CENTER FOR SUSTAINABLE PEACE AND DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT (SeeD)

Security Dialogue Project Preliminary Research Findings

Dr. Giorgos Kentas and Dr. İlke Dağlı

Outline

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- Research Methodology: First Phase

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- Security Needs: Threat & Risk Analysis

- Alternative Security Arrangements:

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    - Broader Non-traditional Security Options

- Observations and Conclusions

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What is Security Dialogue Project? Purpose and Added-Value –#1

The "Security Dialogue Project", which was launched in October 2016, is a research-based initiative implemented by The Centre for Sustainable Peace and Democratic Development (SeeD) in partnership with Berghof Foundation and funded by the U.S. Department of State, the Federal Foreign Office of Germany and the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It carries the underlying aim of supporting to the peace process and enabling all communities in Cyprus to simultaneously feel secure, the Project is built upon an informed, participatory, innovative and comparative research and dialogue process.

Central objectives:

- To **broaden and deepen the debate around security** to include human, economic, ontological and social aspects in order to: (A) move away from win-lose security perceptions that feed from historical traumas and fears; (B**) create a more inclusive and constructive platform that facilitates deliberation and convergences on common security issues.**

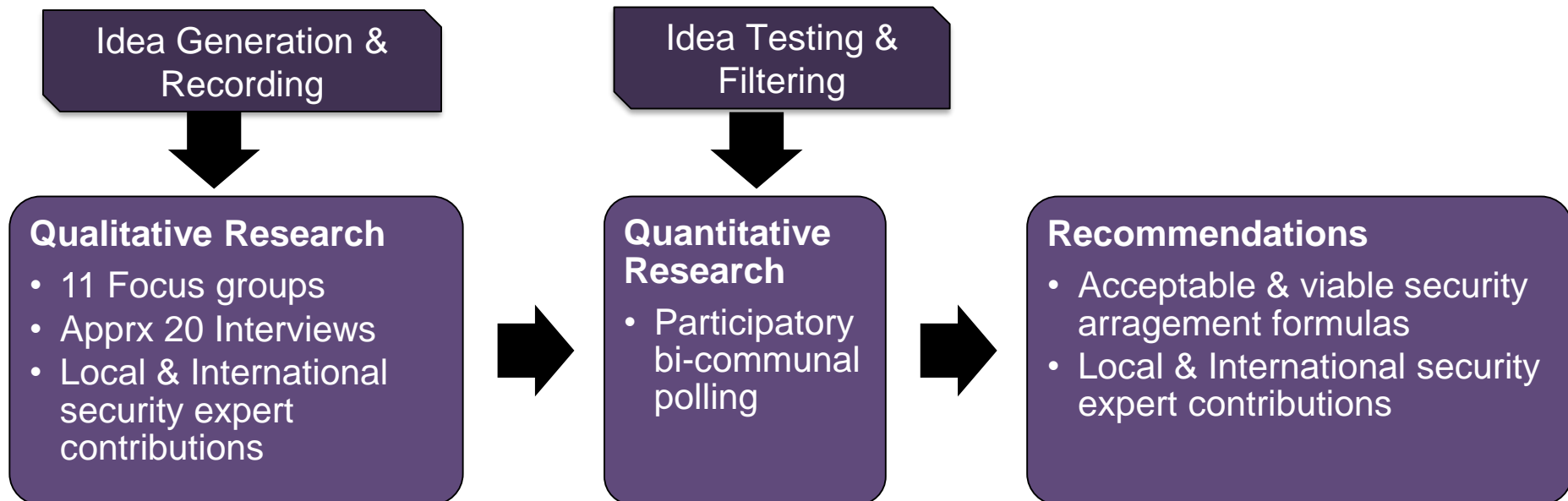# What is Security Dialogue Project? Purpose and Added-Value –#2

Central objectives (continued):

■ To **better understand and deliberate on the security needs, potential risks and threat perceptions** of the communities, focusing on during and post-transition period;

■ To **shift the focus to more constructive and shared security concerns** that can generate empathy and engage more people and key people in the process by focus on transition and sustainability and moving beyond traditional security issues about military and guarantees;

■ To **collect & develop alternative security arrangement options** for these needs, threats, fears and risks and to **test their viability and acceptability** through participatory, comparable and bi-communal public opinion polls;

■ To bridge the Track 1 level with the other tracks, **contributing to a constructive dialogue by establishing linkages amongst different negotiation dossiers,** examining security issues comprehensively in their broader constellation through informed, scientific and representative recommendations.
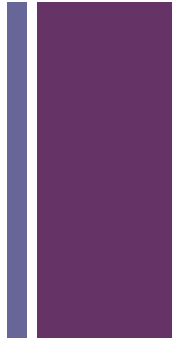
Research Methodology: First Phase –#1

First Phase: Conducted in November – December 2016 following parallel and identical research designs across the two communities. All the fieldwork data and findings are **reported without any filtering**. They are not endorsed as recommendations by SeeD. The findings will help design the second phase of the research that will test their viability and popularity. This presentation summarises the key findings.

Idea Generation & Recording

Idea Testing & Filtering

Qualitative Research
- 11 Focus groups
- Apprx 20 Interviews
- Local & International security expert contributions

Quantitative Research
- Participatory bi-communal polling

Recommendations
- Acceptable & viable security arragement formulas
- Local & International security expert contributions

+ Research Methodology: First Phase – #2

Focus Groups	Number of Participants	
	Turkish Cypriot community	**Greek Cypriot community**
1. 40+ Years old women	6	6
2. 40+ Years old men	7	7
3. Professionals and academics	7	7
4. Turkish Cypriot IDPs and those who may become displaced due to territorial adjustments	6	N.A.
5. Greek Cypriot IDPs	N.A	7
6. Turkish immigrants with citizenship	9	N.A.
7. Young people under 35	6	4

Security Needs: Threat & Risk Analysis – Comparison

Category	Number of Threats & Risks Recorded/Generated				
	Total	Common	Specific to GC participants	Specific to TC participants	Identified by experts
1. Transitional obligations	10	8	1	0	1
2. Functionality & institutional sustainability	10	8	0	1	1
3. Trust, reconciliation & civic loyalty	11	8	0	2	1
4. Economic security	9	3	3	2	1
5. Extremism	7	3	0	1	3
6. Civil & military security institutions	7	2	2	0	3
7. External threats	4	2	1	0	1
8. Miscellaneous/ Other	2	0	0	0	2
Total	60	34	7	6	13

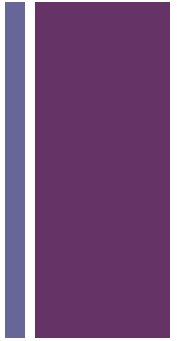# + Security Needs: Threat & Risk Analysis – Narrative

Main Common Security Needs & Threats

Category: Transitional obligations and guarantees:

- Remaining foreign troops (especially Turkish troops) will abuse their mandate;

- Turkey's influence and interference in politics or undermining attitude;

- Relevant parties not complying with the provisions about disarmament and troop withdrawal;

- Lack of sense of justice and trust with regards to territorial adjustment and property issues (how fast, how efficient, how much, who will pay?);

- Inefficient and fragile newly established federal & state institutions;

- Uncertainty and conflicting expectations about UN's role and mandate;

- Harmonisation/integration & implementation of the EU Acquis in the TCc (how fast, how efficient, how much, who will pay?).

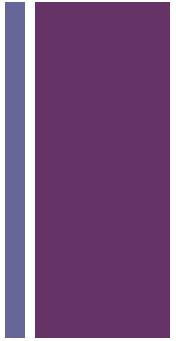# Security Needs: Threat & Risk Analysis – Narrative

Main Common Security Needs & Threats –2

Category: Institutional functionality and sustainability:

- Deadlocks in decision making (e.g. problems caused by quotas; communal blindness; inefficient or lack of arbitration mechanisms);

- Communal bias affecting sense of justice and trust in institutions (e.g. employment and appointment, institutional relationships);

- Concerns about sovereignty & secularity: Intervention on state institutions ("Turkey's shadow/influence", "Role of Church");

- Lack of institutional capacities and qualified human resources to populate institutions necessary for good governance (corruption, lack of meritocracy, nepotism etc.);

- Marginalisation of women, youth and cultural minorities, as well as Turkish-Cypriots and Greek-Cypriots residing in the 'other' constituent state (e.g. political, civil, social, economic rights/opportunities).

Security Needs: Threat & Risk Analysis – Narrative

Main Common Security Needs & Threats –3

Category: Trust, reconciliation and civic loyalty:

- Lack of commitment and respect to federalism and its principles (e.g. power sharing, majoritarianism, sense of justice).

- Daily inter-communal disputes spilling-over to political and economic realms and snowballing;

- Polarised public narratives (i.e. reading social/political/economic life from an exclusively ethnic/communal lens).

- Hostility to the settlement package (fail to engage 'no' voters and creation of peace spoilers)

- Divisive education systems.

+ Security Needs: Threat & Risk Analysis – Narrative

Main Common Security Needs & Threats –4

Category: Extremism:

- Ineffective/lack of legal mechanisms/frameworks to deal with hate speech, discrimination creating inter-communal tension;

- Ineffective/lack of mechanisms to deal with justice/prosecution (e.g. condoning extremism, hate crime, discrimination);

- Connections of local extremist and/or far-right groups with counterparts in Greece or Turkey undermining sustainability and creating inter-communal tension.

Categories: Civil & military security institutions & External threats:

- Inefficiency and unwillingness of security institutions both on federal & constituent state level to coordinate/cooperate;

- Regional energy disputes and tension between external actors spilling over to inter-communal relations in Cyprus.

Security Needs: Threat & Risk Analysis – Narrative

Security Needs and Threats Specific to Turkish Cypriot Respondents

Those security needs and fears that are specific to the Turkish Cypriot respondents include far right fanaticism and extremist tendencies, as well as concerns about representation and marginalisation from decision making mechanisms that closely relate to power sharing.

- Marginalisation of TC in federal institutions;

- Fear of attacks and assaults from extremist groups;

- Divisive religious institutions;

- Economic concerns about the TCc finance system (e.g. collaterals), economic competitiveness and psychological barriers obstructing trade and cooperation.

Security Needs: Threat & Risk Analysis – Narrative

Security Needs and Threats Specific to Greek Cypriot Respondents

Those security needs and risks prevalently voiced by the Greek Cypriot respondents include fears about guarantees and the Turkish military contingents as well as economic security threats.

- Turkish troops will not withdraw in compliance with the agreement & timeframe;

- Turkish contingent as staging ground for invasion;

- Guarantors abusing their guarantor powers both internally and externally (especially Turkey);

- Perceived lack of sovereignty (e.g. foreign security and defence policy) due to foreign troop presence & lack of a Cypriot national defence force;

- Economic concerns about the southern constituent state carrying the economic burden and debt of the northern constituent state, cost of new state institutions, the cost of a solution, competitiveness, competition and unemployment.

+ Alternative Security Arrangements

Traditional (Hard) Security Arrangement Options	# alternative arrangement options collected
1. Transitional Security Arrangements and Guarantees	20
2. Effective Civil and Military Security Institutions	15
3. Combating Extremism	6
Non-traditional (Broader) Security Arrangement Options	
1. Transitional Obligations and Functionality	10
2. Communal Bias, Reconciliation and Sense of Justice	5
3. Educational Harmony	3
4. Economic Security	3

+ Alternative Security Arrangements

Transitional Security Arrangements and Guarantees #1:

- Replacing the Treaty of Guarantee with a **Treaty of Implementation** that includes pre-commitment to take unresolved implementation disputes to an international court (i.e. ECJ);

- **Balanced and phased withdrawal of troops**, where the first phase sees the reduction of the Turkish military contingents to the size of the National Guard, which can be 'balanced' with Greek military contingents if necessary.

- **Limiting guarantor rights at the constituent state level**, which would be strictly **contingent upon a 'distress call'** from the Turkish Cypriot community with provisions for gradual troop withdrawal and/or to review guarantor rights and troop presence within identified timeframes (e.g. 5 + 5 years);

- Adoption of a **sunset clause provision:** Terminates all the guarantor rights and all troops withdraw (e.g. 5 years); reviews the guarantor rights and the troop presence at the federal state level within identified timeframes (e.g. 5 + 5 years);

+ Alternative Security Arrangements

Transitional Security Arrangements and Guarantees #2:

- Maintaining Turkey's guarantees **as a last resort only if the Turkish Cypriot community is facing existential threats** or in extreme circumstances such as ethnic cleansing;

- Offering a **sovereign military base to Turkey** in return for the abolishing the Treaty of Guarantee and withdrawal all foreign troops;

- Inclusion of **Greek and Turkish contingents under the UN umbrella** to restore/build trust towards the UN;

- **UNMICYP** could include a Peace Consolidation Pillar (to support reconciliation efforts), Rule of Law Pillar (to provide capacity building and monitoring to police and courts) and Governance Pillar (to provide capacity building and monitoring to the executive branch);

- Enhancement and extension of the **UN mandate** in case of the failure of the local security arrangements; and UN provision of security for territorially adjusted areas.

Alternative Security Arrangements

Effective Civil & Military Security Institutions and External Security #1

- Establishing a **regional defence/security alliance** (e.g. African Standby Force - ASF, South American Defence Council – SADC or Baltic Naval Squadron – BALTRON);

- Creation of an **energy security or energy trade alliance** for hydrocarbon resources in the Mediterranean to promote rapprochement, pre-empt confrontational relationships, and create interdependence and common gains.

- Nesting the **Greek and Turkish contingents under the NATO umbrella**; and/or Possibility of NATO and/or Partnership for Peace membership;

Alternative Security Arrangements

Effective Civil & Military Security Institutions and External Security #2

- Creation of a **multinational military force for national defence** that is made up of **'former guarantors'**; or made up of **'neutral' countries'** that do not include the former guarantors; to address concerns about abuse of mandate;

- **Restructuring of the Treaty of Alliance** where the commitment to 'protect & safeguard' remains but there is no foreign military presence on the island;

- **National defence policy** to include a combination of Cypriot defence capacities (e.g. navy and air defence) and the EU solidarity clause;

- Availability of island-wide **mixed police units** beyond the mandate of the federal police: Bi-communal teams at the constituent state and district level to respond to inter-communal incidents in order to address language barriers and perceived communal bias (see the Bosnian example).

+Alternative Security Arrangements

Untraditional (Broader) Security Arrangement Options

Transitional Obligations and Functionality

- Privatisation of compensation and contributing to the the immovable property commission's compensation budget: Shifting the responsibility of compensation (in some cases) to big construction companies; and/or residents' contributions like a long lease or an added property tax;

- Phased/staged transition, where one phase needs to be completed before the moving on to the next to better manage the transitional obligations and avoid overburdened and under-resourced institutions creating fragility;

- Auditing of implementation (re: Implementation Treaty) by an impartial third party.

- Requiring bilingualism or giving extra points for appointments in the federal government following the transitional period; and providing free language classes for civil servants;

- The Immovable Property Commission should prioritise and execute property cases that include economic activities (e.g. universities, businesses, agricultural land, hotels) to avoid obstruction of economic growth and competitiveness (e.g. The German example, compensation over restitution to reduce economic insecurity).

+ Alternative Security Arrangements

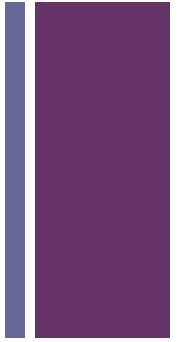**Communal Bias, Reconciliation and Sense of Justice –1**

- Deputy Ministry for Social Cohesion with some executive powers and/or Committee of Reconciliation to bridge constituent institutions that lack a federal level connection (e.g. educational institutions), to provide oversight for provocative or marginalizing behaviour and to promote a federal ethos for Cyprus;

- 'Council of Elders' where each candidate need to be endorsed by the by the community;

- Ability to challenge a judge by appealing to a chamber rather than all the way up to the supreme court on the grounds that a judge is prejudiced;

- A transitional human rights commission that can refer cases directly to the court;

- Transparent public employment processes to foster a sense of justice, accountability and institutional trust (e.g. Transparent performance assessment mechanisms);

- Creation of a common journalist federation and development of a joint media ethics and standards charter.

+Alternative Security Arrangements

Communal Bias, Reconciliation and Sense of Justice –2

- Deputy Ministry for Social Cohesion with some executive powers and/or Committee of Reconciliation to bridge constituent institutions that lack a federal level connection (e.g. educational institutions), to provide oversight for provocative or marginalizing behaviour and to promote a federal ethos for Cyprus;

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+ Alternative Security Arrangements

Communal Bias, Reconciliation and Extremism

- Disposal of weaponry in a symbolic manner (e.g. destroy/bury weaponry publicly) as a confidence building measure;

- Re-organise military human resources into new institutions and support transition to civilian life to address potential resentment and creation of unemployed ex-military personnel.

- Adoption and implementation of strong and effective hate speech and anti-discrimination laws: Zero tolerance policy & Redefinition and elevation of some relevant infractions to hate crime status;

- Establishing effective early warning and response mechanisms;

- Conduct coordinated and participatory research on drivers of extremism to inform policy-making;

- Open civil consultative committees at the district level to address marginalisation of communities and minority groups as well as polarising narratives).

+ Alternative Security Arrangements

Economic Security

■ Establishment of Union of Chambers to arbitrate trade disputes based on amicable resolution, to enable better advocacy and lobbying, to foster effective access to global means and to develop a common economic prosperity vision/strategy;

■ Incentives and peace loyalty rewards for inter-communal mergers and joint ventures to improve competitiveness, interdependence and help capitalise on the Turkish market.

Gender Security

■ Adoption and implementation of 1325 Agenda & Human Security proposal and toolkit that provides post-conflict security provisions with a gender;

■ A multi-cultural, multi-communal women shelters;

■ A federal level gender equality coordination policy centre/institute.

+ Observations and Conclusions

- Security needs and concerns **highly prioritised** by the fieldwork participants.

- Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot respondents are concerned about security dimensions other than the physical/military security that include **human, economic and social security** as well.

- **Strong linkages** between threat and risk categories (e.g. category "transitional obligations" is intertwined with category "functionality and institutional sustainability", category of economy security seems to be strongly linked with common concerns about viability of an agreement, and concerns about "functionality and institutional sustainability" can spill-over to social security).

- Although there are some important community specific security concerns **35/49 security threats, concerns and risks raised by the participants are common** (excluding 13 identified by experts). This finding is an encouraging starting point for the formulation of shared alternative security solutions to shared concerns.

+ Observations and Conclusions

- Research demonstrates a **strong need to broaden the debate about security issues** beyond state-centric traditional approaches and considerations. Traditional security issues must be **discussed in parallel with non-traditional** issues. Convergences and effective solutions for the latter may yield more confidence and convergences in addressing the more difficult aspects of security. This would also help **shift the focus to more constructive and shared security concerns** that can **generate empathy** and engage more people and key people in the process.

- A narrow focus on traditional military security that is ultimately based on a debate about foreign troops and the role of guarantor powers may be preventing us from exploring and **understanding common security concerns and envisioning the future role of Cyprus in a wider security context**.

- This is not an exercise of (over)securitisation and making the concept of security too thin (to mean everything is to mean nothing) but it looks at **security issues in their broader constellation in order to formulate inclusive, informed, viable and acceptable security arrangement formulas.**

+ Conclusions: Next steps

Bi-communal opinion polls

- **Aim:** Test the acceptability and popularity of alternative security arrangement options.
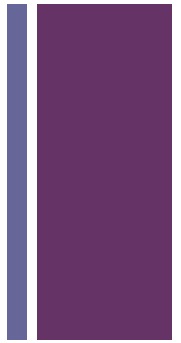
Further dialogue and deliberation

- **Aim:** Test the viability of popular alternative security arrangement options with security expert & key stakeholder contributions
- **Criteria:** (1) technical feasibility, viability and cost; and (2) negotiating responsibility of alternative solutions (tracks and chapters), relevant post-settlement actors, and documents/frameworks under which they must be addressed.

Recommendations

- **Output:** Prepare concrete policy recommendations based on the findings to support and contribute to the peace process and negotiations before the convention of the Cyprus Conference in Geneva on January 12, 2017.

Conclusions – Interim Policy Recommendations

- There is merit in paying more attention to transitional period arrangements that entail security aspects. The more self-assured the communities feel about transitional period arrangements the more secure they will feel about the viability and the durability of the overall arrangement.

- The two communities may not be able to address alone all security needs of the transitional period. UN (and other organizations) role could be crucial in building confidence in that direction.

- Security Dialogue Project offers comparable results and insights that aim to inform the peace process and can help prepare the two leaders and relevant stakeholders to make the best possible decisions about security arrangements.

- A vision for the future role of Cyprus in the regional, European and global security context is maybe vital for encouraging Cypriots to approach the security dossier with more confidence.

Thank You !