

Bureaucratic Barbed-Wire:

Crisis Governance, Path Dependence and Barriers to Citizenship in
Cyprus

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Dedications

*For Sude, whose resolve could level an entire empire,
For Deren, who transcends all mortal perceptions of identity,
For Talia, whose elegance and grace creates a new way of being,
For Eftychios, whose reserves of knowledge rivals even the most extensive libraries,
And for Ceylan, whose devotion to justice ignited a fire within me...*

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 The Mixed-Marriage Citizenship Puzzle

During the Paris Olympic games in 2024, Buse Savaşkan's image circulated Cypriot social media. Despite being born in Cyprus, Buse is not entitled to Cypriot nationality since her father moved to the occupied areas illegally. In order to compete in the Olympic Games Buse had to do so under the Turkish flag. Thousands of children and young adults in Cyprus face similar issues. The aim of this practice is to hinder growth of Turkish nationals in the occupied part of the island, which the government argues threatens its national sovereignty.

The two judicial rulings which formed the basis for the mixed-marriage problem argue that allowing mixed-marriage children to claim Cypriot nationality normalizes illegal migration to the areas which the Republic does not control. While this particular instance is the result of the partition, 1974 was not the first crisis to befall Cyprus. Therefore, it remains unclear whether this issue is solely rooted in post-partition realities or if it reflects deeper institutional concerns over national sovereignty.

1.2 Historical Context and the Pre-1974 Crisis

The Republic of Cyprus is administered mainly by Greek Cypriots, whereas the unrecognized TRNC is governed by Turkish Cypriot leadership, with strong influence from the Turkish government. Historically Cyprus' location has made it the target of external pressure. Independence itself was shaped in order to suit competing foreign

interests. The constitutional framework intensified tensions between the two communities early on, culminating in Turkish Cypriot withdrawal from the state apparatus. 1964-1974 was a politically volatile period for the country as the Republic defended against perceived domestic and international threats. Government actions and policies reflect these concerns. That is to say, even though the partition directly created the conditions for the influx of Turkish nationals to the north it was not the first perceived threat to the state.

1.3 Research Question and Analytical Focus

The goal of this thesis is to compare crisis-era policies with judicial rulings on the mixed-marriage issue. There is a lot of historical literature on the 1960s period which is a strong starting point for this research. However, attempts to connect this period to the present-day political outcomes are rare. This thesis seeks to expand on this, by applying theories of public administration, contributing both to literature on the Cyprus Problem, and to broader debates on crisis governance and institutional patterns.

This thesis asks:

To what extent can exclusionary citizenship practices in Cyprus be explained by adaptations made by the state following the crisis of 1963-64?

As a follow-up question, this thesis asks:

If this relationship exists, which institutional mechanisms (if any) link crisis-era adaptations to modern citizenship practices?

1.4 Theoretical Framework and Scope

In order to address these questions this thesis draws upon literature concerning crisis governance and path dependence. This theoretical framework helps explain how states adapt to crises, and how these adaptations shape future practices as a result of self-reinforcing mechanisms. More specifically, crisis governance literature highlights

how emergency measures change existing power structures within states. Path dependence theories explain how these shifts become self-reinforcing over time.

This framework does not presuppose that these adaptations will persist over time, nor that modern outcomes can be attributed solely to these arrangements. This framework outlines what observers would generally expect to see in a state after crisis adaptations have been enacted, and then compares this to Cyprus. Therefore, the thesis examines how well the theoretical perspectives align to the processes surrounding the mixed-marriage issue. Attention is paid however to outside circumstances, political choices, and post-1974 conditions which could provide alternative explanations. This thesis considers the 1960s crisis as a potential critical juncture for Cypriot state-building. Drawing from crisis governance theories, emergency measures taken by the government in this period are examined. The goal is to see if any patterns can be identified. Nationalism is treated as a mediator, influencing the government's interpretation of its own laws.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 2 presents the theoretical framework that will be applied to Cyprus. Chapter 3 contemplates the historical context and roots of the issue. Chapter 4 examines the processes relevant to public policy. Chapter 5 highlights how these practices relate to modern citizenship practices. Chapter 6 concludes and discusses the implications of the findings.

Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the theoretical framework used to answer the research question of this thesis. The theoretical approach provides general expectations for how states respond to crises, and how these responses may shape future policies (Boin et al., 2005; Capoccia & Kelemen, 2007). Rather than presupposing that the theory fits the case, the theory will be used to form a model for how states generally respond to crises, and then the case of Cyprus will be examined against this model.

The theoretical framework used in this chapter is primarily associated with crisis governance, and institutional persistence, more specifically theories of path dependence. The combination of these two perspectives provides a theoretical lens by which one can examine the relationship between modern and crisis-era policies, while simultaneously being open to alternative explanations (Mahoney, 2000; Pierson, 2004).

2.2 Crisis Governance and Institutional Adaptation

Literature on crisis governance examines how states are forced to adapt to periods of instability that threaten their survival. Crises are generally understood as moments which challenge institutional set-ups. In order to weather these challenges, institutions must adapt their functioning, oftentimes by enacting drastic changes to the existing structures in order to ensure state-survival (Boin, 't Hart, Stern, & Sundelius, 2005).

These changes include deviations from existing procedures, changes to authority structures, and dissolution of certain political constraints.

What is exceedingly clear from the literature is that these adaptations are taken with urgency and perceived necessity in mind. Therefore, it follows that crisis adaptations often prioritize effectiveness over inclusiveness or adherence to established political norms ('t Hart, 1993). Furthermore, these changes are not always regarded as temporary adaptations by the literature. Instead, these adaptations can become an integral part of public policy, following their initial justification, if states continue to rely on these changes.

That is not to say that permanence of crisis-era adaptations is inevitable. Emergency measures can be reversed under the right circumstances. For example, political and legal challenges and international pressure may play roles reversing certain adaptations (Gross & Ní Aoláin, 2006; Boin et al., 2017). The question posed by this thesis is empirical in nature; which requires examining the interaction between political incentives and political developments in the times following the crisis.

2.3 Path Dependence and Institutional Persistence

Path dependence theories illustrate how, following their establishment, political setups may carry on over time. These theories posit that early decisions create trajectories which are later difficult to deviate from (Mahoney, 2000; Pierson, 2000). Trajectories are subject to certain self-reinforcing mechanisms which increase the political cost of changing paths.

According to this framework, critical junctures are moments in time where the existing norms come into question. In these periods there are multiple possible political outcomes. Therefore, decisions made during these periods have a crucial role in determining the way that institutions develop once things settle. As time goes on, these choices can limit any possible alternatives, thereby influencing future policy decisions (Capoccia & Kelemen, 2007).

Increasing returns are positive feedback loops. Early successes on a path help generate more positive feedback, making the path harder to change later down the road (Pierson, 2004).

Institutional layering describes how new rules are added onto old ones without formal constitutional amendments. Similarly, the interpretation of old rules may change in order to accommodate newer contexts (Pierson, 2004; Thelen (2004).

Institutional lock-in refers to the process when other paths become less pragmatic or too costly. Political constraints, new developments, and international pressure can all influence the cost of deviating from a path.

It is important here to understand that path dependence does not imply that institutions remain the way they are based solely on past decisions. This is not an automatic nor a guaranteed outcome. Gradual change is possible based on new interpretations of laws and policies, and changing of political arrangements (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010). Therefore, the existence of path dependence must be proven through empirical analysis. There must be proof of a relationship between the contemporary policy under scrutiny and early institutional adaptations. Whether the theory fits the case rests on the ability to identify path dependence mechanisms within the case itself.

2.4 Nationalism as a Mediating Mechanism

This thesis includes nationalism as a mediator in the analytical framework, in order to better understand the persistence of these changes over time. Nationalism is not the cause of the relationship, nor does it come about from the relationship. Instead, nationalism as an ever-changing collection of ideas and narratives influences institutions and interpretations of policies.

Nationalism as a mediator is especially beneficial when examining post-colonial countries and cases where state authority is challenged. In such cases territorial

division, internal conflict, and external influence often shape political realities. Nationalist rhetoric helps explain how actors understand their roles, how threats to the state are defined, and how political decisions are justified (Calhoun, 1997). Discourse in this context is usually centered around sovereignty-based nationalism, which emphasizes territorial integrity, central authority, and membership.

The existence of nationalism does not necessarily imply the existence of exclusionary or restrictive policies. Instead, it provides a way to understand the boundaries of the state in these countries. If and to what extent nationalism plays a role in the case of Cyprus will be examined in the following chapters.

2.5 Analytical Expectations and Scope Conditions

The combination of crisis governance and path dependence theories provide numerous expectations for how institutions may change over time. First, emergency measures taken may change the existing governance setup in order to address the crisis. While initially enacted as temporary solutions, over time they can become permanent if they are seen as necessary by actors.

Furthermore, the literature argues that ideas and narratives can play an integral role in sustaining these changes. Narratives which justify policies based on national sovereignty can affect how crisis-era adaptations are understood and defended. These expectations are not necessarily assumptions about Cyprus, instead the theoretical framework provides means to examine if patterns of governance can be seen over time. The analysis does not suppose that the framework automatically applies to the case of Cyprus, rather it evaluates if any mechanisms that are identified help make sense of the overall issue.

Since institutional persistence can be attributed to processes occurring after the crisis, such as political change and international pressure, this framework remains open to such explanations. Persistence can also be the result of legal pressures, and choices made by single actors rather than the initial crisis being observed.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the theoretical framework which will be used to analyze adaptations during periods of crisis and their possible relationship with contemporary practices. Drawing from path dependence theories and literature about crisis governance the framework illustrates how crisis responses may shape decisions made over time.

The combination of these perspectives create an analytical model by which the case of Cyprus will be measured against. These perspectives are not assumed to fit, however their explanatory value will be assessed in relation to the findings.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Comparative Within-Case Approach

The research design employed is a comparative within-case approach, examining two policy domains in Cyprus across time. The first is governance adaptations following the inter-communal crisis in 1963-64. The second is contemporary citizenship practices which affect Turkish Cypriots who have a parent from Turkey, born in the occupied areas. Following this approach enables the study to determine if theories of crisis governance and path dependence are applicable to the developments in Cyprus, without assuming so from the beginning. These cases are analytically linked by crisis mentalities and institutional concerns over demographic change and sovereignty (Boin et al., 2008; Capoccia & Kelemen, 2007).

3.2 Case Selection and Boundaries

Cyprus provides an interesting case due to its ongoing political situation, location, and status as a post-colonial country. Early institutional deadlock and subsequent political violence and threats of intervention necessitated adaptations to the functioning of the state (UNFICYP, 1964; Attalides, 1979).

The first period focuses on the events of 1963-64, which represent a potential critical juncture in Cypriot history (Capoccia & Kelemen, 2007; Attalides, 1979). In that time,

adaptations, like running the state unilaterally by Greek Cypriots were justified domestically by the Doctrine of Necessity, would solidify the single-community nature of the Republic (Supreme Court of Cyprus, *Attorney-General v. Mustafa Ibrahim*, 1964). The second case examines modern citizenship practices related to individuals of mixed-descent. This case was selected since it is a modern policy domain displaying similar anxieties to those present in the 1960s such as, demographic change, sovereignty and security threats to the state. These factors make it a worthy issue for within-case comparison.

3.3 Methodological Approach: Process Tracing

Process-tracing is the primary method employed by this study. This enables reconstruction of decisions, justifications, and changes to institutional structures over time. Via process tracing this research can determine whether any causal mechanisms are present that link the 1960s crisis to modern citizenship processes.

Process tracing in this thesis examines the changes made to the government during the first period. More specifically, how these changes were reinforced and justified. Then this study will assess whether similar institutional logics can be found in the case of the mixed-marriage issue. Keeping true to the theoretical framework, the analysis focuses on path dependence mechanisms like increasing returns, institutional layering, and reinterpretation of rules (Pierson, 2000, 2004; Mahoney & Thelen, 2010). This study does not employ any quantitative methods since the primary focus is on governance practices over different time periods.

3.4 Sources and Data

This thesis draws upon documents from both periods in order to construct its argument, including both primary and secondary sources. These include legal documents, court rulings, UN reports, and academic literature on the Cyprus Issue. Furthermore, interviews are cited as illustrative sources which help contextualize the lived reality of those affected by the exclusionary policies. Interviews are not treated as causal

sources, but as tools to understand the full scope of the issue. This combination of sources helps this research triangulate causal mechanisms.

3.5 Analytical Blueprint

Analysis is carried out in a three-stage process beginning with how the state justified its reshuffling as an emergency response legally. It will also note how international recognition for Cyprus worked to legitimize these changes (UNSC Resolution 186, 1964).

Next it will analyze if these changes remained and how. This study treats the events of 1974 as an important contextual development, not as an explanatory factor.

Finally, court decisions from mixed-marriage cases will be examined, evaluating whether similar patterns and logics are present. The mixed-marriage issue provides this study with a modern policy issue that can be evaluated for traces of previous crisis logics.

3.6 Limitations and Positionality

As with any study this thesis is subject to a set of limitations. Firstly, it is reliant on process tracing to draw its conclusions. A survey will be published in early 2026, containing opinions of mixed-marriage children, however its results were not available at this time. Therefore this study cannot speak to the overall attitude of mixed-marriage children outside of previous interviews. However, this methodology increases transparency and replicability of this study. Within-case study analysis affords limited generalizability however the core aim of the study is analytical explanation, not inference.

Furthermore, I, the author, am of mixed Cypriot and Greek descent and subject to my own biases. No study can be completely devoid of bias, therefore my own beliefs and values may be inferred in certain areas, though I have done my best to ensure that this

remains an explanatory work and as objective as possible. This remains an explanatory and not normative work.

3.7 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter laid out the logic behind research design, methodological approach, sources, and analytical choices employed by this thesis. The goal of this study is to examine changes made by the Cypriot state in response to the inter-communal crisis in the 1960s. The empirical question is if these changes have had any effect on modern citizenship practices, which will be evaluated in the analysis sections of this thesis. The following chapter analyzes the changes made to the functioning of the state apparatus in the 1960s via the theoretical framework described in Chapter 2.

Chapter 4 1963-64 Crisis

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides historical context necessary for understanding the formation of the Republic of Cyprus and the constitutional breakdown which followed shortly after. The goal is to describe how new governing practices developed and were justified during this period. Special attention is given to the role of external actors which led to sovereignty fears, and institutional constraints which limited the function of the state. This chapter begins by describing the circumstances from which the Republic of Cyprus was born, and goes on to establish the institutional and political conditions from where the crisis emerged. Following that, the chapter will examine the adaptations made by the Republic as a result of the crisis. Finally, this chapter will explore the policy and judicial responses which solidified these changes.

4.2 External Rule, Negotiated Independence, and Sovereignty Constraints (Pre-1960)

Prior to 1960 Cyprus was a colony of the United Kingdom, therefore political institutions during this period were shaped largely by British interests. Similarly, principles like majority rule and the right to self-determination were often undermined in order to preserve the British hold on the island (Attalides, 1979).

As a result, independence was the result of several conferences between Greece, Turkey, and the U.K. rather than a call for self-determination. It is not within the scope of this thesis to explore in-detail the events leading up to independence. Rather, for this thesis it is important to understand that Greek Cypriots sought union with Greece while Turkish Cypriots sought partition of the island. Independence therefore was a compromise between both communities. The Republic was founded based on the London-Zurich agreements, which provided the constitutional framework for the states bi-communal setup.

The founding constitution established a bi-communal system which sought to balance power between the two largest communities. At the time of independence the population of Greek Cypriots was approximately 78% whereas Turkish Cypriots were around 18% (Republic of Cyprus Census, 1960). Constitutional provisions included power-sharing mechanisms like fixed-ratios in the public service, separate houses, and veto powers for both the President and the Vice President (Attalides, 1979) (Kyriakides, 1979). Any alterations of this setup would require a separate majority.

A further set of treaties, The Treaty of Alliance and The Treaty of Guarantee allowed for the stationing of Greek and Turkish troops on the island and settled Greece Turkey and the U.K. as guarantors for the new Republic. Guarantorship meant that these countries had the right to intervene if constitutional order were threatened. More specifically, these treaties ensured that the government operated solely as the constitutional framework intended, with the alternative being invasion.

Greek Cypriots, as the demographic majority, were skeptical of independence. Many felt that their right to self-determination had been passed-over for fear of creating conflict

among larger powers. They also felt that the constitution gave Turkish Cypriots extra power in relation to their size. Conversely, Turkish Cypriots were welcoming of the new state. They saw the ratios allotted to their community as safeguards for the community's autonomy. Differing perspectives on sovereignty arose from the constitutional design therefore and were not solely the result of inter-communal relations.

4.3 Constitutional Fragility and Governance Prior to the Crisis (1960–63)

As previously mentioned, the early Republic of Cyprus functioned under a bi-communal system which divided authority within each of the three branches of government between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Power-sharing dynamics were implemented in order to prevent one community's domination over the other on the grand-scale, however in practice they led to problems in everyday functionality. Key areas of contention included taxation, local governance, and representation (Attalides, 1979) (Kyriakides, 1979).

The constitution lacked any formal mechanism for addressing deadlock since governance in that period required strict adherence to the framework. Veto powers and separate legislative chambers made routine administrative tasks nearly impossible. This limited the state's ability to function overall.

By 1963 the public sector was strained. Consequently, President Makarios introduced thirteen amendments to the constitution (Makarios, *Memorandum on the 13 Points*, UN Doc. S/5488, 1964). The famous "Thirteen Points" were designed to streamline decision-making by removing the vetos and separate majorities that were required to pass legislation. Turkish Cypriot leadership along with Turkey rejected the points as a violation of the 1960 Constitution (Attalides, 1979) (Kyriakides, 1979).

4.4 Constitutional Breakdown and the Onset of the 1963–64 Crisis

Tensions between both communities had been growing throughout the early years of the Republic. These would come to a head during the events which became known as “Bloody Christmas” and marked the beginning of the inter-communal crisis. Violent clashes between paramilitary forces erupted across the country. Turkish Cypriot civil servants left their posts in the government, and a large number of Turkish Cypriots retreated into enclaves where, under their leadership, they had a form of local autonomy (Patrick, 1976) (UNFICYP, S/5950, 1964).

The absence of Turkish Cypriots from the state apparatus created a governance crisis since the state could no longer function according to its founding constitutional framework. Formally, the constitution remained valid, however due to the circumstances it was impossible for the government to operate according to its requirements. The violent clashes which had begun in December of 1963 and stretched until August of 1964 should be seen as part of the constitutional crisis. In a UN report the violence was described as both the “cause and a consequence of the institutional breakdown” (UNFICYP, S/5950, 1964). This constituted an existential threat to the state.

4.5 Administrative and Executive Adaptations During the Crisis

The Republic adapted its institutions so that they would function without the partnership of Turkish Cypriots (Kyriakides, 1979; Attalides, 1979). Makarios’ 13 points were implemented in practice, but other areas of the government had to be reorganized to account for the new single-community setup (Kyriakides, 1979; Attalides, 1979). The constitution was not formally discarded, instead it was altered to reflect the circumstances.

Ministries which had previously required both communities’ participation were altered so that all tasks could be carried out solely by Greek Cypriot civil servants. This included

budget approvals, management, and regulatory functions (Kyriakides, 1979). President Makarios in a letter to the UN

4.6 Security Sector Reorganization

Following the inter-communal violence spreading across the country, the security sector experienced overhaul as well during this period. Previously, the security forces had been organized, like other sectors, on a bi-communal basis. Authority was shared between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. The crisis resulted in fragmented command structures and weak coordination, making responding to the growing clashes difficult.

In 1964, the police force and the gendarmerie became part of a single unified structure within the executive branch (Kyriakides, 1979). Subsequently, the government established a national guard and enacted conscription for all able bodied men (Republic of Cyprus, National Guard Law, 1964). These measures allowed for the government to neutralize the clashes happening and restore order. At the same time, these measures were a deviation from the bi-communal provisions for the security sector in the constitution.

4.7 International Recognition and External Legitimation

United Nations Security Council Resolution 186 (1964) recognized the Republic of Cyprus as the sole government on the island in March of 1964. The same resolution deployed UNFICYP (United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus) in Cyprus with the government's consent. Furthermore, the government was given authority to take the necessary measures in order to restore order on the island (UNSC Resolution 186, 1964).

Recognition of the post-crisis government validated its new arrangements, formally excluding Turkish Cypriots from the government. This provided the Republic with international legitimacy, allowing it to maintain trade agreements,

4.8 Political and Legal Justifications

In September of that year President Makarios sent a letter to the U.N. secretary general affirming that the measures adopted in the wake of the chaos were temporary and that his government was working on restoring order (United Nations, 1964).

In light of the constitutional breakdown, the ability of the criminal justice system to operate came under scrutiny when a group of Turkish Cypriot militants were charged with crimes against the government in 1964. Their defense argued that the state could not lawfully prosecute a defendant under the prevailing conditions. This resulted in a Supreme Court decision where the Doctrine of Necessity emerged" (Attorney-General of the Republic v. Mustafa Ibrahim, 1964). According to the decision, the constitution was still formally active therefore these changes were framed as temporary, emergency responses due to the absence of Turkish Cypriots from the government (Attorney-General of the Republic v. Mustafa Ibrahim, 1964). This type of framing was necessary both to ensure the survival of the state, but also not to trigger action based on the Treaty of Guarantee (Treaty of Guarantee, 1960; Kyriakides, 1979). receive aid, and further diplomatic ties.

4.9 Chapter Summary

The 1963-64 period brought about significant changes to the newly independent Republic of Cyprus. The founding constitution created a bi-communal system where power was shared between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Institutional deadlocks and rising tensions led to widespread civil unrest, and Turkish Cypriots withdrawing from the government. This meant that the system could no longer function as intended.

Consequently, the government made alterations to the way that the state functioned in order to ensure that government tasks would continue and the security forces were reorganized, and expanded in order to restore order. The judicial system was paramount in this process. The courts legally justified these alterations as necessary emergency responses to the crisis. The constitution was not discarded, rather it was

effectively suspended until an agreement could be reached. The combination of these factors is what allowed for the Republic to continue functioning in spite of the existential threat that the crisis posed. External actors maintained their recognition of Cyprus following these changes which helped legitimize the new arrangements.

This chapter described how governing practices were altered during the 1963-64 Crisis, and how they were justified during that period. This acts as a historical foundation to be analyzed in future chapters. The following chapter examines whether these alterations were maintained or reinterpreted over time.

Chapter 5 Analysis of 1963-64 Crisis

5.1 Introduction

Drawing from the historical events outlined in Chapter 4 and the theoretical framework laid out in Chapter 2 this chapter investigates if institutional adaptations from the Constitutional Crisis period became path dependent as time went on. The main objective is to relay that both the Republic of Cyprus and the Turkish Cypriot community entered divergent institutional trajectories, which over time were reinforced by international recognition (and non-recognition), legal rulings, economic success, and the formation of separate identities. The goal of this chapter is to assess whether causal mechanisms explained in Chapter 2 can be found in the case of Cyprus: increasing returns, institutional lock in, and policy drift (Pierson, 2000; Pierson, 2004; Mahoney & Thelen, 2010).

5.2 From Emergency Measures to Administrative Norms

In the aftermath of the constitutional crisis emergency provisions were justified as a temporary necessity. Paramount to this process was the Doctrine of Necessity, which legalized deviations from the constitution as essential for state-survival

(Attorney-General of the Republic v. Mustafa Ibrahim, 1964). Rather than framing the collapse of bi-communal governance as a failure of the constitution the court argued that the constitution was still valid, however with emergency provisions layered on top of it.

With time these changes became incorporated into daily administrative practices, judicial decisions and politics. Returning to the previous bi-communal nature required another fundamental restructuring of the state. Normalization of unilateral governance meant that reversal would be too costly politically, and administratively for the government. These developments illustrate how temporary, emergency measures can become standard governing practices.

5.3 Increasing Returns and Unilateral Governance

The mechanism of increasing returns played an important role in the case of Cyprus. The Republic continued to function despite the absence of Turkish Cypriots and the public sector adapted to this. Ministries, courts, legislative bodies and security forces continued to operate under this new unilateral system. As administrative bodies adapted to these changes, their new modes of operation continued to reinforce this path (Pierson, 2004).

Fiscal realities only strengthened this process. The economy grew under the unilateral administration, especially tourism, agriculture and finance (Attalides, 1979; Varnava, 2015). These sectors were operated entirely by Greek Cypriots, which only served to highlight the benefits of the status quo for the elites. Going back to the 1960 arrangement would mean restructuring this economic configuration which was economically too costly. Furthermore, through international recognition the government was able to exercise its authority as the sole government on the island despite the absence of Turkish Cypriots.

5.4 Divergent Governance Experiences and Identity Formation

The period following the 1963-64 Crisis saw governance develop in different directions for each community. The state came under unilateral Greek Cypriot administration, while a large portion of the Turkish Cypriot community lived in enclaves under *de facto* Turkish Cypriot administration. The enclaves, and Turkish Cypriot leadership were not internationally recognized by any international body. Sanctions by Makarios' government deepened Turkish Cypriot leaders' reliance on aid from Turkey.

As this situation progressed, a form of regional Greek Cypriot nationalism and political consciousness began to take shape (Attalides, 1979; Kızılyürek, 2006). Greek-Cypriot nationalism was based in post-colonial thought, sovereignty, and regionalism. One of the main features was fear of "Turkishness" as the "other". Turkish Cypriots in this narrative were agents of Turkey and sought partition for Turkish interests (Attalides, 1979; Kızılyürek, 2006). Kucuk's insistence that a solution be found between Greece and Turkey intensified this fear.

In the enclaves, Turkish Cypriots united around a defensive form of nationalism which was born from their shared experiences of political violence and harsh economic realities as a result of state sanctions. One UNFICYP employee observed:

Even if the law is on the side of the Greek Cypriots, it is difficult not to feel sympathy for the Turkish Cypriots. (UNFICYP Report, S/5671, 1964)

The circumstances which followed the 1963-64 Crisis shaped narratives in both communities. Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot identities did not evolve independently of the crisis, rather they reinforced the new arrangements. These identities would play a role in justifying future institutional patterns.

5.5 Feedback Loops

Divergence at the administrative level was paralleled with divergence in community identity. Greek Cypriots as the unilateral decision-makers saw followed a sovereignty-centered form of regional nationalism. The enclaves and their reliance on Turkey constituted an existential threat to Greek Cypriot autonomy (Papadakis, 2006).

Development of each community's nationalisms in isolation was a reflection of the institutional arrangements after the 1963-64 Crisis. The narratives emerging from both communities during this period further reinforced those arrangements and justified emergency measures as necessary. Unilateral governance for Greek Cypriots and enclaves with Turkey as a patron for Turkish Cypriots were deemed necessary by leaders in order to ensure the survival of each community. These factors created a feedback loop in which identity reinforced governance practices.

5.6 Extension of Crisis Logics

Security practices that had been implemented to mitigate inter-communal violence spread into other policy domains. These evolutions occurred without the state's formal reconsideration (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010). Initially, "illegal" entry referred to unauthorized entry into the enclaves, or movement from Turkey. Despite the enclaves falling under *de facto* Turkish Cypriot control, the government continued to claim *de jure* authority over them. Judicial rulings on the mixed-marriage issue present similar arguments for migration to areas outside of the Republic's effective control (Supreme Court of Cyprus, Case No. 1318/2010). This aligns with the mechanism of policy drift, as described in Chapter 2 (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010).

5.7 1974 as a Consolidating Event, Not an Origin

When inter-communal talks began in 1968 the negotiations centered on coexistence between the two communities rather than reintegration. By this point the exclusionary model of governance adopted in response to the inter-communal crisis had become normalized for both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot leaders. Makarios' speech at

Yialousa in 1971 reaffirmed the Republic's sovereignty and that no solution to the inter-communal crisis would alter the governing structure (Makarios, 1971, Yialousa speech).

Inter-communal violence was renewed when EOKA B, a Greek Cypriot nationalist militia formed in 1971 with the goal of overthrowing Makarios and uniting Cyprus with Greece (House of Representatives, 31 July 1974; Attalides, 1979). TMT (Turkish Paramilitary Organization), had been active since before independence. Its goal was to create conditions which would justify partition of the island. The military government in Greece was also applying pressure to Makarios' administration in this period. In spite of these pressures, the state continued to function as it had following the crisis. The presence of these factors displays that the 1963-64 Crisis was not fully resolved. The 1974 invasion of Cyprus changed demographic and territorial realities within the island; however this thesis does not assume that this was the starting point for the state's exclusionary practices. Since no solution had been reached between Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot leaders, the partition solidified the arrangements which were in place at that time, eliminating other options. The partition created new realities which were interpreted by existing institutional logics. From a public administration standpoint, these events align with the concept of lock-in.

5.8 Chapter Summary

Chapter 5 evaluated adaptations taken during Cyprus' constitutional crisis in the 1960s in order to determine if there are any links in modern policies. Special attention was paid to mechanisms like policy drift, increasing returns, and reinterpretation of rules. Findings suggest that sovereignty, demographic change, and state-survival continue to be salient issues for the Republic. While many view the events of 1974 as a starting point for these anxieties, the period of 1963-64 comes up as a critical moment for mapping the state's institutional patterns.

The following chapter analyzes the Republic's citizenship policies, which have created the so-called "Mixed-Marriage Problem". Analysis will determine if there are any

patterns present in the relevant judicial rulings which can provide a link between the 1960s and the present day.

Chapter 6: Barriers to Belonging

6.1 Introduction

This chapter explores modern citizenship policies in the Republic of Cyprus. Drawing from the same institutional mechanisms which were outlined in the previous chapter, the analysis will evaluate judicial rulings related to contested citizenship practices.

The spotlight is on the so-called “Mixed-Marriage Problem” which primarily affects individuals of Turkish Cypriot and mainland-Turk descent, born in the occupied areas of Cyprus. Citizenship practices are generally an administrative issue, yet the legal justification for these policies could imply the presence of institutional patterns. The goal of analysis is to search for proof of any crisis-era logics still in play.

This remains an explanatory study and therefore the goal is not to comment on any potential normative implications that these policies have. The goal remains to assess whether there is in fact a relationship between the 1960s adaptations to the state and the current citizenship practices.

6.2 Post-1974 Context: Settlement, Sovereignty, and Demographic Anxiety

The 1974 invasion and subsequent partition resulted in about 37% of the island coming under de facto control of the so-called “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus” (TRNC) (UNSG Report, 1975). The Greek Cypriot-led Republic of Cyprus centered its narrative

on loss and victimhood. Slogans like “Δεν Ξεχνω” (I do not forget) embodied this mindset.

Only Turkey recognizes TRNC as a country, therefore the Turkish Cypriot administration remains wholly reliant on Turkey (UNSC Resolution 541, 1983; ECtHR, *Cyprus v. Turkey*, 2001). Following the partition, and continuing to contemporary times, the Turkish government has facilitated settlement in Northern Cyprus by Turkish nationals (UNSG S/26777, 1993; PACE Report 1350, 2002). Rauf Denktash, the first president of TRNC, often argued that there was no difference between Turkish Cypriots and mainland Turks (Denktash, 1985, as cited in Hatay, 2005). Many mainland Turks have mixed with locals, which is where the mixed-marriage problem originates. While there is no current figure for the number of Turkish nationals, the Republic remains concerned with the changing demographics (PACE Report 1350, 2002).

A shared regional nationalism developed as a result of social and political realities in Cyprus. “Cypriotism” is a form of Cypriot nationalism that places a higher emphasis on shared regional identity between Greek and Turkish Cypriots (Kızılyürek, 2006; Papadakis, 2006). This encompasses a wide spectrum of beliefs ranging from a strict civic identity to the creation of a new ethnic identity. This form of nationalism shares the defensive, post-colonial nature of both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot nationalism, situating both communities as victims of external powers.

6.3 Citizenship Practices in Cyprus

The law which oversees citizenship practices in Cyprus is known as the Civil Registry Law of 2002 (Civil Registry Law 141(I)/2002). According to this law, citizenship is transmitted by descent (*jus sanguinis*). Non-Cypriot parents of Cypriot children are eligible to receive Cypriot nationality when their children are born, or are naturalized according to this law. A large area of discretion is afforded to the executive who oversees births which happen in areas outside of the Republic's control. It is from this discretion that citizenships have become contested.

In 2003, with the checkpoints from the occupied areas to the Republic of Cyprus opening for the first time, many Turkish Cypriots registered themselves in the Republic's system. As TRNC is only recognized by Turkey, its documents are not accepted for travel and therefore some form of internationally recognized documentation was necessary.

As Turkish Cypriots queued to renew their Cypriot documents, or obtain documents for their children and grandchildren, many did not receive the responses that they were expecting, or a response at all. A 2007 decision by the Council of Ministers addressed the silence. The decision stated that applications from individuals with mixed Cypriot-Turkish ancestry, born in the occupied areas would be suspended (Council of Ministers Decision, 2007). This issue is front and center in dialogue between the so-called TRNC and the Republic of Cyprus, with any proposed solutions to the Cyprus problem including naturalization for a number of Turkish nationals, and for mixed-marriage children. This decision did not change the nature of Cyprus' citizenship policies, however it did alter their application.

6.4 Judicial Reasoning and the Normalization of Exclusion

The Cypriot Supreme Court continues to uphold this practice despite a series of legal decisions in cases challenging it (Supreme Court of Cyprus, Petition No. 1318/2010). Applicants have argued that this practice infringes on their rights of equality before the law, family rights, and that it goes against European human-rights values. The courts maintain that the exceptional circumstances produced by the occupation justify the state's position, but do not cite the occupation as a formal cause. Instead, sovereignty concerns and illegal migration are commonly cited factors in these decisions. In *Attorney-General v. Mustafa Ibrahim* (1964) similar deviations from the constitutional framework were justified in order to account for the extenuating circumstances the Republic was facing in that period.

The terms "settler" and "settler colonialism" have rarely been used by the Republic to describe what is happening in the occupied areas. Many scholars and legal experts cite

Turkey's facilitation of transferring its own citizens to the occupied areas as a form of settler colonialism, in violation of Article 49 of the Geneva Convention. Instead judicial cases concerning mixed-marriage individuals refer to sovereignty issues, citing illegal entry to the areas which fall outside of the government's effective control. The Republic refers to its own domestic security policies which came from the 1960s era, rather than adding international law to its reasoning. The lack of legal diversity in the court rulings display institutional reinterpretation, rather than legal innovation.

6.5 Policy Drift from Security Governance to Citizenship Control

The Turkish Cypriot enclaves in the 1960s and 1970s were under the *de facto* control of Turkish Cypriot leadership, meaning that although those areas belonged to the Republic legally, the government had no effective control over them. As a result, the government heavily monitored movement in and out of the enclaves for security purposes (UNFICYP Report, 1965). In modern times, movement in and out of the occupied areas, except for by using points of entry recognized by the government, is deemed illegal. The courts have adopted this very logic into their decisions in mixed-marriage citizenship cases, which constitutes a shift from security to civil status. Laws from the crisis era were reinterpreted in order to address a new issue which the Republic was facing.

6.6 Lived Consequences and Double Exclusion

Exclusion from access to Cypriot documentation leaves mixed-marriage children with only TRNC documents. Lack of recognized documentation limits mobility, employment and access to benefits, especially EU programs. Turkish documentation is a functional necessity for many who would be effectively stateless without it.

This dynamic places mixed-marriage children in favor of reunification in a precarious position. Sude Dogan, who has become the face of the mixed-marriage problem through her advocacy, is also a supporter for reunification. While on a student visa in Turkey she appeared in a video referring to TRNC as an occupation. Following that she

began being harassed on social media, and her student visa in Turkey was not reviewed (Cyprus Mail, 2024).

Turkish Cypriot individuals publicly opposed to Turkey or TRNC face similar penalties and even the threat of prison in Turkey (Turkish Prosecutor's Office, 2023; Cyprus Mail, 2024). Famous examples of this include Sener Levent, chief editor of Avrupa, a left-wing Turkish Cypriot newspaper. In 2025, Levent was charged in absentia by Turkish courts for articles that his newspaper published critical of the occupation and of Turkey's government. The president of the Republic of Cyprus, Nikos Christodoulidis, wrote a letter to EU officials expressing his concern over the matter (European Council, 2025). In his letter he highlighted that Turkish Cypriots are citizens of Cyprus and therefore are under the protection of the EU.

These conditions have created a paradox by which individuals who are excluded from the Republic on the grounds of being a sovereignty threat also face punishment and isolation at the hands of their own community for their opinions on the political situation. This pattern can be described as double exclusion as these individuals are excluded from both the Republic and their own community.

6.7 Feedback Loops and Reinforced Dependency

The Republic's exclusionary citizenship practices created a new feedback loop where the government excludes Cypriots based on their parentage, pushing them closer to Turkey, which creates further anxiety about growing Turkish influence in Cyprus. These dynamics echo how threats to national sovereignty pushed the Republic to securitize Turkish Cypriots, which pushed the community closer to Turkey, thereby reinforcing the Republic's own anxiety about Turkish influence.

6.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter examined judicial reasoning concerning contemporary citizenship practices in Cyprus. Analysis was done in order to determine the existence of patterns which

could link the so-called Mixed-Marriage Problem to the 1963-64 Crisis. Examination of the rulings established that the rulings focused on issues of national sovereignty and security concerns in areas where the Republic lacks effective control.

The following chapter will discuss whether the Mixed-Marriage Problem is an institutional anomaly or if there is enough evidence to empirically link it to the crisis in the 1960s.

Chapter 7 – Discussion

7.1 Introduction

This chapter engages with the findings of the previous chapters in order to examine the relationship between crisis-era changes to Cyprus' governing structure and its contemporary citizenship practices. The goal is to assess whether or not the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 2 can explain a possible relationship between the two cases. The research question is re-examined, followed by a discussion on the role of crisis governance and path dependence mechanisms and then highlights the role that nationalism plays mediating the relationship. This chapter closes by again addressing the limitations of the study, and exploring alternative explanations, while not negating the core of the argument being made.

7.2 Re-engaging the Research Question

The research question posed by this thesis was: "To what extent can exclusionary citizenship practices in Cyprus be explained by adaptations made by the state following the crisis of 1963–64?" This was followed by a secondary question: "Which institutional mechanisms, if any, link crisis-era adaptations to modern citizenship practices?"

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 demonstrated that the crisis in 1963-64 was a critical juncture in the history of Cyprus. The inter-communal conflict changed the way that the government viewed sovereignty, legality, and membership. Alterations to the existing governing arrangements were justified as a means to ensure state survival and were

framed as temporary. The analysis suggests however that these adaptations extended well beyond the 1960s period, and became integral to the functioning of the state through a series of self-reinforcing mechanisms.

Officially, the government of Cyprus differentiates the inter-communal crisis and the partition as inherently separate occurrences. The partition is framed as the result of external collusion against the state, while the events of 1963-64 are framed as an emergency requiring extraordinary measures. In spite of this separation, both instances are formally treated as part of a continuum with the inter-communal struggle placed as the starting point (Christodoulides, 2025).

The findings do not suggest that the Mixed-Marriage Problem is the direct result of the inter-communal conflict, however they view the partition as an insufficient explanation for the justification of the practice. Instead, what is observable is how the crisis created institutional logics and patterns concerning demographic change, sovereignty and the “other”. The events of 1974 and the new realities have been interpreted through this existing framework. Despite the passing of the crisis, the logic behind these measures is observable in contemporary policy domains like citizenship. While crisis governance can not explain the existence of exclusionary practices on its own, it provides a solid framework for understanding how these practices have been justified by the state.

7.3 Crisis Governance and Institutional Persistence

This thesis drew from crisis governance literature which argues that emergency measures adopted by governments in order to deal with a crisis can become embedded into common practice when they are beneficial. This expectation was confirmed in the case of Cyprus. The state took measures to ensure its survival at the cost of inclusiveness. Deviations from the established governing framework were justified via the *Doctrine of Necessity* which legalized the unilateral function of the state without abandoning the constitution altogether. This helped the state weather the crisis domestically, and reduced international pressure regarding the Treaty of Guarantee.

Administrative bodies adapted to unilateral governance changing the ways that they functioned.

As time went on these changes became the norm even after the violence ceased. By that point, returning to the bi-communal setup provided by the constitution would have a high political cost. Economic prosperity further made returning to the 1960 arrangements too costly. International recognition legitimized the Republic's unilateral setup. Turkish Cypriot dependency on Turkey was an outcome of these conditions, and subsequently created more suspicion on the part of the Republic.

Factors such as international pressures, the 1974 partition, and political choices were crucial in reinforcing institutional trajectories from this period. As the viability of reintegration decreased due to these circumstances, the position of the Republic was intensified. This aligns with the concept of institutional lock-in described in Chapter 2. Therefore, the inter-communal crisis should be viewed as a critical juncture from where later decisions would be shaped by the state.

7.4 From Crisis Governance to Citizenship Practices

The focus of this thesis was to determine if crisis-era logics are present in exclusionary citizenship practices in Cyprus. This practice has been justified via legal and administrative arguments which emphasize sovereignty and national security as legal reasons for denying mixed-marriage individuals citizenship. These concerns are behind the logics that developed following the inter-communal crisis in the 1960s. Furthermore, these decisions do not invoke previous laws or rulings, displaying the extent to which crisis-era logics have become embedded into the government. This aligns with the idea that institutional patterns typically operate by becoming routine and without referencing past events.

7.5 Nationalism as a Mediating Mechanism

Nationalism alone cannot account for this process, however it plays an important role in how policies are interpreted over time. This study finds nationalism to be a mediator in this relationship. Cyprus provides an example of how nationalism shapes ideas of inclusion and identity in states.

Comparison of the Republic's responses to threats against different individuals provides a clear example of this dynamic. Chapter 6 introduced Sener Levent and Sude Dogan as two Turkish Cypriots who are opposed to the occupation and support reunification. Both of these individuals have been subject to threats, from TRNC and from the Turkish state.

Sude Dogan, who shares similar views with Levent, and faces significant personal and political backlash, receives no support from the Republic. Her status as a mixed-marriage child means that the Republic does not formally recognize her as a Cypriot and therefore she is not given the same formal protection. Nationalist discourse surrounding the idea of who is Cypriot has evolved since the 1960s, emphasizing a shared idea of Cypriotness among Greek and Turkish Cypriots. As previously mentioned, mainland Turks have become the other in this narrative. Despite commonalities in the cases of Dogan and Levent, the state protects one and not the other. Turkish Cypriots, especially those whose experiences align with the Republic's sovereignty narratives are members of a "Cypriot" nation. This applies to Turkish Cypriots who are legally "Cypriot" however; meaning the same inclusion does not apply to mixed-marriage individuals. This disparity highlights how nationalism is not the determining factor in deciding who receives formal support, however it shapes how legal status is interpreted by the state. Formal support is limited to those who are citizens, regardless of their beliefs.

7.6 Counterfactuals and Alternative Explanations

Modern citizenship practices in Cyprus cannot be wholly explained by the inter-communal crisis. Considering Cyprus' history as a post-colonial state, facing an ongoing division similar practices could have emerged in the absence of the 1960s' crisis. This thesis acknowledges the events of 1974 as a potential alternative, yet findings support the notion that it acted to harden positions which had already existed. For example, judicial decisions acknowledge the conditions created by the 1974 partition, yet do not cite them as the sole reason for denial of citizenship. Within-case process tracing has allowed for the identification of these mechanisms over time.

The findings in this thesis did not include a smoking gun which explicitly links the Mixed-Marriage Problem to the Constitutional Crisis. Crisis responses tend to become normalized over time, therefore it would be unlikely to find a reference to the *Doctrine of Necessity* in modern policies. The goal was not to prove a direct continuation of crisis-era policies in citizenship practices, nor was it to definitively prove transmission. Emphasis was instead placed on identifying causal mechanisms which could imply a possible causal pathway between the two periods. This is in line with the style of process tracing outlined in Chapter 3.

7.7 Broader Implications

The findings of this thesis relate to crisis governance, institutional patterns, especially as they relate to divided societies. They support the idea that measures taken during an emergency can have consequences, even after the situation stabilizes. Such measures can become normalized governing practices which influence future outcomes.

Analyzing the events in Cyprus showed that emergency responses were justified domestically through the judiciary, and legitimized internationally through recognition. The combination of these two events stabilized the state's new setup. As time went on the new arrangements became common practice, shaping how further policies and events would be interpreted. In this capacity, contemporary citizenship practices can not

be attributed solely to contemporary, and should be understood in the context of earlier decisions.

7.8 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter examined the findings of the thesis. The findings suggest that changes made in 1964 continue to influence policy outcomes in Cyprus, particularly citizenship practices. Path dependent mechanisms were identified such as increasing returns, policy drift, and layering, which allowed for the spread of crisis-era logics into different policy domains. Nationalism was identified as a mediator in this process, influencing ideas of who exactly belongs to the state. That is not to say that the Mixed-Marriage Problem can be solely attributed to the crisis, or nationalism, however the interaction between these variables shapes how outcomes are justified by the state. The following chapter is the conclusion of this study.

Chapter 8 – Conclusion

8.1 Summary of the Argument

This thesis examined the extent to which exclusionary citizenship practices in Cyprus can be explained by adaptations that altered the existing power structures in the 1960s. The adaptations to the state in the 1960s are not sufficient to explain contemporary citizenship practices. The partition in 1974 is also not a sufficient explanation for the state's justification of its citizenship policies. Instead, the crisis and subsequent alterations were the institutional blueprint through which 1974 realities would be interpreted. The conditions provided by later events such as the partition locked in these logics. The legal reasoning that shaped the initial adaptations, and their justifications spread into other policy domains. This is reflected in court decisions regarding citizenship denial which reference the Republic's sovereignty concerns.

The events of 1963-64 constitute a critical juncture which resulted in a significant restructuring of the Republic's administrative bodies in response to threats to its sovereignty. Running the state outside of the intended constitutional framework was justified legally as a necessity in order to ensure state survival. Path dependence mechanisms were identified as playing a role in this process. Increasing returns, policy drift, and institutional layering were identified in the case of Cyprus.

Nationalism was identified as a mediating variable and not the direct cause of this process. Nationalist narratives structured the state's perspective of its own justifications, and institutional boundaries. This effect helps explain why the state treats people differently in otherwise similar situations.

8.2 Reflections

This study contributes to wider literature on crisis governance and path dependence. The findings have broader implications for post-colonial states with a history of ethnic conflict. Exclusionary citizenship practices in these countries may be the result of institutional patterns rather than immediate political decisions, as the findings of this study suggest. Efforts to make citizenship more inclusive in these countries often cite the normative implications of the practices such as human rights and equality. This research is not debating human rights, instead it highlights the role that institutional patterns have in constraining reform.

Process tracing allowed for this study to follow the changes to governance and their justifications, demonstrating how they can become commonplace. However, this study has several limitations. First, the research design employs a single-case, within-case analysis model. Identification of causal mechanisms was prioritized over causal isolation. Nationalism in this study is interpreted and not measured in any formal capacity. Future studies could include nationalism as a factor in identifying the intensity of causal relationships, scaffolding on my findings.

Future research could be done documenting the lived experience of those affected by such policies. It could focus on how the individuals identify themselves in relation to the state, and the measures they must take in order to function.

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