

Key take-outs from the first workshop of the Civic initiative for an updated Cyprus peace process design ("C-Up") on 28 May 2024

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1. Executive summary

The Cyprus Peace and Dialogue Centre (CPDC) organised the first workshop of a new initiative entitled "Civic initiative for an updated Cyprus peace process design (C-Up)" on Tuesday 28 May 2024. The rationale of the C-Up initiative is to address a 50-year-old process design for solving the Cyprus problem that has yet to produce a successful outcome. Yet successive polls have shown that ordinary citizens can be more flexible than their leaders on difficult Cyprus problem questions. Youth initiatives supported in Cyprus by the UN have also shown that it is possible for participants to work on a joint document, rather than two separate "Greek Cypriot and a Turkish Cypriot" documents, and to come to a common agreement.

The main hypothesis of C-Up, therefore, is that a carefully designed "deliberative democracy process", which opens out, in whole or in part, to a representative cross-section of ordinary citizens, and which allows them the time, space and resources to engage with some of the most sensitive aspects of the Cyprus problem, can help the political leaders "walk the last mile" in finding a negotiated settlement to the Cyprus problem that will be sustainable long into the future. It is of course assumed that the final decision will remain with the elected leaders, and that any settlement agreed upon would be endorsed by a democratic vote in both communities.

It is important to note that the aim of the C-Up initiative is not to launch an assembly or other deliberative democracy process as such but to present proposals for how such a deliberative process might be designed. The seven steps of C-Up are presented in visual form at the end of this executive summary. It is also acknowledged that any moves to update the process are highly sensitive and that there many different ideas about how to get from the current stagnation in the formal process to the point of negotiations. Any updated design therefore needs to be planned very carefully, taking into account the sensitivities of all players. It is for this reason that, for the purposes of the C-Up initiative, the use of terms is kept very broad and prescriptions about outcomes are avoided.

The workshop considered the four questions summarised below. It is acknowledged that these subjects are by no means comprehensive. For example, there was not time to include other questions, such as the role of technology or the role of parallel processes such as truth commissions.

What type of deliberative process? The pros and cons of four broad types of assembly were considered. First, a citizens' assembly, in which ordinary citizens are selected from a

representative cross-section of society using professional, randomised controlled sampling techniques. This model has been widely used across developed and developing economies and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) – a club of developed economies – has developed a “toolbox” for governments embarking on such a process.¹ A second option is an elected assembly appointed by voters. It would typically include political parties but there would also be specific spaces reserved for under-represented voices. A classic example is the Northern Ireland assembly. Third, a constitutional assembly, which would work on a specific mandate to produce a new constitution. A classic example is that of post-Apartheid South Africa. Fourth, given the challenges of each type of system, it was suggested that perhaps in Cyprus a hybrid system might be appropriate, starting with a citizens’ assembly or even smaller “safe space” groups, before moving to an elected assembly and then potentially to a constitutional assembly. Another form of deliberative engagement under Transformative Scenarios Process (TSP) model, which was tested in 2022 under the Cyprus Futures Project, was also presented.

Ensuring true inclusivity. The session started with a presentation of lessons from Canada’s Feminist International Assistance Policy, to understand that the many expectations that large donors such as Canada expect when they fund programmes. It was also noted that there are international frameworks for ensuring inclusivity. During this session the importance of storytelling and reconciliation in fostering peace was also emphasised, as well as creating small safe spaces for discussion. Humanitarian issues should also be de-politicised to promote peace and healing.

Ensuring political engagement but non-interference. Engaging political leaders but ensuring that they allow participants to deliberate without political interference is perhaps the most difficult challenge of a deliberative democracy process in Cyprus. To ensure legitimacy and ownership, the first presentation emphasised four essential elements for engaging the political leaders and securing their buy-in: a clear mandate produced in consultation with the political leaders; a neutral mediator such as the UN; engagement of the political leadership in the planning process and keeping them informed at each stage of the process; and regular reports/updates to the leaders. In this session it was also noted that academic research with representative sample from both communities show a significant number of citizens in both communities who find the status quo unacceptable and an increasing trend of support for a settlement based on a bizonal bicomunal federation (BBF) after the collapse of the high-level talks at the Swiss resort of Crans Montana in 2017². Moreover, sophisticated conjoint analysis indicates that it is possible to reach majority support in each community for a settlement on variations of the Guterres framework on the basis of BBF by presenting different packages of options.³

Referendums. Another form of testing opinion is through “peace polling”, an iterative process where citizens are involved in ranking options by preference on different aspects of the process, feeding those results back to the political leaders, and eventually being polled on the full

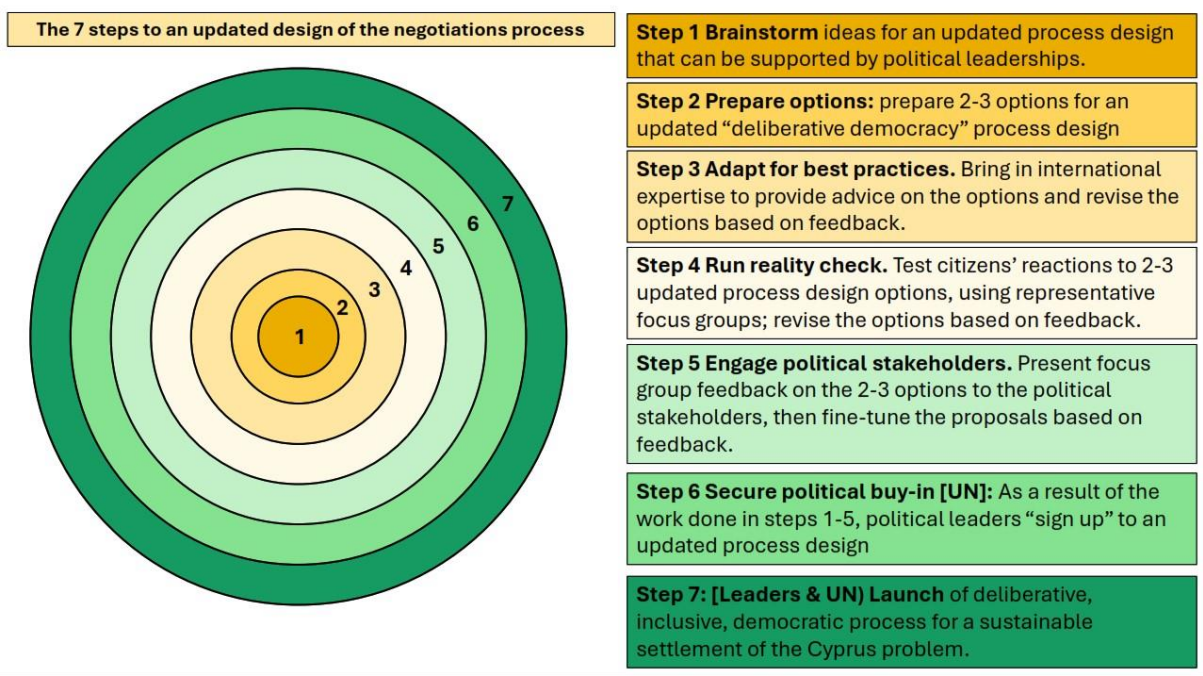
¹ OECD, Deliberative Democracy Toolbox (several publications), <https://www.oecd.org/governance/innovative-citizen-participation/>.

² Trends in support for a bizonal bicomunal federation (BBF) 2010-2023 for Greek Cypriots (GCs) <https://infogram.com/greek-cypriots-view-of-bbf-2010-2023-1h7g6k3gmr3o2oy?live>. Trends in support for BBF 2010-2023 for Turkish Cypriots (TCs) <https://infogram.com/stance-of-tcs-towards-bbf-2010-2023-1ho16voq7drvx4n?live>.

³ Loizides, N., Psaltis, C., Morgan-Jones, E., Sudulich, L., Popp, R., & Baykiz, T. (2022). Citizens and peace mediations in divided societies: identifying zones of agreement through a conjoint survey experiment. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 66(9), 1619-1649.

settlement. In this model the process is not derailed by a single No vote. Separately, the pros and cons of four referendum design options were considered: a referendum to start the process; a referendum on the final settlement; a later referendum to confirm the arrangements; or an incremental approach to a settlement, in which elements of the final deal are implemented in reversible stages. Under the fourth approach, further integration would be sanctioned by ordinary elections, rather than by referendums. Any referendum held would have a greater chance of success if elements of the property settlement were made crystal clear to voters and if there were clear mechanisms for deadlock-breaking or arbitration.

As regards next steps on managing the project, an integral part of the C-Up initiative is to work incrementally (see image below) to make proposals that can be supported by the political leaderships. These take-outs will be therefore shared with the Representatives, the UN, EU and other interested members of the international community. Other project management steps include assigning roles to those interested in working on the project; deciding which subject/s should be focused on first to produce an options paper; conducting a mapping exercise to assess other complementary or potentially overlapping initiatives; and, importantly, securing funding for the labour required to continue this project.



2. Background and rationale of the C-Up initiative

The workshop and participants

The Cyprus Peace and Dialogue Centre (CPDC), an intercommunal civil society organisation founded in 2022, organised the first workshop of a new initiative entitled “Civic initiative for an updated Cyprus peace process design (C-Up)” on Tuesday 28 May 2024. Space was provided by the UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) at Ledra Palace, refreshments were financed by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), while printing materials were financed by the International Communities Organisation (ICO). Panelists, speakers and organisers gave their time freely.

The workshop comprised 16 panelists and speakers: 9 women and 7 men; 7 from the Turkish Cypriot community and 7 from the Greek Cypriot community; 2 non-Cypriot permanent residents of Cyprus; and 3 panelists under the age of 30. Speakers and panelists were drawn from grassroots organisations; civil society organisations; academia; research organisations; international humanitarian organisations; women's group representatives; representatives of youth organisations; other under-represented groups; and those who have worked in a formal capacity in the negotiations to solve the Cyprus problem. Panelists were given only five minutes to speak, therefore the focus was very much on making key points.

The rationale of the C-Up initiative

The traditional process is not working. The rationale of the C-Up initiative is to address a 50-year-old process design for solving the Cyprus problem that has yet to produce a successful outcome. It is top-down, leader-led, with no meaningful engagement of citizens. Among the various weaknesses of the traditional approach is that, when it comes to the “final mile”, political leaders have no mechanism for sharing the burden of difficult decisions, especially when they face elections and pressures from various interests. And yet successive rounds of academic research with representative samples from both communities have shown that ordinary citizens can be more flexible than their leaders on difficult Cyprus problem questions.⁴

Supporting the leaders in walking the last mile. The main hypothesis of C-Up, therefore, is that a carefully designed “deliberative democracy process”, which opens out, in whole or in part,⁵ to a representative cross-section of ordinary citizens, and which allows them the time, space and resources to engage with some of the most sensitive aspects of the Cyprus problem, can help the leaders “walk the last mile” in finding a negotiated settlement to the Cyprus problem. Moreover, a negotiated settlement that fully engages its citizens, and which has the support of the leaders in that engagement, has a higher chance of being robust and sustainable long into the future. It is of course assumed that the final decision will remain with the elected leaders, and that any settlement agreed upon would be endorsed by a democratic vote in both communities.

Options, not prescriptions & focus on process design. It is important to note that aim of the C-Up initiative is not to launch an assembly or other deliberative democracy process as such. Nor is it prescriptive. The aim is to make proposals for how such a process might be run effectively. It will therefore *assess the many challenges* of launching a deliberative democracy process, take *lessons learned* from some 600 deliberative democracy processes that have been undertaken globally to date, and *present options* for a deliberative democracy process design that could work in the particular circumstances of Cyprus.

Sensitive use of terms. It is acknowledged that any moves to update the process are highly sensitive, that they may be seen as threatening to various local and international stakeholders, and that to be successful it will need the support of political leaders, whatever their political leanings. There are also many different ideas about how to get from the current stagnation in the formal negotiations process to the point of negotiations, and what, if any, the conditions should be for starting negotiations. Any updated design therefore needs to be planned very carefully, taking into account the sensitivities of all players. It is for this reason that, for the purposes of this initiative, the use of terms is kept very broad and prescriptions about outcomes are avoided.

⁴ Loizides et al., (2022), also see footnote 2.

⁵ Whether a deliberative democracy process should also include political parties is a question that will be examined as part of the C-Up initiative.

The seven steps of the C-Up initiative

With that in mind, the aim of the C-Up initiative is “to take a step-by-step approach to presenting proposals for a robust, inclusive, deliberative, democratic process design that can support the political leaders in reaching a sustainable settlement of the Cyprus problem.” The 7-step roadmap envisaged is as follows, with CPDC acting as the coordinator for the first 5 steps. Each step is likely to comprise several sub-steps in practice and will require funding to be implemented, not only for invoiced expenses such as travel or catering but also for labour costs. Steps 6 and 7 will of course primarily be carried out by other actors.

1. **Brainstorm.** Starting with who are very familiar with the Cyprus problem, brainstorm ideas for an updated process design, which, importantly, can be supported by the political leaderships.
2. **Prepare options.** Prepare 2-3 options for an updated “deliberative democracy” process design.
3. **Adapt for best practice.** Bring in international expertise to provide advice on the options and revise the options based on feedback.
4. **Run reality check.** Test citizens’ reactions to 2-3 updated process design options, using representative focus groups; revise the options again based on feedback.
5. **Engage political stakeholders.** Present focus group feedback on the 2-3 options to the political stakeholders, then fine-tune the proposals based on feedback.
6. **Secure political buy-in [probably managed by the UN].** As a result of the work done in steps 1-5, political leaders “sign up” to an updated process design.
7. **Launch of a deliberative democracy process [probably leaders and UN].** Launch of a deliberative, inclusive, democratic process for a sustainable settlement of the Cyprus problem.

Other related initiatives

The launch of C-Up comes at a time when citizens from civil society, academia and elsewhere have started a number of initiatives to revisit the way in which negotiations to solve the Cyprus problem have been conducted to date. These initiatives involve exploring practical ideas for a more effective approach to a negotiated settlement that might also break the current deadlock in the formal process to resolve the Cyprus problem.

Key initiatives in 2024 include on 18 March the [Joint Declaration](#) of CPDC and Apofasi Irinis (Determination for Peace); the launch on 26 April 2024 of the [Cyprus Women Bi-Communal Coalition](#) (CWBC); and the workshop organised on 17 May 2024 entitled “[the New Process Design for the Cyprus Talks](#)” (Revisiting Arbitration and Mediation in Cyprus)” organised by the University of Cyprus Department of Psychology. An earlier initiative discussed during the C-Up workshop was the [Cyprus Futures Project](#) conducted in 2022 and presented in 2023.

There are of course many other civil society and grassroots initiatives, some established for decades, which have been working on bringing people on both sides of the divide closer and/or on promoting a settlement of the Cyprus problem. Many of the organisations can be found on the [CSO Database](#) of Civic Space.

3. Key take-outs from the 28 May workshop

Session 1. What type of deliberative process?

Four broad types of assembly were considered in this session: citizens' assembly, elected assembly, constitutional assembly and a hybrid approach. Another form of deliberative engagement under Transformative Scenarios Process (TSP) model, which was tested in 2022 under the Cyprus Futures Project, was presented in the second session. For the purposes of reporting it has been included under this heading.

Citizens' assembly

A citizens' assembly comprises ordinary citizens selected from a representative cross-section of society, selected using professional, randomised controlled sampling techniques. This model has been widely used across developed and developing economies. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) – a club of developed economies – has developed a “toolbox” for governments embarking on such a process.

One key advantage of a citizens' assembly is that it would help shift from a leader-led process to a Cypriot-owned process. It would also avoid a “superficially settled” Cyprus problem, by providing legitimacy. It can also create empathy and ensure that the voices of those who have never been involved in efforts to solve the Cyprus problem. A diverse group would be given the time and safe space to think and discuss without the distractions of media, social media and politicians or other influencers. It was noted that Experience in Bosnia & Hercegovina suggests that, with international support, it is possible to roll out assemblies quickly. It was noted during the audience comments that citizens' assemblies do not necessarily have to be about making political decisions. They can also be used as a vehicle to inform citizens, as they were in the Republic of Ireland ahead of referendums on sensitive constitutional questions.

The disadvantages of such an approach is that Cyprus is a small society, the culture is clientelist, political parties would be very resistant to being excluded, therefore it would be very difficult to avoid political influence. Efforts to avoid interference, such as being taken away from Cyprus and not given access to phones, would be very unpopular with participants. Therefore, a great deal of effort is needed for it to be taken seriously among the general public. It would need a great deal of planning and significant financial commitment.

Elected assembly

An elected assembly would be appointed by voters. It would typically include political parties but there would also be specific spaces reserved for under-represented voices. A classic example is the Northern Ireland assembly, which included the Women's Coalition.

The main advantage of such an approach is that it automatically has legitimacy, because the members are elected. The main disadvantage of such an approach is that is likely to be politicised so would be little different from current negotiations process. It would be heavily influenced by political parties, some of which have historically acted as the main obstacles to solving the Cyprus problem.

Constitutional assembly

A constitutional assembly works on a specific mandate to produce a new constitution. A classic example is that of post-Apartheid South Africa.

The main advantage of such an approach is that it has a clear mandate and will work with experts to draft a new constitution. The main disadvantage is that it is not broadly inclusive.

A hybrid system of evolving methods?

Given the challenges of each type of system, it was suggested that perhaps in Cyprus a hybrid system of evolving methods would be most appropriate. One could start with a citizens' assembly, move to an elected assembly and then potentially to a constitutional assembly. It was also suggested during the comments that one might follow the example of women's empowerment initiatives and start at a much smaller level, with small safe spaces, before moving to a more ambitious island-wide process.

During the discussion it was suggested that a citizens' assembly could engage citizens in ordinary every-day issues as well as major subjects such as security and power-sharing. Artificial intelligence (ai) could help to reduce the costs of a process in which participants spoke different languages. In addition to use of social media it would require community visits to involve older and more remote populations. Funds for a citizens' assembly should be neutral.

Transformative Scenarios Process: the Cyprus Futures project

In 2022 the Cyprus Futures project brought together a very diverse group of 36 people representing a microcosm of society across both communities, although budget constraints meant that this was limited to those who could communicate comfortably in English. Participants met in Austria for two sets of four days. Each member expressed an important perspective present in society and brought with them additional experience as part of their profession or background. The group also included experts in geopolitics, peacebuilding, the Cyprus problem veterans, teachers, artists, lawyers, basic scientists who were also participants in the group. As it was representative of society, it included those who were very sceptical about communicating with those from the other community before they started the process. Participants heard from specialists in areas such as law, geopolitics, peacebuilding and the Cyprus problem, to bring know-how to the process and construct scenarios that were based on evidence.

The Cyprus Futures project is based on the Transformative Scenarios Process (TSP) model. Successful projects under this model include the "Mont Fleur" scenarios in South Africa (1990) and the "Destino Colombia", Colombia/FARC (1996). Lessons can also be learned from less successful projects under this model.

The aim was not to solve the Cyprus problem but to imagine four plausible scenarios for the future. After much deliberation participants concluded the following for each scenario.

- **No way:** a scenario of stagnation and inaction (current status quo). This would lead (and has led) to repeated failures of the peace process, increasing dependence of northern Cyprus on Türkiye and diminishing prospects for reunification.
- **My way:** a scenario of divergence and opposition. This would result in active efforts of the north for recognition, increasing opposition from Greek Cypriots and the EU for such efforts but recognition by a few countries dependent on Türkiye. Very few Turkish Cypriots would benefit from this and society in northern Cyprus would become more unequal.

- **Their way:** a scenario of peace under pressure. As an elite-driven peace process with no transparency there would be a failure to prepare citizens (as in the Annan Plan) and marketing methods would be used to achieve a Yes vote. The settlement would be vulnerable to protectionism, with politicians loyal to their own constituent state undermining their federal government. The Cyprus problem would only be superficially settled.
- **Our way: a scenario of resilient peace.** This would be a multi-track process, with broad civil society engagement, focusing on establishing built-in internal resilience for the state to handle stress, for example through early warning systems, constructive dispute resolution mechanisms, mechanisms for restorative justice and mechanisms for citizen participation.

It was suggested that “our way” could convene a separate social assembly for each of the Cyprus problem dossiers to be fed into negotiating teams.

Session 2. How to ensure true inclusivity: pitfalls to avoid

The session started with a presentation of lessons from Canada’s Feminist International Assistance Policy, to understand that the kinds of expectations that very large donors such as Canada expect from project managers when they fund programmes. While the time allotted did not allow for a full explanation of all the requirements, the focus was on the following.

Monitoring & Evaluation (M&E). This is a key requirement before, during and after programming. Effective M&E ensures that peacebuilding interventions are impactful and accountable. The approach is outcome-oriented and focused on impacts. It was noted that Gender Equality & Social Inclusion (GESI) Assessments (20-50 pages), as part of “Baseline Assessment” are a must, with very specific requirements for what they must include, such as context, participation in M&E, conflict sensitivity; continuous learning, adaption & improvement; capacity building among local stakeholders; transparency and accountability.

Do-No-Harm Principle. Peacebuilding approaches must minimise harm and maximise positive outcomes, and involve continuous assessment and active risk mitigation. For example, some men will react violently to the women in their household becoming empowered. How do you empower women without increasing the risk of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV)?

Ethical & responsible. Prioritises ethical and responsible practices like “Safeguarding” - protecting the health, well-being, and human rights of individuals, especially vulnerable populations – and encompasses policies and practices designed to prevent and respond to abuse and exploitation, promoting a faith and secure environment.

Creating inclusive spaces. Prioritises the marginalised in peacebuilding discussions. Focuses on including those most vulnerable: vulnerable women, youth, people living with disabilities, 2SLGBTQI+, vulnerable communities, neuro-diverse, people without transport, primary carers, faith-based groups, etc. Understands that such inclusion may challenge existing power structures, both within the home (people being given a say who are not normally given a say) and within the wider community (top-down political structures). Also related to Do-No-Harm approach (eg how to avoid SGBV in this process of deliberation).

MenCare Approach. The MenCare approach promotes gender equality through engaging men in sexual reproductive and health rights (SRHR), caregiving and violence prevention, including sexual violence and among school students. It is adapted in diverse contexts to promote non-

violence and gender equality. It is not enough to have “a few men champions”. *All men are allies and champions for change.*

“Decolonising aid”. Requires a holistic approach to power, language, and inclusivity. Rethinks power dynamics, language, and inclusivity. Important to address historical and ongoing colonial influences. Encourages donors and international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) to create spaces for marginalised voices. Highlights the discomfort but necessity of these conversations. Shifts language to help move away from colonial frameworks. Phases out terms like ‘beneficiaries’, ‘capacity building’, and ‘aid’. Allows local communities to lead changes in terminology. Recognises and counteracts “white saviour” and “white gaze” mentalities.

During the discussion there was also an emphasis on the need for transparency and inclusivity in the peace process, to create safe spaces for marginalised and diverse voices. Inclusivity should extend to all community members, including minorities and non-Cypriots.

The importance of storytelling and reconciliation in fostering peace was also emphasised. Humanitarian issues should also be de-politicised to promote peace and healing.

It was suggested that a deliberative democracy approach could start with very small groups, rather than going directly to launching an island-wide process.

In planning for a deliberative democracy process the importance of leveraging international normative frameworks such as the 2030 Agenda by the United Nations, the Prevention and Sustaining Peace Agenda, the Women, Peace and Security Agenda, and the Youth Inclusion Agenda was emphasised. In Cyprus these could empower marginalised communities, particularly women and youth, who are subject to entrenched gender norms and lack of access to decision-makers. Public awareness, targeted outreach, and the use of digital platforms were also important to facilitate participation and understanding in peace processes.

Session 3. Ensuring political engagement but non-interference

Engaging political leaders but ensuring that they allow participants to deliberate without political interference is perhaps the most difficult challenge of a deliberative democracy process in Cyprus, given that various stakeholders could be concerned that they will lose power or influence. To ensure legitimacy and ownership, the first presentation emphasised the four essential elements for engaging the political leaders and securing their buy-in.

- **Mandate.** An assembly or other deliberative democracy process should have a clear mandate and be produced in consultation with the political leaders.
- **Neutral mediator.** The UN would be the most obvious choice to be a neutral mediator engaged to facilitate the process. It could act as the main communication between the assembly and political leaderships.
- **Engagement of political leadership.** The political leadership should be engaged in the planning process and should be kept informed at each stage of the process.
- **Reporting.** Regular reports/updates should be provided to the leaders. The process should be circular: with collection feedback and the findings. It should also be adaptable, addressing concerns and making adjustments where possible.

During the panel discussion it was noted that successive academic rounds of research has shown that a significant share of voters in both communities find the status quo to be unacceptable while there is a trend of increasing support for a bizonal bicomunal federation (BBF) after the collapse of high-level talks in Crans Montana in 2017. During sophisticated

conjoint analyses (Loizides et al., 2022) different combinations of packages of a negotiated settlement have been tested. There are combinations which lead to majority of support in both communities. Moreover, the “hard core”, which would reject any form of negotiated settlement on the basis of BBF that could be accepted by the other side, is only around 20% on each side.

As for ensuring a random cross-section of the population, there are many tried and tested methods, such as randomly selecting people via household electricity connections as done for sampling in the European Social Survey in Cyprus.

Separately, youth initiatives supported in Cyprus by the UN show that it is possible for participants to work on a common document – not a “Greek Cypriot and a Turkish Cypriot” document, which is the current model. Youth participants worked this way to produce a trilingual output document on environmental cooperation.

Expertise should be made public and social media utilised to ensure transparency and engagement.

Session 4. When, how and how many referendums?

In this session the pros and cons of four referendum options were outlined.

1. **A referendum to start the process.** Potentially a vote on a “heads of agreement”, this would be a referendum to give the leaders a broad mandate to start (and finish) negotiations. It could be combined with a deliberative democracy process beforehand. It still runs the risk of polarisation and protest votes, especially if it is done without any public communication and engagement.
2. **A referendum on a comprehensive agreement.** This was the Annan Plan approach. This is considered highly risky as it is hostage to vested interests campaigning against small parts of the plan.
3. **A later referendum to confirm the arrangements.** A referendum once the new arrangements had “bedded down”. This would need a backstop if one side voted against continuation.
4. **An incremental approach in which elements of the final deal are implemented in reversible stages.** Further integration would be sanctioned by regular elections and there would therefore be no need for referendums. (Some of these proposals have been in the local media, such as handing Varosha to UN control and granting access to ports in Turkey for ships managed in the Republic of Cyprus or carrying the Republic of Cyprus flag, in exchange for the “three Ds”: direct trade with the EU from northern Cyprus, direct flights to northern Cyprus and direct contacts of Turkish Cypriot representatives with EU and potentially other officials.

During the panel discussion it was proposed that if a referendum were held it would have a greater chance of success if it included crystal clear information for voters about the what the property settlement would mean to them (which was not the case in the Annan Plan), and clear provisions for deadlock-breaking mechanisms or arbitration in case of deadlock on other issues. This might involve an international component to build trust and support.

In another presentation it was noted that referendums work best when negotiations become an inclusive process, incorporating a wide range of diverse stakeholders. In addition, a settlement can never really get off the ground without an agreement on public values, such as reconciliation, tolerance, mutual trust, human rights, partnership, equality, justice etc. Other options for approaches to referendums were as follows.

- **Peace polling and AI-facilitated dialogue.** A method implemented in Northern Ireland, which fosters dialogue and transparency by regularly consulting the public and political parties. This is an iterative process in which everyone is involved in questionnaire design, all views and all options in between are listed and the public is asked to rank the options. This provides feedback to political leaders on where there is common ground and consensus and eventually the peace settlement is also polled. The results of the polling are shared with all the parties and the public. Peace polling facilitates a discourse in which the society as a whole could play a part in the decision-making process. More recently AI-facilitated dialogue also became available like the Remesh platform <https://www.remesh.ai/>. CPDC is working on applying this method soon in both communities.
- **Common referendum campaign.** So far missing from the Cyprus peace process, a unified campaign with common messages to reduce fears and promote a cohesive settlement vision. The default has been the sides presenting opposite versions or visions of the agreement to their publics in order to secure a yes, which might trigger fears on the other side.
- **Flexible referendum design.** Negative referendum results do not derail the process entirely but allow for adjustments based on feedback. The timing of the referendum should be flexible to allow for adjustments.

4. Next C-Up project management steps to maintain momentum

At the end of the workshop it was noted that to maintain momentum the C-Up initiative needs a clear roadmap as well funding that does not rely on unpaid labour. Below are the proposed next steps.

1. Share take-outs with Representatives and international community

An integral part of the C-Up initiative is to make proposals that can be supported by the political leaderships. These take-outs will be therefore shared with the Representatives, the UN, EU and other interested members of the international community.

2. Assign project roles

Most of the panelists have indicated that they are keen to continue work on the project. To work efficiently it would be desirable to assign different roles for different tasks. Roles include but are not limited to the following.

1. **Coordinator** to keep in contact with everyone.
2. **“Enforcer”** to chase people who have promised things.
3. **Brainstormers** to develop ideas;
 - a. Potentially **specific subject** brainstormers, eg different groups to work on assemblies/political engagement, referendums etc.
4. **“Idea writer/s-up”** to put the ideas together in a single document.
5. **“Plain language writer-up”** (eg maybe a plain-language executive summary) to put them in plain language for Representatives, politicians, international community, funders, broader public.
6. **Liaison, Representatives:** a liaison person for the Representatives, and later politicians.

7. **Liaison, civil society:** a liaison person for civil society organisations and related individuals.
8. **Fundraiser** (very big job): chasing potential funds, writing up applications etc, dealing with all the administration that goes with donors.
9. **Organiser:** an organiser of workshops: booking venue and dealing with venue people, arranging food.
10. **Communications (press releases):** a press release writer.
11. **Communications (social media):** someone to post on social media.
12. **Translator Turkish:** Appointed translator/s from English to Turkish.
13. **Translator Greek:** Appointed translator/s from English to Greek.
14. **Photographer:** A photographer for events.
15. **A designer:** someone to design press and communications materials.
16. **Other:** other sundries.

3. Prioritise first subject/s for brainstorm/options paper

Having assigned roles, decide which subject/s should be focused on first to produce an options paper. It was noted after the event that it would be useful to conduct a mapping exercise to identify any initiatives that were complimentary or potentially overlapping.

4. Identify sources of funding

To ensure that the project is sustainable and does not fizzle out, funding will be required as a minimum for the following activities.

1. Project management: to ensure that the initiative does not fizzle out as managers are forced to make a living elsewhere.
2. Honorariums for key participants: to ensure continued engagement of key brainstormers.
3. Travel and any other expenses for international experts and their feedback (Step 3 in the image below).
4. Focus groups for the “reality check” (Step 4 in the image below).
5. Communications and outreach expenses.

5. References

Loizides, N., Psaltis, C., Morgan-Jones, E., Sudulich, L., Popp, R., & Baykiz, T. (2022). Citizens and peace mediations in divided societies: identifying zones of agreement through a conjoint survey experiment. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 66(9), 1619-1649.

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