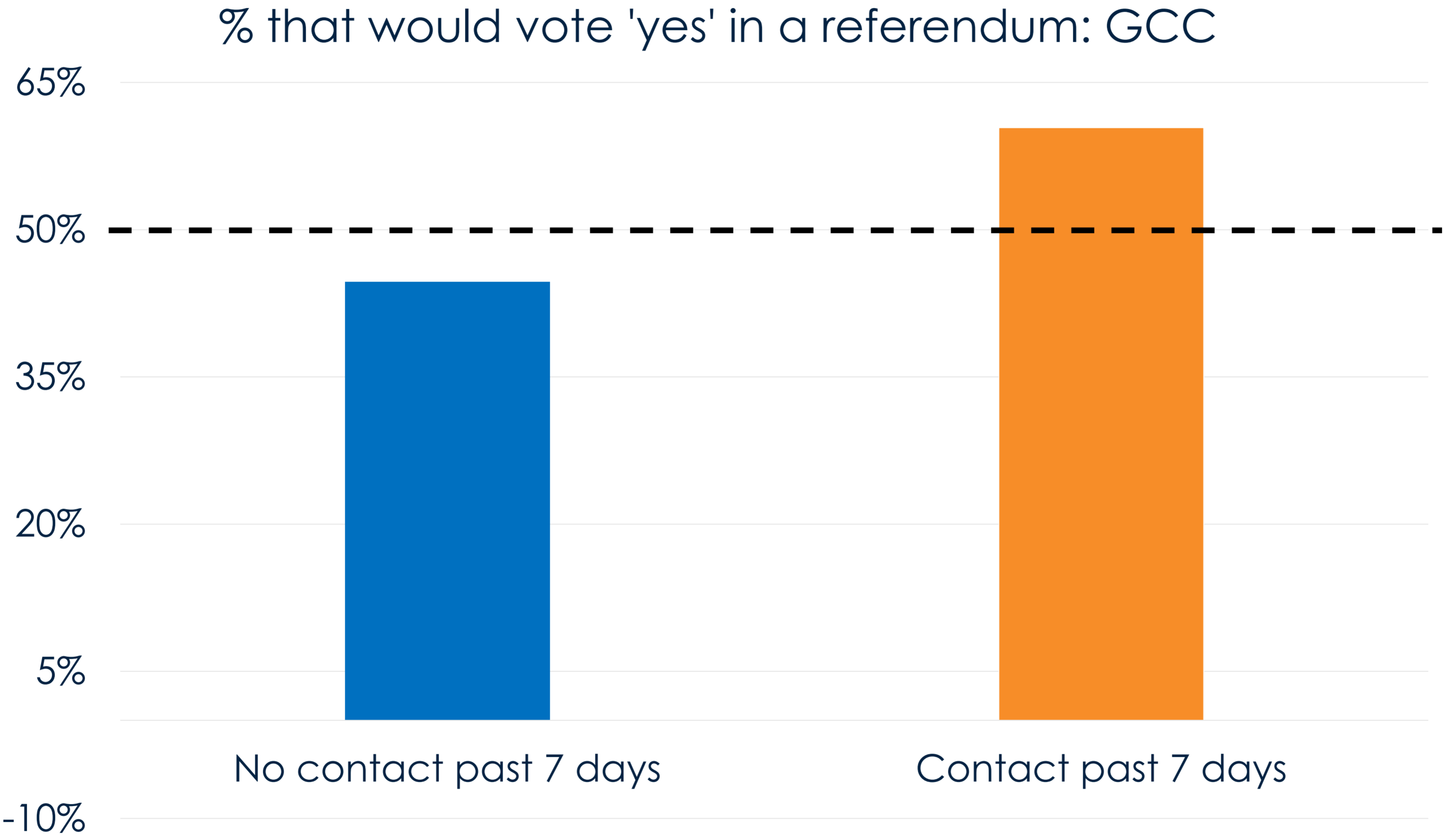
Greek Cypriots engaged in recent contact with the other community are **32%** more likely to vote yes in referendum relative to those without recent contact

Contact can mitigate attitudes of the most skeptical groups

Contact with the other community among the most sceptical groups increases dramatically their support for a yes vote.

Understanding the quality of contact of these interactions should be a priority.

GCC

TCC

% vote yes (no contact)   Additional support due to contact
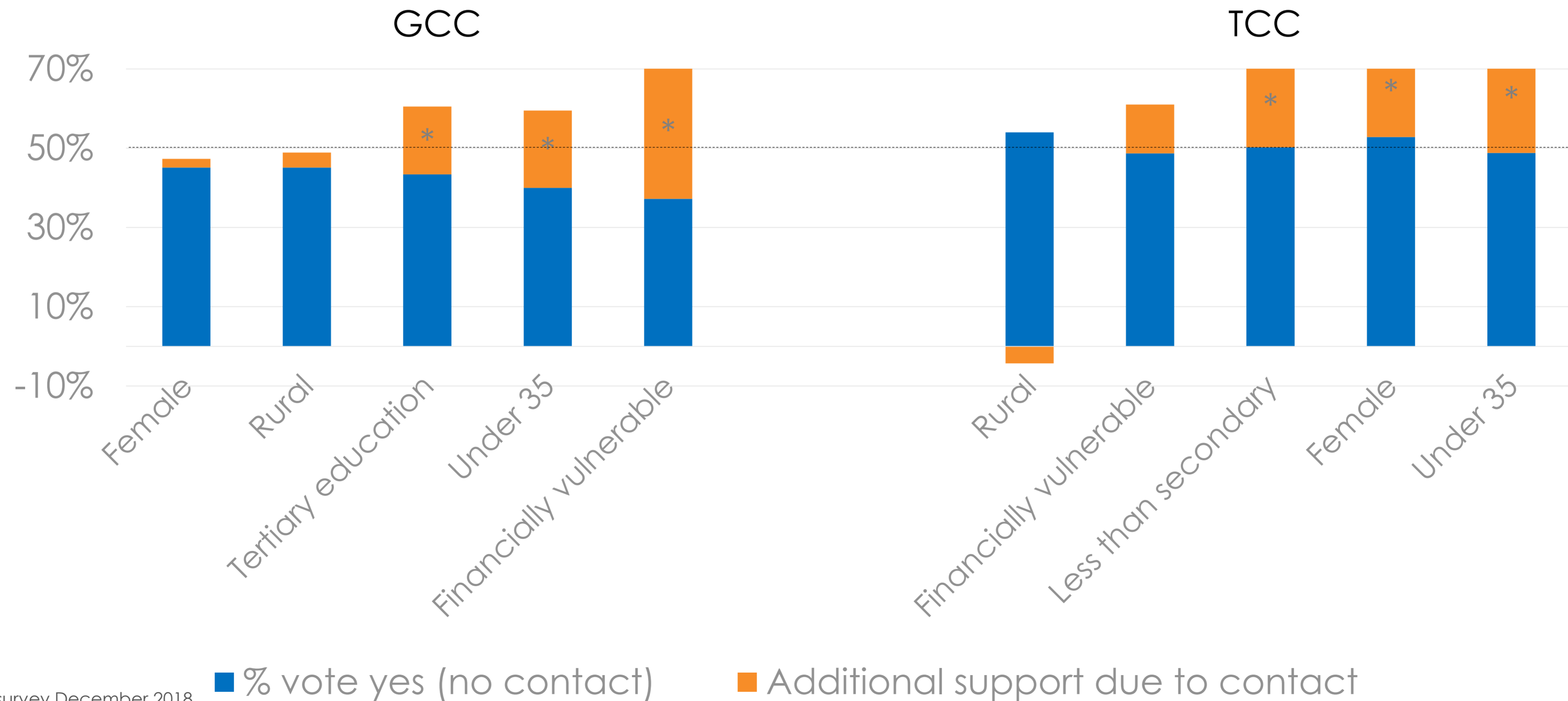
Crossings are increasing: embrace opportunities for more contact

Crossings make it happen!

173% increase in number of cars crossing GCC to TCC (2015-2018)

22% increase in number of cars crossing TCC to GCC (2015-2018)

15.4 million euros spent by GCs in the TCC in 2018

17.6 million euros spent by TCs in the GCC in 2018

*JCC Payment Systems

Increase empathy for others – facilitate social contact across communities at scale

Play together! There is high interest in cooperation between the two communities in games related to Cypriot cuisine.

Interest in Mixed Teams
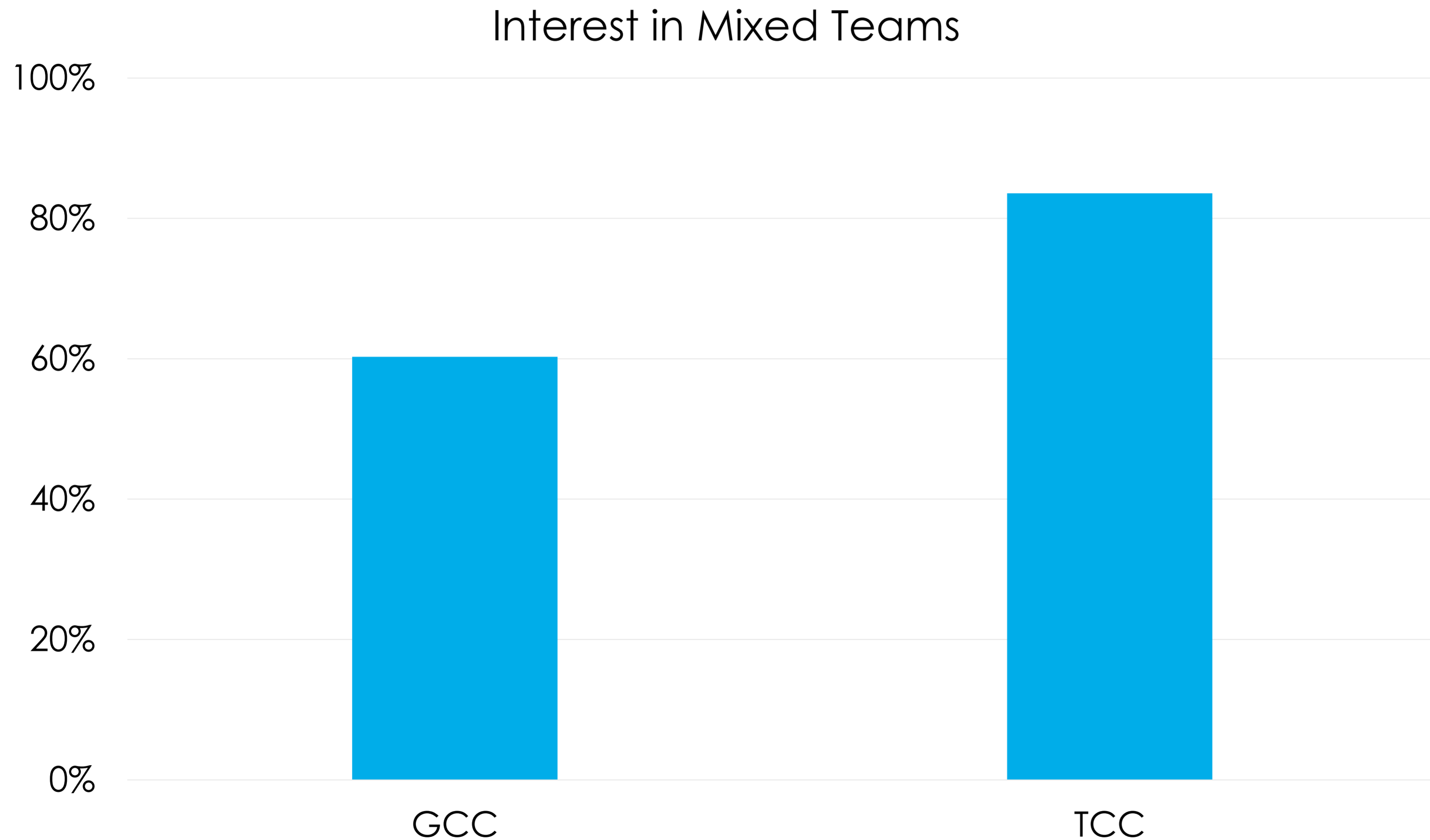
7 out of 10 respondents were interested in playing online games involving **teams with participants from both communities** (60% in the GCC and 83% in the TCC)

Diverse interest to interact – why would you play the game in a team with someone from the other community?

Επειδή η συναναστροφή με άλλους ανθρώπους σε κάνει να ξεφεύγεις για λίγο από την πραγματικότητα και έτσι μπορείς να αποκτήσεις καινούργιες και ωραίες εμπειρίες

Γνωρίζω την κουλτούρα και τις συνήθειες των ανθρώπων της Κύπρου γύρω από τη κυπριακή διατροφή

Επειδή θα ήταν ευκαιρία να μάθουμε ανταλλάξουμε γνώσεις από την παράδοση όλους ...

Curiosity about Turkish Cypriot culinary customs

Για εμπλουτισμό μαγειρικών γνώσεων

Η Μαγειρική είναι μέσα στην ζωή μας κάτι που χρησιμοποιούμε αναγκαστικά!Οποταν θα έχει αρκετό ενδιαφέρον να υπάρχει ανταγωνισμός και έπαθλα σε ένα παιχνίδι! Επίσης κανείς νέες γνωριμίες και μαθενεις συνταγές η υλικά που μπορεί να είναι προτογνωρα για εσένα. Δηλαδή δεν είναι ένα παιχνίδι απλά για γνώσεις. Είναι ένα παιχνίδι κοινού ενδιαφέροντος από την πλειοψηφία!

Επειδή θα μου άρεσε να δω τις παραλ... της κυπριακής κουζίνας από άλλους λα... όπως πχ Τούρκους, από τους οποίους η... κουζίνα μας είναι ευρέως επηρεασμέ...

Γιατι απλα δεν με ενδιαφέρει η εθνικότητα του αλλου

Δεν υπάρχει διαφορά

Acceptance of Cypriot culture, uniformity

Επειδή δεν θεωρώ ότι χρειαζεται να γινεται οποιοσδήποτε διαχωρισμος

Επίση η επαφη με την αλλη κοινοτητα βοηθα στην αλληλοκατανοηση

Ειναι και αυτοι κύπριοι

İnsanlar farklı etnik gruplar gibi görünse de aynı toprağın çocukları, kabul etmeseler de ortak kültürel yapıya sahip. Yemek kültürü de bu yüzden farklı değil. Aynı takımda zorluk çekmezler

Etnik kökenin dilin dinin hatta milliyetin hiç önemi yok. molehiya araplardan, pirohu polonya ve slav ülkelerinden, lehçemiz her dilden. biz çok kültürlü bir toplumuz. rum türk maronit ermeni değil insan olmak önemli. takım arkadaşımın insan olmasını isterdim :)

Evet, çünkü Birleşik kıbrıs olmasını istiyorum. Kıbrıslıları (Kıbrıslı Rum ve Türkleri) bir araya getirecek, iletişim kurmasını sağlayacak etkinlikleri faydalı buluyorum.

To have contact with the other community

Çünkü Kıbrıs kültürü, Yunan ve Türk mutfaklarından daha farklıdır.Bunu iki toplumun da öğrenmesi ve kaynaşmaları için.

Artık etnik köken gibi insan sınıflaştırma ayrımlarına girilmemelidir.

Ve genelde internet üzeri oyunlarda dil din ırk mezhep ayrımı yapılmıyor. Bugüne kadar hiçbir oyunda sen müslümansın veya sen türksün yada bunun gibi bir ayrım yaşamadım şimdiye kadar. Kuralları uygulayan herkes ve kurallara bağlı olan herkes oyunda kalabilir.

Oyun Kibrisla ilgili ise Turk-Rum olarak degil Kıbrıslılar olarak oynanacağı için.

To learn English/Greek

Dil gelistirmek icin

Kıbrıslı Rum ve Türk mutfağının ortak veya farklı yemeklerini öğrenmek isterim.

Yemek yapmayı ve farklı yemekler tatmayı cook seviyorum.

Kıbrıs'ın bir bütün olduguna İnanıyorum. Hepimiz ayni adanın insanlarıyız. Kıbrıs adasının genel bir kültürü var ve yemeklerimizin çoğu her iki toplumun ortak paydasıdır.

Kendi kültürümde kendimi sınamak istiyorum

EVET ÇÜNKÜ KIBRIS HEPİMİZİN KÜLTÜRÜNÜ BARINDIRIYOR

Boost types of contact for which language need not be a barrier, and for activities that transcend ideologies

Those not interested in mixed teams were most often **concerned about the language barriers** or considered cooperation with the other community to go **against their ideology**

Why Not Interested

Legend:
- ■ Language barrier
- ■ Lack of trust
- ■ Lack of interest
- ■ Against ideology to cooperate
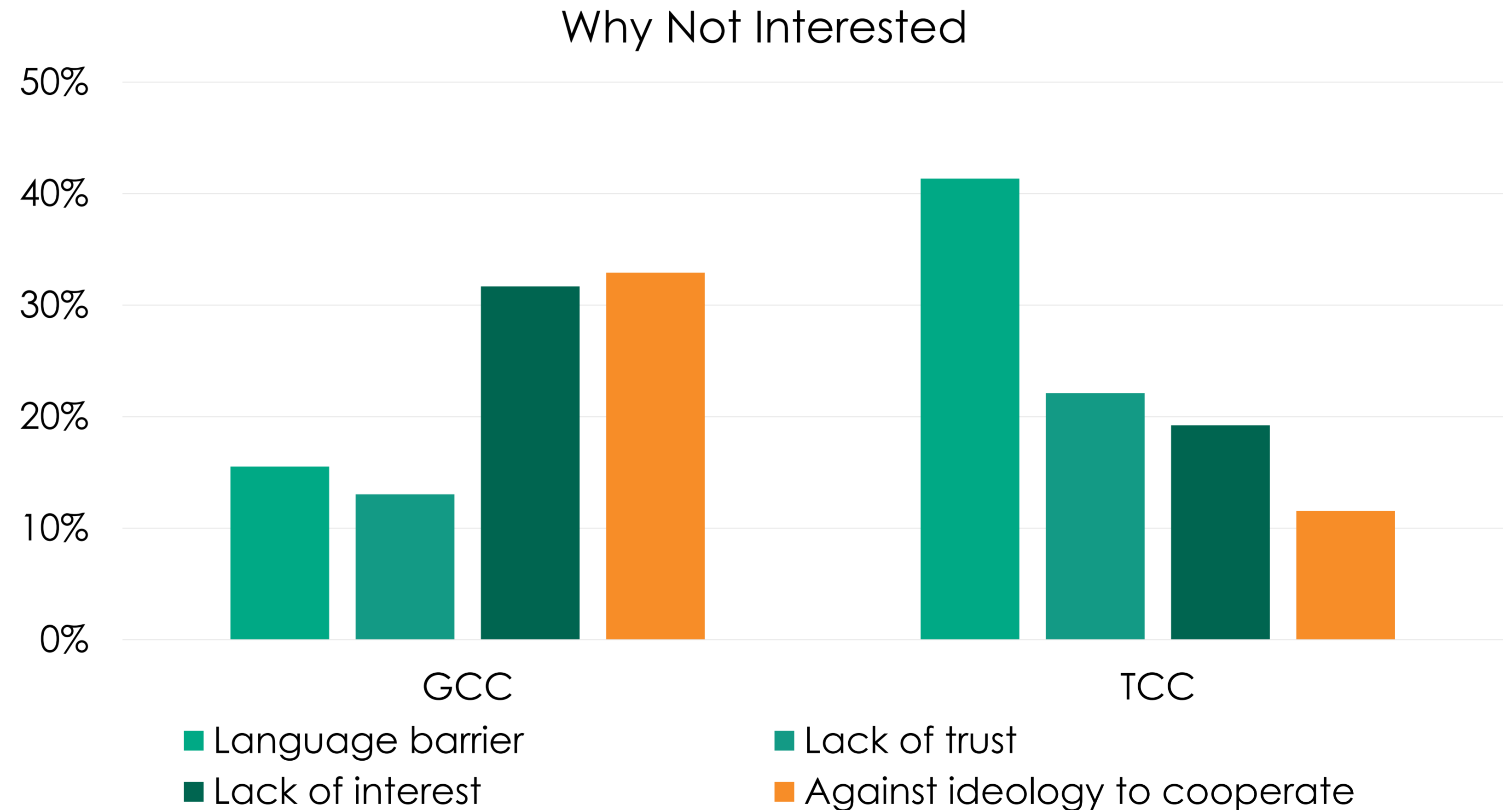
Harness/facilitate positive role models
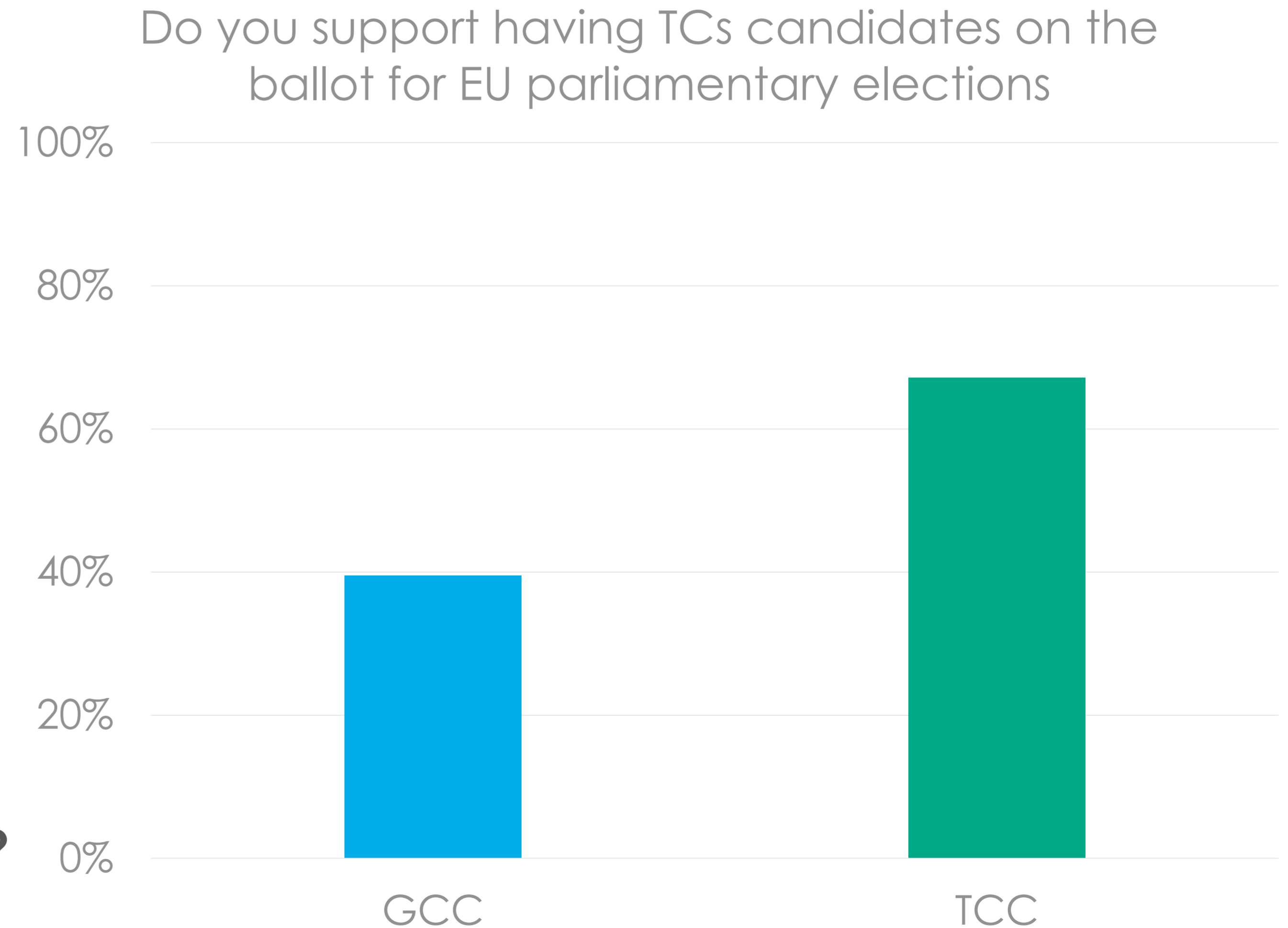
Role models and social norms

2014 EU elections:
- 1 TCC-led parties
- 5 TCC candidates
- 1869 voters from TCC

2019 EU elections
- 2 TCC-led parties
- 9 TCC candidates
- 1 TCC candidate on GC party ticket
- Voters from TCC ?

Can you think of other role models?

Do you support having TCs candidates on the ballot for EU parliamentary elections

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People in both the GCC and TCC want a solution. The status quo is not acceptable by the majority. A bi-zonal bicommunal federation is perceived as one of the viable models for a solution.

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Indecision and inaction are prevalent. A move to action requires leaders and citizens alike to first shift to a future orientation by defining aspirations, identifying common goals, and creating empathy for oneself and others.

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