



# The ,double process of habit- breaking‘

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*A research on shifts in allegiance in Cyprus in the course of European integration*

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Bachelor Thesis Bsc - Bestuurskunde European Studies

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Enschede, May 2011

## **Abstract**

This study deals with shifts in allegiance in the course of European integration. Using Karl Deutsch's model of the 'double process of habit-breaking', it analyses the shifts in allegiance from ethnic nationalism to Europeanism in the Cypriot population. The population is organised in two ethnic nationalist political units. One is part of the European Union Member State of the Republic of Cyprus and the other one is the non-EU Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, namely the political units are the Greek Cypriot community and the Turkish Cypriot community. A newly emerging political unit is the European one which is embedding the Cypriots since 2004. The study covers the time period from 2000 to 2011, including the accession of the Republic of Cyprus to the EU. The study uses newspaper articles, governmental statements and policy statements as artefacts to derive an interpretation on allegiance structures. The artefacts are interpreted through an 'interpretative content analysis'. The study uses the processes of the ideal type of the 'double process of habit-breaking' and the elements of the sub ideal types of ethnic nationalism and Europeanism to interpret the shift in allegiance among the three political units. The research reveals a slowly and incremental 'double process of habit-breaking' taking place among the Cypriots of both ethnic political units. The work ends with an elaboration on the implications and the significance of the allegiance shifts for policy design of the EU.

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## **Introduction – Allegiance in an integration process**

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The inquiry aims at developing an understanding of changes in allegiance patterns to a political unit in the course of integration by giving an interpretation of the meaning of shifts in political units. Only shortly after World War II Europe experienced with the establishment of the Coal and Steel Community and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation a number of newly emerging political institutions which quickly integrated into the life of citizens. Starting to reflect on integration of different political units Karl Deutsch established the concept of the ‘double process of habit-breaking’ back in 1957 (Deutsch, 1957, p. 58). Deutsch was searching for the impacts of a shift in political units to the political habits of citizens concerning loyalty. The aim was to explain the process through which a society goes as soon as another political unit such as new political community or a new security community impacts the lives of individuals. The resulting concept describes the processes experienced in a society in which a shift of political unit creates a new way of life. The processes are valid in many cases in which the integration was promoted towards a functional unit such as in the Habsburg monarchy, the German Zollverein model or the American independence. Bringing the issue back on the agenda is the continuing European integration process. Laura Cram rediscovered the concept of the ‘double process of habit-breaking’ in 2010 calling for an application to the research on a European identity development (Cram, 2009b, p. 102). Cram’s research focuses on the relationship of support for European integration and national identities. Her findings point towards a synergy of European allegiance and national attachment which reflects the process of Deutsch to break with old habits and develop a degree of allegiance to Europe. This study asks whether this ‘double process of habit-breaking’ takes place in Cyprus.

### **Context**

The aim is to apply the ‘double process of habit-breaking’ to modern European integration. Due to the long time span of European integration and the incremental process developing the European Union the allegiance patterns in Europe changed for over 50 years. This research will focus on Cyprus, being one of the newest Member States. The country joined in 2004 and therefore experienced the shift in political unit only recently and actively in the last years. The divided island has a different arrangement if it comes to validity of the new political unit called European Union. Even so the island as a whole is considered a member of the EU, a protocol to the accession treaty excludes the territory which is not under effective control of the Republic of Cyprus. The relevance of the case lies in its suitability for research due to its diverse patterns of responsibility of political units. Therefore, the research questions will take up the aspect of diverse political units. The allegiance patterns on Cyprus have been described to be in line with the political units being in charge of the citizens (Loizides, 2007, p. 185). This ‘ethnic nationalism’ reflects in the Turkish Cypriots’ allegiance to the ‘Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus’ (TRNC) while the Greek Cypriot community feels attached to the Republic of Cyprus. The political units have stamped their citizens with strict allegiance patterns harming the development of Cypriot nationalism. This deficit might be seen as one of the reasons why the Republic never successfully established a respected political unit and common institutions.

The accession to the European Union gives the opportunity to develop loyalty to a new political unit. Hence, the Cypriots have an opportunity to get involved in a ‘double process of habit-breaking’ including to break older traditional commitments and establishing new loyalties. The ‘double process of habit-breaking’ could be a way to decrease the strength of ethnic nationalism and develop a notion of Europeanism. Cram picks up the ‘double process of habit-breaking’ when describing the process of a ‘banal Europeanism’ which does not reflect a European identity yet but contributes as an essential part to the European integration process. Characteristic for the ‘banal Europeanism’ by Cram is the fact that membership has become so normal and is less and less considered to be a heroic new feature (Cram, 2009a, p. 124). The relevance of the ‘double process of habit-breaking’ for Cyprus becomes obvious in two significant aspects. The process opens up for a decrease of ethnic nationalism parallel to a development of a new European commitment. Therefore, the ‘double process of habit-breaking’ might become a key to the Cyprus conflict in the long run. Due

to this high importance the extent of the 'double process of habit- breaking' will be addressed in the research questions.

The 'double process of habit- breaking' could become a major factor of change in the Cypriot development considering the context of the conflict. The study is closely connected to the major problems at stake. The allegiance to a higher political unit could lead to a reunification of the island by overcoming the ethnic division. This aspect will be addressed in the research question set. In the earlier stadium of the island 'Cypriotism' was promoted in both communities by the left, more progressive political spectrum with the aim to reach unity. According to Papangelopoulou this attempt can be considered as not successful. Cyprus did not develop an overarching nationalism but ended up in a stronger separation (Papangelopoulou, 2005, p. 154). The impulse given by European integration might become a second way to reach unification in a framework which integrates diverse identities. As Güven-Lisaniler points out: 'In the impasse of two modern national projects [it might be] that a postmodern project, with creative proposals for sovereignty, citizenship and identity, could be forged' (Güven- Lisaniler & Rodriguez, 2002, p. 188). However, the opportunities of European integration are not distributed equally among the population of Cyprus. Therefore, a coherent emergence of Europeanism is challenged through the exclusion of the population in the 'Turkish Republic of Cyprus' which obtains a Turkish or a TRNC passport. An incremental emergence of Europeanism might also be a strengthening of the democratic establishment of the island. This is due to the threatening of pluralistic aggregation in ethnically divided societies (Bogdanor, 1982, p. 286). Changes in allegiance, a more critical approach towards the own community and an openness towards new political units have been noticed since 2000 (Lacher & Kaymak, 2005, p. 148). Considering what is at stake in Cyprus it becomes relevant to explore the patterns and developments of allegiance on Cyprus in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The goal of this paper is to give an interpretation of the meaning of the latest developments and summaries the potential of certain processes. Therefore, the question which will be elaborated in the next paragraphs focuses on the effects of European integration and especially the accession of the Republic of Cyprus to the EU on allegiance patterns.

### **Research Question – A 'double process of habit- breaking'?**

The research question aims at exploring the developments in Cypriot allegiance pattern since the EU accession in 2004 through an 'interpretative content analysis'. In order to include all the diverse aspects of Cyprus as the case it is important to embrace the Cypriot population including both major communities in the unit of analysis. The context of the research is three political units: Europe presented by the EU, the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots. Furthermore, it is important to consider a longer time period from 2000- 2010 in order to test effective changes in loyalty patterns. The questions are based on the integration theory of K. Deutsch by reflecting the specific phenomena of tergiversation and attachment to political units.

*To what extent did the accession to the political unit European Union change allegiance patterns away from ethnic national political units among Cypriots?*

The first sub question aims at an exploration of the latest developments in identification habits of the Cypriot community. The unit of observation for this purpose will be the Eurobarometer, secondary literature and an opinion poll.

1) *How have allegiance patterns developed in terms of attachment to ethnic nationalism and Europeanism since 2000?*

Following up to the overview of the developments the second sub question will have to consider whether the actual shift in political units has led to a 'double process of habit- breaking'. The question is central in the interpretation of the shifts in political unit. Data for the content analysis will be collected in governmental sources, media sources, policy statements and secondary literature.

2) *To which degree can the Cypriots population developments be interpreted as breaking of ethnic habits and an increasing allegiance towards the political unit European Union since 2000?*

The third question tries to answer the question whether the possible emergence of a ‘double process of habit- breaking’ occurs overarching in the whole population or whether it was a partial development which risks the strengthening of ethnic nationalism through patterns of in-group/ out-group developments. Therefore, the question points towards the meaning of the shifts in political unit.

- 3) *‘What do differences signify in terms of amalgamation and secession in the process of integration of political units?’*

All in all, the sub questions are aiming at giving a base to answer the main research question. The question shall stimulate a comprehensive interpretation of the meaning of shifts in political unit. In order to provide a framework for the interpretation in the following the interpretative sociological approach will be dealt with.

### **An interpretative sociological approach**

The very common interpretative sociology line will be the underlying approach of the study. The construction of ideal types goes back to Max Weber who aimed through this method at an ‘interpretative understanding of social order thereby to arrive at a causal explanation of its course and effect’ (Abraham, 2006, p. 16). First interpretative sociologists see societies as constructed by the symbolic meanings that citizens have given to actions. The findings will point out the significance of a shift in political unit and reveal the possible meanings of the attachment to different political units. In the footprints of Weber this research focuses on the ‘subjective meaning of action’ being the meaning actors give to their own behaviour and actions. Weber’s ‘verstehende Soziologie’ is the foundation for an analysis of the assigned motives for a shift in political unit (Abraham, 2006, p. 16). The goal of this approach is to understand and interpret the meanings that people have attributed to different phenomena in their culture. A society ascribes a social construct of meaning to cultural significant facts. Interpretative sociologists interpret Europe as a fact through exploring what Europe means to Europeans. A function of attribution of meanings is to organise the enormous chaos that surrounds them. This might be an answer of the key question: why have the Cypriots given such great importance and meaning to their ethnic nationalist allegiance? Which meaning can be given to Europeanism as a new united political unit? These questions lead to the ‘double process of habit-breaking’. In order to make effective use of the theories and concepts, they will be phrased in form of ideal types. Constructing the sub ideal types the essential characteristics which add up to the ideal type will be outlined. The ‘double process of habit- breaking’ is a constructed ideal type by Karl W. Deutsch and will form the foundation for the analysis of the meaning of shifts in political unit. The two sub ideal types will include characteristics of the two types of political unit in the following eight categories: (1) emergence, (2) impulse for emergence and (3) rationale for emergence, (4) significant feature of development, (5) vision of community, (6) level of theoretical research, (7) current key attribute and (8) problems. Along with these distinguishing marks the phenomenon of the ‘double process of habit- breaking’ will be interpreted based on the findings in the content analysis of the governmental, EU and newspaper documents.

Following this introduction chapter, the second chapter deals with the theoretical framework of the study. It will be modelling the ideal type of the ‘double process of habit- breaking’ and introduce the sub ideal types of ethnic nationalism and Europeanism. The chapter will explain the ideal types and introduce the theoretical elements which later are ground to the analysis. The third chapter is the methodological outline. Information on data collection and the interpretative content analysis will be added by the elaboration of a coding scheme. The coding scheme links the ideal types and the content analysis. The fourth chapter is the application of the interpretative content analysis to Cypriot cultural data. The analysis starts with an overview of research done so far and considers first the allegiance stimulus given by the EU. A central feature of the chapter is the analysis of shifts in allegiance in the Greek and Turkish political unit. The chapter discusses the findings in connection to the question of future coexistence. The chapter will conclude with the findings and answers to the sub research questions. The conclusion follows in the last chapter. Assumable implications and the relevance for the European Union in terms of governance will be discussed.

This chapter will introduce the ‘double process of habit- breaking and the two sub ideal types of ethnic nationalism and Europeanism. It will deal with the question, how we can make sense of allegiance shifts.

### **An ideal type of the ‘double process of habit- breaking’**

The ‘double process of habit- breaking’ will be the essential way to explain these loyalty changes in the Cypriot communities after the European accession. It is an applicable model to frame the societal changes appearing to have significant influence on the individual life of each citizen. The foundation for this is the political unit or community with which Deutsch worked. ‘His writings have constantly pictured a world of peoples, communities, or identitive groupings, characterized by ‘within and without’, ‘we and they’ perceptions and relationships. [...] Most important, degrees of mutual identification among peoples will influence probabilities of peaceful conflict resolution among their governments (Puchala, 1981, p. 151). A constructed ideal type is a way to describe comprehensively the features that add up all the meanings that might be included in the social denotation. However, the ideal type is a ‘mental construct’ in a value- free approach. Ideal types do not include moral ideals and no assessment of the preferability. Europeanism is seen as a possibility to change the ground of reunification through a continuing shift in meaning of the allegiance patterns. Interpretative sociologists call for cultural revitalisation and social reconstruction through allegiance shifts. Europeanism simply offers an alternative social order to the predominantly ethnic nationalism. The history of Cyprus, from a sociological perspective, is a historical adventure which follows the unquestioned overarching order, the pre given unity or fixed social norms. The interpretative approach provides people with the opportunity to develop and reconstruct their society through imagination. By imagining a different society, attempts can be made to develop not only Cyprus but Europe itself. In order to use concepts and theories in an application to Cyprus it is necessary to use the constructed ideal types. It will be necessary to test in the following to which degree the ideal types are fulfilled in the case of Cyprus. The results will allow an interpretation of the allegiance patterns.

Deutsch focuses on two major processes included in the concept of the ‘double process of habit- breaking’. The first one is the breaking of old habits of allegiance to the monopolistic political unit. In general integration is seen as a process. A second process is the entrance of an ‘external challenge’ which makes the citizens aware of the existing degree of attachment to the new political layer (Deutsch, 1957, p. 86). Applied to the Cypriot case this means that the political units of the ethnic communities administrative authority diminish and the EU as a new political unit opens up for the citizens of Cyprus. Since 2004 a new characteristic way of life has shaped the Cypriot European citizens by demanding them to adjust their habits. The new political habits such as the elections to the European Parliament or the introduction of EU legislation made the shift among political units easier and applicable. The EU created a new framework and therefore, could give a rise to changing habits in political loyalty (Deutsch, 1957, p. 85). The attractiveness of the larger political unit to become attached to increased freedom of movement and belonging to the European in- group. Possible challenges in the Cyprus case are the dead zone and ghost towns on the island which limit the citizens to commute freely on the island and to access their property in all parts of Cyprus. The current status of the island constitutes strict and close challenges to the otherwise far-reaching freedoms. Deutsch points out that the way an external challenge sharpens the public perception and impacts society depends on the coherence in which the new way of life is common to all political units. According to Deutsch, an ‘external challenge’ can lead either to amalgamation or secession (Deutsch, 1957, p. 86). These processes should be kept in mind as the core for the later argumentation and appear in the centre of the scheme of the ‘double process of habit- breaking’ (Table 1, p.7).

In the course of integration the processes do have different effects on the coexistence of political units. If the attachment to the new political unit is common among several traditional units it is likely to lead to greater closeness through overcoming the challenge together ending in amalgamation. In contrary, the unequal loyalty to the new political is likely to lead to secession. The

degree of the traditional units to the new political unit varies in their habits, values, distribution of the institutions and the social groups own characteristics (Deutsch, 1957, p. 86). These processes and their effects are to be analysed in the case study on how the ‘double process of habit- breaking’ worked on the island of Cyprus. The new political unit has embraced Cyprus in 2004 and is ever since trying to break the habits of allegiance in the traditional political units being the Greek and the Turkish community. Amalgamation would signify a fusion of Turkish and Cypriots in the political unit of Europe. Secession would be classified as strengthening of the ethnic nationalism and a stronger segregation of the communities in the future. This constructed ideal type including the two sub elements of ethnic nationalism and Europeanism will be the model to interpret the meaning of shifts in political units.

The ‘double process of habit- breaking’ could be a key to the urgent struggle one faces currently in identity and allegiance study: ‘The current picture by the state of ethnicity and nationalism is a complex one. On the surface, we are witnessing the proliferation and in some cases intensification of ethnic and national conflicts, but also a concerted effort in [...] notably Europe, to create supranational institutions that appear to undermine the bases of national identity in some existing states’ (Smith, 2006, p. 179). The EU accession of the island is a chance to finally overcome traditional separation in political units and to find to a coherent identification on the island. This is a central development taken in consideration that ethnic identities are arguable not sustainable in a post nationalist Europe. Cyprus ethnic, tribal characteristic is challenged by de- nationalizing measures of the EU. Only by overcoming ethnic nationalism European integration can begin (Ossewaarde, 2011, p. 17). Therefore, in the following a political unit is the community of political belonging to which a person is attached. The term allegiance will be used throughout the article as ‘the willingness [...] to approve of and to support the decisions made by a government, in return for a more or less immediate and straightforward reward or benefit to which the public feels entitled on the basis of it having rendered approval and support’ (Van Kersbergen, 2000, p. 4). Emphasis should be on the willingness which comes as anticipation of membership to the unit. Therefore, the belonging to a political unit and the allegiance to it reinforce themselves. Recalling the nine categories to construct the sub ideal types, having elaborated the ideal type of the ‘process of habit- breaking’ and defined the words political unit and allegiance the below scheme comes into existence. Next the elements of the sub ideal types will be elaborated.

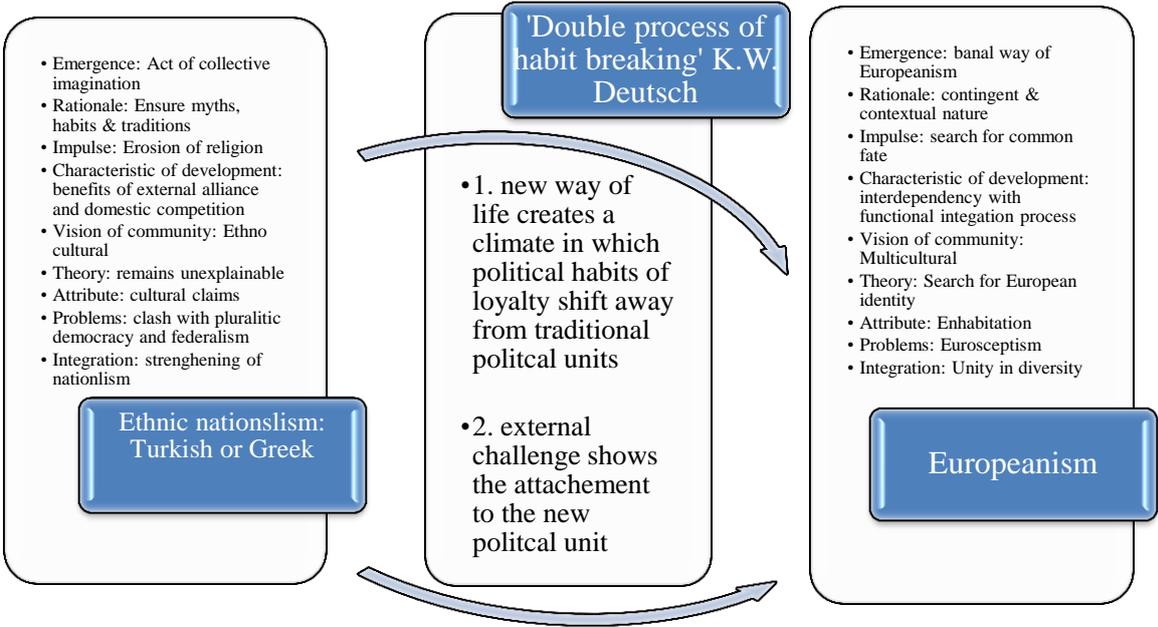


Table 1: Ideal types of the political units in the 'double process of habit- breaking'

## An ideal type of ethnic nationalism

The current political unit prospective patterns is the islands characteristic ethnic nationalism. Ethnic nationalism constitutes the political unit from which the ‘double process of habit- breaking’ leads away. Having constructed the general ideal type, ethnic nationalism constitutes the first sub ideal type of the general model. It can be pointed out that the (1) *emergence* of ethnic nationalism is linked to an act of collective imagination. Based on an idea an ethnic group creates an actual entity (Scheff, 1994, p. 278). Furthermore, the (2) *impulse* to the creation of ethnic nationalism was given by the erosion of religious foundation. This is applicable in the case of Cyprus as it is pointed out that historically a religious allegiance and division existed (Vural & Rustemli, 2006, p. 332). Through the success of nationalism over ideologies like communism or Marxism in Europe, ethnic nationalism was strengthened in areas where ethnic groups struggled for a state of their own (Bogdanor, 1982, p. 284). In his article ‘Ethnic nationalism in Western Europe’ Bogdanor outlines the relationship of nationalism, ideologies and ethnic nationalism (Bogdanor, 1982, p. 285). From his description a further going characteristic of ethnic nationalism which operates in a realm of nationalism can be derived. Bogdanor adds an interesting feature which he derives from Kafka’s writings dealing with the fact that in a world of advanced technics the nations have more and more in common. Consequently, people are in search of a unique national characteristic which could be ethnic ancestry (Bogdanor, 1982, p. 284). In the course of decreasing religious framework the (3) *rationale* to commit to ethnic nationalism is to save the common myths, memories, symbols and values of an in- group (Scheff, 1994, p. 280). The (4) *characteristics of development* of the ideal type of ethnic nationalism are according to Loizides that, ethnic nationalism is a mean to receive benefits form alliances externally and to strengthen the group against domestic competitors. He describes the Cypriote ethnic nationalism by stating: ‘Greek Cypriotism and Turkish Cypriotism are on the rise with favourable prospects for the future. Their formation appears to be driven by comparable processes, namely, majority alliances domestically and favourable opportunities externally.’ (Loizides, 2007, p. 185)

Even more habits of ethnic nationalism are under threat in an evolving ‘double process of habit- breaking’. A fifth element is the (5) *vision of community* which is the aim of the political community. According to Vural and Peristianis ethnic nationalism is characteristically connected to the ethno cultural vision of community (Vural & Peristianis, 2008, p. 42). The vision is based on the assumption that a community is held together through its ‘belief of common ancestry and ethno cultural sameness’ (Vural & Peristianis, 2008, p. 42). The current (6) *theoretical framework* of ethnic nationalism is pure. In the debate of many sociologists it has not been possible to explain the belonging of ethnic clusters in modern ideologies, neither were scientists able to construct a general theory of ethnic nationalism. An additional aspect of ethnic nationalism and the most (7) *current attribute* is its claim for sovereignty, territoriality, power-sharing and identity. The claims might be considered as the ‘cultural claims’ of ethnic nationalism (Vural & Peristianis, 2008, p. 41). The (8) *problems* of ethnic nationalism is the clash with pluralistic democracy and federalism. Ethnic nationalism works against more common denominators for coalition building of political units such as class solidarity and economic interest (Bogdanor, 1982, p. 286). A last important aspect is the reaction to (9) *integration*. Reviewing literature Bogdanor outlines the factors which stimulate a rise in ethnic nationalism. These factors are essential in the collection of features of the ideal type as they are linked to the integration and political unit shift. Four factors are named, firstly the participation in transnational organisations such as the former ECC and EU. Due to the shift in political functions from the national to the international level people might tend to develop a stronger sense of nationalism. The hypothesis is interesting to look at in the Cypriot case as according to this hypothesis the EU accession could fire back and foster nationalism instead of a concrete shift in political unit. A second factor is the decentralization of administration through which citizens tend to focus on regional issues as e.g. Brussels is far. Furthermore, the World liberalisation movement did empower ethnic movements’ claims. This force is strengthening the ethnic nationalist movements through simple rear cover. A last factor listed is the rising economic expectations. Economic developments tend to undermine individuals identities through a search for locally satisfying life and a refuge (Bogdanor, 1982, p. 289). All these habits are assumed to diminish through the ‘double process of habit- breaking’.

## An ideal type of Europeanism

The development of a 'banal Europeanism' among all Cypriots could be the possible outcome of the 'double process of habit- breaking'. Therefore, Europeanism constitutes a second element of the ideal type of the constructed general 'double process of habit- breaking'. Cram focuses in her research on the nature of this emerging allegiance. Cram provides a model of Europeanism by stating the essential features of this allegiance patterns. Europeanism is considered as the new political framework. The less romantic notion of Europeanism compared to nationalism reflects additionally in the feature of the banal way in which it (1) *emerged*, has been established and lived. There is nothing heroic in the notion. Europeanism has been established without common myths, symbols or memories. Therefore, does Europeanism remain a rational and banal type of allegiance whose pre-requirements for adaptation are complementary to communicational habits, social and economic preferences and to provide security and success in a changing environment for the European citizens (Cram, 2009a, p. 113). This feature makes it possible to embed every European citizen and involved them in an incremental 'double process of habit- breaking'. The (2) *impulse* for the development was stimulated by an external challenge. In the moment of a European splitting due to the question whether to support or reject the Iraq war Habermas searches for 'historical experiences, traditions, and achievements offering European citizens the consciousness of a political fate that has been shared together, and *that can be shaped together?* An attractive, indeed an infectious 'vision' for a future Europe' (Habermas & Derrida, 2003, p. 293). He states that values, habits, the ability to communicate differences, the institutionalisation of tensions and contradictions have been emerging to overcome the cultural diversity and gave contemporary Europe a face against the destructive nationalism (Habermas & Derrida, 2003, p. 294). According to Habermas' argument these achievements allow to reciprocally acknowledge the other in his otherness towards a common European identity (Habermas & Derrida, 2003, p. 294). The acknowledgement of the other is an essential, cognitive step in the 'double process of habit- breaking'. This process would be a step forward in the overall establishment of a stronger political unit among the European citizens. At first it is important to consider the (3) *rationale* which is reflected in the contingent and contextual nature of Europeanism. Hence, Europeanism is shaped by the rational cost and benefit analysis of the citizens. The presumption is that European integration is a contingent process which is driven by the aim of new capabilities and improved government rather than by the goal of integration itself (Cram, 2009a, p. 111). An attribute of the (4) *development* of Europeanism is the fact that the identity process is highly dependent on the capacity of the EU to deal with the various images of the Union and to influence the identities of the European people (Cram, 2009a, p. 124).

Some more features of Europeanism could be reached in a continuing 'double process of habit- breaking'. In comparison to the ideal type's (5) *vision of community* in ethnic nationalism stands the contradictory vision of Europeanism. In line with Cram's 'integration of diversity' argument goes the multicultural vision of community. It is characterised by the belonging to a national (or higher) community in which diverse ethnic groups can flourish and live united in a higher political unit (Vural & Peristianis, 2008). Europeanism has a narrow (6) *theoretical* analytical and scientific foundation. Consequently, the community of scientists is trying to increase the work done on the European integration process and the development of a European identity (Cram, 2009b, p. 101). Furthermore, Europeanism is (7) currently characterised by an 'enhabitation' *attribute*. This means it has become very normal for European citizens to enjoy the benefits while forgetting to remember that these opportunities have not always existed (Cram, 2009a, p. 114). A last characteristic of Europeanism might be the (8) *problematic struggle* between the Europeanisms voices arguing for integration against the Eurosceptics calling for a freezing of the process. A last very important feature of Europeanism according to Cram is that banal Europeanism does not threaten national identities or calls for convergence of identities in the first place but allows for diversity as a foundation for (9) *integration*. Cram outlines the different possible and interesting effects of Europeanism on different state statuses (Cram, 2009a, p. 114).

## Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the ideal type of the ‘double process of habit- breaking’. The sub ideal types are tools in the inquiry of meaning and stages of the ‘double process of habit- breaking’. They are now used to access the status of allegiance in the two ethnic political units. Furthermore, the sub ideal type of Europeanism will be used to get an idea of the EUs stimulus made to integrate Cyprus into the European political unit. The mental construct of the ideal type is constructed in the manner that no case of the political units of Cyprus will fit but that all can be included and analysed in the framework (Abraham, 2006, p. 16). These sub ideal types reflect the meanings which will be the centre of the interpretation. The meanings are tools to explain shifts in the political units through classifying them as tergiversating ethnic nationalism or attachment to Europeanism. These are the most important processes of which the ‘double process of habit- breaking’ derives its name. Furthermore, the ‘double process of habit- breaking’ explains the shift in allegiance by placing the shifts in a framework. Only by seeing the two processes in their interdependency and mutual reinforcement the potential of Deutsch’s model as an explanation of modern allegiance shifts comes to the surface. Using the ‘double process of habit- breaking’ to arrive at a coherent interpretation of the allegiance patterns to the political units will make it possible to address the concerns which Cram rises. The ‘double process of habit- breaking’ might enable one to understand the allegiance processes in Europe. The awareness of the ‘double process of habit- breaking’ would work against the ‘enhabitation’ described by Cram towards an open allegiance to Europe.

The expectation is that among the Greek Cypriots a European commitment is on the rise while the Turkish Cypriot community characterised also by its many Turkish settlers European is expected to be less prominent. Consequently, the degree of commitment to ethnic nationalism is higher in the Turkish Cypriot group than in the Greek Cypriot counterpart. Expectedly, could this result be seen as attachment to safeguard political influence on the Turkish side and an attempt to use the new opportunities derived from the membership of the EU to expand the pie for a resolution strategy in the Greek community. The significance of the development should be estimated closely as the expected development would no longer classify a clash of ethnic nationalism but a drift apart. The results are expected to give a clearer overview whether the ‘double process of habit- breaking’ is still applicable to modern integration processes in the EU and on Cyprus. In the next step one will search in cultural data for artefacts being carriers of these meanings.

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## **Methodology – Artefacts of allegiance: an interpretative content analysis**

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The proceeding chapter has provided a set of ideal types to enable an interpretation. The upcoming chapter contributes with being a road map to the analysis of artefacts in search of its meanings. At stake is the attempt to find reliable and valuable cultural data and choose the right method to apply the interpretation tools too it. Therefore, the chapter introduces a method to select and analyse the data, suggests the set of cultural data and provides a scheme explaining the application of the tools with the aim to make sense of the artefacts.

At the core of the study is the choice of the Cypriot case which includes the feature of Europeanism and ethnic nationalism. The purpose of the study is to inquire the allegiance with ethnic or a European political unit while researching more in- depth the uniqueness of the allegiance patterns phenomenon on Cyprus (Babbie, 2007, p. 298). The case study will be used in order to include the available research and extent the theoretical understanding of changing patterns to political units in the process of integration. The rationale for choosing this single case is the appropriateness of the Cypriot case in terms of actuality. The Cypriot population is involved in the integration process to the European Union since 2004. Since then Cyprus is part of the political unit Europe being characterised by the sub ideal type of Europeanism. In other Member States it might be more difficult to single out the units of analysis which are involved in the ‘double process of habit-breaking’. Many of the youngsters in the older Member States have never experience a life without the political unit Europe. Furthermore, it is difficult to phrase the actual beginning of the process in the case of older cohorts as the integration of the EU has developed incremental through their lives. As these deficits are not appearing in the Cypriot case a coherent cohort of the population is going through the ‘double process of habit- breaking’ currently. Furthermore, the Cypriot case is interesting due to the two political units which exist, namely the Turkish and the Greek communities. The two ethnic political units reflect the sub ideal type of ethnic nationalism. This provides the possibility to explore procedural difference among the two units while in other Member States it would be necessary to make a comparison among each other which significantly lowers the reliability due to additional differences. Legitimate critics of reliability and validity of a case study are replied by the assumption that a case study ensures causality through reasoning and observation. Considering the purpose of the study to increase the knowledge of the application of the ‘double process of habit- breaking’ a case study is appropriate due to the broad information it provides, even taken in consideration the methodological debates (Shadish, Cook, & Campell, 2002).

### **Data collection – Gathering of cultural artefacts**

Central to the data collection is the gathering of cultural artefacts reflecting shifts in allegiance in the course of the ‘double process of habit- breaking’. Cultural data artefacts as the units of observation will be made up of policy documents of the two governments, the EU, policy statements, media documents, secondary literature and opinion polls. The research focuses on an analysis of the sources of all three political units reflecting the patterns of allegiance in the course of European integration. The underlying assumption is that these public documents either are a reflection of the public opinion including identification view (Marvasti, 2004, pp. 90-92). Different types of cultural data will be analysed in order to get a coherent overview of allegiances. All of the documents constitute interpretative data which relate to the political units of Cyprus in a primary or secondary manner. The usefulness of the data lies in there characteristic to either be a mirror of the allegiance and attitudes or being an action which is decided based on underlying allegiance and attitudes. The documents of the European Union will be the accession documents and the protocols which have being regulating the extra conditions. Governmental documents will be taken from the official government of the Republic of Cyprus and the administration of the TRNC. Policy statements might be selected from political parties of both communities. The usage of governmental sources is justified according to the presupposition that ‘policies are either instrumental or expressive. Often they are both’ (Yanow, 2000, p. 89). Furthermore, media documents will be selected from the English speaking newspapers of the both communities. In the Republic of Cyprus the ‘Cyprus Mail’. In the Turkish community the ‘Northern Cyprus Free Press’ and the ‘Northern Cyprus Daily’.

In order to cover the time dimension of the study, the sources will be splitted while policy documents cover the time period from 2000- 2010, newspapers will be analysed on their current reference to allegiance from 2009- 2011. The underlying assumption and rationale for this decision is caused by the estimated begin of an active preparation and integration process of Cyprus. The accession to the European Union which took place in May 2004 is hypothesised to be the turning point towards a strengthened ‘double process of habit- breaking’. Therefore, the independent variable is purposed to be the ‘accession of the Republic of Cyprus to the European Union’. The dependent variable which is supposed to be affected by the independent variable is the ‘allegiance to political units’. The values of the dependent are the identifications with either the Greek or the Turkish political unit. The units of analysis which will be subject of the study are the citizens of the TRNC and the citizens of the Republic of Cyprus together constituting the population of the island of Cyprus. The method of data collection is limited by two major factors. Firstly, the accessibility of the documents meaning the limitation to documents which can be accessed through the used method. Data will be sampled in the internet and therefore a natural exclusion of non- digital material is given. Secondly, the data collection is harmed by the language deficits. Only English material will be used and Greek and Turkish material will not be included in the coding process. The core of the content analysis is to isolate the statements reflecting developments, impulses and allegiances to a political unit. Therefore, the documents will be analysed on their ‘latent content’. This means one is going to search for the underlying meaning of allegiance to a certain political unit in statements in all these documents (Babbie, 2007, p. 325).

### **Data analysis - An interpretative content analysis**

In order to make sense of introduced cultural data one needs a method which allows an interpretation through the ideal type of the ‘double process of habit- breaking’. Allegiance patterns and shifts will be searched in artefacts through an ‘interpretative content analysis’(Ahuvia, 2001). The political units constitute in terms of political allegiance an interpretative community being a group in which everybody relies on the same interpretation of their cultural artefacts. One uses this interpretive community to find the artefacts which function as carriers of meaning for this group. In consequence does the carrier reinforce the allegiance to the interpretative community or political unit. It will be part and parcel of the research to find the discourse of the communities which might lead to conflict among the groups (Yanow, 2000, p. 20). Therefore, this interpretation will be part of interpretative science going beyond inter-subjective facts. It will provide a subjective explanation of the meaning of the actions and the behaviour reflected in the data. The underlying assumption is that ‘we live in a social world characterized by the possibilities of multiple interpretations’ (Yanow, 2000, p. 5). The data is artefacts made up by language, objects and acts reflect meanings in the first place including values, beliefs and feelings and which are reinforced by common usage (Yanow, 2000, pp. 15-16). The interpretation will be based on the expression of allegiance to political units in the considered sources. Therefore, the ‘description of reality in terms of meanings which is open to interpretative question is only allowed into this scientific discourse if it is placed [...] in quotes and attributed to individuals as their opinion, belief, attitude’ (Taylor, 1979, p. 51). Therefore, the analysis will start out with quotes of the Cypriot allegiance artefact. Example quotes have been chosen from a newspaper report on current protests in TRNC.

<b>Quote of cultural artefact</b>	‘We want the world to hear that we want peace and reunification. We want a future,’ said 40 year-old A. O.’ (Bahceli, 2011)	‘S. E. [...] issued an appeal to Greek Cypriots and the EU to help end the division of the island’ (Bahceli, 2011).
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In the first step the cultural data collection is screened on its reflection of sub ideal types of Europeanism and ethnic nationalism. The interpretation tries to make sense of statements by explaining them through the ideal type and sub ideal types. This is done by detecting the elements of the two sub ideal types as they have been gathered in Table 1 (compare p.7). These elements might be found in two different manners. Firstly, they can experience denial and a loosening of importance of ethnic nationalism such as in our first example. On the other hand they can reflect a continuing

conventionalism. Furthermore, a familiarization with the elements of the sub ideal type of Europeanism can occur as in the second example. The process of labelling the quote according to the underlying meaning results from the direct application of the elements of the sub ideal types which have been elaborated in chapter two. The linking of the quotes to the elements is a substantive first interpretation of the underlying meaning of the artefacts.

<b>Step 1: Sense making through Europeanism &amp; Ethnic nationalism</b>	Reflecting diminishing impact of ‘myths, habits and traditions’ and the ‘ethno community vision’	Mirror of ‘search for common fate’
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In the second step the direct implications of the allegiance statement taken from the cultural data are at the core of the interpretation. The step considers the effect for the coexistence of political units. Deutsch has made the question of amalgamation and secession to a logical consequence of the allegiance shift. Therefore, the positioning of the artefact in the forces of the ‘double process of habit-breaking’ results in an consequent interpretation of whether this attitude further splits the communities or fosters a similar embracement into the European political unit.

<b>Step 2 : Effect analysis</b>	Call for ‘amalgamation’	Call for ‘amalgamation’
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The final step concludes the interpretation with giving a final classification of the artefact in the light of the ‘double process of habit- breaking’. In general the quotes are expected to either fit into the two processes of the ‘double process of habit- breaking’. On the one hand a breaking with ethnical habits and on the other hand integration into the European political unit. It might also be that the quotes rather suggest a slowing down of these processes through conventionalism. These statements are equivalent with the quotes classified as conventionalist in the first step of the coding process. In general the frequency and significance create an overall picture of the dominance of either of the two processes.

<b>Step 3: Interpretation of ‘double process of habit- breaking’</b>	Classification as : ‘breaking of habit process’	Classification as: ‘integration in European unit’
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Table 2: Coding scheme for artefacts

Adding up all three steps of making sense of the quotes, drawing up effect assumption and interpreting the development of the ‘double process of habit- breaking’ one arrives with this coherent coding scheme which is going to guide the argumentation of the interpretation. The different steps of the coding scheme provide answers for the sub- research questions. The first step will provide insights on the latest trends in allegiance shifts on Cyprus and therefore answer sub- question one. The second step’s results lead towards an answer of sub- question three concerning the coexistence of the political units. The third step draws up an interpretation of the extent to which the ‘double process of habit-breaking’ has taken place in Cyprus. The overall interpretation which arrives from the different sub research questions shall enable one to come to an answer in how far the EU accession has changes allegiance patterns.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has delivered with the interpretative content analysis a method to approach the selected cultural artefacts. The suggested coding scheme linking the theoretical and methodological tools results in the following road to take through the analysis. These steps will be the ground for the

argumentation in the analysis. The following structure derives from the theoretical and methodological considerations. The incremental guide to the argumentation shall support the reader in following the analysis.

- 1) Justification of the applicability of an interpretative content analysis in the case of Cyprus including an outline of the shortcomings of alternative methods.
- 2) Application of the coding scheme to the EU and its documents concerning the Cyprus accession in order to establish an interpretation of the stimulus of the 'double process of habit- breaking'.
- 3) Interpretation of the Cypriot cultural data on the development of the first process of the 'double process of habit- breaking' through using the three step coding scheme.
- 4) Interpretation of the Cypriot cultural data on the development of the second process of the 'double process of habit- breaking' through using the three step coding scheme.
- 5) Interpretation of the effects of the 'double process of habit- breaking' on the cooperation and coexistence of the political units in the future.

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## **Allegiance shifts - The double process of habit- breaking on Cyprus**

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The main analytical chapter has the task to develop a pre analysis, leading to a comprehensive interpretation of the shifts in allegiance. This will be done by gathering the statements in cultural artefacts. The argumentation will classify the statements in the ideal type categories by arguing which element of the sub ideal type they link with. Using the three step coding scheme the meaning of the preposition can be linked to the higher framework of the ‘double process of habit- breaking’. The chapter will start out with a snap- shot of current quantitative attempts to develop knowledge on allegiance patterns. This is done to introduce the community’s self-evaluation and to justify a qualitative approach. It will continue with an analysis of the approach of the European Union as a political unit. An interpretation of the way the EU addresses and embraces the two communities will be result. The next step is to analysis the Cypriote cultural data on their development of habit breaking with the ethnic communities. Part of the data will be cited to give examples. Consequently, the follow up is an analysis of the cultural data concerning the second sub process, namely the allegiance to Europe. A last part will consider the consequences of the integration for the coexistence of the communities. The chapter will answer the sub research questions and lead up to a comprehensive answer.

### **Developments of allegiance patterns**

First of all it is important to start out with a short summary of the quantitative data which have been collected. These data display a really pure picture of the allegiance shifts and developments on Cyprus. Does it reflect a coherent and valuable picture of the ‘double process of habit- breaking? The inability to project any changes derives from a lack of consistence in surveying the allegiance of the Cypriots of both communities. The low number of data needs a coherent package of models in order to make sense of the included meaning. In 1999, university research in the Turkish Cypriot community has shown that most Turkish Cypriots consider themselves as first of all Turkish (46,5%) followed by a allegiance to Cyprus, to Islam and then to Europe (Güven- Lisaniler & Rodriguez, 2002, p. 185). Similar questions are asked by the Standard Eurobarometer twice a year. Partly these have been done for both communities. The results show that continually from 2002 onwards the allegiance to the Greek community or the Turkish community has been stronger than the European Union. The numbers of people feeling attached to the ethnic nationalist groups and to Europe remain more or less stable. Most Cypriots, Greeks and Turks being in line, choose their national political unit together with the European Union but would not considered naming the EU first. These patterns are clear artefacts of the phenomenon of the ideal type of ethnic nationalism such as the allegiance to an ethnic support from abroad. It is part of the domestic competition which Cyprus always has experienced and which strengthened ethnic nationalism. Obvious is fact that the allegiance to Islam has decreased to the benefit of ethnic allegiance patterns. This confirms the interpretation that the erosion process of religion has stimulated ethnic nationalism as it is argued in the ideal type.

Even so these first attempts to measure the allegiance in quantitative data strongly lead to the interpretation that ethnic nationalism is on the rise the latest questionnaires reflect a different picture. An opinion poll did not ask directly for allegiance and allows an interpretation which shows that Europeanism has emerged on the citizen’s horizons. Even so the motivations are different, both Greek (68%) and Turkish (65%) Cypriots support the continuation of a peace process as being a right step. This signifies the connection of the allegiance decision to a functional integration process which insures a safer and more prosperous life in the European Union. The fear of further alienation and cultural erosion does not reflect a stressing of cultural claims and goes in line with the agreement among both political units that the role of the European Union has to be enhanced. It is a clear search of a common fate in Europe rather than a return to the support of the motherland countries Greece and Turkey about who’s participation the communities are of different opinion (Sözen, Christou, Lordos, & Kaymak, 2010). These investigations and interpretations are a starting point, rather calling for a qualitative, in- depth project with the aim to have a more solid interpretation. To conclude it’s important to shortly point out that the ‘double process of habit- breaking’ can only be captured more in- depth with an analysis of the underlying meanings of actions and behaviour of the Cypriots.

## The European approach – Introducing a new political unit

In the next step the focus will be on the EU and its political unit. The aim will be to analyse the documents which have been developed ahead of the accession and after the accession of the Republic of Cyprus. The interpretation aims at a short overview of how the EU has stimulated or harmed the ‘double process of habit- breaking’ by the artefacts which transported allegiance stimuluses’ or breaks to Cyprus. The first set of documents consisted of the ‘Regular Reports’ which have been written from 1998 to 2003. The analysis starts with the report of 2000. It is the starting point of a process which goes through the reports and follow up documents published.

The first quote is taken from a document written in a time when the reunification plans were still on going. The report is stressing the will of inclusion of both communities and compares the situation and ability of accession.

*‘Ensure that Turkish Cypriot concerns are taken into due account, and assist the Union’s determination that accession should benefit the whole of the island’ (Cyprus Regular Report 2000, p. 10)*

The first step is to make sense of the quote by interpreting it through the elements of the sub ideal type of Europeanism. The statement makes sense considering the vision of a multicultural community and suggesting an integration process characterized by unity in diversity. The wording and language clearly recognizes the ethnical difference of the island and the political consequences in the constitution from 1960. It hardly refers to the term Cypriots without using an ethnical specification. Therefore, the statement does not call for Cypriot nationalism but strengthens the characteristic of searching a common fate for both communities in the EU. Considering Deutsch’s ‘double process of habit- breaking’, the EU takes an approach which has to be interpreted as strongly reflecting Europeanism and constitutes a simulation of the ideal type of the ‘double process of habit- breaking’. This means the Cypriots are stimulated to attach to Europe. The follow up reports continue on this track. The reports in the year 2001 and 2002 deal with the aim to integrate a united island into the European Union. The report stresses the division of the island as its main political problem. Underlying is the typical Europeanism view in which developments are interdependent on functional processes as it can be seen in this excerpt.

*‘The predominant political problem is the continued division of the island, but over the last year important efforts have been made in the search for a political settlement’ (Cyprus Regular Report 2000, p. 22)*

The continuing comparison of the two communities does not constitute an approval of the cultural claims. It rather reflects the banal way in which the EU deals with the unequal treatment of citizens and future citizens. The meaning of these acts is to reach a political unit with European citizens. In line with the elements of the constructed ideal type this has to be interpreted as Europeanism characterized by its strong will to found a multicultural community interdependently to a functional integration process. The next quote is of special importance as it shows how the EU impacts the life of the individuals on Cyprus.

*‘The restrictions to the right to marry for Turkish Cypriots living in the south have been abolished after the European Court of Human Rights, in September 2001, had declared an application of a Turkish Cypriot admissible under various Articles of the ECHR.’ (Cyprus Regular Report 2002, p. 21)*

It is a banal manner in which the Commission does not claim the marriage right as a cultural claim but the simple way in which the European institutions complement each other and increase the pressure of integration. This case strongly reflects the approach with Cram addresses as the key issue of the development of the ‘banal Europeanism’. The active pressure on a state to implement the regulations of the ECHR increases the voice of single citizens and builds a political unit in a European framework. The unheroic manner is a further sign of a strong Europeanism based approach. Being part

of ideal type of ‘double process of habit- breaking’ and the second step of the coding process, it is interesting which future for the communities in the process of integration can be assumed. So far do the European preparations for an accession call for an amalgamation process of the two communities under the umbrella of a new political unit by common negotiations with the EU. The fundamental shift in dealing with the ethnic nationalist struggles on Cyprus occurs together with the historical events surrounding the non- settlement of the renunciation with the Annan Plan III. The EU prepared a strategy to include Cyprus in the EU while dealing with the continuing ethnic and political division of the island. The Regular Report in 2003 clearly reflects these considerations. The ethnic nationalist conflicts find no consideration in the report. The text does not reflect the existence of two ethnic communities. The accession treaty includes the whole island into the European Union and shifts the problems with the TRNC to an additional protocol in which the EU stresses its attempt to include a united Cyprus but so far excludes the Northern territory. The interesting shift is reflected in the following excerpt.

*‘The application of the acquis shall be suspended in those areas of the Republic of Cyprus in which the Government of the Republic of Cyprus does not exercise effective control.’ (Protocol 10 on Cyprus, Art. 1 §1)*

How can we make sense of this shift? The ethnic division is avoided by presenting the Turkish community as an area which is not under effective governmental control. This presents a straight forward measure to exclude the ethnic conflict from the accession conditions. It is a necessity to separate the problem with its ethnic nature conflicting with pluralistic democratic principles and federalism at the foundation of the Union. The problem is made a functional, purely administrative barrier to the inclusion. From this point onwards the EU dealt with the TRNC in the typical functional and citizen focused manner. Without the denial of the ethnic problems, the EU could not promote its Europeanism towards a successful ‘double process of habit- breaking’ due to the contradiction in vision of community. A strong Europeanism approach contributes to the characteristic development of ‘enhabitation’. It reflects once again the part of approaching a new political unit as it is framed by the ideal type of the ‘double process of habit- breaking’. The regulation Reg. (EC) 886 2004 deals with the not officially external boarder which the green line on Cyprus signifies but with the end of the common security and market area. It ensures through the regulation the free movement of EU citizens and aims at simplifying the daily life of citizens at the buffer zone. The regulation tries to solve the practical problems which derive from the buffer zone by forcing the Republic of Cyprus to comply with EU legislation. The next quote shows how without ethical considerations the free movement is governed.

*The Regulation provides a stable legal framework for the free movement of Cypriots, other EU citizens and third country nationals who cross the Green Line (hereafter "the Line") at authorised crossing points. (Annual Report on the implementation of Council Regulation (EC) 866/2004, p. 2)*

The implementation can be assumed to go rather without recognition by the citizens and leads to further ‘enhabitation’. The EU starts to support the TRNC with the facilitation of trade, fight illegal immigration and by improving the possibilities to cross the green line. A backward shift is made in 2006 when the EU started to cooperate with the TRNC. Green Lines reports are published which summaries the developments of the communities along the buffer zone. The shift can only be made sense of by interpreting it as a necessity to return to the functional process of integration. It opts for the possibility to foster Europeanism by working in a banal and functional manner which will provide the citizens with increased freedoms at the risk of ‘enhabitation’. This approach can be considered as a way to surround the tendency of ethnic nationalism to seek support from the motherlands and increase the internal competition. Therefore, the cooperation could also be interpreted as a return to the search of a common fate. All these features of Europeanism constitute sub elements towards the stimulating general ideal type of the ‘double process of habit- breaking’.

Summing up the interpretation of the actions of the EU as a new political unit, it has to be noticed that one can make sense of the actions by classifying them as artefacts of Europeanism. The

elements of a search for a common fate, the vision of a multicultural community, the development of the political unit in interdependence with a functional integration process, the banal way being connected to the process of 'enhabitation' are signs of a strong underlying Europeanism (compare Table 1,p.7). Considering the ideal type of 'the double process of habit- breaking' this interpreted as a strong stimulus to break with the old habits of allegiance and increasing attachment to the new political unit Europe. The resulting insight shows that step towards a 'double process of habit-breaking' has been made by the EU addressing both Cypriot communities. Arguing that this approach is a stimulus of the 'double process of habit- breaking' the next step will analyse the Cypriot cultural data on the effect in terms of an actual development which constitutes a part of the 'double process of habit- breaking'.

### **Breaking of allegiance habits to ethnic nationalism**

The first process of the 'double process of habit- breaking' by Deutsch focuses on the breaking of older allegiance to the traditional, in this case ethnic political unit. This process would reflect a disconnection to the elements of the ideal type of ethnic nationalism. Therefore, one will now look into the meaning of allegiance of the Greek and then the Turkish Cypriots as it is in the artefacts such as newspapers, governmental and political statements. The first quote is the reflection of a Greek Cypriot journalist.

*'They have studied our antics for so long, how could they not have understood that in this country irrationality reigns supreme?'* (Cyprus Mail, 22.02.2011)

Reading the Greek Cypriot newspaper one arrives at the interpretation that the Southern of the two political units has archived a comfortable solution. The Greek Cypriots confront themselves with the Turkish Cypriot community, the ethnic nationalist domestic competition continues even under the EU umbrella. The political unit remains in a status which does not turn away from the use of demagogy or the reputation of myth. The interpretation is similar to the consideration of Bogdanor, that integration might fire back in a strengthening of ethnic nationalism (Bogdanor, 1982, p. 289). Little sense can be made of it by interpreting it as a disconnection of ethnic nationalism and continuously the first process of habit breaking can be classified as being partly jeopardized.

With the EU accession of the partitioned island it seems like the Greek Cypriots have realized their ethno cultural vision of community successfully. The problems which remain for the EU as an inclusive political unit and the Turkish Cypriot community which is no longer a threat due to the more successful south, do not harm the Southern satisfactory status quo. It might be interesting to consider the absence of ethnic nationalist mind sets such as the call for unity of the island or a common economic development. All three of these elements are characteristics of the sub ideal type of ethnic nationalism which makes sense of the artefacts by providing the interpretation that ethnic nationalism did not lose its importance. In terms of the ideal type of the 'double process of habit- breaking' these statements shows little of the first process which would assume a breaking of the habits to the Greek Cypriot political unit and in line with that a declining allegiance. The next quote is a very common finding. Through this strong commitment to a united and multi ethnic Cyprus the government of the Republic of Cyprus reveals its partial turn away from the traditional political unit division of the island.

*'The Government of Cyprus remains committed to seeking a solution to the Cyprus problem which will allow Greek and Turkish Cypriots alike, to fully enjoy the benefits and advantages of European Union membership.'* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2008)

When highlighting that the multi ethnic vision of community declines and that the internal competition against the Turkish administration lowers, it is obvious that the officials of the governmental controlled areas feel empowered by the EU accession to play an active role in the negotiations with Turkey. Needless to say that this power brings the Greek Cypriots away from a struggle with a highly dependent Turkish Northern Cyprus and towards dealing with Turkey in the first place. The governmental position especially in the later years can be interpreted through the possibility of the Republic to use the democratic and federalist mechanics of the EU. This power

enables the south to use its EU leverage to deal with Turkish matters. In comparison to the Greek Cypriots population can one make sense of the acts of the government of the Republic of Cyprus by interpreting it as a first step of breaking the habits to the traditional ethnic allegiance structure. In terms of the decline of the allegiance to ethnic nationalism and of the habit breaking does this provide for the interpretation that the government might be a little ahead of its population in the first process of the ‘double process of habit- breaking’.

The Turkish Cypriots seem to deal with the change in political unit differently. The allegiance changing process seems to be a slow process in which the Turkish community also still actively thinks in the division which has been created by the ethnic political division. The articles stress very much the claim for an official Turkish Republic.

*’ ”The EU pledged aid and trade to Turkish Cypriots in reward for their overwhelming support of a U.N.-backed peace plan, but the latest decision shows the EU will not be able to keep its promise.” He further said, “It has also revealed the influence of the Greek Cypriots, which can use it as a political bargain”.’* (Northern Cyprus Daily, 21.10.2010)

Furthermore, it partly questions the on goings on the Southern part of the island and remains critical towards the south, though revealing the old domestic competition. Also cultural claims remain partially alive by calling on the EU to fulfil its promised made in 2004 after the positive vote of the Turkish Cypriots concerning the Annan plan. They felt very discouraged and rejected when the regulation on open trade between the EU and the TRNC was turned down in 2010. These elements continuously show the allegiance to ethnic nationalist political units similar to the Greek Cypriot case. Hence one can only make sense of many artefacts in the Turkish Cypriot case by interpreting a lot of comments as a disconnecting to ethnic nationalism. In terms of the sub ideal type it can be pointed out that even so the habit breaking process seems to remain slow and in a starting phase it can be interpreted as proceeding. Which are the ethnic nationalist habits that the Turkish Cypriot community breaks with? Some can be shown when interpreting the following quote.

*‘It’s vital we maintain pressure on our politicians – every British Turkish Cypriot should contact their MEP and ask them to support the DTR. If we can create a big push, and the legal challenge on flights is also successful, 2010 could be a very special year. Turkish Cypriots will no longer be Europe’s excluded citizens, as North Cyprus finally enjoys direct trade with the EU.’* (Northern Cyprus Free Press, 26.May 2010)

The Turkish Cypriots have a large exile community mostly in London which they mobilized to take a stand in the integration to the European Union. This could be interpreted as a turn away from the ethnic allegiance as it uses the federalist and democratic manners characteristic for the EU which earlier where in sharp conflict with ethnic nationalist point of view. The Turkish Cypriots become increasingly more critical towards Turkey its long time external supporter. This might be one of the strongest changes. The protests against the economic dependency and the paternalism show how the Turkish Cypriots loosen the strings to the ethnic nationalist roots to Turkey. The artefacts of the Turkish Cypriot community have a high frequency of reports on the call for unity. What has earlier been classified as an interesting absence is very present in the Northern political unit. The stressing for a constant commitment towards a solution shows that the ethno cultural vision of community seems to be a declining priority. In terms of the ‘double process of habit- breaking’ the artefacts give a mixed signal. The process of habit breaking seems to be on going. Some elements of ethnic nationalism remain valid so far, e.g. the domestic competition or the cultural claim of recognition. On the other hand does the importance of the external allegiance and the ethnic vision of community decline, stimulating a loosening of ethnic allegiance. The administration of the TRNC tries to work on a common level with the government of the Greek Cypriot Republic. In the official statements the government of the Republic is referred to as the Greek Cypriot administration in line with the way to refer to one’s own legal status rather than by recognising the official statehood.

*‘The Green Line Regulation has also faced many obstacles ever since its initial implementation. The physical and psychological barriers created by the Greek Cypriot*

*side still hinder trade from North to South. The Turkish Cypriot traders are unable to display their products on the shelves of the supermarkets in the South and can not advertise in the Greek Cypriot press. Due to these obstacles the volume of trade between the two sides is far below expectations.’ (TRNC, Ministry of Foreign Affairs)*

The Turkish administration keeps stressing the equality and promises made to the TRNC which reflect strong cultural claims. Making sense of the acts through the feature of cultural claims one has to clarify that the resulting interpretation points a slower breaking of the old habits to ethnic nationalist allegiance. In the process of the ideal type of the ‘double process of habit- breaking the interpretation can be made that the Turkish administration due to dealing with the political dimension of the administration of the TRNC only processes slowly with a shift in allegiance.

### **External challenges demand to adjust to new unit Europe**

As the breaking of habits is only one process of the ideal type of the ‘double process of habit-breaking’ it is important to focus in the following on what the same artefacts of the two political units provide in order to draw an interpretation of the second process, namely a flexibility to develop an allegiance to the new political unit Europe. One will proceed in the same manner to analyse and make sense of the artefacts through the elements of Europeanism (Table 1, p.7) and the second process of the ‘double process of habit- breaking’. Starting out with the inclusion of the Greek community in the EU, reflections in the following article.

*‘It was a learning experience for the Cypriot minister who said that “after seeing the how the Maltese colleague was treated I kept my speeches at ECOFIN short and sweet, never longer than a minute or two.’ (Cyprus Mail, 6.03.2011)*

Firstly, it is the interesting description of how the public sees its politicians learning how to interact with colleagues in the European arena. This can be interpreted as a strong search for a European identity. Greek Cypriots seem to struggle in finding its role in the European identity. The Greek Cypriots newspaper artefacts point towards three strong elements which characterise the interpretation of the developing allegiance to the EU.

Secondly, the artefacts reveal a process of naming and placing the focus on European institutions and actors. It might be interpreted as a positive sign as the institutions are placed in the far Brussels. This will contribute to the fast enhabitation of the European political unit. It will be one of the most important achievements on the way to vital Europeanism. The interesting attribute of Europeanism will be the realisation that Europe will be part of a Greek Cypriots life in a matter of enhabitation. For the second process of the ‘double process of habit- breaking’ it is a key element, although it is odd in the first place recalling that the second process is stimulated by an external challenge in order reveal the degree of allegiance which has already developed. This upcoming quote represents a more diverse interpretation which might be derived from the Greek Cypriots political unit’s elite.

*‘It supports a settlement that will allow Cyprus to function effectively within the EU, ensure respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all Cypriots, and provide for a peaceful, prosperous and secure future for all the citizens of the island.’ (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2008)*

Reading governmental statements from just a couple of years back the solution and the inclusion of the Turkish Cypriot community has been a clear political objective. It reflects that the Greek political elite are committed to the European aspect of a multicultural vision of community. The policy papers show a clear positioning in the European framework and an engagement with European policy. It might be interpreted as a commitment to a common fate in Europe. The two largest political parties, namely the Christian democrats and the Workers party, state a strong attachment to European integration and are actively involved in the work of the Union. The Christian democrats’ policy statements show European and Western orientation which goes along with participation and the aim to establish strong links to the EU. The workers party focuses on the aim of a multi-ethnic Cyprus which

overcomes the 'nationalism- chauvinism'. Both policy statements fit into the European functionalism and into the European search for a common fate in a multi-ethnic Europe. It appears that political institutions of the Greek Cypriot community have engaged in a stronger second process of the 'double process of habit- breaking' than the citizens. The allegiance to Europe seems to be tightened and the 'double process of habit- breaking' can be interpreted as further proceed.

The Turkish community experiences a different integration into the political unit Europe. A first point is the very functional manner through which the Turkish Cypriots tried to deal with the post 2004 situation. It might be labelled as the most European approach reflecting the strong functionalism of Europeanism that the Turkish Cypriots started to lobby for direct trade with the EU. Incremental steps from a trade cooperation to a political unit is the functional approach which has been characteristic for the overcoming of high political barriers in the history of the Union ever since. Considering the Turkish Cypriot this feature of Europeanism meets the needs of the Northern part of the island to end the economic isolation and the resulting poverty caused by the external challenge of limit trade relations. The 'double process of habit- breaking' helps one to interpret and understand this manner as clear signal of allegiance to Europeanism. To be invited and heard by the Spanish presidency creates the atmosphere of working together on the solution to the Cyprus problem on a cooperation basis.

*President Talat said that Moratinos promised that "he would do everything in his power to help the TRNC. Spain wants to deal with the Cyprus issue seriously as president of the European Union. The most important aspect of this visit was that Spain, which holds the rotating presidency of the Union, invited us. Any EU presidency has not invited us before. Spain was the first."* (Northern Cyprus Free Press, 28.02.2010)

The search for a place in the common European identity search has embraced the TRNC. Considering the aspect of the European identity search has also affected the Turkish Cypriots who search for their place in the political unit. The statement might also be made sense of by referring to the element of the common fate. The inclusion in the solution finding through the EU strongly reflects to which extent the Turkish Cypriots feel committed to the European political unit. Inclusion in the European political unit is more important to the Turkish Cypriots than ever. The public of Northern Cyprus seemed to be happy to be integrated in the process of European politics. In terms of the ideal type of 'double process of habit- breaking' this search for a position in the European arena goes in line with the usual search for identity in the European political unit. Realising how important this invitation felt to the Turkish Cypriot community can be supported by looking at it in the framework of the 'double process of habit- breaking'.

A third aspect is the feature of commitment to a multicultural vision of community. The question of a settlement is a central aspect of many articles and many European institutions play a major role. Many comments or ideas of a settlement are quoted in the articles and the commitment towards a settlement is always stressed. For the Turkish Cypriots the allegiance to Europe which is reflected in the Europeanism elements of the vision of community could also be approached through the argument that it is an element of the contextual and contingent nature of the EU. The Turkish Cypriots act in the contextual and limited framework they face in the European political unit. The success is contingent as it has been with the direct trade initiative. Still in terms of the ideal type of the process this way of dealing with the new unit shows to which degree one can interpret the Turkish Cypriots to be attached to Europeanism already.

Political statements of the administration call for the involvement of the international community. The administration has been happy about the integration and invitation of the European Union as one has elaborated earlier but it also remains critical towards e.g. the Green Line Regulation which is, according to their view, not sufficiently implemented. The disappointment about the poor results of the direct trade initiative remains strong. The last quote might be interpreted as a barrier to cooperate with the functional approach that the Turkish Cypriots try to use in the integration process. In the Turkish political elite the second part of the 'double process of habit- breaking' might be interpreted as rather limited compared to the individuals attachment. The commitment to the new

political unit this can be interpreted as a partially and slowly developing allegiance which is certainly processing but experienced partial set-backs.

### **Effect of integration on amalgamation and secession**

Developing the ‘double process of habit-breaking’ Karl Deutsch went a step further than trying to explain the two processes of allegiance shift. He theorized a way in which the differences or similarities how two political units are embraced by a new political unit affect the integration and coexistence of the two units. Having derived an interpretation on the way the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots have shifted in their allegiance by loosening the ethnic nationalist bonds and commit to Europe one can apply this additional part of the model of Deutsch. The question is whether the exclusion of the Turkish Cypriot community from the EU in 2004 has changed the way allegiance patterns developed and how this affects the opportunities of reuniting the island.

The final interpretation of the consequences of exclusion sometimes called largest inconsequence of the European Union leads one towards a diverse result. First of all, one has to differentiate between the two communities. The Greek Cypriots seem to process much slower with the ‘double process of habit-breaking’ than the Turkish Cypriots do. In line with Deutsch’s work it suggested that the island faces a new power of secession. The different integration of the two political units has led to secession tendencies. The demand for the Southern part to leave the attachment to ethnic nationalism is much weaker and the Republic of Cyprus is quite comfortable with the status quo. The Turkish Cypriots on the other hand need change in economic and social terms. Therefore, the force to adjust and commit to the European manner of processing an integration process is stronger. In controversy to the EU membership the different development of the allegiance to the European political unit rather lead to secession than to amalgamation through a common allegiance development. Would a common pace in ‘double process of habit-breaking’ affect both communities more equally and lead to amalgamation? One can not make more than assumptions on this as decisions have been made back in 2004 but perhaps the political elite is a chance to overcome the force of secession.

Focusing separately on the ‘double process of habit-breaking’ in the elite of the political units the reunification momentum becomes central. It was interesting to see how much the issue of a settlement and a solution to the Cyprus problem dominates the headlines. Reports on the statements of either one of the communities or of external followers made up a great deal of the reports on the EU. Both the government in the Republic of Cyprus and the administration of the TRNC tried continually to diffuse the impression they would jeopardize the settlement or talks. Both remain very clear about the conditions under which a settlement will be discussed and accomplished. In comparison to the population do the officials process slower in the shift in allegiance and keep room for manoeuvre. The declining allegiance to the ethnic political unit and the increasing attachment to the European political unit proceed slower due to the political work and the insurance to be able to promote the rights and claims of one’s ethnic unit throughout the process of further integration, which is planned to include a settlement. This hesitation might be a force to work against the internal secession developments. Through similar struggles on the political level such as searching the place of the communities in the EU, through the adjustment to the ethnic cultural vision of community and through the commitment to a common fate do the elites of both political elites provide a window for amalgamation. This is only possible as the solution gives the communities the time to develop a similar level of loosening of the ethnic habits and a continually unconscious development of allegiance to Europe, namely a homogenous ‘double process of habit-breaking’ in the two political units.

Concluding, the application of the model of Deutsch results in the interpretation that one has to assume a further secession of the island due to unequal embracement into the new political unit Europe. The developments of the two political units in the ‘double process of habit-breaking’ remain highly different and an unequal pace in the shift of allegiance. A window of opportunity remains as the political elites steering the two communities do have common struggles with the integration process and the shifts in allegiance develop with a slower pace and in an incremental manner. This development in the political unit’s representation provides a force of amalgamation on a higher level. The application of this is based on a great degree of interpretation but it has considerable impact on the

future governance of the settlement process and has consequences for the European approach of the two communities.

## Results

The interpretation has brought four main results and gives detailed account of the allegiance shift through the ‘double process of habit- breaking’. These results have the ability to answer the research questions which have been posted systematically. Considering the first sub question the interpretation reveals that the allegiance to ethnic nationalism is in decline. It is important to note that it is still an essential part of Cypriots political unit’s everyday live. Hence, Europeanism did introduce an allegiance shift since 2000 and especially in 2004 with the entrance of the Republic of Cyprus and the development of the Green line directive for the Turkish Cypriots. The attachment to Europeanism is on the rise and some of the features of Europeanism have entered into the political unit’s approach of the conflict and the solution attempts.

These developments, in order to answer the second partial research question, can be interpreted as a breaking of habits and an allegiance shift towards Europeanism. The ‘double process of habit- breaking’ is applicable in this modern integration process. As pointed out earlier ethnic nationalism can not be a part of modern Europe as it conflicts with the essential characteristics of Europeanism. Therefore, a ‘double allegiance’ (Van Kersbergen, 2000) process can perhaps explain allegiance patterns in nationalistic stamped countries but it needs a model which considers allegiance shifts when approaching communities based on ethnic nationalism. The developments on Cyprus can to a high degree be described in terms of a habit breaking process on the one hand and an adjustment to a new political unit on the other hand. This is because the shift in allegiance from ethnic nationalism to Europeanism can not take place without loosening the ethnic roots and establishing a new allegiance pattern. If one of the two processes is totally blocked rather than developing slow the shift in allegiance can not proceed. The ‘double process of habit- breaking’ has been an applicable model to make sense of different sub processes which lead up to the ideal type of slow shift in allegiance.

The third sub research question pointed towards the model of secession and amalgamation. It has become clear that Deutsch’ considerations are significant to bridge the results of the analysis on the ‘double process of habit- breaking’ to policy implications. The interpretation of forces which under the surface work towards a further secession of the two units rather than towards a simplified amalgamation have to be considered when drawing up new settlement policies and when developing European approaches towards the TRNC. The role and allegiance shift in the political elite should be used by including the confessions made so far.

The answers to the sub questions add up to the answer that is to be given to the main research question posed in the beginning of the work. Yet to a limited degree the accession to the European Union did result in allegiance shifts away from ethnic nationalism. The ‘double process of habit- breaking’ is a slow and incremental process. The shift in allegiance away from the traditional ethnic nationalist political units processes different depending on the already established membership in the European Union or the necessity to cooperate with the Union. Many people judged the EU’s decision to let a divided Cyprus become a member to be one of the most inconsequent decisions. The results of this decision reflect the extent to which the political units have been affected by allegiance shifts. The unequal development of the two parts of the island has led to diverse extents in which the ‘double process of habit- breaking’ has taken place. An interesting aspect considering the extent of the shift in allegiance is the even slower and more technical allegiance of the political leadership which appears to be strongly linked to strategic considerations. It can be assumed that even though the extent of allegiance of the public and the political elite influence each other it will continue to develop differently.

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## **Conclusion – Allegiance shift as a ‘double process of habit- breaking’**

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Towards the end of the study answers have been developed through the interpretation. The last chapter will summarise the findings. Central to the chapter shall be the policy implications of the findings. How can one use Deutsch’s ‘double process of habit- breaking’ in European integration and where are limitations.

### **The slow developing ‘double process of habit- breaking’**

Which results can one derive from this interpretation made through the ideal type of the ‘double process of habit- breaking’? The main outcome of the analysis concerns the habit breaking process. The interpretation one arrived at when trying to make sense of the artefacts through the concept of the first process of the ‘double process of habit- breaking’ shows a slow process of declining allegiance to ethnic nationalism. The Greek Cypriots struggled with leaving behind their ethnic nationalist attachment due to mainly the continuation of ethnic myth, the continuing threat of internal competition, the further tightened vision of the existence of ethnic cultural communities and external allegiance observe in the TRNC. All these elements of the sub ideal type of ethnic nationalism seem to be difficult to overcome for the Greek Cypriots. Therefore, their breaking of habits is yet only very slowly processing. A different interpretation could be made considering the Turkish Cypriot artefacts. Even though the elements of domestic competition and cultural claims harmed the breaking with ethnic nationalism so far. A lot of other elements seem to loose importance. These elements which contribute to a faster breaking of habits were the turn away from an ethnic nationalist vision and the strong tendency to loosen the strings to Turkey its external alliance. In comparison to the Greek Cypriots the interpretation of the Turkish Cypriots allegiance suggests a faster and further processed decline of ethnic nationalist commitment. The interpretation of both political units’ leadership result show that here the process is going slow in order to secure a good result in the settlement process. Allegiance in the political carder of both countries does not shift away from ethnic nationalism as easily as in the common public but consider much more strategic aspects.

A second outcome of the analysis showed that one can only make sense of the EU documents by clearly interpreting them in the light of Europeanism. The elements of a functional approach, the multi ethnic vision of community, the enhabitation attribute and the banal manner were elements returning constantly in explaining the EU’s approach. In general one has to point out that the EU tried to embrace both Cypriote political units with a strong promotion of allegiance to the European political unit.

A third result of the analysis is the interpretation of the process of developing an allegiance to the political unit Europe, the second sub process of the ‘double process of habit- breaking’. The interpretation in the Greek Cypriot community clarified that the membership in the EU has promoted a starting allegiance to the new political unit. The elements of Europeanism being most common were being part of the search of a contribution to a European identity and the beginning enhabitation. The second process of adjusting ones allegiance to a new political unit develops more naturally in the Republic of Cyprus. In comparison it seems that the interpretation of the Turkish Cypriot community hints towards a faster processing development. The adaptation of typical Europeanism features such as a functional approach, acceptance of the contingent and contextual nature, the search for a place in the European identity search and the idea of a multi-cultural vision of community was dominant throughout the artefacts. Therefore, the interpretation gives ground to assume that the Turkish Cypriots have developed a stronger allegiance to Europeanism already. Looking at the political elites a comparable picture to the breaking of habits establishes. Naturally both leaderships of the two communities developed an allegiance to Europeanism but did it in a slow and safeguarded manner which allows for steps towards integration in the EU and for partial setbacks.

A last result of the interpretation of the Cypriot artefacts concerns the forces of secession and amalgamation which Deutsch purposed. In line with Deutsch model the different pace of the two ethnic political units to develop creates a force of further secession rather than amalgamation. This result goes in line with the answer to a recent opinion poll which shows the growing concern of many

Cypriots over growing segregation (Sözen, et al., 2010). The parallel and slower shifts of allegiance in the leadership of the units might remain a window of opportunity for an amalgamation stimulus. Three elements according to the analysis will have an impact on the tendency for secession or amalgamation. Firstly, the pace of the 'double process of habit- breaking' in the two political units including their leadership will have an impact. Secondly, the EU integration pressuring for a settlement will affect the process. Thirdly, the realization of the benefits of allegiance to Europe and the benefits of EU membership and cooperation will be determined.

On a theoretical and scientific level do the results show that the 'double process of habit-breaking' is an ideal type which can facilitate the study of allegiance shifts in Europe today. Deutsch has with his thoughts on changing attachment to political units grounded a model which frames the modern processes of European integration. His considerations of what political and economic integration do to allegiance to political units remain valid and much more urgent than in the 1960's. Acknowledging the significance of the 'double process of habit- breaking' nowadays results in a justification of Cram's idea to bring up the process again to stimulate research on EU integration. The potential of the 'double process of habit- breaking' to explain allegiance shifts from ethnic nationalist based political units has been shown. Furthermore, it should be developed whether the 'double process of habit- breaking' has the capacity to support the research on European Union identity and national identities. Beyond the research potential of the 'double process of habit- breaking' goes the policy potential which especially the predictions of amalgamation and secession of the model have. This will be further highlighted in the next paragraphs.

### **Implications and Significance**

The policy implications of Deutsch's 'double process of habit- breaking' go beyond the general call to reconsider allegiance shifts. With his theory and the applicability of the different processes to modern integration processes Deutsch has established a foundation for active application and use of allegiance patterns to facilitate policy design. If the aim is to improve the governance of European integration in the future the analysis of the 'double process of habit- breaking' has to become a variable.

The implications and significance of the shifts of allegiance should be considered as a significant policy condition. Many scientists have called for more awareness of current attitudes and developments when considering new attempts for political action and in the further settlement negotiations. If the aim is to facilitate the peace negotiations on Cyprus then it is out of question that the latest allegiance shifts have to be taken in consideration. In line with the scientific research done to analyse the settlement potential, the shift in allegiance should be taken into account. The allegiance of the Cypriots towards their ethnic nationalist and to the European political unit can be used to facilitate political steps due to a natural support of the communities while on the other hand attempts contradicting the allegiance patterns could harm the development of the island significantly. It is the content of the attempts and proposals which could be adjusted and communicated more strategically.

Not only is the policy content significantly affected by the allegiance shifts but also the governance methodology can be adjusted to effectively steer future processes. Through the elements of functional, economic integration which provides benefits without obvious allegiance changes the integration can embrace both political units. The process would evolve slowly and unconsciously. This method also calls for a reduction of elements which promote ethnic nationalism through removing cultural claims from the ethnic nationalist agendas. The constant revision of myths and the stressing of the domestic competition of the ethnic political units and additionally the pointing out of unequal external alliance will not promote but harm the process of unification. The leaders of the political units in line with the EU should try to use the political unit Europe to get involved in a multicultural arena. This can be done by stressing the European identity of all Cypriots or promote inter communal talks. The EU could get involved by supporting inter communal meetings on a citizen level.

A significant problematic aspect of the 'double process of habit- breaking' is the question whether it is applicable to more modern integration processes in Europe. This study shows that in the

case of a predominant ethnic dominated political unit the ‘double process of habit- breaking’ is the only way to arrive at a common political unit in Europeanism. Most of the European Member States are based on nationalism forming the political unit around a nation rather than an ethnic community. It is a question of whether nationalism and Europeanism can coexist which determines whether the ‘double process of habit- breaking’ remains a tool explain allegiance shifts in nation states. The concept of the ‘double process of habit-breaking’ then gets in competition with the concept of ‘double allegiance’ by Kersbergen (Van Kersbergen, 2000). This might be seen as a limitation of the study and be taken up for further research. The goal should be to test the applicability of the ‘double process of habit- breaking’ in a national grounded case.

### **Practical Policy Implications for the EU**

The practical implications of the findings call for policy action in three important EU policy fields. The interpretation has shown how clearly the EU has used its unique approach which is strongly based on Europeanism. Through the use of a very functional, economical and technical integration process it might be able to facilitate a unification of the island and an inclusion of the Turkish Cypriots into the EU. The strengthening of Europeanism through including the two political units in cooperation into the search for a European identity and a common fate in the European political unit has to be the main priority for the EU in the upcoming years.

The EU has to consider the ‘double process of habit- breaking’ when promoting the European citizenship. Especially the low attitude of the Greeks Cypriots reflects a phenomenon that due to enhabitation the allegiance shift in the current Member States is a slow process. The strengthening of the ‘double process of habit- breaking’ in the Member States could improve the legitimacy of Europe as a political unit and strengthen the political unit allegiance. Aiming at a closer connection to its citizens the EU has to strengthen the elements of Europeanism. The strong ethnic nationalism which one faces in Cyprus is not a common barrier to the expansion of Europeanism. In many other countries the EU has to compete with nationalist political unit allegiance patterns. Therefore, the process of adjusting and integration into the European political unit as part of the ‘double process of habit-breaking’ might increase in importance.

Aiming at a valuable European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) the EU needs to support the TRNC to use the commitment of the Turkish Cypriots to support their struggle to loosen the ties to Turkey and become more independent. Considering the high degree of allegiance with which the Turkish Cypriots are committed to the European political unit it can only be beneficial to the EU to support the independence by direct trade and open (air-)ports. The ‘double process of habit- breaking’ can only be supported by an open- minded ENP going in line with the economic and functional integration process.

In order to establish a seminal enlargement policy the EU can make use of the ‘double process of habit- breaking’ to facilitate the Turkish accession. The blocking of the Turkish accession through the Republic of Cyprus is one of the major problems deriving from the Cyprus problem in the EU. By decompartmentalization of the processes the EU could find more functional solutions to different sub problems which later pave the way for a common solution. During the incremental process a higher allegiance can be developed which later reinforces the support for a solution. A diminishing allegiance of the Turkish Cypriots to the external alliance naturally separates the two policy issues. Having a ‘European Cyprus’ would allow Turkey to focus on its own compliance with the European agenda.

The double process of habit- breaking will remain an underlying force in the course of future European integration.

**1. EU documents****1.1. EU Regular Reports**

- 1.1.1. 2000
- 1.1.2. 2001
- 1.1.3. 2002
- 1.1.4. 2003

**1.2. Accession documents**

- 1.2.1. Recommendation 1608 2003
- 1.2.2. Regulation No. 688 2004
- 1.2.3. Accession Protocol 10
- 1.2.4. Regulation No. 398 2006

**1.3. Green Line Reports**

- 1.3.1. 2004
- 1.3.2. 2009
- 1.3.3. 2010

**2. Policy statements****2.1. Republic of Cyprus**

- 2.1.1. Government
- 2.1.2. Parties

**2.2. ‘Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus’**

- 2.2.1. Administration

**3. Newspapers****3.1. Greek Cypriot Community**

- 3.1.1. Cyprus Mail

**3.2. Turkish Cypriot Community**

- 3.2.1. Northern Cyprus Free Press
- 3.2.2. Northern Cyprus Daily

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