Chapter Four
The Cyprus SCORE: Finding new ways to resolve a frozen conflict

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The SCORE index was developed and first applied in Cyprus; for the first time in 2013 and then 2014 and 2015. The SCORE methodology described in chapter two is the result of refinements made during the evolution of the Cyprus SCORE and lessons learned from the SCORE project which was implemented in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 2013. This chapter is devoted to the presentation of the findings of SCORE Cyprus 2014 and 2015. Comparisons to 2013 data will be made when presenting trends or changes across time points. The three questionnaires, SCORE 2013, 2014, 2015 are to a great extent identical. As SCORE 2013 had an exploratory nature and was used as a pilot for the SCORE project, however, we chose to focus on the presentation of the findings of SCORE 2014 and 2015 for which improved versions of the SCORE 2013 questionnaire were deployed.

The chapter will consist of the following sections: the first section will highlight the main methodological differences between SCORE 2013 and subsequent iterations of the tool; the second section will be the presentation and the discussion of the results of the descriptive analysis of the SCORE 2014 and SCORE 2015 data. Then third section will be comprised of findings of the comparison of 2013, 2014 and 2015 results in such cases where this is possible, and the fourth section will be the presentation of the results of the predictive analysis of SCORE 2014 and SCORE 2015 data. The final section of the chapter concludes with the discussion of the main findings and the presentation of policy recommendations.

Part 1
Methodological highlights

The data collection for SCORE 2014 and SCORE 2015 took place between July and September 2014 and June and July 2015 respectively. In both iterations, five hundred participants were interviewed from each of the two main communities (Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots) in a sample that was representative of the voting population. Approximately equal numbers of male and female participants were interviewed (SCORE 2014: Greek Cypriots; 229 male, 271 female; Turkish Cypriots; 279 male, 221 female; SCORE 2015: Greek Cypriots; 243 male, 257 female; Turkish Cypriots; 269 male, 231 female). A break-down of the sample by district can be seen in (Table 1). These are: Nicosia (Greek Cypriot Community – GCC), Limassol, Larnaka, Paphos, Famagusta (GCC), Nicosia (Turkish Cypriot Community – TCC), Kyrenia, Famagusta (TCC), Morfou, and Iskele (Karpas).

	SCORE 2014	SCORE 2015
	N/ district	N/ district
Nicosia (GCC)	196	190
Limassol	139	140
Larnaka	85	80
Paphos	53	60
Famagusta (GCC)	27	30
Nicosia (TCC)	164	164
Kyrenia	123	121
Famagusta (TCC)	115	120
Morfou	58	55
Iskele (Karpas)	40	40

Table 1. Sample size per district in SCORE 2014 and SCORE 2015

Measuring social cohesion and reconciliation:

As described in more detail in the SCORE methodology document, social cohesion and reconciliation are abstract constructs that can be measured by a set of indicators. The selection of indicators was based on social psychology and human development theories. Statistical analysis techniques such as Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) were used to verify whether the indicators which were theoretically *expected* to make up the second order factors (social cohesion and reconciliation) *actually* did so based on the data.

Social cohesion

In SCORE 2014 and SCORE 2015, Confirmatory Factor Analyses showed that social cohesion is made up of the following indicators: transparency (freedom from corruption), satisfaction with civic life, trust in institutions, confidence in their representational capacity, economic security, political security and personal security. The specific items via which each indicator was measured are shown in Figure 1.
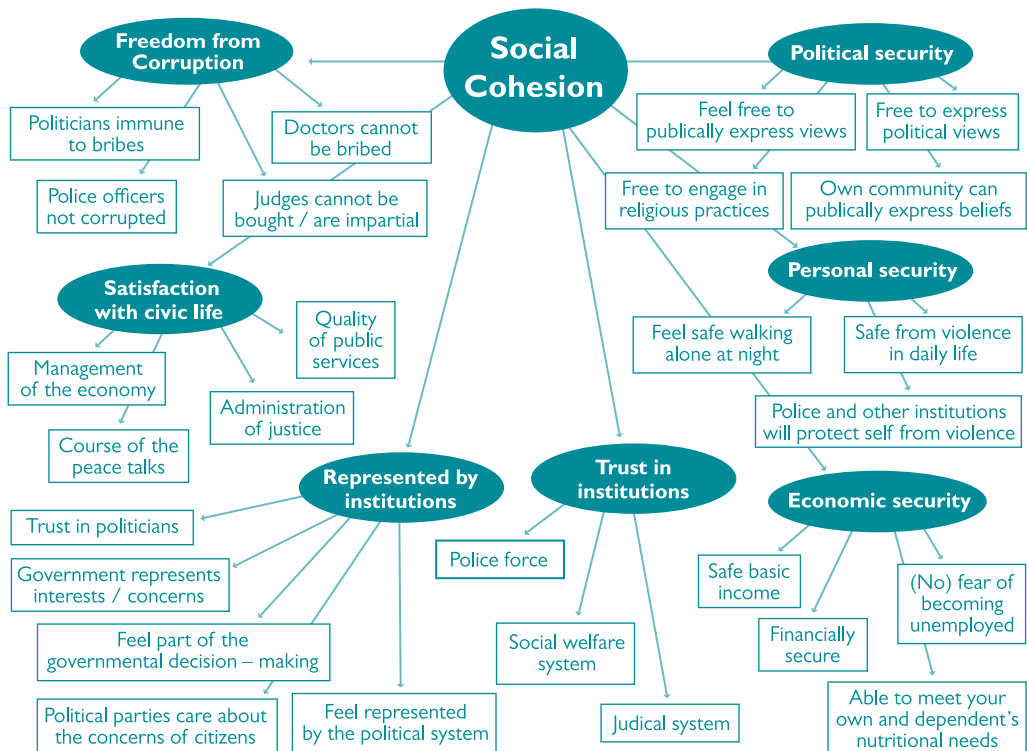
Figure 1. Indicators of social cohesion and items used to measure each indicator.

Reconciliation

Confirmatory factors analyses showed that Reconciliation was best measured by the following five indicators for both SCORE 2013 and SCORE 2015. This was the case for both communities. The five indicators are: negative stereotypes, intergroup anxiety, social threats, social distance, and negative discrimination. They are shown in Figure 2 along with the items used to measure each indicator.
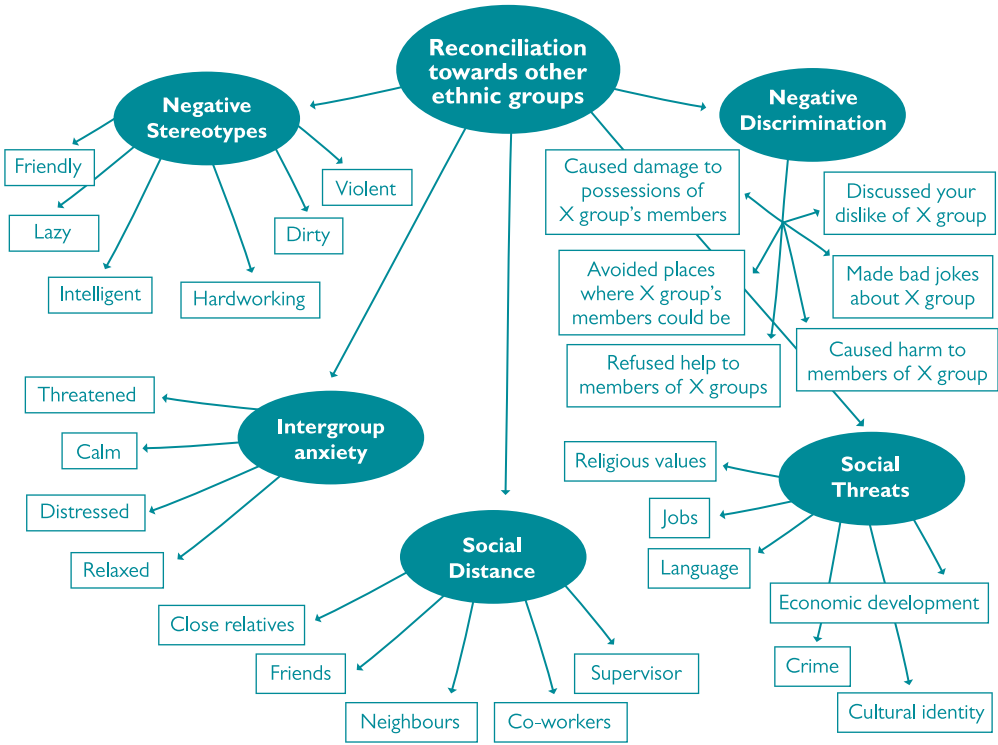

Figure 2. Indicators of reconciliation and items used to measure each indicator.

Readiness for political compromise and personal distress

Apart from social cohesion and reconciliation in both of the latest iterations of SCORE in Cyprus we included items to measure two more dimensions, the first one being (readiness for) political compromise and the second one being personal distress. The dimension of political compromise was measured via the exact same items in both SCORE 2014 and 2015. These four items (see Figure 3) were: support for a federal solution, support for ending the status quo, expectation that peace negotiations will conclude, intention to vote 'yes' at a future referendum.
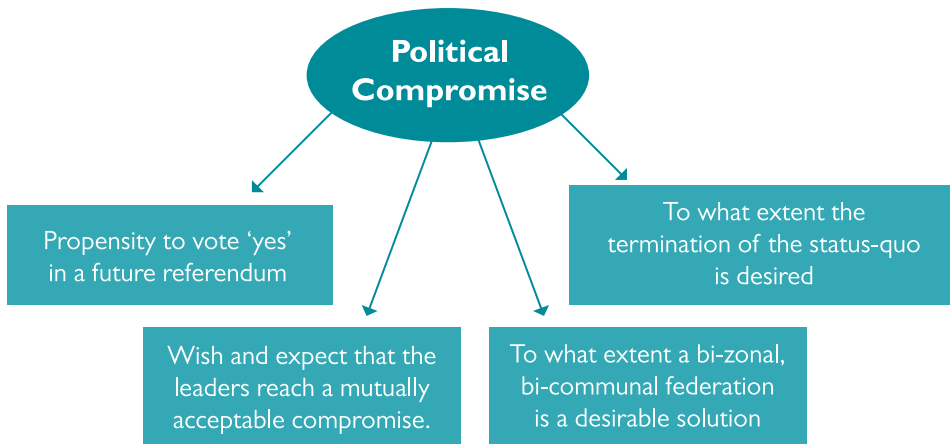
Political Compromise

Propensity to vote 'yes' in a future referendum

To what extent the termination of the status-quo is desired

Wish and expect that the leaders reach a mutually acceptable compromise.

To what extent a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation is a desirable solution

Figure 3. Items measuring readiness for political compromise.

The dimensions of personal distress varied substantially between the 2014 and 2015 iterations of SCORE Cyprus, since for SCORE 2015 we intentionally tried to better capture and measure this additional dimension. For this reason many more items were included in the SCORE 2015 questionnaire aiming at tackling personal distress.

The indicators making up this construct in SCORE 2014 were: (dis)satisfaction with personal life and social exclusion (see Figure 4) while the indicators making up the
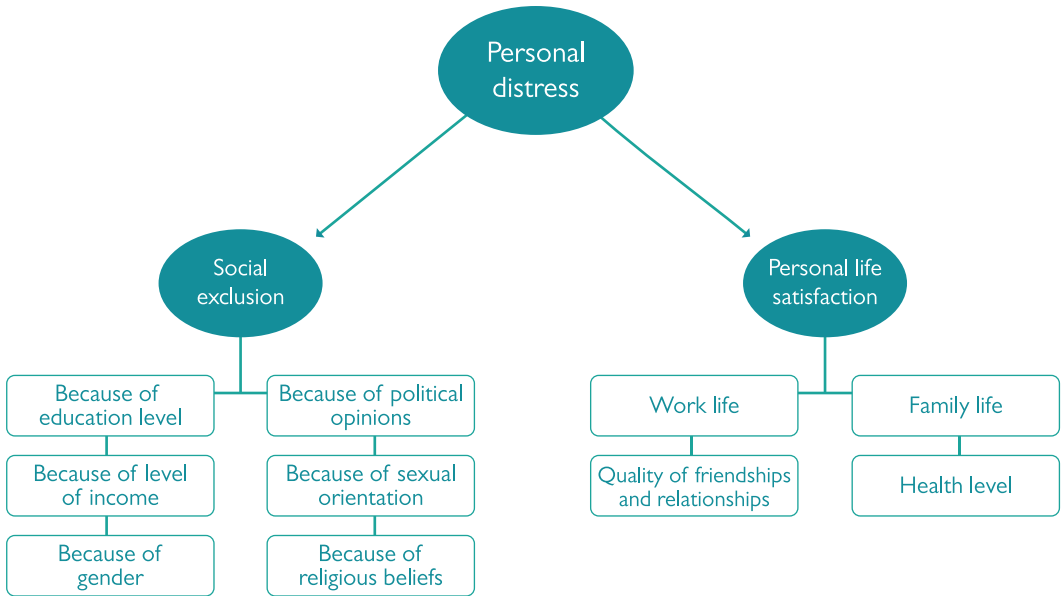
Figure 4. Indicators of personal distress and items used to measure each indicator (SCORE 2014).
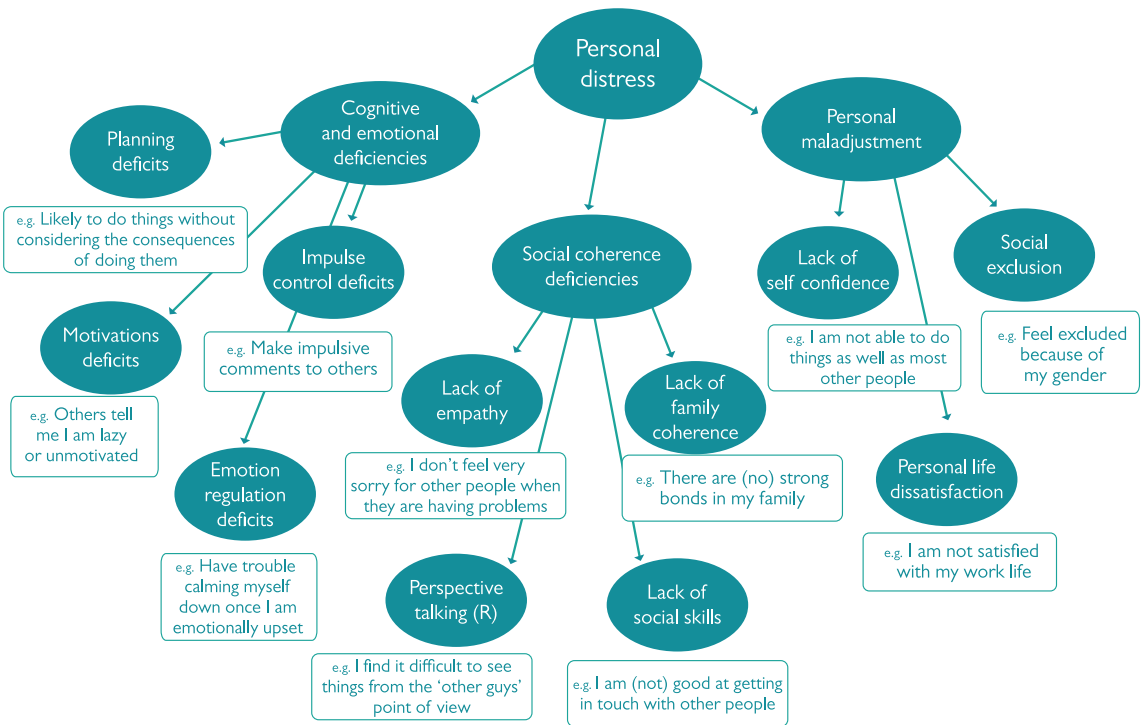

Figure 5. IIndicators and sub-indicators of personal distress and examples of items used to measure each sub-indicator (SCORE 2015).

personal distress dimension for SCORE 2015 were: cognitive and emotional deficiencies, lack of social coherence, and personal maladjustment. The sub-indicators making up each of these indicators of personal distress are seen in Figure 5.

Finally, there is a set of stand-alone variables, which do not form part of any of the previously mentioned dimensions, and which were included in both SCORE 2014 and 2015 in Cyprus. Some of them are more closely related to civic life and therefore to social cohesion. These are: information consumption and civic engagement. Others, which are more closely connected to intergroup relations and therefore to reconciliation, are: the quantity and quality of intergroup contact and cultural distance.

Results
What do the numbers mean?

The numbers presented in the descriptive section of the results are means, or rather scores, on each of the dimensions or indicators presented. All scores range between 0 and 10 where 0 and 10 mean different things depending on the valence of the indicator. The name of the indicators suggests its valence. If, for example, we take the indicator 'social threat', which measures the perception of threat from other groups as experienced by respondents, then the very name of the indicator, 'social threat', suggests that a high scoring would mean a higher and not a lower threat.

The numbers outlined in the predictive analysis of the data, represent regression coefficients. These are basically values that show whether and how one variable (indicator) relates to another variable. We only report coefficients that are statistically significant; statistical significance is denoted with an asterisk (*) next to the value[1]. The greater the value of the coefficient, the stronger the relationship between the two variables is. A positive value indicates a positive relationship between the two variables, while a negative value indicates a negative relationship between them.

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[1] Note that the significance level *(a)* was set at 5% and therefore coefficients with a p-value < 0.05 were considered to be statistically significant. Note also that we are reporting standardized coefficients.

Margin of error and comparison between SCORE 2013, SCORE 2014 and SCORE 2015 results

The margin of error is basically an indication of the likelihood that the results generated by our representative sample would be replicated if the whole voting population of the two communities took part in the study. The estimated margin of error for the whole sample in SCORE 2014 and SCORE 2015 was 3.2% and 4.5% for each individual community. To illustrate what a margin of 4.5% means, let us take the following example: if the reconciliation score of Greek Cypriots towards Turkish Cypriots is 6.3 then this tells us that if SCORE 2014 were to be repeated with 100 different samples, there is a 95 percent chance that any value produced for reconciliation would lie between 6.0 and 6.5.

The margin of error for SCORE 2013 was 2.6% for the whole sample, 3.8% for the Greek Cypriot community and 3.5% for the Turkish Cypriot community. This discrepancy is due to the fact that the sample size of each community was uneven: there were more Turkish Cypriots than Greek Cypriot participants and the margin of error is affected by sample size.

Knowing the margin of error for SCORE 2013 and SCORE 2014 and 2015 allows us to estimate roughly which of the differences between the three measurements are substantial and meaningful and which are not. Reconciliation of Greek Cypriots towards Turkish Cypriots, as recorded in Cyprus 2013 for example, was 5.9, a lower score than that recorded in SCORE 2014. With a margin of error of 3.8% the 2013 score for reconciliation ranges from 5.7 to 6.1. The fact that the maximum possible value of SCORE 2014 (6.1) lies within the range of the SCORE 2014 reconciliation spectrum, warns us that the differences between the reconciliation score in 2013 and 2014 may not be substantial or meaningful enough to capitalize on.

Leaving aside the margin of error, in general, comparisons between the three iterations of SCORE in Cyprus should be interpreted with great caution. In each case the samples were different, making strict longitudinal comparisons impossible. Furthermore, the SCORE 2014 and SCORE 2015 questionnaires were substantially re-drafted and so some of the disparities between the indices may be the consequence of methodological variation for example, differences in the presentation and order of questions, rather than substantive differences.

Descriptive analysis: presentation of the scores for SCORE 2014 and SCORE 2015

Social cohesion

Levels of social cohesion were reported to be higher in the Turkish Cypriot (TC) community than in the Greek Cypriot (GC) community in both SCORE 2014 and SCORE 2015. In 2014 as seen in Table 2, Turkish Cypriots reported: more transparency (freedom from corruption), being better represented by institutions, and more economic and personal security, in comparison with Greek Cypriots. The only dimension of social cohesion on which Greek Cypriots reported higher scores was political security. As can also be seen in Table 2, in both communities the main indicator driving down levels of social cohesion is confidence in the representational capacity of institutions.
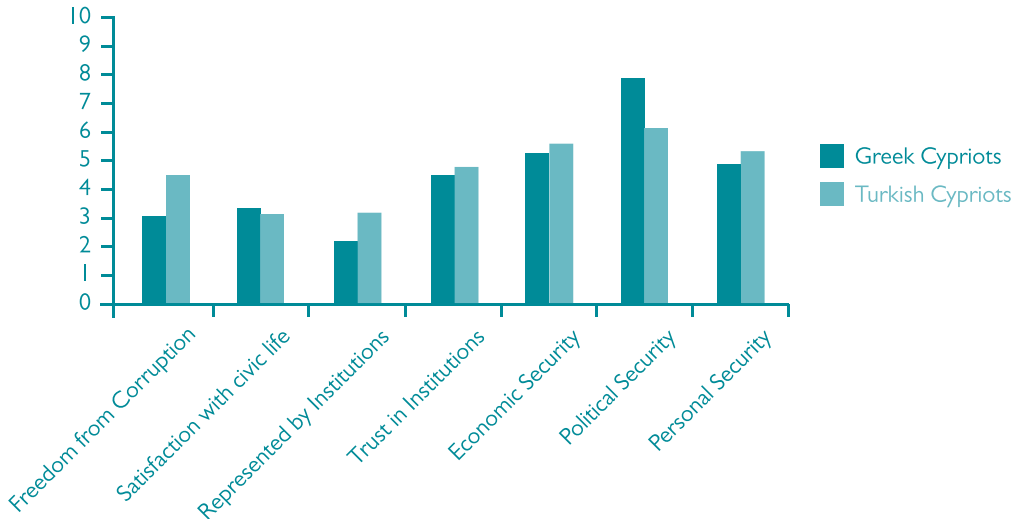

Table 2. Scores for each of the social cohesion indicators in the two communities, SCORE 2014
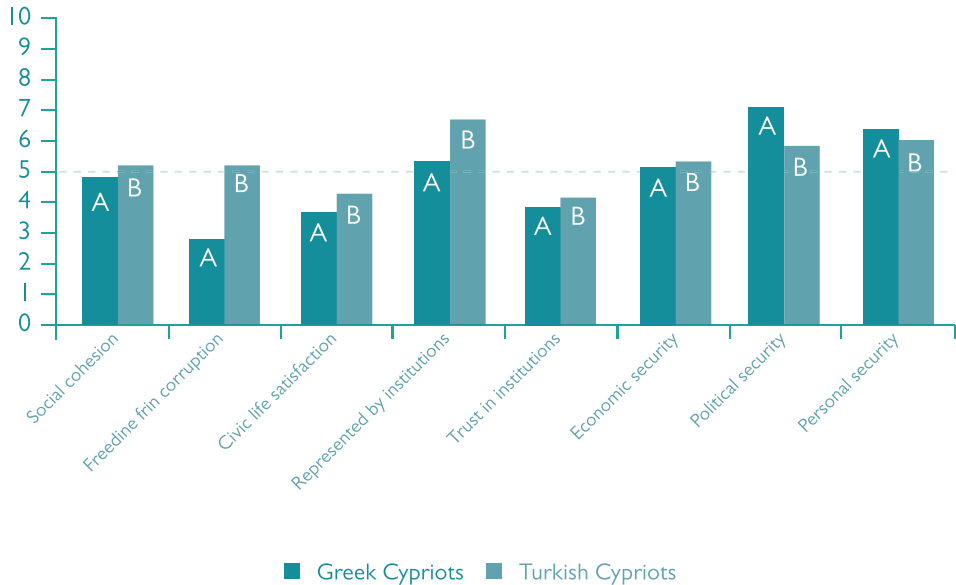
Table 3. Scores for each of the social cohesion indicators in the two communities, SCORE 2015

In 2015 (see Table 3), Turkish Cypriots who overall score higher on social cohesion, report less corruption of the institutions than Greek Cypriots, more satisfaction with civic life and state that they feel more represented by the institutions (in comparison to Greek Cypriots). Greek Cypriots on the other hand score slightly higher than Turkish Cypriots on the human security indicators. Greek Cypriots report feeling more political and more personal security than Turkish Cypriots. Civic life satisfaction and trust in institutions (as well as freedom from corruption for Greek Cypriots) are the indicators that are driving down the levels of social cohesion in both communities.

An interesting discrepancy between year 2014 and 2015 is found in the extent to which individuals feel represented by institutions. Scores on this indicator became higher between years 2014 and 2015 in both communities, and this indicator is essentially responsible for the significant increase in social cohesion in both communities between years 2014 and 2015. Social cohesion moved from 3.9 to 4.9 in the Greek Cypriot community and from 4.4 to 5.3 in the Turkish Cypriot community within the course of a year.

In general, young (18 to 35 year-old) in comparison to the older cohort (over 55 year-olds) and left-wing Greek Cypriots in comparison to ring-wing Greek Cypriots are the

segments of the Greek Cypriot population who report the lowest levels of social cohesion in both years. Young Greek Cypriots are score lower in economic security, whereas left-wingers report lower on the indicators that concern institutions and civic life. In the Turkish Cypriot community too, young Turkish Cypriots are the group reporting the lowest levels of social cohesion with economic security being the indicator of social cohesion that mostly differentiated them from the eldest (over 55 group).

There are interesting region discrepancies in both communities when it comes to social cohesion indicators in both iterations of SCORE. In both SCORE 2014 and 2015, Greek Cypriots living in Paphos and those living in Nicosia are the ones who report more corruption of the institutions and less civic life satisfaction. Particularly people in Paphos state that they do not trust institutions and that they do not feel represented by them. The only exception to this pattern is observed for personal security. Limassol is the district for which the lowest levels of personal security are scored.

Differences between regions on the social cohesion indicators became even more apparent in year 2015 where we have people living in Kyrenia and to a lesser extent people living in Morphou showing the least trust to institutions, feeling the least represented by them, and feeling unhappy with civic life. People in Famagusta, on the other hand, score the lowest on the human security indicators: lower economic, personal, and political security than other regions.

Personal distress

The descriptive results for personal distress are going to be presented separately for year 2014 and year 2015 due to the fact that this dimension was measured with substantially different indicators in the two years. We will discuss these findings for each community separately and will refrain from making inter-community comparisons as they carry little meaning for this dimension. We will furthermore highlight the most important demographic differences on this dimension and its indicators within each community.

SCORE 2014

Table 4 presents the personal distress scores, along with the scores of its constituent indicators (social exclusion and personal life dissatisfaction). It is clear that Greek Cypriots experience significantly less distress in their personal lives than Turkish Cypriots. This applies to both aspects of personal distress (social exclusion and dissatisfaction with personal life).

One factor that affects levels of personal distress in both communities is age. Younger Greek and Turkish Cypriots reported experiencing more exclusion and more dissatisfaction with personal life than those over 55. Greek Cypriots reported greater social exclusion due to income, education, and sexual orientation, while their Turkish Cypriot counterparts reported greater social exclusion based on gender, level of income, religious beliefs and political opinions. As for dissatisfaction with personal life, young Greek and Turkish Cypriots are more dissatisfied with most aspects of their personal lives (namely work life, family life, and quality of personal relationships) than the over-55 group, with the greatest discrepancy being, as expected, in work life.
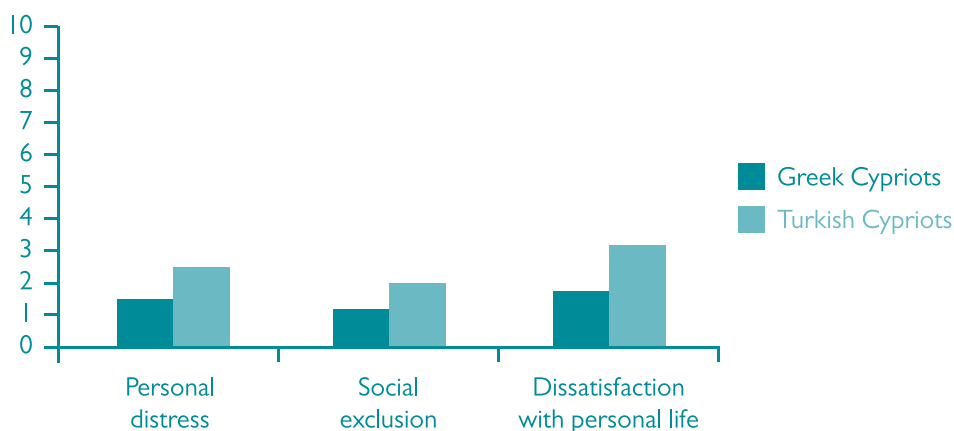

Table 4. Scores for personal distress, social exclusion, and dissatisfaction with personal life in the two communities, SCORE 2014.

SCORE 2015

Table 5 shows the scores of the two communities on each of the sub-indicators of the personal distress indicators. In terms of cognitive and emotional deficits, Greek and Turkish Cypriots find emotion regulation to be a relatively bigger challenge than for example motivation. Regarding social coherence, both communities score high on social skills and family coherence and somewhat lower for empathy and perspective taking. Social exclusion is at very low levels in both communities and overall people of both communities report high levels of self-confidence and high levels of personal life satisfaction.
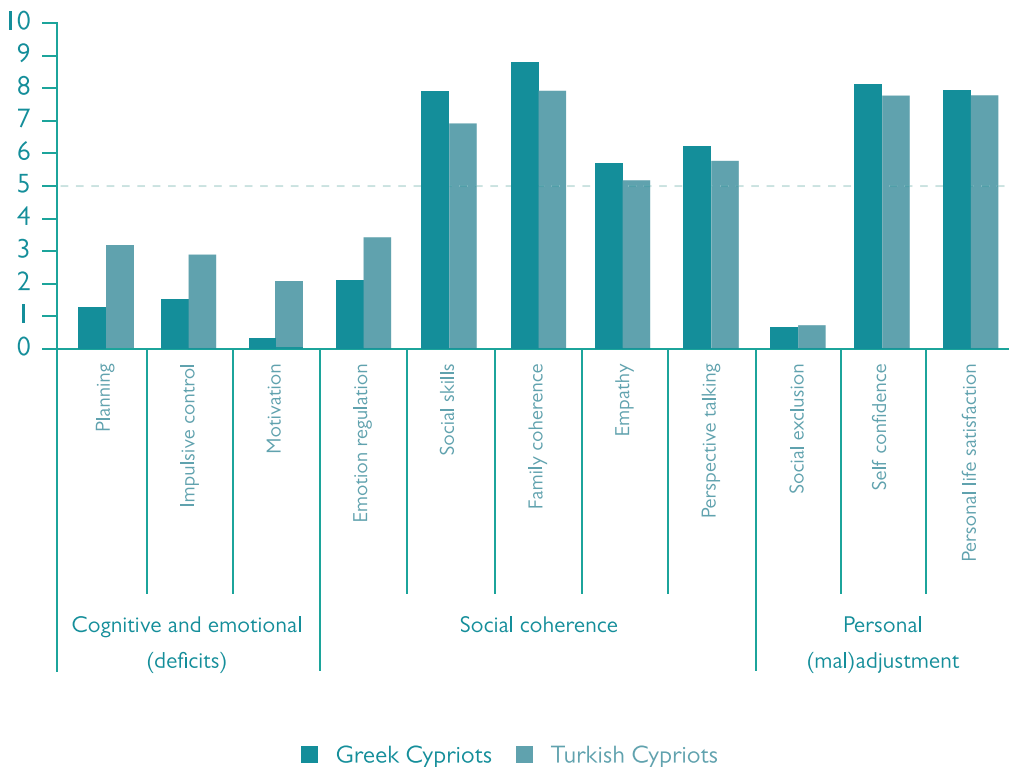

Table 5. Scores for the sub-indicators of the personal distress indicators (cognitive and emotional deficits, social coherence, and personal (mal)adjustment in the two communities, SCORE 2015.

There are certain demographic variables that affect the levels of the cognitive and emotional deficits indicators of the personal distress dimension. These variables are to a great extent similar in the two communities. Age, religiosity and to a lesser extent education and gender affect the levels of cognitive and emotional deficits. Older individuals are better at controlling their impulses, better at motivating themselves to assume action, and better at regulating their emotions. More religious individuals in both communities report to be better at controlling their impulsive behavior and at planning. Finally more highly educated people are also better at planning whereas women in both communities report to be better at regulating their emotions than men.

The levels of the remaining two indicators of personal distress, social coherence and personal mal(adjustment), are not determined by any specific demographic variables in either community. The only relationships found is between (higher) education and (better) social skills in the Greek Cypriot community and (higher) education and (more) family coherence in the Turkish Cypriot community. Education and religiosity are also positively correlated with self confidence among Greek Cypriots. The higher one's level of education and religiosity the more self-confidence one reports.

Reconciliation

SCORE Cyprus measured each community's propensity for 'reconciliation' with other ethnic, religious, or cultural groups. It should be noted here that the term 'reconciliation' based on its pure definition should strictly speaking only be used to describe the relationship between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. In this respect, when investigating relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots with other communities living on the island, we are not assessing propensities for *reconciliation* since there has been no breach or rupture between either the Greek or the Turkish Cypriot community with any of them. However, by expanding this category to include other ethnic groups living in Cyprus, we are able to place Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot attitudes to each other in the broader context of their attitudes to all outgroupers.

The SCORE 2014 data (Figure 6) show that the two communities do not differ in terms of how reconciliatory they are towards each other. Differences between the two communities do exist however in their attitudes towards other groups. Greek Cypriots, as expected, are significantly more positively disposed to Armenians and Maronites than

Turkish Cypriots are. They also make a distinction between East and West Europeans, as well as between Europeans (especially West Europeans) and Asians, Arabs, and Africans whom they appear to cluster into one category. More specifically, Greek Cypriots see West Europeans in a more sympathetic light than East Europeans, Asian, Arabs, and Africans, making a distinction between them and the others. The other finding that stands out for Greek Cypriots is how *unreconciled* they are to Turks.

The Greek Cypriot community therefore appears to make two important distinctions, between Europeans and non-Europeans, and between Greeks and Turks. These two divides are not as stark in the Turkish Cypriot community. The gap, for example, between attitudes towards West Europeans and East Europeans and towards West Europeans and the Arab/African/Asian group is small for the TC community, and so is the gap between attitudes towards Turks and Greeks.
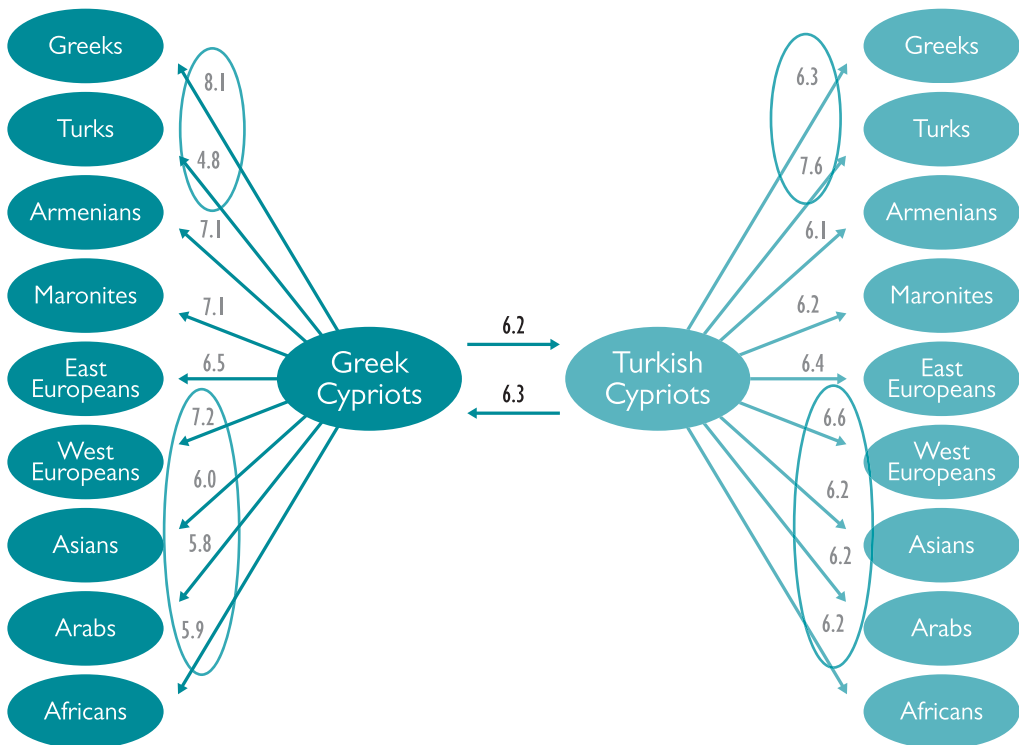

Figure 6. Attitudes of Greek and Turkish Cypriots towards mutual reconciliation, as well as attitudes towards other social groups. The closer the score is to 10 the higher the propensity for 'reconciliation' with that particular group, SCORE 2014.
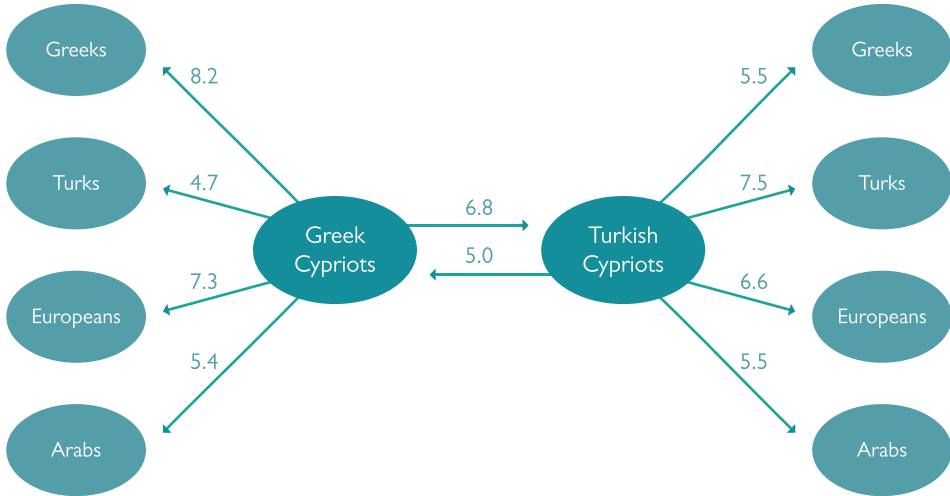
Figure 7. Attitudes of Greek and Turkish Cypriots towards mutual reconciliation, as well as attitudes towards other social groups. The closer the score is to 10 the higher the propensity for 'reconciliation' with that particular group, SCORE 2015.

The SCORE 2015 data (Figure7) show the attitudes towards reconciliation of the two communities towards each other to differ. Greek Cypriots report a greater tendency for reconciliation with the Turkish Cypriot community than Turkish Cypriots do with the Greek Cypriot community. It can be argued, in fact, that Turkish Cypriots are overall not positive to the idea of reconciliation with the other community as they score in the middle of the 10-point scale.

The tendency of Greek Cypriots to distinguish between European/ non European; East/ West; Turkish/ Greeks is seen again in SCORE 2015. The gap in attitudes towards Turks and Greeks on one hand and Europeans and Arabs on the other is greater than the corresponding gaps for Turkish Cypriots. Greek Cypriots are substantially more positive towards Greeks and Europeans than towards Turks and Arabs whereas Turkish Cypriots do not make as sharp distinction between (attitudes towards) Greeks and Turks and (attitudes towards) Europeans and Arabs.

Reconciliation profile

An analysis of reconciliation at the indicator-level shows that the 'reconciliation profile' of the two communities is rather different both in 2014 and (even more so) in 2015. As portrayed in Figure 8, Greek Cypriots in 2014 reported feeling substantially more anxious about interaction with Turkish Cypriots, and being more threatened by them. Turkish Cypriots on the other hand did not report anxiety to meet Greek Cypriots or to be threatened by them, but stated that they wished to maintain greater social distance from them and to have actively discriminated against them.

The 'reconciliation profile' of the two communities in 2015 (Figure 9) shows Greek Cypriots to score higher on every single indicator of reconciliation: negative stereotypes, intergroup anxiety, social threats, social distance, and active discrimination. The discrepancy between the two communities is particularly prevalent for social distance with Turkish Cypriots practically stating that they want to keep distance from Greek Cypriots when it comes to forming social ties with them.
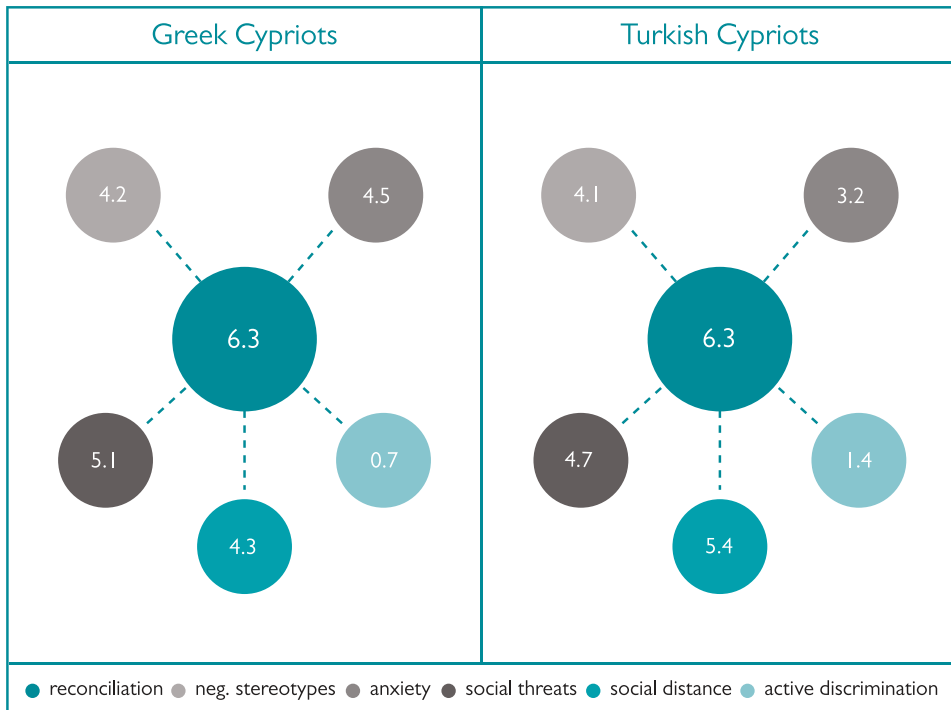

Figure 8. Reconciliation profile of each community, SCORE 2014.

Finally, there are certain demographic characteristics that determine reconciliation levels in the two communities and they are similar between years 2014 and 2015. The common denominator amongst both communities in 2014 is political orientation. Left-wingers have a greater propensity for reconciliation compared with those on the centre/right of the political spectrum. Right-wingers, and to a lesser extent people in the political centre of the Greek Cypriot community, feel more threatened by Turkish Cypriots, and, when compared with people on the left, are keen to keep a distance from them and to discriminate against them. In the same way, those on the centre/right of the Turkish Cypriot community hold more negative stereotypes of Greek Cypriots, feel more threatened by them and desire greater social distance from them.

Political orientation remains as a determining variable of reconciliation indicators only in the Greek Cypriot community. More right wing positioning on the political spectrum among Greek Cypriots is associated with more negative stereotypes towards Turkish Cypriots, more anxiety to interact with them, with feeling more threatened by them, with a greater wish to keep distance from them and with more discriminatory behaviours towards Turkish Cypriots.

Greek Cypriots	Turkish Cypriots
3.6 3.5	5.3 4.5
6.8	5.0
4.7 0.5	6.4 2.2
3.9	6.9

● reconciliation ● neg. stereotypes ● anxiety ● social threats ● social distance ● active discrimination
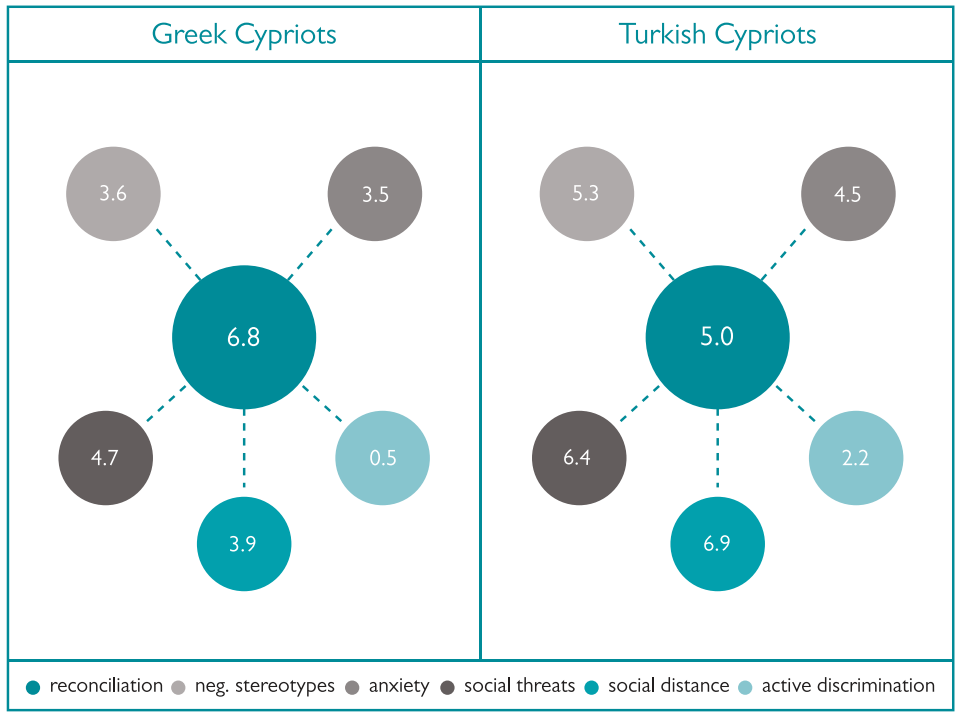
Figure 9. Reconciliation profile of each community, SCORE 2015.

Within the Greek Cypriot community, gender and age also play a part in determining attitudes towards reconciliation with Turkish Cypriots in both 2014 and 2015. Greek Cypriot women are less reconciliatory than men (a common finding with SCORE 2013). The reasons for this include greater anxiety about meeting Turkish Cypriots, higher levels of perceived threat from Turkish Cypriots, and a (greater) desire to maintain a distance from them. As far as age is concerned, younger Greek Cypriots are less reconciliatory than those over 55. They are more anxious to interact with Turkish Cypriots, but also appear to display higher levels of active discrimination against them when compared with the over 55 group. In year 2015 age is becoming as key of an indicator as political orientation is in determining reconciliation. Young (18-35 year old) Greek Cypriots report higher scores on all reconciliation indicators in comparison to their older counterparts (especially the over 55 year olds).

Age becomes a key indicator of reconciliation and its indicators in 2015 in the Turkish Cypriot community. Older (over 55 year olds) Turkish Cypriots report more negative stereotypes towards Greek Cypriots, greater anxiety to have contact with Greek Cypriots and less desire to have social ties with them, than young (18-35 year olds) Turkish Cypriots.

Comparing SCORE 2013 – 2014 – 2015 on reconciliation

A comparison of reconciliation scores between SCORE 2013, 2014, and 2015 reveals differences over the course of time (see Figure 10). The propensity for reconciliation with the Turkish Cypriot community amongst Greek Cypriots *increased* between 2013 and 2014 and between 2014and 2015. While the 2013-2014 increase did not reach statistical significance the 2013-2015 difference is significant. This means that attitudes towards reconciliation with Turkish Cypriots became increasingly more positive for Greek Cypriots over the last two years and in 2015 Greek Cypriots are substantially more open towards reconciliation than they were back in 2013.

By contrast, the propensity of Turkish Cypriots towards reconciliation with Greek Cypriots declined during the same period (see Figure 10). The decline in propensity

for reconciliation amongst Turkish Cypriots was significant between 2013 and 2014 and between 2014 and 2015. The propensity for reconciliation of Turkish Cypriots towards Greek Cypriots decreased by more than two units on a 10-point scale from 2013 to 2015.

In an attempt to look deeper into the changes over time of the reconciliation scores of the two communities, we mapped the reconciliation changes (Figures 11a,b) and we tracked the scores of each of the indicators overtime (Figures 12a,b) to see which regions and which indicators are 'responsible' for these changes in the two communities.

■ Greek Cypriots   ■ Turkish Cypriots
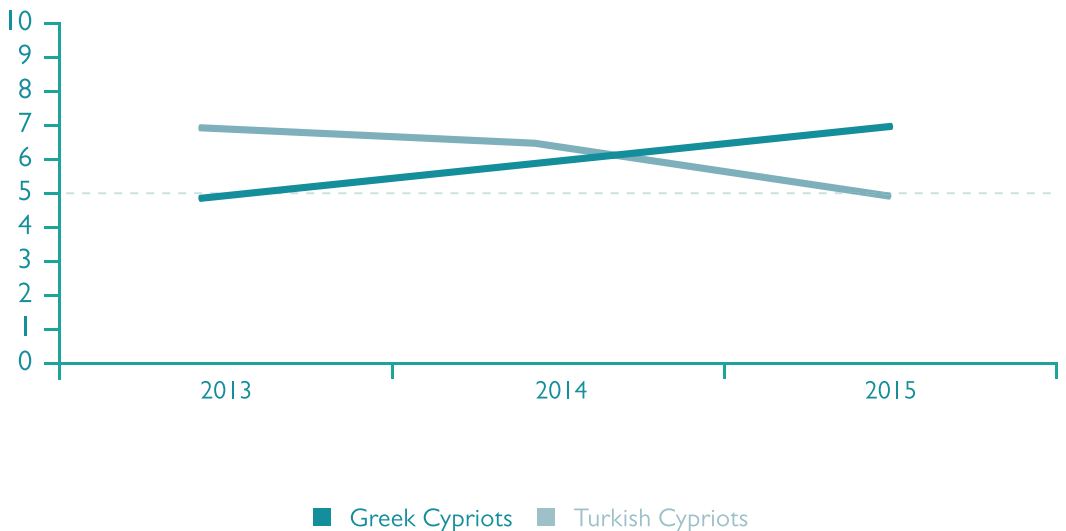
Figure 10. Differences between SCORE 2013, SCORE 2014, and SCORE 2015 in attitudes towards reconciliation with the other community.

As Figure 11a demonstrates, the Turkish Cypriot community reported a *decrease* in its propensity for reconciliation across all districts between 2013 and 2014 apart from Morphou. The decrease was particularly apparent amongst Turkish Cypriots living in Nicosia. Between 2014 and 2015 (see Figure 11b), all districts in the Turkish Cypriot community without any exception scored a decrease in reconciliation. This time around, however, the decrease was minimal among Turkish Cypriots living in Nicosia and very big among Turkish Cypriots living in the rest of the districts and particularly Kyrenia which scored a decrease of 2.5 units on a 10-point scale.

In the Greek Cypriot community the propensity for reconciliation *increased* in all districts between 2013 and 2014 apart from Nicosia. Nicosia in 2014 stood out as the only district to record a decline in positive attitudes towards reconciliation within the Greek Cypriot community and also as recording the largest decline in positive attitudes amongst the Turkish Cypriot community. The picture for Nicosia changed completely in year 2015 in the Greek Cypriot community. Nicosia scored a one unit increase in reconciliation between 2014 and 2015. Nicosia is in fact the district that is responsible for the 2014
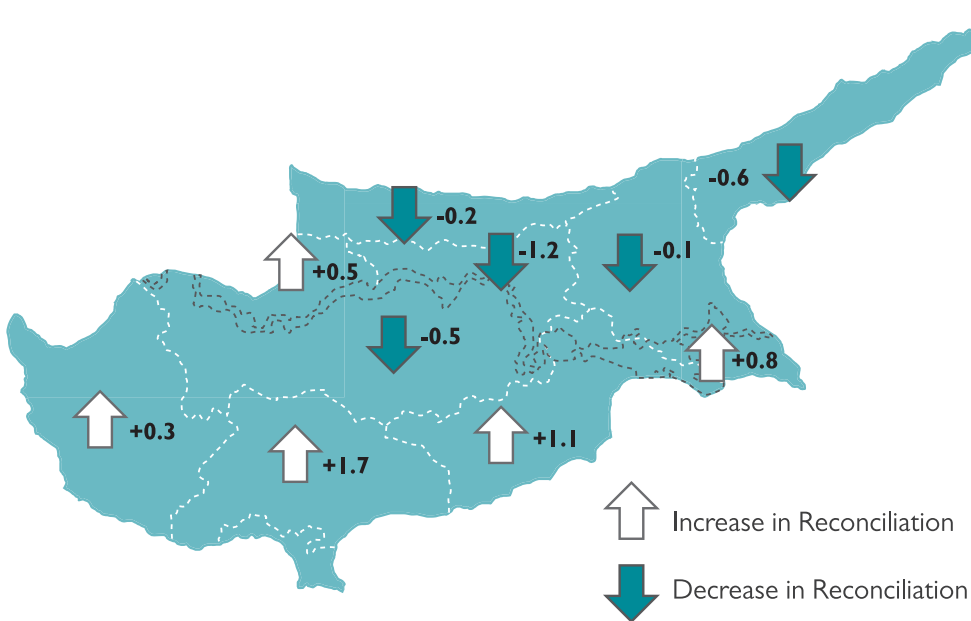

Figure 11a. Difference in reconciliation scores between SCORE 2013 and SCORE 2014, by district.
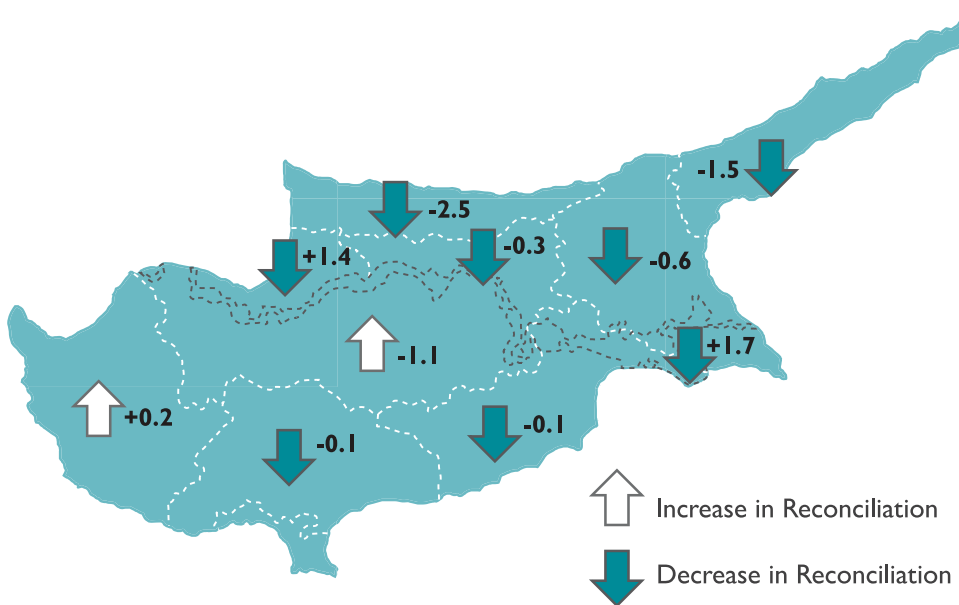
Figure 11b. Difference in reconciliation scores between SCORE 2014 and SCORE 2015, by district.

to 2015 reconciliation increase in the Greek Cypriot community. Reconciliation levels in the remaining of the districts in the Greek Cypriot community remained unchanged between 2014 and 2015 notwithstanding Famagusta where a nearly two point decrease was scored.

As Tables 6a and b show furthermore the increase in reconciliation scores in the Greek Cypriot community is not driven by a single indicator; Greek Cypriots score steadily lower on all indicators of reconciliation with the only exception of active discrimination which was and remained at very low levels throughout the years 2013 to 2015.

The same applies for the Turkish Cypriot community, that the decrease in reconciliation scores is reflected across all indicators of reconciliation. If there is something to be said about the reconciliation indicators in the Turkish Cypriot community, this is about social distance which is the indicator with the greatest differences in scores between 2013 and 2014 and 2014 and 2015. Social distance doubled in the Turkish Cypriot community between 2013 (3.5 on a 10-point scale) and 2015 (7 on a 10 point-scale).
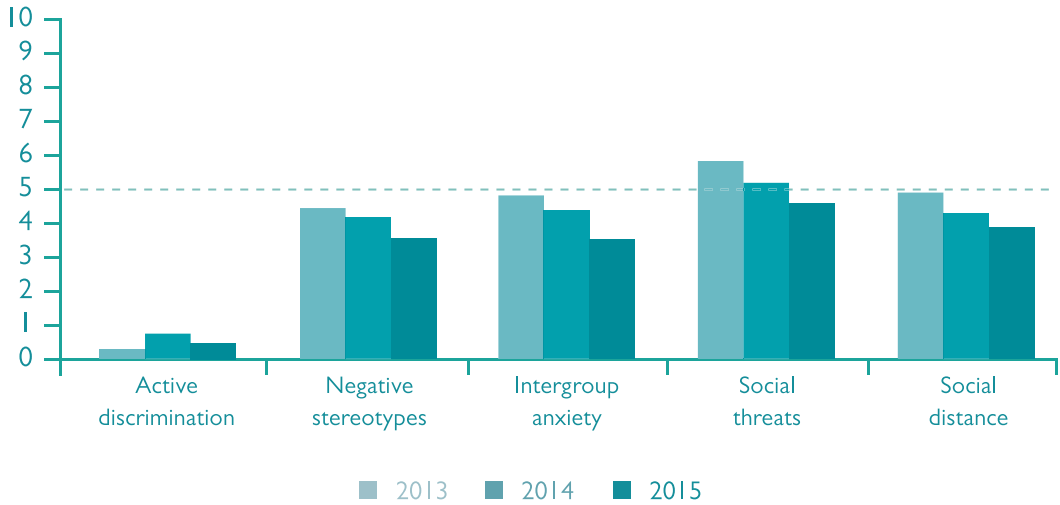
Table 6a. Scores on the reconciliation indicators across SCORE 2013, 2014, and 2015 for Greek Cypriots
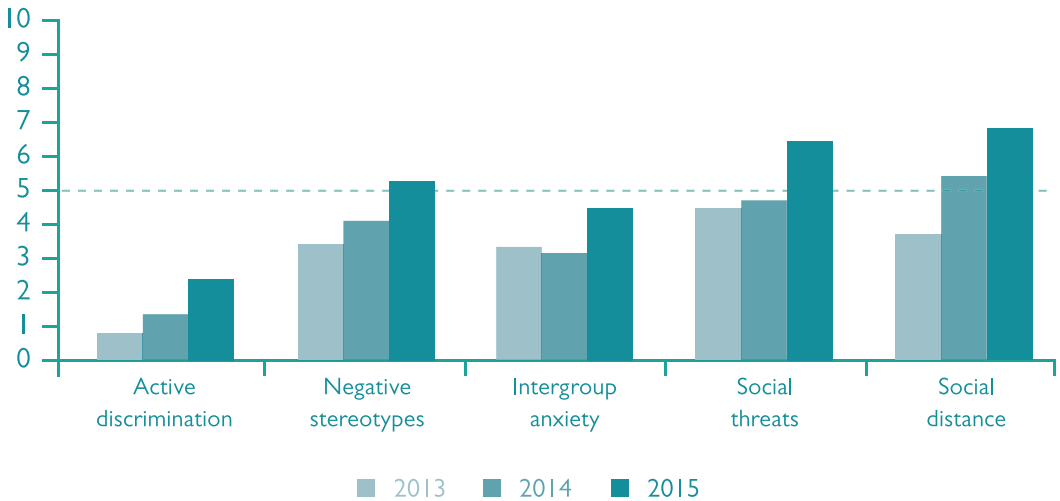

Table 6b. Scores on the reconciliation indicators across SCORE 2013, 2014, and 2015 for Turkish Cypriots

Other indicators related to reconciliation

Cultural distance

Figure 12 and Figure 13 present the levels of cultural distance that Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots reported experiencing from various other ethnic groups in 2014 and 2015 respectively. In 2014, Greek Cypriots reported slightly more cultural distance from Turkish Cypriots, than Turkish Cypriots did from Greek Cypriots. As expected, Greek Cypriots regarded Greeks as being culturally closest to them and Turks as the most culturally distant, whereas Turkish Cypriots considered Turks to be the group culturally closest to them, but they did not differentiate much between Greeks and Greek Cypriots. Both communities cited Western Europeans as being the next culturally closest group, (after Greeks for Greek Cypriots and Turks for Turkish Cypriots). Both communities feel culturally closer to West Europeans than to East Europeans, Asians Arabs, and Africans. While the results on cultural distance are roughly similar to 2014 in SCORE 2015, one
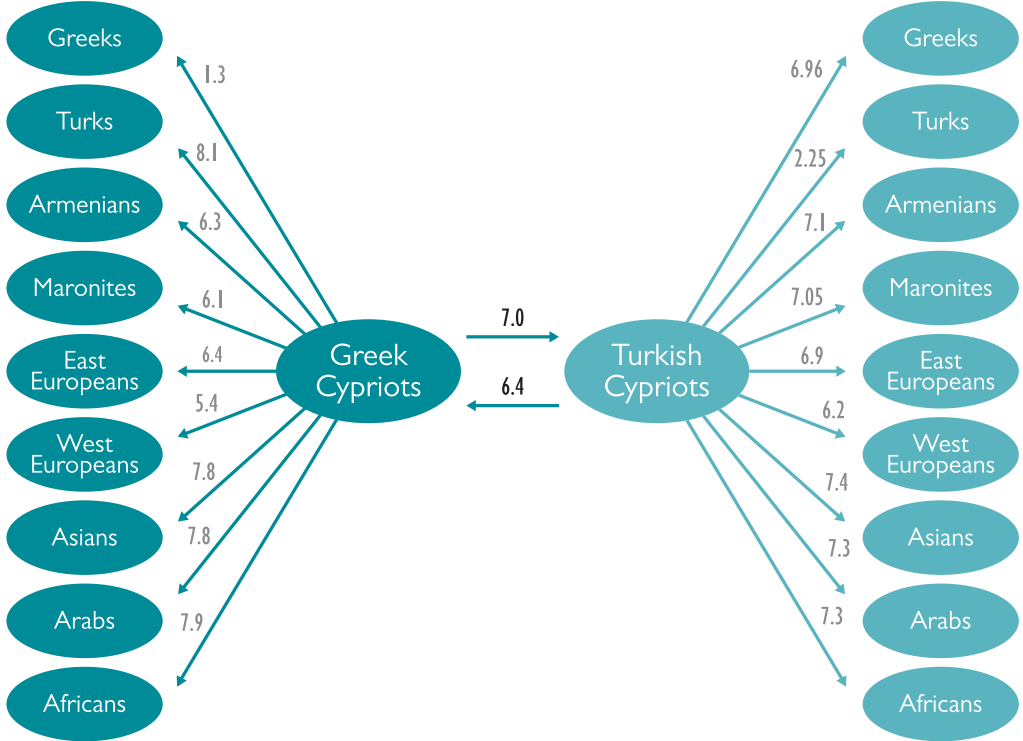

Figure 12. Cultural distance from other groups experienced by Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, SCORE 2014

notable difference is on the elimination of the European-Arab gap in the Turkish Cypriot community in 2015. Turkish Cypriots report feeling as culturally similar to Europeans as to Arabs, unlike Greek Cypriots who draw a line between these two groups and unlike SCORE 2014 where Turkish Cypriots reported Arabs as being more culturally distant to them in comparison to West and East Europeans.
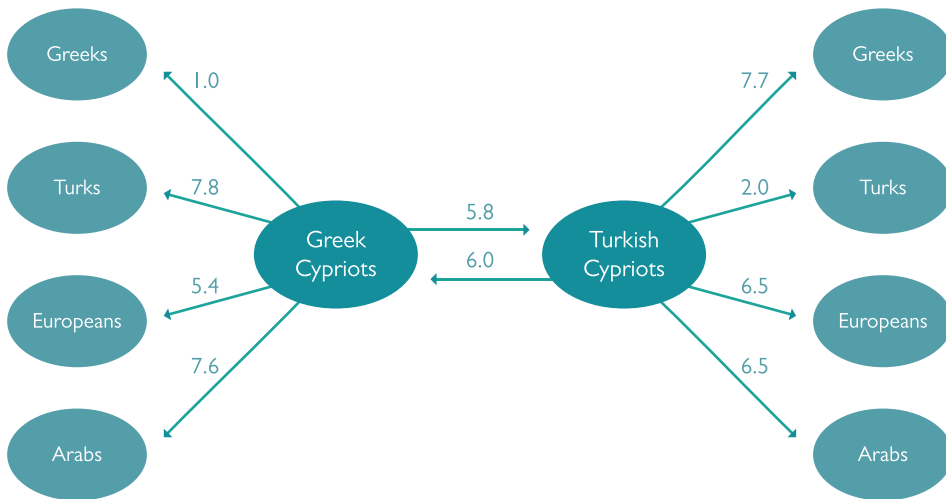

Figure 13. Cultural distance from other groups experienced by Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, SCORE 2015

There are a number of factors that determine levels of cultural distance in the two communities. Of the Greek Cypriots sampled, women, the young, the religiously devout, and right-wingers, all reported greater cultural distance from Turkish Cypriots than did men, the over 55s, more secular individuals and left-wingers respectively. This was the case both in SCORE 2014 and in SCORE 2015. Within the Turkish Cypriot community degrees of cultural distance were mostly determined by educational achievement and political orientation in 2014: individuals whose education did not extend beyond primary level, those on the right of the political spectrum, were all more likely to consider Greek Cypriots to be culturally distant. Age was the only factor determining cultural distance in the Turkish Cypriot community in 2015. Older Turkish Cypriots reported themselves as being more culturally distant from Greek Cypriots

As far as changes over time on cultural distance are concerned, the two communities reported feeling more culturally distant from each other in 2014 in comparison to 2013 (see Figure 14), an increase that was sustained in the Turkish Cypriot community in 2015 unlike in the Greek Cypriot community for which cultural distance went back to the 2013 levels.
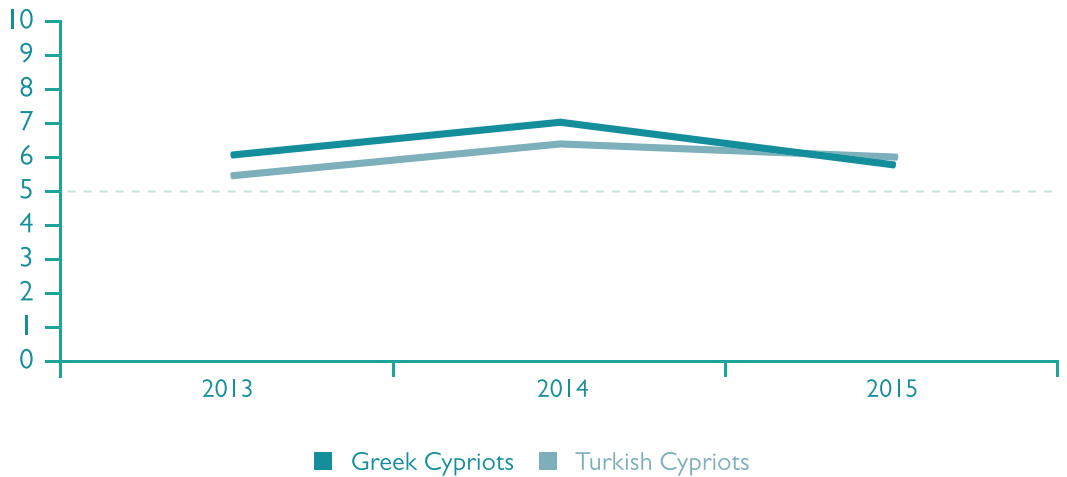
Figure 14. Cultural distance scores across SCORE 2013, 2014, and 2015 for both communities

Quantity and quality of intergroup contact

Figures 15 and 16 present the quantity and quality of contact with other groups for Greek and Turkish Cypriots in 2014. What stands out in Figure 15 is the very low levels of contact that Turkish Cypriots report having with *all* other groups apart from Turks. Greek Cypriots on the other hand, report at least some contact with most of the other groups listed, apart from Turks. The quantity of contact between the two communities is roughly the same.

Turkish Cypriots report experiencing either 'rather negative' or 'very negative' contact with all groups other than Turks, whereas Greek Cypriots report experiencing mostly positive contact with all groups and neutral (but not negative) contact with Turks. Another particularly striking difference between the two communities is that Greek Cypriots find contact with Turkish Cypriots to be 'rather positive' or 'positive', whereas Turkish Cypriots report contact with Greek Cypriots as negative.
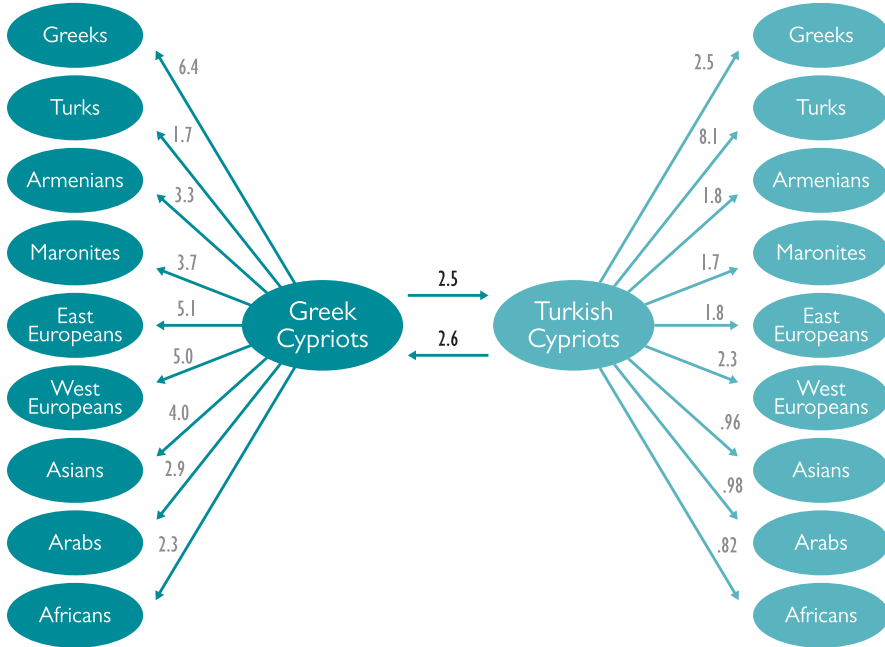
Figure 15. Quantity of intergroup contact with other groups for Greek and Turkish Cypriots, SCORE 2014
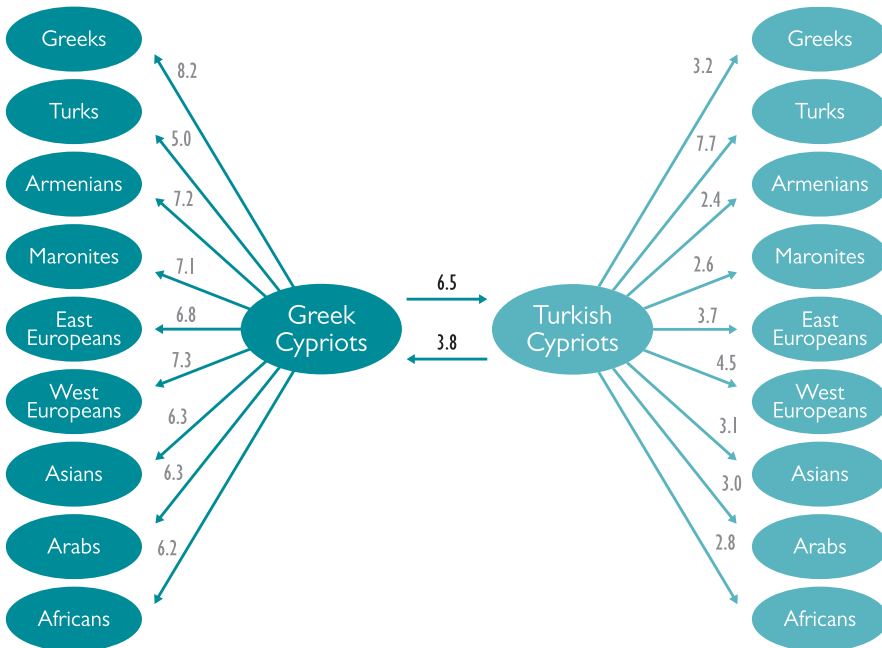

Figure 16. Quality of contact with other groups for Greek and Turkish Cypriots, SCORE 2014

In 2015, apart from face to face (direct) contact with the other community (and other groups) we also measured how much online contact the two communities have with each other as well as with other groups. Online contact was operationalised as contact happening in the virtual world (via social networking sites). The results for both direct and online contact (quantity) are shown in Figure 17. The results for the quantity of direct contact are similar to the results in 2014. Direct contact remains low between the two communities and is higher with Greeks for Greek Cypriots and with Turks for Turkish Cypriots. The online contact reported by Greek Cypriots with Turkish Cypriots as well as the remaining groups is even lower than direct contact whereas this does not stand for Turkish Cypriots who report roughly equal levels of direct and online contact with all groups including Greek Cypriots.
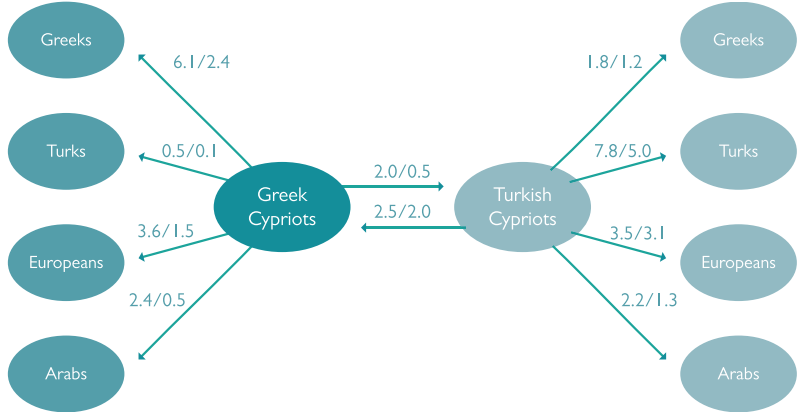

Figure 17.
Quantity of direct and online contact with other groups for each community, SCORE 2015.
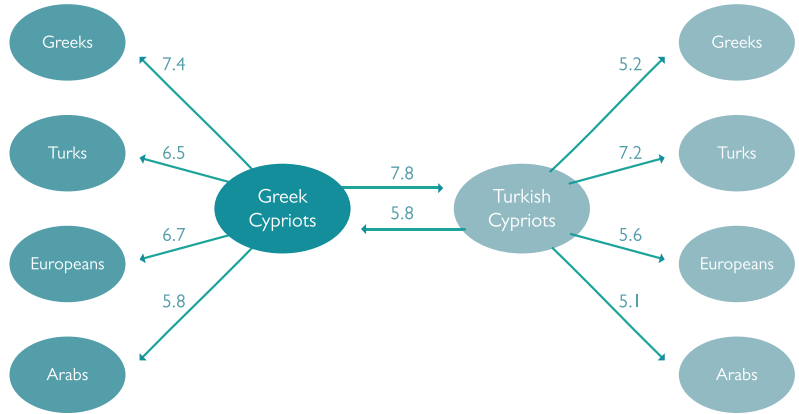

Figure 18.
Quality of contact with other groups for each community, SCORE 2015.

As far as the quality of (direct) contact is concerned (see Figure 18), those Greek Cypriots who report having contact with Turkish Cypriots rate it to be very positive (even more positive than the previous two years) whereas Turkish Cypriots reporting contact with Greek Cypriots describe it as only somewhat positive (but not negative as they did in 2014). Contact is certainly experienced as a more positive event by Greek Cypriots than by Turkish Cypriots and this is a consistent finding across all SCORE iterations.

Political compromise

Table 7 and Table 8 show how each community scored on the political compromise dimension and the scores for each of the indicators that make up that dimension in SCORE 2014 and SCORE 2015 respectively. In 2014, although the two communities reported equal levels of readiness to make political compromises, there were some discrepancies between them at the indicator level as shown in Table 7. Surprisingly, Turkish Cypriots supported the federal solution more enthusiastically than Greek Cypriots. However, it might be wise not to take this finding at face-value since Greek Cypriots reported less support for any type of solution (apart from the unitary state), even though they were against the continuation of the status quo.
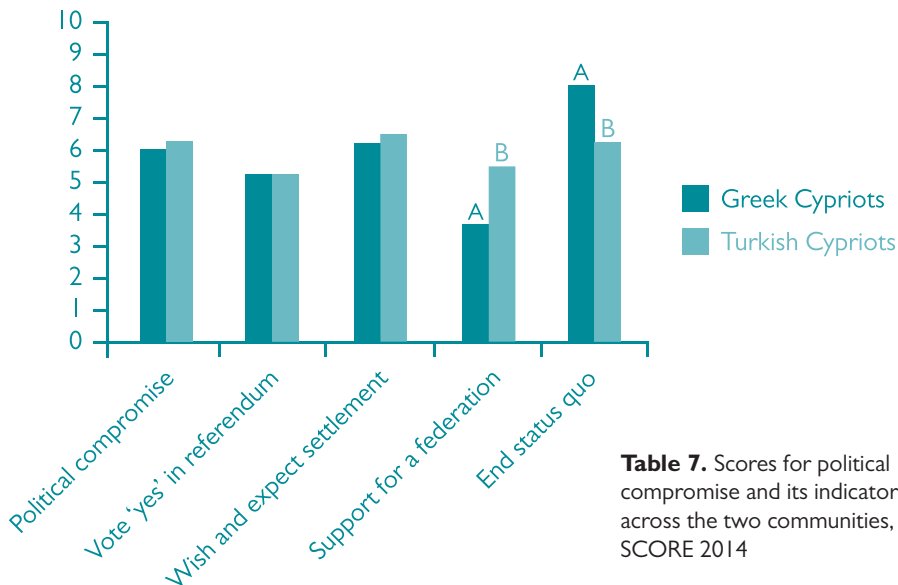

Table 7. Scores for political compromise and its indicators across the two communities, SCORE 2014
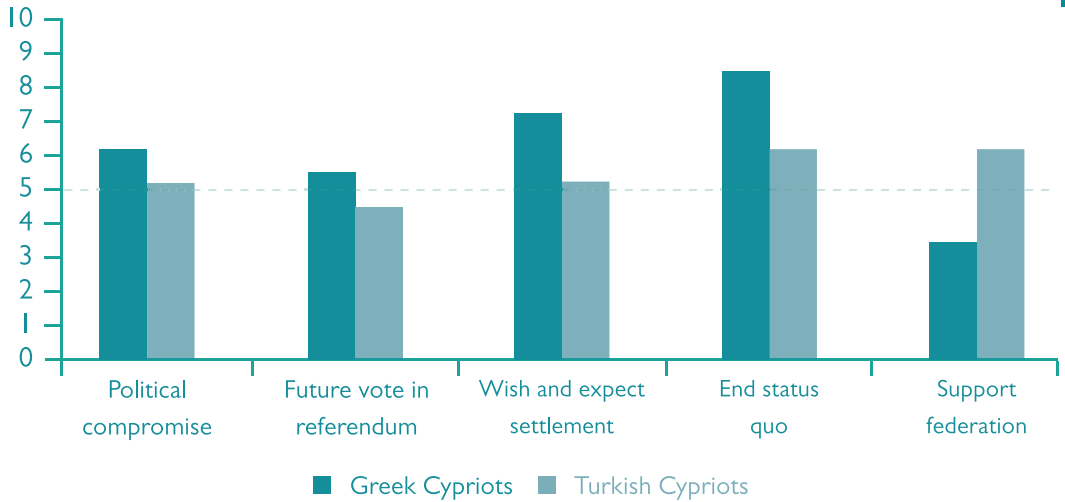
Table 8. Scores for political compromise and its indicators in the two communities, SCORE 2015

Results in 2015 differ from SCORE 2014 in that Turkish Cypriots' readiness for political compromise lowered over the course of a year. This decrease is primarily caused by a decrease in the percentage of Turkish Cypriots who are trending towards a 'yes' vote at a future referendum.

We proceeded to map the changes on the dimension of political compromise across regions in Cyprus (see Figure 19), to find that the most remarkable decrease in the levels of political comproise was score in Kyrenia between year 2014 and 2015, followed by Morphou. Kyrenia moved from being positively inclined to political compromise (with a score of 7 on a 10-point scale) to being against political compromise (with a score of 3.2 on a 10 point-scale). No great changes occurred in the districts of the Greek Cypriot community with the exception of Famagusta. Greek Cypriots living in Famagusta became more inclined to accept a political compromise in 2015 as compared to 2014.

Age and political orientation were the demographic indicators that determined the levels of political compromise in the two communities in SCORE 2014 and 2015. Young Greek Cypriots in comparison to the two older age groups and Greek Cypriots who position themselves at the centre of the political spectrum in comparison to the left or the right wing supporters are less ready for a compromise. The centre and the right are the most resistant to a political compromise in the Turkish Cypriot community as far as political orientation is concerned, whereas young Turkish Cypriots are the ones who are readier for a political compromise in comparison to older Turkish Cypriots.
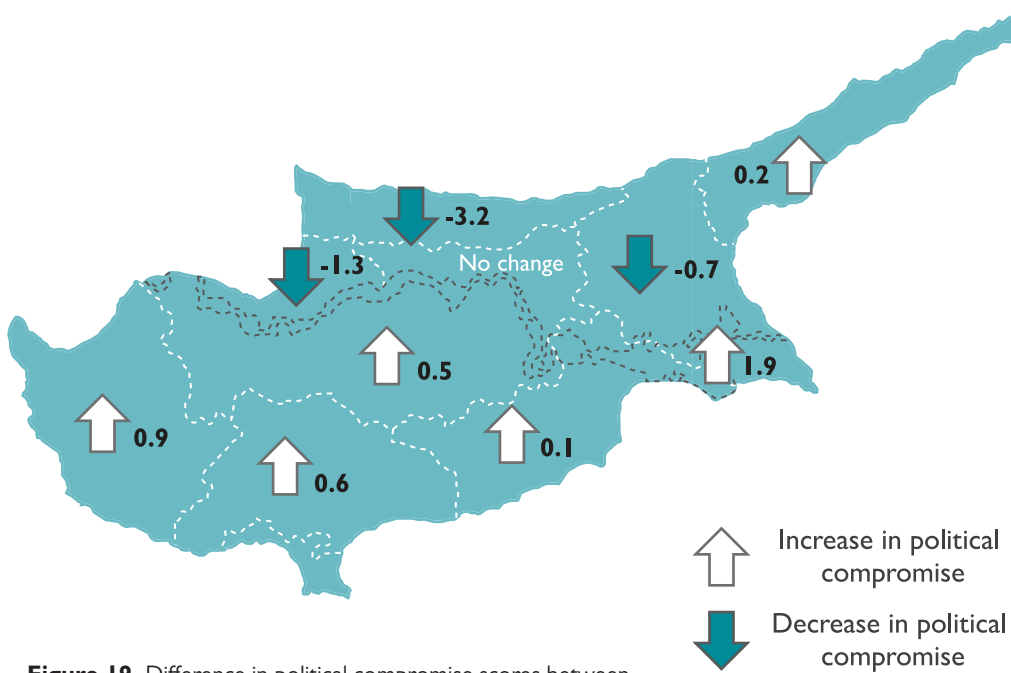
Figure 19. Difference in political compromise scores between SCORE 2014 and SCORE 2015, by district

The only common indicator for political compromise used in all SCORE iterations was the vote intentions at a future referendum. A comparison of vote intentions between SCORE 2013, SCORE 2014, and SCORE 2015 can be seen in Figures 20a for Greek Cypriots and 20b for Turkish Cypriots. As the figures show, there is a steady shift toward a 'yes' vote amongst Greek Cypriots and a simultaneous steady decrease of the 'no' vote percentages with the progress of time. The exact opposite trend is observed in the Turkish Cypriot community where the 'yes' vote and the 'yes' vote dropped steadily between 2013 and 2015 while the 'no' vote made a sharp increase particularly between 2014 and 2015. Across all SCORE iterations, Turkish Cypriots are readier to position themselves either for or against a political settlement in a future referendum unlike Greek Cypriots whose majority (over 50%) remains undecided.

Overall, the results of the political compromise dimensions are in line with the results of the reconciliation dimension. The increased propensity towards reconciliation amongst Greek Cypriots is reflected in an increased tendency to vote 'yes' in a future referendum and more readiness for a political settlement in general.
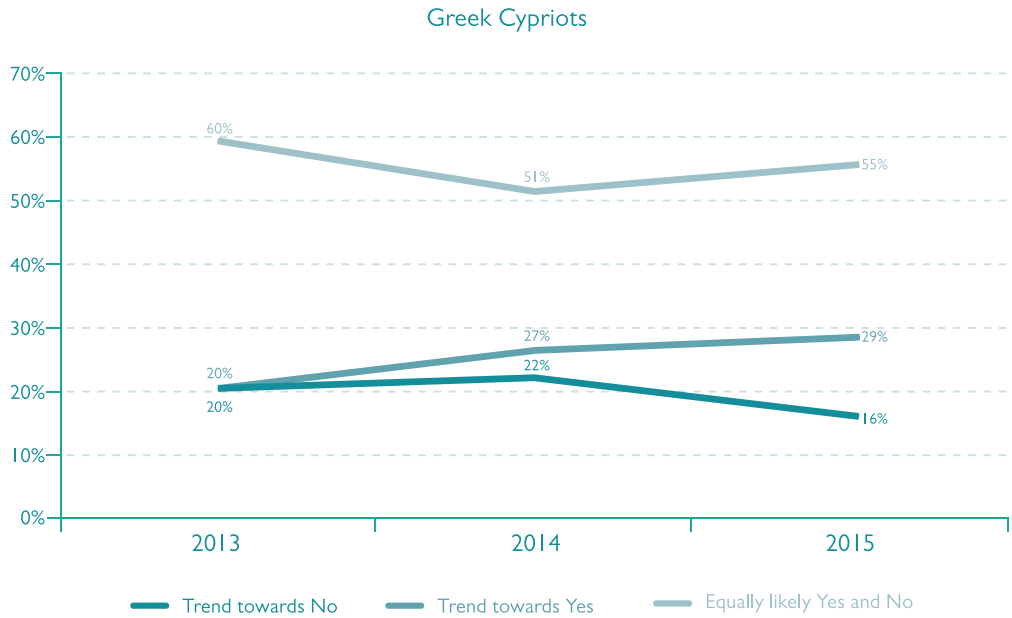
Greek Cypriots

Figure 20a. Vote intentions at a future referendum (in percentages) across SCORE 2013, 2014, and 2015 for Greek Cypriots.
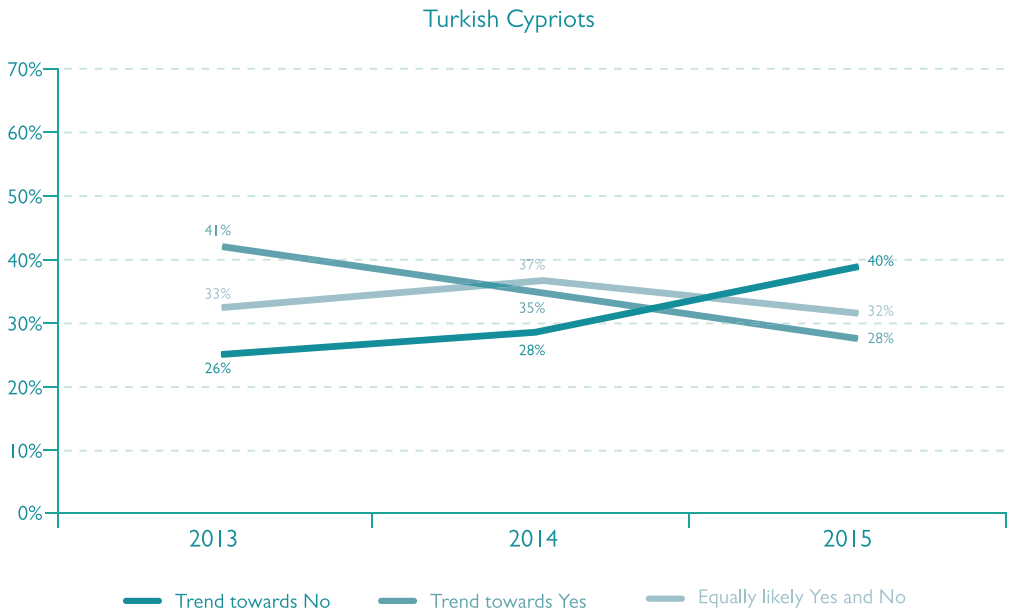
Turkish Cypriots

Figure 20b. Vote intentions at a future referendum (in percentages) across SCORE 2013, 2014, and 2015 for Turkish Cypriots.

Turkish Cypriots, on the other hand, whose propensity for reconciliation dropped between 2013 and 2014 and dropped even further in 2015, demonstrated a decline in their wish to reach a political compromise between 2014 and 2015 and they also demonstrated a fall in the percentages of a 'yes' (and an increase of a 'no' vote) between years 2013 and 2015.

Predictive analysis
Examining the relationships between SCORE indicators

The principal question we are seeking to answer via SCORE in Cyprus is: which indicators predict readiness for political compromise within each community. With this in mind, all the indicators measured in SCORE, along with the main demographic variables, were tested as possible predictors of political compromise in each community in 2014 and in 2015. The SCORE 2014 and SCORE 2015 results of this analysis are presented for each community separately. We will then proceed to elaborate on the SCORE 2015 models at the end of this section.

Greek Cypriot community:

Figure 21a presents the SCORE 2014 findings and Figure 21b the SCORE 2015 findings. In 2014, for Greek Cypriots, satisfaction with civic life, representation by institutions, political security, and the propensity to forgive, all positively predicted readiness for political compromise with the Turkish Cypriot community. This means that greater satisfaction with civic life, greater representation by institutions, higher political security, and a greater willingness to forgive, were all associated with a greater readiness for political compromise. Cultural distance, active discrimination, and social distance, on the other hand, were all negatively associated with readiness for political compromise; the higher the cultural and social distance, and the greater the active discrimination towards the other community, the lower the readiness for political compromise.

In 2015, for Greek Cypriots, representation by institutions, social threats, family coherence, and age were the strongest correlates of readiness for political compromise.
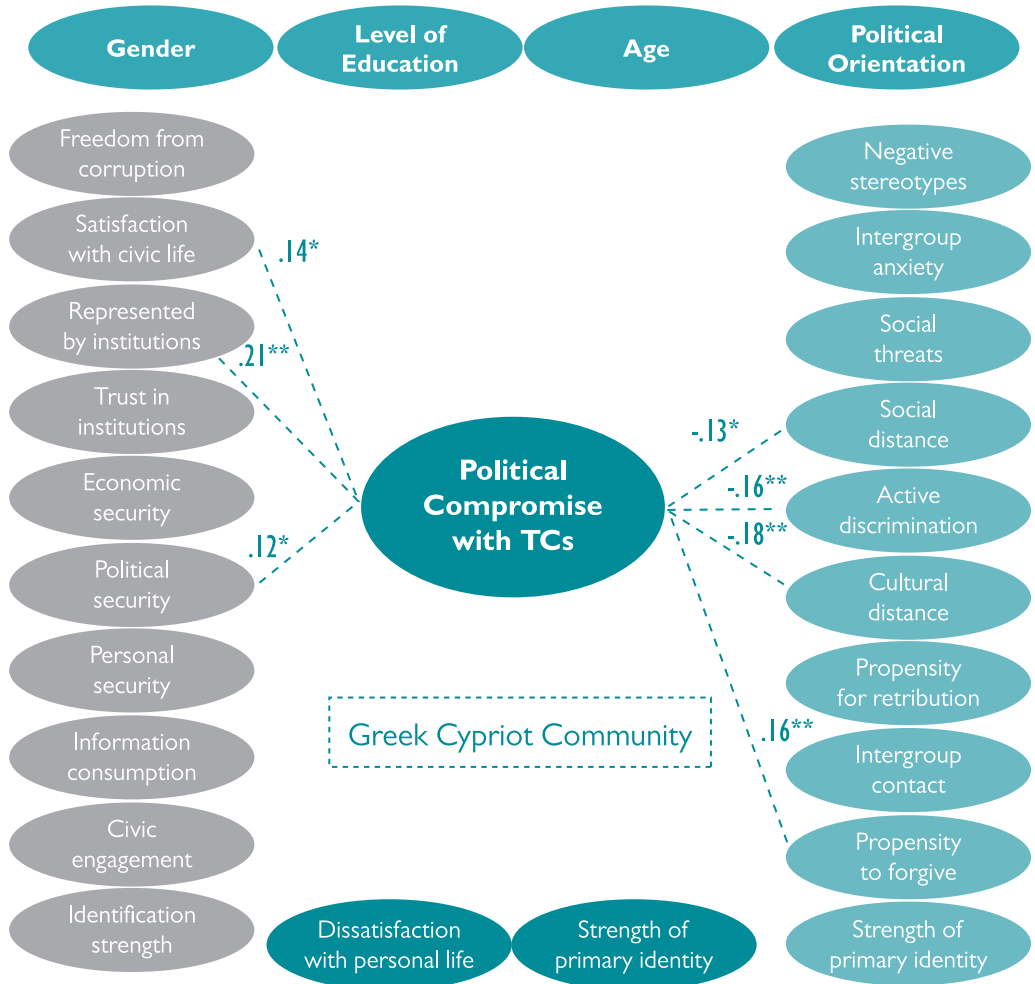
Figure 21a. SCORE indicators tested as predictors of readiness for political compromise with Turkish Cypriots. Those variables connected to readiness for political compromise by a black line are significant predictors of reconciliation either at the 0.05 level (*) or at the 0.01 level (**), SCORE 2014.

Feeling more represented by institutions was associated, as in 2014, with a greater readiness for political compromise, higher levels of perceived threat from the outgroup (an indicator of reconciliation) was also found to associate with less readiness for a compromise. Of the personal distress variables, family coherence was found to be positively associated with political compromise; Greek Cypriots who are in good terms and enjoy strong family bonds are more open to the other community in terms of striking a political compromise with it. Finally, as was already apparent from the descriptive analyses reported above, older Greek Cypriots in comparison to younger Greek Cypriots report higher readiness for a compromise with the other community.
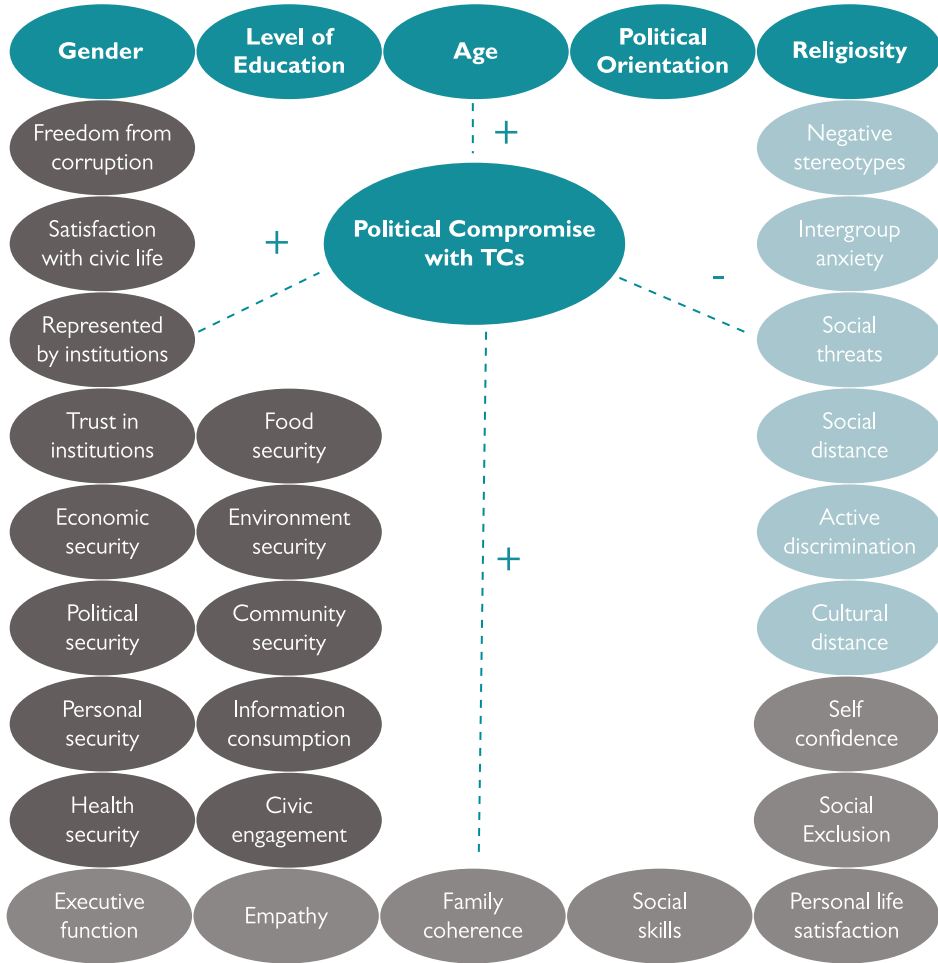
Figure 21b. SCORE indicators tested as predictors of readiness for political compromise with Turkish Cypriots. Those variables connected to readiness for political compromise by a black line are significant predictors of reconciliation either at the 0.05 level (*) or at the 0.01 level (**), SCORE 2015.

Turkish Cypriot Community:

In 2014, within the Turkish Cypriot community, those predictors that were significantly associated with a readiness for political compromise with Greek Cypriots were very similar to those within the Greek Cypriot community (see Figure 22a). Political security and confidence in institutions' representative capacity both predict a greater readiness for political compromise, while greater cultural and social distance both relate to greater reluctance towards political compromise. The demographic variable that emerges as a significant predictor of political compromise within the Turkish Cypriot community is political orientation. Left-wing orientation is related to a greater readiness for political compromise than right-wing orientation.

The results of SCORE 2015 for the Turkish Cypriot community yielded two common indicators with SCORE 2014: political orientation was the single demographic indicator that was found to be directly associated with political compromise in both 2014 and 2015; Turkish Cypriots who position themselves on the left of the political spectrum are more ready for a compromise with Greek Cypriots than Turkish Cypriots who position themselves in the centre or the right of the spectrum. Furthermore, those individuals in the Turkish Cypriot community who perceive Greek Cypriots to be culturally dissimilar to them are more resistant to a compromise with the other community

Contrary to the Greek Cypriot community, individuals who feel they are represented by the institutions of the Turkish Cypriot community are less ready for a compromise. Of the personal distress indicators, executive functioning turns out to directly predict political compromise; individuals in the Turkish Cypriot community who report to be better at planning ahead, who are more calculative, and better at controlling their impulses and emotions, are more ready for a compromise with the other community.

The models below suggest that the two communities face different challenges when it comes to being ready (and willing) for a political compromise with the other community. In an attempt to better understand these challenges that take the form of predictors of political compromise in the models just presented, we proceed to perform an additional analysis whereby we identified the SCORE indicators correlating with each of the identified predictors. This analysis essentially allows us to better understand how each predictor relates to political compromise within each community. We will start by presenting the full model for the Greek Cypriot community and then move on to present the corresponding model for the Turkish Cypriot community.
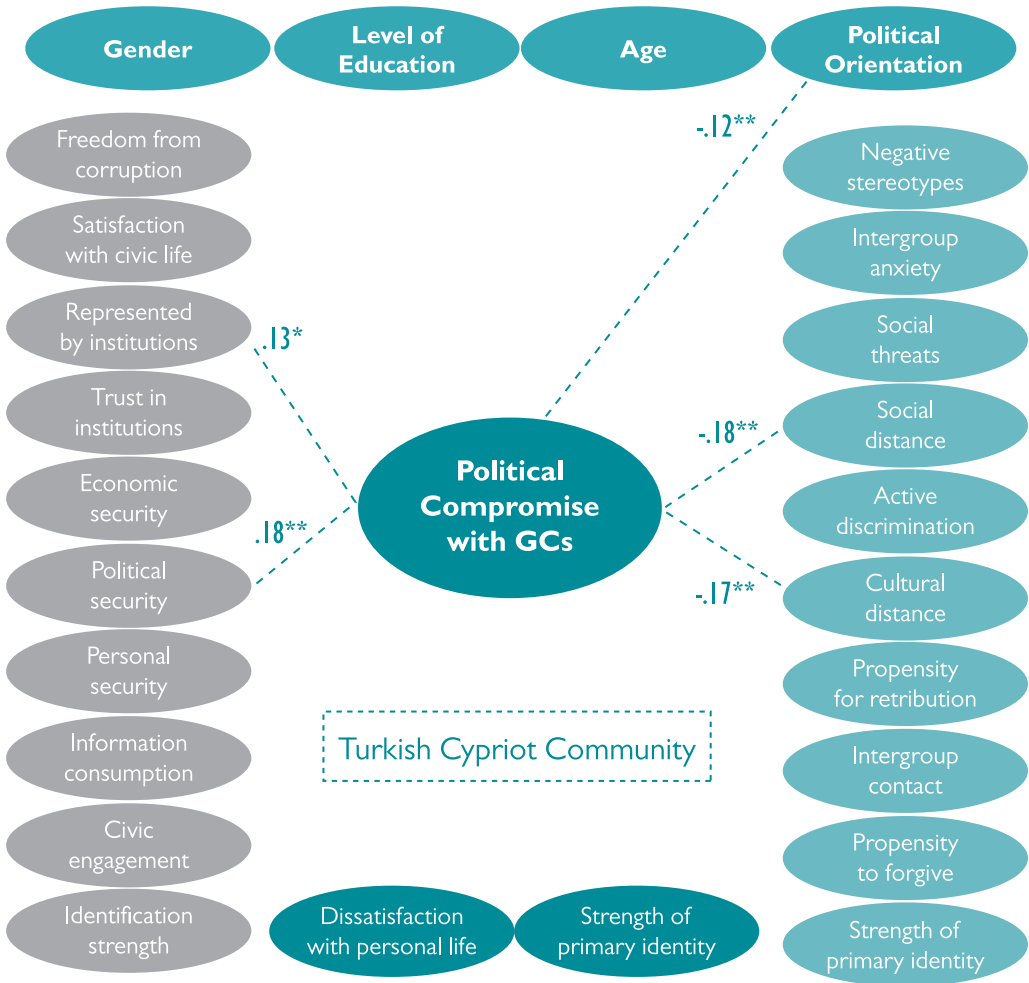
Figure 22a. SCORE indicators tested as predictors of readiness for political compromise with Turkish Cypriots. Those variables connected to readiness for political compromise by a black line are significant predictors of reconciliation either at the 0.05 level (*) or at the 0.01 level (**), SCORE 2014.

Figure 22b. SCORE indicators tested as predictors of readiness for political compromise with Greek Cypriots. Those variables connected to readiness for political compromise by a black line are significant predictors of reconciliation either at the 0.05 level (*) or at the 0.01 level (**), SCORE 2015.
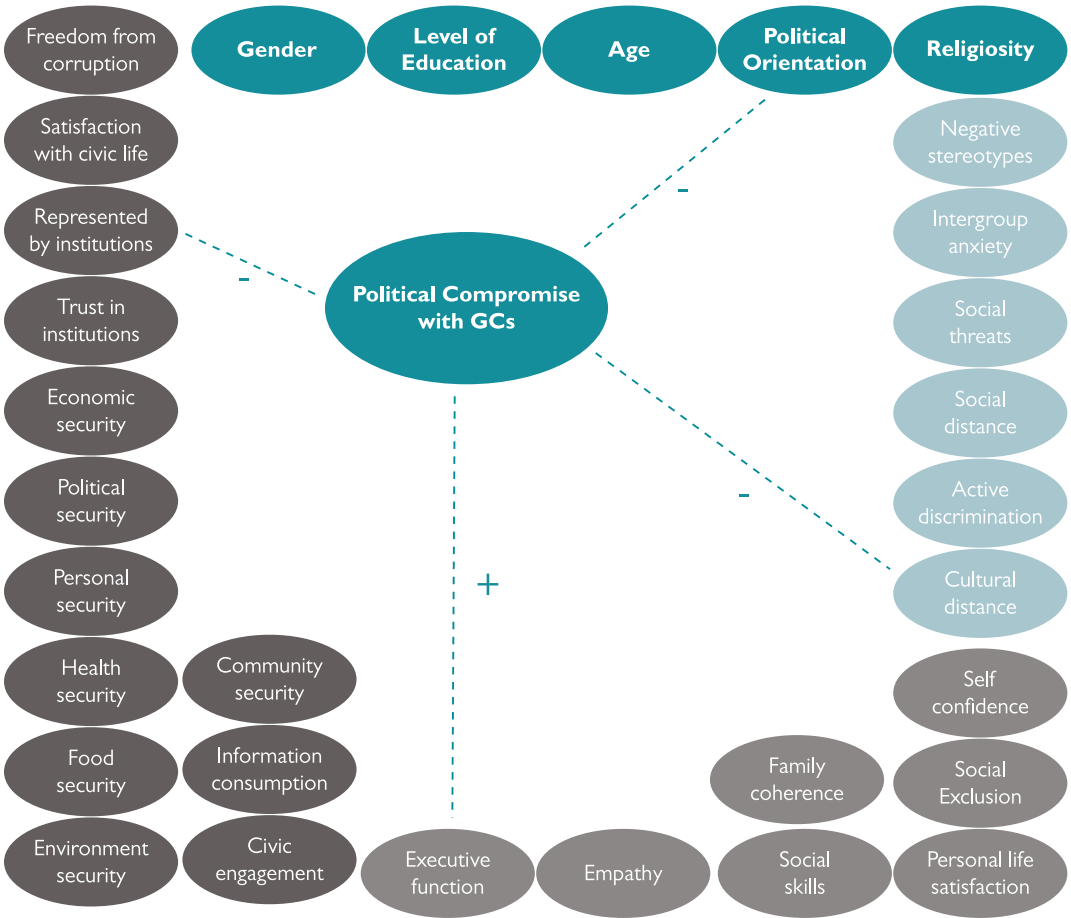
Greek Cypriot community:

Age, as was presented earlier is related to political compromise, younger Greek Cypriots are more resistant to a compromise with the other community. Age now, is also positively related to information consumption, economic security, social threats, cultural distance, and empathy. This means that younger Greek Cypriots in comparison to their older cohorts consume less information, feel less economically secure, and are less empathetic overall. In terms of intergroup relations young people perceive Turkish Cypriots to be more threatening and they see Turkish Cypriots as different people to themselves. If we were to combine this information then we would have young Greek Cypriots who are less inclined to consume information, who are less empathetic, and who are also more worried about their economic security feeling more threatened by Turkish Cypriots and more culturally different from them, reporting that they are less ready/ willing to compromise with the other community.

Individuals who feel threatened by the other community are less inclined to support a political compromise. They are also more anxious to meet the other community and they desire to keep their distances from it (i.e., avoid having the other community members as neighbors, friends, colleagues etc). Individuals who feel more threatened by the other community are also the ones who have less contact with Turkish Cypriots. Seen from a different angle, lack of contact can breed greater feelings of threat which then lead to greater intransigence regarding political compromise.

Feeling represented by institutions is positively associated with being supportive of a political compromise. This is a finding that stands to reason given that institutions are the ones representing the peoples' interests in the negotiations leading to a settlement. Now people who distrust institutions and who think of them as corrupt, people who are dissatisfied with civic life and who choose to be disengaged from it are the ones who feel least represented by institutions and (partly) because of that are more skeptical when it comes to supporting a political settlement. Interestingly, individuals who report more cultural distance from Turkish Cypriots (i.e., people who see Turkish Cypriots as different from them), feel that their interests are not represented by institutions (or that maybe their worries are not heard by institutions), and for this reason they oppose a settlement.

The last predictor of political compromise for Greek Cypriots was family coherence, people who report lacking strong bonds within their families are less ready to open up

to forming bonds (as a political settlement would require) with members of the other community.   Related to perceptions of low family coherence are the individuals' social skills and empathy. Individuals who find it hard to build and maintain relationships with other people (low social skills) and individuals who are less empathetic with other people are also more detached from their own family members and (partly because of that) less ready to open up to 'others'. Family coherence is also affected by food security; insecurity related to satisfying the needs for adequate and good quality food have a toll on family relationships and this affects the way they see political changes.
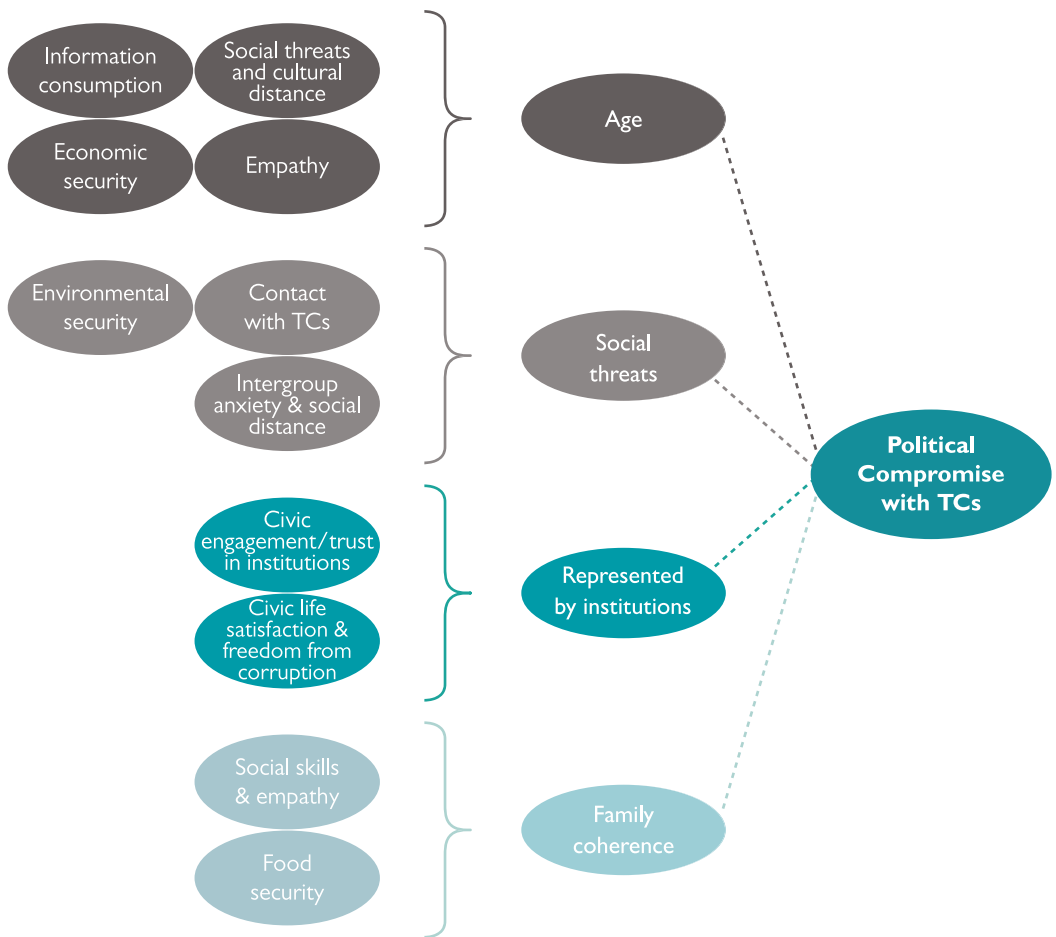

Figure 23a. Factors associated with each predictor of political compromise for the Greek Cypriot community. All relationships are significant at the .01 level (SCORE 2015).

Turkish Cypriot community:

Among Turkish Cypriots, those positioning themselves at the centre or the right of the political spectrum are more resistant to the idea of a political compromise. These same individuals report having actively discriminated against Greek Cypriots in the past and they also report a greater connection to religion. These too are affecting the way they see a settlement that would bring them to share the country with Greek Cypriots.

Turkish Cypriot individuals who see Greek Cypriot as different people are also less likely to endorse a political compromise. These same individuals are more likely to have attained lower levels of education and they report poorer social skills. They also have negative views about Greek Cypriots (negative stereotypes) and prefer to keep their distances from them. The same group of people is at ease within their own community they report higher levels of economic and community security, they are getting themselves informed about current developments, they are active in civic life, and they trust institutions. Maybe because they feel comfortable within their own community they also have less contact with Greek Cypriots. Low levels of contact with Greek Cypriots are associated with greater levels of cultural distance, and by extension, less readiness for a political compromise.

Interestingly, by contrast to the Greek Cypriot community, feeling more represented be own institutions drives Turkish Cypriots away from a political settlement. Turkish Cypriots who feel represented by institutions also experience higher human security (political, food, health, and economic security). They are also more religious but they lack somehow self-confidence. Perhaps this is a group of people who perceive their security and general well-being to be related to institutions. As the institutions of their community provide them with what they need they feel contained within their community and do not wish to open up to Greek Cypriots. The relationship between self-confidence and political compromise via feelings of representation by institutions is a noteworthy one.

What this set of relationships is actually showing is that individuals with high self confidence are readier to open up to the other community and this is partly because they do not feel that the institutions represent them.

Finally, individuals who are less good at functions like personal planning, mental flexibility, inhibition, initiation, and monitoring of action are not as supportive of a political compromise. This set of individuals is more likely to have attained lower levels

of education, to have lower levels of self-confidence, and to be experiencing weaker family ties. The above in combination (negatively) affect the way they approach political compromise with the other community.
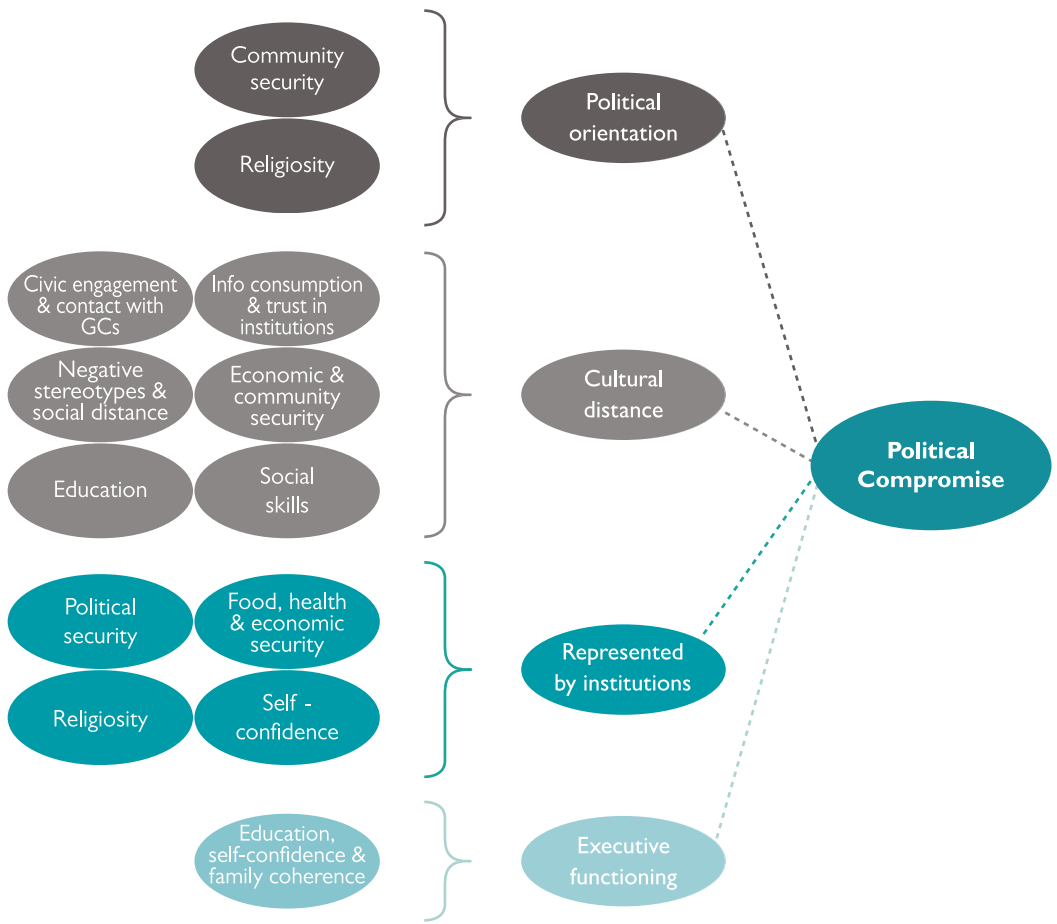

Figure 23b. Factors associated with each predictor of political compromise for the Turkish Cypriot community. All relationships are significant at the .01 level (SCORE 2015).

Using the evidence to identify the problem and define policy directions

There are certain population segments within each community that are less open/ ready to the idea of a political settlement with the other community. We have created a profile of this group of people thus identifying what feeds into their intransigence. Having a more informed impression of who are those people who are opposing a settlement and for which reason allows us to come up with evidence-based policy directions/ suggestions whose goal is to render Greek and Turkish Cypriots more open and readier for a political settlement. The final section of this Chapter therefore will be devoted to looking into each of these groups of people and inquire into ways of reaching out to them and of addressing their needs.

Greek Cypriot community:

• **Youth:** How to get them involved in the peace process, when they are facing the more immediate problem of unemployment? How to inform them about the other community, when they do not pay attention to media?

• **People who find the prospect of co-existence threatening:** How to generate interest in inter-communal contact, while reducing the sense of threat experienced by these people? How to normalize the concept of a 'wider society' which would include people both communities? How to find more practical ways to enable good-quality contact, communication and joint activities with members of the other community?

• **People who feel that they are not represented by the institutions:** How to improve institutional transparency and inclusivity, and more specifically a transparent and inclusive peace process? How to foster engagement in the peace process independent of a citizen's specific beliefs regarding a settlement?

• **People who are experiencing conflict and fragmentation in their own family lives:** How to help people experiencing personally dramatic circumstances to see beyond their

own difficulties and envision a future for their country? How to link development of social skills and empathy with life success both at the personal and at the national level?

Turkish Cypriot community:

• **Right wing people:** How to address the right wing narrative that a settlement will undermine community cohesion of Turkish Cypriots? How can religion be used to promote the language of peace?

• **People who experience Greek Cypriots as belonging to a different culture and society:** How to overcome the negative stereotype that members of the other community 'are different people'? How to develop social skills for daily co-existence with Greek Cypriots?

• **People who feel strongly represented by existing Turkish Cypriot institutions:** How to see the institutions of a unified Cyprus as entities that will represent their interests even more effectively than the existing Turkish Cypriot institutions?

• **People with poor problem solving skills:** How to help citizens, especially the less educated and those experiencing personal difficulties, to take a long and considered view both on personal and on national dilemmas, to see the benefits of a comprehensive settlement?