



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Adding fuel to the conflict: How gas reserves complicate the Cyprus question

Karakasis, V.P.

Citation

Karakasis, V. P. (2020, October 15). *Adding fuel to the conflict: How gas reserves complicate the Cyprus question*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/137884>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/137884>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/137884> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Karakasis, V.P.

Title: Adding fuel to the conflict : how gas reserves complicate the Cyprus question

Issue Date: 2020-10-15

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

1. *Official documents and reports*

Baconi, Tamer. 2017. *A flammable peace: Why gas deals won't end conflict in the Middle East*. London, UK: European Council on Foreign Relations.

Başeren, Hami Sertac. 2010. *Dispute over Eastern Mediterranean Maritime Jurisdiction Areas*. Istanbul: Törk Deniz Araştırmaları Vakfı Yayınları.

BP. 2017. *Statistical Review of World Energy*. London: BP.

BP. 2015. *Statistical Review of World Energy*. BP.

CIA Factbook. 2018. *CIA Factbook Cyprus*. Accessed July 25, 2018. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/cy.html>.

—. 2019. *cia.gov*. Accessed January 2019. https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/geos/print_id.html.

Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler. 2001. *Greed and Grievance in Civil War*. New York: World Bank.

Council on Foreign Relations. 2017. 'China's Maritime Disputes.' 10 October. Accessed December 20, 2017. <https://www.cfr.org/interactives/chinas-maritime-disputes#!/>

De Micco, Pasquale. 2014. *The prospect of Eastern Mediterranean gas production: An alternative energy supplier for the EU?* Brussels: European Parliament-Directorate-General for External Policies.

Delek-Group. 2017. 'Leviathan Final Investment Decision.' 23 February. Accessed December 10, 2017. <https://ir.delek-group.com/news-releases/news-release-details/leviathan-final-investment-decision>

—. 2010. 'Project Description.' 12 December. Accessed December 8, 2017. <https://www.delek-group.com/portfolio-items/1999-2/>

DEPA. 2018. 'IGI Poseidon: Interconnector Greece-Italy Pipeline.' 13 January. Accessed January 15, 2018. http://www.depa.gr/uploads/files/poseidon/Poseidon%20pipeline%20for%20PCIs_ENG_final.pdf.

DNV.GL. 2017. *The future for gas in the energy mix*. Accessed 12 1, 2017. <https://www.dnvgl.com/oilgas/perspectives/the-future-for-gas-in-the-energy-mix.html>.

EIA. 2013a. *Eastern Mediterranean Region*. Washington, DC: US Energy Information Administration.

EIA. 2013b. *Overview of oil and natural gas in the Eastern Mediterranean*. Energy Information Administration.

—. 2017c. 'Three important oil trade chokepoints are located around the Arabian Peninsula.' 4 August. Accessed December 7, 2017. <https://www.eia.gov/todayinenergy/detail.php?id=32352#>.

—. 2017c. 'Three important oil trade chokepoints are located around the Arabian Peninsula in <https://www.eia.gov/todayinenergy/detail.php?id=32352#>.' 4 August.

—. 2013a. 'Turkey,' 14 March. Accessed January 27, 2016. http://www.eia.gov/beta/international/rankings/#?product=44-2&iso=TUR&pid=44&aid=2&tl_id=2-A&tl_type=a&cy=2013.

Ellinas, Charles, John Roberts, and Harry Tzimitras. 2016. *Hydrocarbons Development in the Eastern Mediterranean: The case for Pragmatism*. Washington, DC: Atlantic Council: Global Energy Center and DINU Patricia Eurasia Center.

ENI. 2018. 'ENI announces a gas discovery offshore Cyprus.' 9 February. Accessed September 17, 2018. https://www.eni.com/en_IT/media/2018/02/eni-announces-a-gas-discovery-offshore-cyprus.

—. 2015. 'Press Release: Eni discovers a supergiant gas field in the Egyptian offshore, the largest ever found in the Mediterranean Sea.' 30 August. Accessed October 30, 2015. https://www.eni.com/en_IT/media/2015/08/eni-discovers-a-supergiant-gas-field-in-the-egyptian-offshore-the.

Eran, Odet. 2013. *Political-Strategic Dimensions to Israel's Natural Gas Debate*. Jerusalem: The Institute of National Security Studies Insight.

EU Council. 1999. 'Presidency Conclusions.' Helsinki: EU Council.

European Commission. 2017. *The Union List of Projects of Common Interest*. Brussels: European Commission.

European External Action Service. 2016a. *European External Action Service*. Brussels: Union for the Mediterranean.

European External Action Service. 2016b. *European Neighborhood Policy (ENP)*. Brussels: European External Action Service.

European Parliament. 2017. *Energy: a shaping factor for regional stability in the Eastern Mediterranean?* Brussels: European Parliament.

European Parliament. 2009. *Gas and Oil Pipelines in Europe*. Brussels: European Parliament: Directorate-General for Internal Policies.

Eurostat. 2017. *Energy production and imports*. Luxembourg: Eurostat: Directorate General of the European Commission.

Filis, Konstantinos. 2017. 'Stratfor Analysis: The Strategic Value of the Eastern Mediterranean.' 21 March. Accessed December 6, 2017. <https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/strategic-value-eastern-mediterranean>.

Giamourides, Anastasios. 2013. *Natural Gas in Cyprus: Choosing the Right Option*. Mediterranean Paper Series, Washington, DC: German Marshall Fund.

Gürel, Ayla, Fiona Mullen, and Harry Tzimitras. 2013. *The Cyprus Hydrocarbons Issue: Context, Positions and Future Scenarios*. Nicosia: PRIO (Peace Research Institute of Oslo).

Hatay, Mete. 2017. *Population and Politics in north Cyprus: An overview of the ethno-demography of north Cyprus in the light of the 2011 census*. Nicosia: PRIO Cyprus Center and Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

Hellenic Republic Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2011. 'Foreign Ministry spokesman's statement on the Turkish Foreign Ministry's announcement of exploration in a region overlapping the Greek continental shelf.' 20 September. Accessed December 22, 2017. <http://www.mfa.gr/en/current-affairs/statements-speeches/foreign-ministry-spokesmans-statement-on-the-turkish-foreign-ministrys-announcement-of-exploration-in-region-overlapping-the-greek-continental-shelf.html>.

—. 2017a. 'Issues of Greek Turkish Relations.' 20 February. Accessed November 4, 2017. <http://www.mfa.gr/en/issues-of-greek-turkish-relations/>

—. 1960. *Treaty of Establishment (1960)*. Accessed March 5, 2018. https://www.mfa.gr/images/docs/kypriako/treaty_of_establishment.pdf

—. 1960. *Treaty of Guarantee (1960)*. Accessed March 5, 2018. https://www.mfa.gr/images/docs/kypriako/treaty_of_guarantee.pdf

Human Rights Watch. 2003. <https://www.hrw.org>. Accessed January 27, 2019. <https://www.hrw.org/reports/2003/sudan1103/10.htm>.

İşeri, Emre and Ahmet Çağrı Bartan. 2019. 'Turkey's Geostrategic Vision and Energy Concerns in the Eastern Mediterranean Security Architecture: A View from Ankara' in *The New Geopolitics of the Eastern Mediterranean: Trilateral Partnerships and Regional Security. Re-imagining the Eastern Mediterranean* by Zenonas Tziarras, 111-124. Nicosia: PRIO Cyprus Centre

ICG. 2013. *Aphrodite's Gift: Can Cypriot Gas Power Dialogue?* Brussels: International Crisis Group.

ICG. 2014. *Divided Cyprus: Coming in terms on an Imperfect Reality*. Istanbul: International Crisis Group.

ICG. 2002. *God, Oil and Country Changing the Logic of War in Sudan*. Brussels: International Crisis Group.

ICJ. 1985. *Judgement: Case Concerning the Continental Shelf (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya/Malta)*. The Hague: International Court of Justice.

ICJ. 2009. *Judgment of 3 February 2009: Maritime Delimitation in the Black Sea (Romania v. Ukraine)*. The Hague: International Court of Justice.

ICJ. 1969. *North Sea Continental Shelf*. The Hague: International Court of Justice.

IHS Markit. 2007. 'Cyprus Attracts Just Three Bids in First Phase of Licensing Round.' 17 August. Accessed December 13, 2017. <https://www.ihs.com/country-industry-forecasting.html?ID=106597757>.

IMF. 2013. *Cyprus request for arrangement under the extended fund facility*. IMF Country Report, Washington: IMF.

Karagoz, Murat. 2004. *US Embargo on Turkey*. Ankara: Center for Strategic Research Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Koktsidis, Pavlos. 2014. *The Cyprus Question in the Contemporary Regional-Security Environment*. Working Paper No. 53, Athens: Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy.

Kyriakou, Nikolas, and Nurcan Kaya. 2011. *Minority rights: Solutions to the Cyprus conflict*. London: Minority Rights Group International.

Luengo-Cabrera, Jose. 2012. *The Incidence of Civil War Outbreak: Balancing Greed and Grievances*. London: Partnership for Research in International Affairs and Development.

Mason, Michael, and Rebecca Bryant. 2017. *Water Technology and Sustainability in North Cyprus: Climate Change and the Turkey-North Cyprus Water Pipeline*, PRIO Cyprus Centre Report, 1. Nicosia: PRIO Cyprus Centre.

Migdalovitz, Carol. 2005. *Cyprus Status of UN negotiations*. Issue Brief for Congress, Washington, DC: Federation of American Scientists.

Minority Rights Group International. 2019. *Briefing: Aceh*. London: Minority Rights Group International.

Noble Energy. 2015. 'Noble Energy and BG International Agree to Partnership in Block 12 Offshore Cyprus.' 23 November. Accessed December 17, 2017. <http://investors.nblenergy.com/releasedetail.cfm?releaseid=943967>.

—. 2011. 'Press Release: Noble Energy Announces Significant Natural Gas Discovery Offshore Republic of Cyprus.' 28 December. Accessed December 17, 2017. <http://investors.nblenergy.com/releasedetail.cfm?ReleaseID=635912>

Norlen, Andres, and Kerri Maddock. 2015. *Giant gas field discovery in Egypt likely to impact global gas markets*. McKinsey Energy Insights.

Official Journal of the European Union. 2007. Notice from the Government of the Republic of Cyprus concerning Directive 94/22/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council on the conditions for granting and using authorisations to drilling companies. Nicosia: Republic of Cyprus.

Permanent Mission of Israel to the UN. 2011. *Letter of the Permanent Mission of Israel to the United Nations*. New York: UN.

Permanent Mission of Lebanon to the UN. 2010. *Letter of the Permanent Mission of Lebanon to the Secretary General of the United Nations*. New York: UN.

Pfeffer, Anshel. 2010. 'IAF Conducting Joint Exercise with Greek Air Force.' 27 May. Accessed January 17, 2018. <https://www.haaretz.com/1.5125632>.

Poten & Partners. 2012. *Cyprus Deems Second Bid Round A Success*. New York: Poten & Partners.

Republic of Cyprus Ministry of Defense. 2014. 'The Armed Forces of the Republic of Cyprus and the State of Israel hold a joint exercise named 'ONISILOS-Gideon'.' 2011 February. Accessed January 18, 2018. <http://www.mod.gov.cy/mod/mod.nsf/All/FF3E4C24E329CBC9C2257D9E002A91F6?OpenDocument>.

Republic of Cyprus Ministry of Energy, Commerce and Industry. 2016. 'Hydrocarbons Services: Licensing Rounds.' 28 December. Accessed December 12, 2017. <http://www.mcit.gov.cy/mcit/hydrocarbon.nsf/All/9D1FB4E966F93F27C2257FA200235A16?OpenDocument>.

Republic of Cyprus Ministry of Energy, Commerce, Industry and Tourism. 2012. 'Hydrocarbons' Services: 2nd Licensing Round Offshore Cyprus.' 11 February. Accessed December 17, 2017. [http://www.mcit.gov.cy/mcit/hydrocarbon.nsf/All/9D1FB4E966F93F27C2257FA200235A16/\\$file/Guidance_Note_2LR.pdf](http://www.mcit.gov.cy/mcit/hydrocarbon.nsf/All/9D1FB4E966F93F27C2257FA200235A16/$file/Guidance_Note_2LR.pdf).

Republic of Cyprus Ministry of Finance. 2017. 'Macroeconomic outlook.' 30 March. Accessed December 12, 2018. http://mof.gov.cy/assets/modules/wnp/articles/201711/373/docs/macroeconomic_outlook_september_2017.pdf.

Republic of Cyprus Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2016. 'Joint Statement: Second Political Consultations at the level of Secretaries General of Israel, Greece and Cyprus MFA's.' 26 April. Accessed January 18, 2018. <http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2016.nsf/All/E128656F7F7F22B5C2257FA000459B1E?OpenDocument>.

Republic of Cyprus Press Information Office. 2016. 'Joint statements to the Press by the Minister of Energy and the Government Spokesman.' 24 March. Accessed December 17, 2017. <https://www.pio.gov.cy/MOI/pio/pio2013.nsf/All/06DA307E436F3982C2257F8B004AD706?OpenDocument&L=E>.

Republic of Turkey Grand Assembly. 1995. 'Resolution on Turkey's National Security.' 8 June. Accessed December 24, 2017. https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/tutanak_b_sd.birlesim_baslangic?p4=692&p5=t&page1=1&page2=2.

Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2015. 'Economic and Commercial Relations with Israel.' 5 January. Accessed January 2, 2018. <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/economic-and-commercial-relations-with-israel.en.mfa>.

—. 2018. <http://www.mfa.gov.tr>. 11 February. Accessed 2018 July. http://www.mfa.gov.tr/no_-43_-gkrynin-dogu-akdenizdeki-hidrokarbon-faali.

—. 2007. 'Press Release regarding the efforts of the Greek-Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus to sign bilateral agreements concerning maritime jurisdiction areas with the countries in the Eastern Mediterranean.' 30 January. Accessed December 24, 2017. http://www.mfa.gov.tr/_p_30-january-2007_-press-release-regarding-the-efforts-of-thegreek-cypriot-administration-of-southern-cyprus-to-sign-bilateral-agreementsconcerning-maritime-jurisdiction-areas-with-the-countries-in-the-easternmediterranean_br___p_.e.

—. 2011a. 'Press Statement on the continental shelf delimitation agreement signed between Turkey and the "TRNC" 21 September. Accessed October 23, 2015. http://www.mfa.gov.tr/no_-216_-21-september-2011_-press-statement-on-the-continental-shelf-delimitation-agreement-signed-between-turkey-and-the-trnc.en.mfa.

—. 2011b. 'Statement by Prime Minister Erdogan following the signing of continental shelf delimitation agreement between Turkey and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus New York.' 21 September. Accessed October 23, 2015. <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/statement-by-prime-minister-erdogan-following-the-signing-of-continental-shelf-delimitation-agreement-between-turkey-and-the-tur.en.mfa>.

—. 2017. 'Turkish-Greek Relations/Aegean Problems.' 20 February. Accessed November 4, 2017. <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sub.en.mfa?deb1dc4c-926f-45bd-9a7c-27b45654c0e4>

Scovazzi, Tullio. 2012. *Maritime Boundaries in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea*. Washington, DC: German Marshall Fund.

Shaffer, Brenda. 2012. *Energy Resources and Markets in the Eastern Mediterranean Region*. Washington, DC: German Marshall Fund.

Sozen, Ahmet. 2007. *The Cyprus Negotiations and the Basic Parameters: From the 1963 Inter-communal Negotiations to the Annan Plan*. Famagusta: Eastern Mediterranean University. Accessed April 2012. Sozen Ahmet (2007) " " in <http://ir.emu.edu.tr/staff/asozen/conferencepapers/leadershippaper.pdf>.

State of Israel Embassy in Cyprus. 2016. 'Tripartite meeting in Cyprus.' 28 January. Accessed January 18, 2018. <http://embassies.gov.il/nicosia-en/NewsAndEvents/Pages/Tripartite-meeting-in-Cyprus.aspx>.

State of Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2014. 'Greece, Israel and Cyprus hold political consultations in Athens.' 12 November. Accessed January 18, 2018. <http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2014/Pages/Political-consultations-Greece,-Israel-and-Cyprus-12-Nov-2014.aspx>.

—. 2017. 'Greece-Cyprus-Israel Trilateral Summit, Thessaloniki 15.06.2017 Joint Declaration.' 15 June. Accessed January 18, 2018. <http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2017/Documents/IsraelGreeceG2GJointDeclaration.pdf>.

—. 1993. 'Historical Documents 1992-1994.' Accessed January 16, 2018. <http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/ForeignPolicy/MFADocuments/Yearbook9/Pages/1993-%20Introduction.aspx>.

Statistical Service of the Republic of Cyprus. 2011. '14th Census of Population in Cyprus.' <http://www.mof.gov.cy>. 30 December. Accessed February 2015. http://www.mof.gov.cy/mof/cystat/statistics.nsf/census-2011_cystat_en/census-2011_cystat_en?OpenDocument.

SUMED. 2017. *Arab Petroleum Pipelines Company*. Accessed November 30, 2017. <http://www.sumed.org/>

Tagliapietra, Simon. 2013. *Towards a New Eastern Mediterranean Energy Corridor? Natural Gas Developments Between Market Opportunities and Geopolitical Risks*. Rome: Nota Di Lavoro Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei.

TRNC-PIO. 2018. 'President Akinci: The Greek Cypriot side must agree a way forward with Turkish Cypriots on the issue of natural gas.' 19 February. Accessed September 20, 2018. <http://pio.mfa.gov.ct.tr/en/president-akinci-the-greek-cypriot-side-must-agree>.

Tsafos, Nikos, and Anastasios Giamourides. 2015. *Financing Gas Projects in the Eastern Mediterranean*. Washington, DC: German Marshall Fund.

Tsafos, Nikos. 2016. *Israeli Gas: Too Soon to Declare Victory*. Washington, DC: German Marshall Fund.

Tsafos, Nikos. 2018. *What Does Calypso Mean for Cyprus and Eastern Mediterranean Gas?* Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).

Tsakiris, Theodoros. 2014. *Greece and the Energy Geopolitics of the Eastern Mediterranean*. London: London School of Economics. <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/59078/>.

Turkish Navy. 2012. 'Noble Dina 2012.' 29 March. Accessed January 15, 2018. <https://turkishnavy.net/2012/03/29/noble-dina-2012/>.

Tziarras, Zenon. 2018. *Turkish Foreign Policy and Security in Cyprus: Greek-Cypriot Security Perceptions*, PRIO (Peace Research Institute of Oslo).

Tzimitras, Harry. 2012. 'The Prospects for Exploration and Exploitation in the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean: Some Observations.' In *Cyprus Offshore Hydrocarbons: Regional*

Politics and Wealth Distribution, edited by Hubert Faustman, Ayla Gürel and Friedrich Reichber. Nicosia: PRIO Cyprus Center & Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

Tzimitras, Harry, and Mete Hatay. 2016. *The Need for Realism: Solving the Cyprus Problem through Linkage Politics*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institutions.

UN. 1960. Accessed March 5, 2018. <https://peacemaker.un.org/cyprus-greece-turkey-alliance60>.

UN. 2011. *Agreement between the Government of the State of Israel and the Government of the Republic of Cyprus on the delimitation of the exclusive economic zone*. New York: UN.

UN. 2004. *Agreement between the Republic of Cyprus and the Arab Republic of Egypt on the Delimitation of the Exclusive Economic Zone*. New York: UN.

UN Center for Policy Research. 2017. *Civil War Trends and the Changing Nature of Armed Conflict*. New York: UN.

UN. 1982. *Convention on the Law of the Sea*. New York: UN.

UN Department of Political Affairs. 2015. *Natural Resources and Conflict*. New York: UN Department of Political Affairs & UN Environment Programme.

UN. 2004c. *Law of the Sea Bulletin*. New York: UN.

UN. 2003. *Law of the Sea Bulletin No. 52*. New York: UN.

UN. 2004b. *Law of the Sea Bulletin No. 54*. New York: UN.

UN. 2006. *Law of the Sea No. 59*. New York: United Nations.

UN Security Council. 1983. 'Resolution 541.' 18 November. Accessed March 10, 2018. <http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/541>.

—. 1974. 'UN SC Resolution 353.' 20 July. Accessed March 2, 2018. <http://unscr.com/files/1974/00353.pdf>.

UN. 2005. *UN Law of the Sea Bulletin No. 57*. New York: UN.

US Geological Survey. 2010. *Assessment of Undiscovered Oil and Gas Resources of the Levant Basin Province, Eastern Mediterranean*. Washington: US Geological Survey.

2. News sources

al Jazeera. 2017. 'Nicos Anastasiades: Cyprus, Turkey and the gas standoff.' 28 March. Accessed September 20, 2018. <https://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/talktojazeera/2018/03/nicos-anastasiades-cyprus-turkey-gas-standoff-180316093537586.html>.

al Jazeera. 2006. ' Hamas leader in surprise Turkey visit.' 16 February. Accessed January 2, 2018. <http://www.aljazeera.com/archive/2006/02/200849161241248931.html>

Amiram, Baket. 2014. '10 bids for Leviathan export tender to Turkey.' *Globes.co.il*. 23 March. Accessed January 28, 2016. <http://www.globes.co.il/en/article-10-bids-for-leviathan-export-tender-to-turkey-1000926526>.

ANSA. 2018. *Ansa.it*. 2 February. Accessed September 2018. http://www.ansa.it/english/news/2018/02/12/turkish-blockade-of-eni-rig-for-cyprus-drilling-continues_ad40ca43-91f3-441d-b8e2-fb01ed1fd14e.html.

Barber, Tony. 1997. 'Turkey hints at strike on Cypriot missiles.' *Independent.co.uk*. Independent. 11 January. Accessed March 12, 2018. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/turkey-hints-at-strike-on-cypriot-missiles-1282572.html>.

BBC. 2003. 'Emotion as Cyprus border opens.' April 23. Accessed March 9, 2018. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/2969089.stm>.

BBC. 2004. 'Brussels Anger at Greek Cypriots'. April 21. Accessed March 12, 2018. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3647481.stm>

—. 2016. 'Nagorno-Karabakh Profile.' 6 April. Accessed December 12, 2018. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-18270325>

Bloomberg. 2015. 'Israel Antitrust Commissioner Resigns on Natural Gas Policy' (Retrieved at 10.12.2017). 25 May. Accessed December 10, 2017. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-05-25/israel-s-antitrust-commissioner-resigns-on-natural-gas-policy>

—. 2017. 'Shell to Mull Buying Israeli, Cyprus Gas for Egypt Plant.' 20 August. Accessed January 20, 2018. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-08-20/shell-is-said-to-mull-buying-israeli-cyprus-gas-for-egypt-plant>

Christodoulides, Nikos. 2012. 'The Enosis Referendum in Cyprus [in Greek].' *kathimerini.gr*. Kathimerini. 2 September. Accessed March 2018. <http://www.kathimerini.gr/467141/article/epikairothta/ellada/to-enwtiko-dhmoyhfisma-sthn-kypro>

Christou, Jean. 2018. 'Akinci hints at acceptance of Guterres framework.' *Cyprus-Mail*. 30 April. Accessed September 15, 2018. <https://cyprus-mail.com/2018/04/30/akinci-hints-at-acceptance-of-guterres-framework/>

Cyprus-Mail. 2018b. 'There can be no velvet divorce for Cyprus.' 25 August. Accessed September 17, 2018. <https://cyprus-mail.com/2018/08/25/there-can-be-no-velvet-divorce-for-cyprus/>.

—. 2018a. 'Turkey hints at two-state solution again, as 'framework' debate rages on.' 3 May. Accessed September 22, 2018. <https://cyprus-mail.com/2018/05/03/turkey-hints-at-two-state-solution-again/?hilit=%27guterres%27%2C%27framework%27>.

Daily News Egypt. 2017. 'Egypt, Cyprus discuss construction of natural gas pipeline next month.' 21 November. Accessed January 19, 2018. <https://dailynewsegypt.com/2017/11/21/egypt-cyprus-discuss-construction-natural-gas-pipeline-next-month/>.

Daily Sabah. 2017. 'FM Çavuşoğlu: Cyprus failure reveals impossibility of solution within UN parameters.' 8 July. Accessed September 22, 2018. <https://www.dailysabah.com/diplomacy/2017/07/08/fm-cavusoglu-cyprus-failure-reveals-impossibility-of-solution-within-un-parameters>

—. 2011. 'Is Cyprus swimming in oil? [in Turkish].' 21 September. Accessed October 23, 2015. <https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2011/09/21/kibris-petrol-icinde-mi-yuzuyor>.

—. 2018. 'Turkey sends out first drilling vessel to eastern Mediterranean Sea to find oil, natural gas.' 31 May. Accessed September 18, 2018. <https://www.dailysabah.com/energy/2018/06/01/turkey-sends-out-first-drilling-vessel-to-eastern-mediterranean-sea-to-find-oil-natural>.

Drousiotis, Makarios. 2012. 'Awarding of gas licenses could cost billions.' *Cyprus-Mail.com*. 11 November. Accessed December 2017. <http://cyprus-mail.com/cyprus/awarding-gas-licences-could-cost-billions/20121111>.

Economist. 2014. 'Economist.' *The Cyprus Problem: A glimmer of hope*. 14 February. Accessed February 21, 2014. <https://www.economist.com/news/europe/21596573-yet-another-round-talks-reunify-divided-island-begins-glimmer-hope>.

—. 2008. 'Frozen Conflicts.' 9 November. Accessed July 18, 2018. <https://www.economist.com/news/2008/11/19/frozen-conflicts>.

Ellinas, Charles. 2018. 'Price, not politics, stymying East Med gas.' *Cyprus-Mail.com*. 28 January. Accessed September 19, 2018. <http://cyprus-mail.com/2018/01/28/price-not-politics-stymying-east-med-gas/>

—. 2017b. *Significant role for gas in rapidly changing energy mix*. 1 October. Accessed December 1, 2017. <http://cyprus-mail.com/2017/10/01/significant-role-gas-rapidly-changing-energy-mix/>

Euractiv.com. 2017. 'Italy, Greece, Cyprus and Israel eye longest offshore gas pipeline.' 3 April. Accessed January 18, 2018. <http://www.euractiv.com/section/energy/news/italy-greece-cyprus-and-israel-eye-longest-offshore-gas-pipeline/>

Financial Times. 2016. 'Israel's Leviathan signs \$10bn gas deal with Jordan's Nepco.' 26 September. Accessed December 10, 2017. <https://www.ft.com/content/0cbeecda-3712-3889-89e8-a38173a96b67>.

Geropoulos, Kostas. 2018. 'Cyprus mulls EU gas export options, may renegotiate Noble deal.' 27 August. Accessed September 15, 2018. <https://www.neweurope.eu/article/cyprus-mulls-eu-gas-export-options-may-renegotiate-noble-deal/>

Globes Online. 2013. 'Israel, Greece, Cyprus sign new energy MOU.' 8 June. Accessed January 18, 2018. <http://www.globes.co.il/en/article-1000870108>.

Guardian. 2008. 'Israel launches deadly Gaza attacks.' 27 December. Accessed January 2, 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/dec/27/israelandthepalestinians>.

Gundem Kibris. 2011. 'We do not want crisis [in Turkish].' 16 September. Accessed November 4, 2015. <https://www.gundemkibris.com/ozersay-atilacak-adimlar-karsilikli-askiya-alinmali-13864h.htm>.

Haaretz. 2011. 'Lebanon Warns UN: Israel's Proposed Maritime Border Threatens Peace and Security.' 5 September. Accessed December 25, 2017. <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/lebanon-warns-un-israel-s-proposed-maritime-border-threatens-peace-and-security-1.382658>.

Hadjicostis, Menelaos. 2016. 'Cyprus, Egypt sign deal paving way for gas pipeline.' 31 August. Accessed January 19, 2018. <https://apnews.com/778ec804905f40b096fad34a4cfb58a0>.

Hadjicostis, Menelaos. 2017. 'Cyprus, Egypt, Greece pledge closer cooperation on migration.' 21 November. Accessed January 21, 2018. <https://www.apnews.com/26416151cc04464aad9a4efc181e9642/Cyprus-Egypt-Greece-pledge-closer-cooperation-on-migration>.

Hadjistassou, Constantinos. 2013. 'Explanations for downsizing of Aphrodite gas field.' 13 October. Accessed September 17, 2018. <http://www.cyprusprofile.com/en/articles/view/explanations-for-downsizing-of-aphrodite-gas-field>.

Hazou, Elias. 2013. '1963 is still a historical minefield.' *Cyprus-Mail*. 13 December. Accessed February 2018. <https://cyprus-mail.com/2013/12/22/1963-is-still-a-historical-minefield/>.

Hurriyet Daily News. 2011b. 'Don't attempt to test Turkey's past.' 6 September. Accessed October 23, 2015. <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid=438&n=8216don8217t-attempt-to-test-turkey8217s-past8217-2011-09-06>.

—. 2013. 'Israel must do more to normalize ties with Turkey, FM Davutoğlu says.' 26 September. Accessed January 2, 2018. <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/israel-must-do-more-to-normalize-ties-with-turkey-fm-davutoglu-says-55172>

—. 2015. 'Pipeline pumps first water to northern Cyprus from Turkey.' 9 October. Accessed March 26, 2018. <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/pipeline-pumps-first-water-to-northern-cyprus-from-turkey-89637>.

—. 2017. 'Turkey should start drilling where Greek-Cypriots discovered gas.' 24 July. Accessed September 19, 2018. <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-should-start-drilling-where-greek-cypriots-discovered-gas-115867>.

—. 2011a. 'Turkish official: Israel Navy's bullying is over.' 2 September. Accessed October 23, 2015. <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid=438&n=8216israel8217s-bullying-in-eastern-med-is-over8217-2011-09-02>.

Hydrocarbons-Technology. 2017. *Arab Gas Pipeline (AGP), Jordan, Syria, Lebanon*. Accessed December 6, 2017. <https://www.hydrocarbons-technology.com/projects/arab-gas-pipeline-agp/>

Independent Online. 2003. 'Shell makes new gas discovery in Egypt.' 25 November. Accessed December 13, 2017. <https://www.iol.co.za/business-report/economy/shell-makes-new-gas-discovery-in-egypt-761769>

Israel National News. 2008. 'IAF 'Glorious Spartan 08' Exercise Details Revealed.' 23 June. Accessed January 17, 2018. <https://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/Flash.aspx/148688>.

Jordan News Agency. 2014. 'Arab Potash, Jordan Bromine companies to imports gas from US company' (Retrieved at 10.12.2017). 19 February. Accessed December 12, 2017. http://petra.gov.jo/Public_News/Nws_NewsDetails.aspx?Site_Id=1&lang=2&NewsID=140807.

Kanli, Yusuf. 2016. 'Revisiting the Acheson Plan.' *Hurriyet Daily News*. 29 April. Accessed March 21, 2018. <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/yusuf-kanli/revisiting-the-acheson-plan-98478>.

Keinon, Herb. 2009. 'Turkish FM cancels visit over Gaza Row.' *Jerusalem Post*. 9 September. Accessed January 2, 2018. <http://www.jpost.com/Israel/Turkish-FM-cancels-visit-over-Gaza-row>.

Lewis, Ori, and Humeyra Pamuk. 2016. 'Israel and Turkey agree to normalize ties.' *Reuters*. 26 June. Accessed January 2018. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-israel-turkey/israel-and-turkey-agree-to-normalize-ties-officials-idUSKCN0ZC0YF>.

LNG World News. 2013. 'Cyprus Inks MoU for LNG Project with Delek, Noble and Avner.' 26 June. Accessed January 18, 2018. <https://www.lngworldnews.com/cyprus-inks-mou-for-lng-project-with-delek-noble-and-avnear/>.

LNG World Shipping. 2018. 'Egypt completes return to LNG export nation status.' 12 September. Accessed September 14, 2018. https://www.lngworldshipping.com/news/view,egypt-completes-return-to-lng-export-nation-status_54198.htm.

Naftemporiki. 2011. 'Pangalos warns Ankara [in Greek].' 9 September. Accessed January 17, 2018. <http://www.naftemporiki.gr/story/322927/austiri-proeidopoiisi-th-pagkalou-stin-agkura>.

NaturalGas.Org. 2013 'Processing Natural Gas'. 25 September. Accessed November 14, 2015. <http://naturalgas.org/naturalgas/processing-ng/>

New Europe. 2015. 'Total mulls quitting Cyprus offshore gas search.' 22 January. Accessed December 17, 2017. <https://www.neweurope.eu/article/total-mulls-quitting-cyprus-offshore-gas-search/>.

New York Times. 1973. 'Five Arab States Agree on Company For Sumed Pipeline.' 11 December. Accessed November 27, 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/1973/12/12/archives/five-arab-states-agree-on-company-for-sumed-pipeline-five-arab.html>.

—. 1964. 'Johnson warns Inonu on Cyprus.' 6 June. Accessed March 4, 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/1964/06/06/archives/johnson-warns-inonu-on-cyprus-invites-him-to-us-for-talksturkey.html>.

Newsit.gr. 2011. 'Quick trip of Cypriot Foreign Minister to Israel to discuss about natural gas' Turkey continues her provocations' [in Greek]. 24 August. Accessed January 17, 2018. <https://www.newsit.gr/kosmos/episkepsi-astrapi-sto-israil-tis-kyprias-ypeks-gia-to-fysiko-aerio-synexizoy-n-tis-prokliseis-oi-toyrkoi/1957473/>

Offshore Energy Today. 2016b. 'Cyprus selects Eni, Exxon, Total for three offshore blocks.' 22 December. Accessed December 17, 2017. <https://www.offshoreenergytoday.com/cyprus-selects-eni-exxon-total-for-three-offshore-blocks/>.

—. 2016a. 'Energean to buy two gas fields off Israel.' 17 August. Accessed December 10, 2017. <https://www.offshoreenergytoday.com/energean-to-buy-two-gas-fields-off-israel/>

Oil and Gas Journal. 2007. 'Greek Cyprus receives bids for offshore licenses.' 17 September. Accessed December 13, 2017. <http://www.ogj.com/articles/print/volume-105/issue-35/general-interest/greek-cyprus-receives-bids-for-offshore-licenses.html>.

Proto Thema. 2016. 'Declaration of trilateral meeting between Greece, Israel and Cyprus.' 9 December. Accessed January 18, 2018. <http://en.protothema.gr/declaration-of-trilateral-meeting-between-greece-israel-and-cyprus/>.

Reuters. 2014. *Cyprus says Turkish vessel encroaching on its offshore gas areas*. 20 October. Accessed August 2016. <https://www.reuters.com/article/cyprus-turkey-gas/cyprus-says-turkish-vessel-encroaching-on-its-offshore-gas-areas-idUSL6N0SF32C20141020>.

—. 2013. 'Erdogan says Israeli apology shows Turkey's new clout.' 23 March. Accessed January 2, 2018. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-turkey-israel-erdogan/erdogan-says-israeli-apology-shows-turkeys-new-clout-idUSBRE92M0AP20130323>.

—. 2017b. 'Greece, Israel and Cyprus back natgas pipeline to Europe.' 5 December. Accessed January 15, 2018. <https://www.reuters.com/article/energy-mediterranean-natgas/greece-italy-israel-and-cyprus-back-natgas-pipeline-to-europe-idUSL8N1O537F>.

—. 2017a. 'reuters.com.' 7 July. Accessed July 8, 2017. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-cyprus-conflict/cyprus-reunification-talks-collapse-u-n-chief-very-sorry-idUSKBN19S02I>

Roberts, John. 2017. 'Keep gas off the Cypriot peace talks agenda.' 11 January. Accessed September 20, 2018. <https://www.naturalgasworld.com/comment-keep-gas-off-the-cypriot-peace-talks-35303>.

—. 2017b. 'Two wishes, one faltering population and a cloudy future [in Greek].' 20 July. Accessed September 17, 2018. <http://www.typos.com.cy/cat/14/article/28873>.

Sengul, Ebru, and Muhsin Baris Tiryakioglu. 2017. 'Turkey, Israel discuss price, route of gas pipeline.' *Anadolu Agency*. 13 October. Accessed January 2018. <http://aa.com.tr/en/economy/turkey-israel-discuss-price-route-of-gas-pipeline/934833>.

Signalive. 2013. '77 pages Downers' convergence plan.' 17 May. Accessed January 4, 2015. <http://www.signalive.com/news/politics/45703/apokalyptiko-diavaste-to-77selido-egrafo-ntaouner>.

Straw, Jack. 2017. 'Only a partitioned island will bring the dispute between Turkish and Greek-Cypriots to an end.' 1 October. Accessed September 17, 2018. <https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/cyprus-turkish-greek-cypriots-partition-eu-international-community-should-act-a7976711.htm>.

Tavernise, Sabrina, and Ethan Bronner. 2010. 'Days of Planning Led to Flotilla's Hour of Chaos' *New York Times*, (Retrieved at 2.1.2018). *New York Times*. 4 June. Accessed January 2, 2018. <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/06/05/world/europe/05reconstruct.html>.

Today's Zaman. 2011b. 'Erdoğan: Military option not on table for now in East Med gas row.' 21 September. Accessed October 23, 2015. http://www.todayszaman.com/diplomacy_erdogan-military-option-not-on-table-for-now-in-east-med-gas-row_257471.html.

—. 2011c. 'KKTC to start drilling in eastern Mediterranean soon.' 25 September. Accessed October 22, 2015. http://www.todayszaman.com/diplomacy_kktc-to-start-drilling-in-eastern-mediterranean-soon_257919.html

—. 2011a. 'Turkish minister warns Greek Cypriots about oil exploration in Mediterranean.' 4 September. Accessed October 23, 2015. http://www.todayszaman.com/diplomacy_turkish-minister-warns-greek-cypriots-about-oil-exploration-in-mediterranean_255674.html.

Turkish Daily News. 2002. 'Verheugen hopes Cyprus talks will end until June' 9 March

Udasin, Sharon. 2013. 'Israel's National Water Company Mekorot launches Cyprus desalination plant.' 7 August. Accessed January 2018, 2018. <http://www.jpost.com/National-News/Israels-National-Water-Company-Mekorot-launches-Cyprus-desalination-plant-322359>.

Venizelos, Costas. 2019. 'https://hellasjournal.com.' *The unbelievable dialogue between Simitis and Clerides for the S-300*. April 26. Accessed June 4, 2019. <https://hellasjournal.com/2019/04/o-apisteytos-dialogos-simiti-kai-kliridi-gia-toys-s-300-den-itan-mono-to-athlio-schedio-anan/>.

Wootliff, Raoul. 2016. 'With no designated deputy Netanyahu keeps spotlight to himself.' *TimesofIsrael.com*. Times of Israel. 22 September. Accessed December 2017. <https://www.timesofisrael.com/with-no-designated-deputy-netanyahu-keeps-spotlight-to-himself/>

Academic sources

1. Books

Agnew, John. 2003. *Geopolitics: Re-visioning World Politics*, 2nd ed. London : Routledge.

Alastos, Doros. 1955. *Cyprus in History*. London: Zeno Publishers

Alecou, Alexios. 2016. *Communism and Nationalism in Postwar Cyprus, 1945-1955: Politics and Ideologies under British Rule*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Allison, Graham. 1971. *Allison, Graham (1971). Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. 1st. New York: Little Brown.

Allison, Graham, and Philip Zelikow. 1999. *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. 2nd. New York: Longman.

Andrews, John. 2015. *The World in Conflict: Understanding the world's troublespots*. London: The Economist.

Anagnostopoulou, Sia. 2004. *Turkish Modernization: Islam and Turkish-Cypriots in the Labyrinthical Route of Kemalism [in Greek]*. Athens: Vivliorama.

Asmussen, Jan. 2008. *Cyprus at War: Diplomacy and Conflict during the 1974 Crisis*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Attalides, Michalis. 1979. *Cyprus, Nationalism and International Politics*. Edinburgh : Palgrave Macmillan.

Azar, Edward E. 1990. *The management of protracted social conflict: theory and cases*. Alderton: University of Maryland.

Bahçeli, Tozun. 1990. *Greek-Turkish Relations Since 1955*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Ballentine, Karen, and Jake Sherman. 2003. *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict: Beyond Greed and Grievance*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Beckett, Ian. 1988. *The Roots of Counter-Insurgency: Armies and Guerrilla Warfare 1900–1945*. London: Blandford Press.

Birgel, Serkan. 2018. *The Association of Natural Resources and Human Conflict — Natural Gas and the Peace Process in Cyprus*. PhD thesis, University of Oxford.

Bitsios, Dimitris. 1975. *Cyprus: The Vulnerable Republic*, Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies.

Blay, Samuel Kwaw Nyameke. 1981. *Self-Determination in Cyprus: The New Dimensions of an Old Conflict*. Australian Year Book of International Law.

- Brown, Steven. 1980. *Political Subjectivity*, New Heaven: Yale University Press.
- Bryman, Alan. 2008. *Social Research Methods*. 3rd. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Burke, John. 2017. *Britain and the Cyprus Crisis of 1974: Conflict, Colonialism and the Politics of Remembrance in Greek Cypriot Society*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan
- Buzan, Barry. 2009. *People, States and Fear An agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*. Essex: ECPR Press.
- Buzan, Barry, O Waever, and J de Wilde. 1998. *Security A New Framework for Analysis*., Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Campbell, David. 1993. *Politics without Principle: Sovereignty, Ethics, and the Narratives of the Gulf War*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Carr, Edward. 1946. *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919–1939: an Introduction to the Study of International Relations*, 2nd ed. London: Macmillan.
- Caruth, Cathy. 1996. *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* . Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Christodoulides, Nikos. 2009. *Peace plans for the Cyprus conflict* [in Greek], Athens: Kastaniotis
- Coser, L A. 1956. *The function of social conflict*. New York: Free Press.
- Davutoglu, Ahmet. 2010. *Strategic Depth Doctrine : Turkey's International Standing* [in Greek]. 3rd Edition. Translated by Nikolaos Raptopoulos. Athens: Poitita.
- Denктаş, Rauf .2004. Let Not Cyprus become Crete [in Turkish], Istanbul: Önder Printing System.
- Deutsch, Morton. 1973. *The Resolution of Conflict: Constructive and Destructive Processes*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- di Tiro, Hasan Muhammed. 1984. *The Price of Freedom: The Unfinished Diary*. Norsborg, Sweden: Information Department, National Liberation Front Aceh Sumatra.
- Dodd, Clement. 2010. *The History and Politics of the Cyprus Conflict*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dodds, Klaus. 2005. *Global Geopolitics: A Critical Introduction*. Harlow: Pearson.

Doty, Roxanne Lynn. 1996. *Imperial Encounters: The Politics of Representation in North-South Relations*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Dryzek, John, and Leslie Holmes. 2002. *Post-Communist Democratization: Political Discourses Across Thirteen Countries*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Ellis, Donald G. 2006. *Transforming Conflict: Communication and Ethnopolitical Conflict*. Oxford, UK: Rowman & Littlefield.

Elson, Robert E. 2001. *Suharto: A Political Biography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Elster, Jon. 1999. *Alchemies of the Mind: Rationality and the Emotions*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Emilianides, Achilleas. 2006. *The Transgression of the Cypriot Constitution [in Greek]*. Thessaloniki: Sakkoulas.

Fairclough, Isabela, and Norman Fairclough. 2012. *Political Discourse Analysis A Method for Advanced Students*. New York: Routledge-Taylor and Francis Group.

Faustmann, Hubert. 1999. *Divide and Quit? The History of British Colonial Rule in Cyprus 1878 – 1960*. PhD Thesis. University of Mannheim

Fisher, Ronald J. (1994) *The Social Psychology of Intergroup and International Conflict Resolution*, Ontario: Springer-Verlag

Fischer, Stanley. 1980. *Rational Expectations and economic policy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Foucault, Michel. 1972. *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Fouskas, Vassilis K, and Alex O Tackie . 2009. *Cyprus: The Post-Imperial Constitution*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fox, Annette Baker. 1959. *The Power of Small States Diplomacy in World War II*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

George, Jim. 1994. *Discourses of Global Politics: A Critical (Re)Introduction to International Relations*. London: Macmillan.

- Georgiades, Kleanthis P. 2017. *The History of Cyprus* [in Greek]. Nicosia
- Gilpin, Robert. 1981. *War and Change in International Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Goldstein, Joshua S. 2005. *International Relations*. New York: Pearson-Longman
- Grigas, Agnia. 2017. *The New Geopolitics of Natural Gas*,. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Grivas, Digenis-Georgios. 1961. *The Memoires of EOKA's Struggle* [in Greek], Athens: Pelasgos
- Grob-FitzGibbon, Benjamin. 2011. *Imperial Endgame: Britain's Dirty Wars and the End of Empire*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gurr, Ted. 1970. *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Hadjigregoriou, Spyros. 2014. *The Facilitators: The UN Representatives & Advisers to Cyprus, 1964-2014*. Nicosia: Livadiotis Ltd
- Hanioglu, Sükrü. 1995. *The Young Turks in Opposition*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Hannay, David. 2005. *Cyprus: The Search for a Solution*. London: I. B Tauris.
- Helmis, Georgios. 2006. *The troubled two years (1973-1974): The personal calendar of an eye-witness* [in Greek]. Athens: Kastaniotis.
- Herod, Andrew, Gearoid Ó Tuathail, and Susan Roberts. 1997. *An Unruly World? Globalization, Governance and Geography*. London: Routledge.
- Hill, George. 1952. *A History of Cyprus*. Vol. 4. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Holland, Robert. 2004. *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus, 1954-1959*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hodgson, Douglas. 2000. *Discourse, discipline and the subject: a Foucauldian analysis of the UK financial services industry*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- Ifestos, Panagiotis, and Athanasios Platias. 1992. *Greek Deterrence Strategy*. Athens: Papazisis

- Isachenko, Daria. 2012. *The Making of Informal States: Statebuilding in Northern Cyprus and Transnistria*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jabri, Vivienne. 1996. *Discourses on Violence: Conflict Analysis Reconsidered*. Manchester: Manchester University Press
- Jervis, Rober. 1976. *Perceptions and Misperceptions in International Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- Jervis, Robert. 2017. *How statesmen think: The psychology of international politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Johnson, Douglas H. 2003. *The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Joseph, Joseph. S. 1997. *Cyprus, Ethnic Conflict and International Politics: From Independence to the Threshold of the European Union*. Houndmills: Macmillan Press
- Juneau, Thomas. 2015. *Squandered Opportunity: Neoclassical Realism and Iranian Foreign Policy*. Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press
- Kell, Tim. 1995. *The Roots of the Acehnese Rebellion, 1989–1992*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
- Kelly, George A. 1955. *A Theory of Personality: The Psychology of Personal Constructs*. New York: W.W Norton.
- Kentas, Giorgos. 2013. *Security in the Context of a Settlement of the Cyprus Problem: The International Dimension [in Greek]*, Athens: Livanis
- Ker-Lindsay, James. 2005. *EU Accession and UN Peacemaking in Cyprus*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan
- Ker-Lindsay, James. 2011. *The Cyprus Problem What everyone needs to know*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kizilyurek, Niyazi. 2009. *Turkish-Cypriots, Turkey and the Cyprus Conflict [in Greek]*. Athens: Papazisis.
- Kline, Paul. 1994. *An Easy Guide to Factor Analysis*. London: Routledge.

- Koufoudakis, Vaggelis. 2008. *Cyprus: A Contemporary Problem in a Historical Perspective [in Greek]*, Athens: Patakis
- Kranidiotis, Giannos. 1981. *Difficult Years. Cyprus 1950-1960 [in Greek]*, Athens: Estia
- Kranidiotis, Giannos. 1984. *The Cyprus Problem. 1960-1974 [in Greek]*, Athens: Estia
- Ktoris, Sotos. 2013. *Turkish-Cypriots: From the fringes to partnership [in Greek]*. Athens: Papazisis.
- Lacoste, Yves. 1976. *Geography is used first to make war [in French]*. 1st. Paris: La Decouvertes.
- Le Billon, Philippe. 2014. *Wars of Plunder, Conflicts, Profits and the Politics of Resources*. Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online.
- Lewin, Kurt . 1948. *Resolving Social Conflicts*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Mallinson, William. 2011. *Britain and Cyprus: Key Themes and Documents since World War II*. London: IB Tauris.
- Markides, Kyriacos C. 1977. *The Rise and Fall of the Cyprus Republic*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press
- Mayer, Bernard. 2000. *The Dynamics of Conflict Resolution: A Practitioner's Guide*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Mazis, Ioannis Th. 2008. *The Geopolitics of the Wider Middle East and Turkey [in Greek]*. Athens: Livanis
- McKeown, Bruce, and Dan Thomas. 1988. *Q-Methodology*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Mearsheimer, John J. 2001. *The tragedy of great power politics*. New York: Norton.
- Meier, Daniel. 2013. *Lebanon's Maritime Boundaries: Between Economic Opportunities and Military Confrontation*. Oxford, UK: Centre for Lebanese Studies, University of Oxford.
- Melacopides, Costas. 2016. *Russia-Cyprus Relations: A Pragmatic Idealist Perspective*,. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Meerts, Paul. 2015. *Diplomatic Negotiation: Essence and Evolution*. The Hague: Clingendael.

Mintz, Alex, and Karl DeRouen. 2010. *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Mirbagheri, Farid. 2009. *Historical Dictionary of Cyprus*. Plymouth, UK: The Scarecrow Press.

Mokhatab, Saeid, William A. Poe, and Johny Y. Mak. 2016. *Handbook of Natural Gas Transmission and Processing*. 3rd. Oxford, UK: Elsevier

Morgenthau, Hans. 1948. *Politics among Nations: the Struggle for Power*. 1st. New York: Knopf.

Mütercimler, Erol. 2003. *Island for Sale, Cyprus, [in Turkish]*. Istanbul: Toplumsal Dönüşüm Yayınları.

Neuman, Lawrence W. 2014. *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Edinburgh: Pearson.

Nevzat, Altay. 2005. *Nationalism Among the Turks of Cyprus: The First Wave*. Oulu, Finland: Oulu University Press.

O' Malley, Brendan, and Ian Craig. 1999. *The Cyprus Conspiracy: America, Espionage and the Turkish Invasion*. London: IB Tauris.

Organski Abramo FK. 1958. *World Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press

Orr, Sir Charles W.J. 1918. *Cyprus under British Rule*. London: Robert Scott Roxburghe House.

Palley, Claire. 2005. *An International Relations Debacle: The UN Secretary General's Mission of Good Offices in Cyprus: 1999-2004*. Oxford, UK: Hart Publishing

Papadakis, Yannis. 2005. *Echoes from the Dead Zone*, London: I.B. Tauris.

Papageorgiou, Spyros. 2000. *The Critical Documents of the Cyprus Question: 1959-1967, Vol. 1 [in Greek]*. Nicosia: K. Epiphanios LTD

Ramsbotham, Oliver, Tom Woodhouse, and Hugh Miall. 2011. *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*. 3rd. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Rothman, Jay. 1997. *Resolving Identity-Based Conflict in Nations, Communities and Organizations*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

- Rubin, Herbert, and Irene Rubin. 2012. *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data*. 3rd. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Sandole, D. 1999. *Capturing the Complexity of Conflict: Dealing with Violent Ethnic Conflicts in the Post-Cold War Era*. London: Pinter.
- Scarry, Elaine. 1985. *The body in Pain. The Making and Unmaking of the World*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press
- Schelling, Thomas. 1960. *The Strategy of Conflict*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Schmitt, Carl. 1932. *The Concept of the Political [in German]*. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot GmBh.
- Seidel, Gill. 1985. *Political Discourse Analysis*. London: Academic Press.
- Shue, Henry. 1980. *Basic Rights: Subsistence Affluence and US Foreign Policy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Snyder, Jack. 1991. *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press
- Solsten, Eric. 1993. *Cyprus : A country study*. Washington, DC: US Library Congress.
- Spyridakis, Constantinos. 1974. *A Brief History of Cyprus*. Nicosia: Zavallis Press.
- Stavrou, Michail. 2009. *Resolving the Cyprus Conflict: Negotiating History*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Stefanidis, Ioannis. 1999. *Isle of Discord: Nationalism and Imperialism and the Making of the Cyprus Problem*. London: Hurst & Co.
- Stephenson, William. 1953. *The study of behavior: Q-technique and its methodology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Suurmond, Jeannine M. 2005. *Our Talk and Walk: Discourse Analysis and Conflict Studies*. The Hague: Clingendael.
- Svolopoulos, Konstantinos. 2004. *Greek Foreign Policy 1945-1981 [in Greek]*. Athens: Estia.
- Syrgios, Aggelos. 2014. *Greek-Turkish Relations [in Greek]*. Athens, Greece: Pataki.

Taijfel, Henri. 1978. *Differentiation between Social Groups: Studies in the Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. London: Academic Press.

Taras, Raymond. 2015. *Fear and the Making of Foreign Policy. Europe and Beyond*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

Tekin, Ali, and Paul Andrew Williams. 2011. *Geo-Politics of the Euro-Asia Energy Nexus: The European Union, Russia and Turkey*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tenekides, Georges. 1964. *Cyprus: Recent History and Future Prospects [in French]*. Paris: Nagel.

Tenekides, George and Giannos Kranidiotis. 1982. *Cyprus: History, Problems and the struggles of its people [in Greek]*, Athens, Estia

Tocci, Nathalie. 2004. *EU Accession Dynamics and Conflict Resolution*. Hampshire, England: Ashgate.

Toshkov, Dimiter. 2016. *Research Design in Political Science*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Toulmin, Stephen. 1958. *The Uses of Argument*,. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tziarras, Zenon and Nikos Moudouros. 2016. *Turkey in the Eastern Mediterranean: Ideological Views of Foreign Policy [in Greek]*. Athens: Tourikis

Tziampiris, Aristotle. 2015. *The Emergence of Israeli-Greek Cooperation*. Cham, Springer.

Uzer, Umut. 2010. *Identity and Turkish Foreign Policy: The Kemalist Influence in Cyprus and the Caucasus*. London: IB Tauris.

Van Evera, Stephen. 1999. *Causes of War: Power and Roots of Conflict*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

van Exel, Job, and Gjalst de Graaf. 2005. *Q-Methodology: A sneak preview*. Qmethod.

Venizelos, Costas, and Michalis Ignatiou. 2002. *The Secret Files of Kissinger, Vol. I, [in Greek]*. Athens: Livanis.

Vickers, Adrian. 2005. *A history of Modern Indonesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vlachos, Angelos. 1980. *Ten Years of Cyprus Question [in Greek]*. Athens: Estia.

Voorhoeve, Joris. 2007. *From War to the Rule of Law: Peace Building After Conflicts*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Walt, Stephen M. 2002. *The Enduring relevance of the realist tradition*. New York: W.W. Norton Company

Waltz, Kenneth. 1959. *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Waltz, Kenneth N. 1979. *Theory of International Politics*. California: Addison-Wesley.

Watts, Simon, and Paul Stenner. 2012. *Doing Q Methodological Research: Theory, Method and Interpretation*, 2nd. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Webler, Thomas, Stentor Danielson, and Seth Tuler. 2009. *Using Q method to reveal social perspectives in environmental research*. Greenfield, MA: Social and Environmental Research Institute.

Weisbrode, Kenneth. 2001. *Central Eurasia – Prize or Quicksand?: Contending Views of Instability in Karabakh, Ferghana and Afghanistan*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Weldes, Jutta. 1999. *Constructing National Interests: The United States and Cuban Missile Crisis*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Wittgenstein, Ludwig. 1922. *Tractatus Logicus Philosophicus*. London: Keegan Paul, Trubner & Co., Ltd.

Xydis, Alexandros. 1993. *Politics: The Cyprus Question [in Greek]*, Athens: Plethron

Yakinthou, Chrystalla. 2009. *Political Settlements in Divided Societies*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Yergin, Daniel. 2012. *The Quest: Energy, Security, and the Remaking of the Modern World*. 2nd. London: Penguin Press.

Zembylas, Michalinos. 2015. *Emotion and Traumatic Conflict*. New York: Oxford University Press.

2. Book Chapters

Abdi, Herve. 2003. 'Factor Rotations in Factor Analyses.' In *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, edited by Beck Lewis and Bryman A Futing. Thousand Oaks, CA: Thousand Oaks (CA): Sage.

Adamides, Constantinos (2014). 'Negative Perceptions of Foreign Actors: An Integral Part of Conflict-Perpetuating Routines,' In *Great Power Politics in Cyprus: Foreign Interventions and Domestic Perceptions* by Michalis Kontos, Nikos Panayiotides, by Haralambos Alexandrou, and Sozos-Christos Theodoulou, 197-222. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholar Publishing.

Adamides, Constrantinos. 2015. 'Conflict-Perpetuating Routines in the Cypriot Comfortable Problem' In *Resolving Cyprus*, by James Ker-Lindsay, 1-15 London: I.B Tauris.

Adamides Constantinos and Constantinou, Costas M. 2012. 'Comfortable Conflict and Illiberal Peace in Cyprus,' In *Hybrid Forms of Peace: From Everyday Agency to Post-Liberalism*, by Oliver P. Richmond and Audra Mitchell, 242-259, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Agnew, John. 1988. 'Beyond Reason: Spatial and Temporal Sources of Ethnic Conflicts.' In *Intractable Conflicts and Their Transformation*, edited by L Kriesberg, T Northrup and St Thorson, 40-52. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Azar, Edward. 1986. 'Protracted international conflicts: ten propositions.' In *International Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice*, by Edward Azar and John Burton, 28-39. Brighton: Whatsheaf.

Ballentine, Karen, and Jake Sherman. 2003. 'Introduction.' In *Political Economy of Armed Conflict: Beyond Greed & Grievance*, edited by Karen Ballentine and Jake Sherman, 1-18. London: Lynner Rienner.

Barnes, Joe, Mark Hayes, Amy Jaffe, and David Victor. 2006. 'Introduction to the Study.' In *Natural Gas and Geopolitics. From 1970 to 2040*, edited by D Victor, A Jaffe A and M Hayes, 1-20. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, Steven, and James Good. 2010. 'Q Methodology.' In *Encyclopaedia of research design*, edited by Neil Salkind, 1150-1156. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Bryant, Rebecca, and Yannis Papadakis. 2012. 'Modalities of Time, History and Memory in Ethnonational Conflicts.' In *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory*, by Rebecca Bryant and Yannis Papadakis, 1-26. London: I.B Tauris.

Cascão, Ana Elisa. 2017. 'Resource-based conflict in South Sudan and Gambella (Ethiopia): when water, land and oil mix with politics.' In *State and Societal Challenges in the Horn of Africa: Conflict and processes of state formation, reconfiguration and disintegration*, edited by Alexandra Magnólia Dias, 143-165. Lisboa: Centro de estudos internacionais.

Charalambous, Giorgos. 2015. 'The Party Politics of the Problem.' In *Resolving Cyprus*, by James Ker-Lindsay. London: IB Tauris.

Charmaz, Kathy. 2001. 'Qualitative interviewing and grounded theory analysis.' In *Handbook of interview research*, by J.F. Gubrium and J.A. Holstein, 675-694. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Christophorou, Christophoros. 2009. 'The evolution of Greek Cypriot party politics.' In *The Government and Politics of Cyprus*, by James Ker-Lindsay and Herbert Faustmann. Oxford: Peter Lang.

Durning, Dan, and Steven Brown. 2006. 'Q Methodology and Decision-Making.' In *Handbook of Decision Making*, edited by Goktug Morcol, 537-563. Boca Raton: CRC Press.

Emilianides, Achilles C. 2009. 'Contra: Constitutional Structure of the Annan Plan.' In *Reunifying Cyprus: The Annan Plan and Beyond*, by Andrekos Varnava and Hubert Faustmann, 93-104. London: I.B Tauris.

Faustmann, Hubert. 2001. 'The UN and the Internationalization of the Cyprus Conflict, 1949-58,' In *The Work of the UN in Cyprus. Promoting Peace and Development* by Oliver P. Richmond and James Ker-Lindsay, 3-49, Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan

Goker, Aybil. 2012. 'Senses of belongings and making home away from home,' In *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory*, by Rebecca Bryant and Yannis Papadakis, 118-139. London: I.B Tauris.

Goldsmith, Paul, and Lydia A Abura, and Jason Switzer. 2002. 'Oil and Water in Sudan.' In *Scarcity and Surfeit, The Ecology of Africa's Conflicts*, edited by Jeremy Lind and Kathryn Sturman. Pretoria: ISS.

Gürel, Ayrel, Hayriye Kahveci, and Harry Tzimitras. 2014. 'How to Build Confidence over Energy Issues in the Context of a Cyprus settlement.' In *Energy in the Eastern Mediterranean: Promise or Peril*, edited by Sami Andoura and David Koranyi, 59-68. Brussels: Egmont Institute.

Guzzini, Stefano. 2012. 'The framework of analysis: geopolitics meets foreign policy identity crises.' In *The Return of Geopolitics in Europe? Social Mechanisms and Foreign Policy Identity Crises*, edited by Guzzini Stefano, 45-74. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hansen, Lene. 2016. 'Discourse analysis, post-structuralism, and foreign policy.' In *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases*, edited by Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield and Time Dunne, 95-110. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hatay, Mete, and Yannis Papadakis. 2012. 'A Critical Comparison of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Historiographies.' In *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory*, by Rebecca Bryant and Yannis Papadakis, 27-50. London: I.B Tauris.

Jackson, Richard. 2002. 'The Social Construction of War: Towards A Framework of Understanding.' In *Cultures of Violence, 3rd Global Conference: Diversity within Unity*.

Jackson, Richard. 2009. 'Constructivism and Conflict Resolution', in *Sage Handbook of Conflict Resolution*, by Jacob Bercovitch, Victor Kremenyuk and I. William Zartman. 172-189, Thousand Oaks, California: Sage

Ifestos, Panagiotis. 2013. The post-war international system: stable and variable criteria of the Cyprus question before and after 1974 and the causes of an absent national strategy, In *The Cyprus Question and the International System, 1945-1974: Searching a position in the globe [in Greek]* by Petros Papapolyviou, Angelos Syrigos and Evanthis Hatzivassiliou, 423-440. Athens: Papazisis.

Karbuz, Sohbet. 2018. 'Geostrategic Importance of East Mediterranean Gas Resources.' In: *Energy, Economy, Finance and Geostrategy* by André Dorsman, Volkan S. Ediger, Mehmet Baha Karan, 237-255. Cham: Springer

Kaymak, Erol. 2009. 'The Development of Turkish-Cypriot Politics', In *The Government and Politics of Cyprus* by James Ker-Lindsay and Hubert Faustmann, New York Peter Lang.

Ker-Lindsay, James. 2009. 'United Nations peace-making in Cyprus: from mediation to arbitration and beyond', In *Cyprus: a conflict at the crossroads* by Thomas Diez and Nathalie Tocci, 147-162, Manchester: Manchester University Press

Kizilyurek, Niyazi. 2010. 'Rauf Denktaş: Fear and Nationalism in the Turkish Cypriot Community' in. In *Nationalism in the Troubled Triangle, Cyprus, Greece and Turkey*, by Aktar Ayhan, Niyazi Kizilyurek and Umut Ozkirmli, 175-193. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kizilyurek, Niyazi. 2006. 'The Turkish-Cypriots from an Ottoman-Muslim Community to a National Community' In *Britain in Cyprus: Colonialism and Post-Colonialism, 1878-1960*, by Herbert Faustmann and Nikos Peristianis. Berlin: Bibliopolis.

Koumas, Manolis P. 2013. 'Greek governments and the Cypriot referendum for Enosis.' In *The Cyprus Question and the International System, 1945-1974: Searching a position in the globe [in Greek]*, by Petros Papapolyviou, Angelos Syrigos and Evanthis Hatzivassiliou, 19-37. Athens: Papazisis.

Kouskouvelis, Ilias. 2013. The Strategies of the Small States in the International System: the case of Cyprus, In *The Cyprus Question and the International System, 1945-1974: Searching a position in the globe [in Greek]* by Petros Papapolyviou, Angelos Syrigos and Evanthis Hatzivassiliou, 397-416. Athens: Papazisis.

Kouskouvelis Ilias. 2015. 'Smart Leadership in a Small State: The Case of Cyprus' in *The Eastern Mediterranean in Transition Multipolarity, Politics and Power*, by Spyridon Litsas and Aristotle Tziampiris, 93-117. Dorchester, UK: Ashgate

Kyriakides, Kleanthis A. 2009. 'Contra: The Political Workability of the Annan Plan.' In *Reunifying Cyprus: The Annan Plan and Beyond*, by Andrekos Varnava and Hubert Faustmann, 63-79. London: I.B Tauris.

Lakatos, Imre. 1974. 'Falsification and the methodology of scientific research programs.' In *Criticism and the growth of knowledge*, by Imre Lakatos, 20-26. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Le Billon, Philippe. 2009. 'Economic and Resource Causes of Conflict.' In *The Sage Handbook of Conflict Resolution*, by J Berkovitch, v Kremenjuk and W I Zartman, 210-224. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Levy, Jack S. 1989. 'The diversionary theory of war: A critique.' In *Handbook of war studies*, by Manus I. Midlarsky. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Levy, Jack. S. 2009. 'Case Studies and Conflict Resolution.' in *Sage Handbook of Conflict Resolution*, by Jacob Bercovitch, Victor Kremenjuk and I. William Zartman. 72-85, Thousand Oaks, California: Sage

Moravcsik, Andrew. 1993. 'Introduction: integrating International and Domestic Theories of International Bargaining.' In *Double-Edged Diplomacy: International Bargaining and Domestic Politics*, by Peter B Evans, Harold K Jacobson and Robert D Putnam, 3-42. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Moudouros, Nikos. 2013. 'Dimensions of Turkish Policy in Cyprus: Exporting the AKP Model in the Turkish-Cypriot Community', In *Republic of Cyprus: Foreign Policy Dimensions* by Marios P. Efthimiopoulos and Zenon Tziarras, 97-112. Thessaloniki: Studio University Press

Ortmann, Stefanie, and Nick Whittaker. 2013. 'Geopolitics and Grand Strategy.' In *Strategy in the Contemporary World*, by John Baylis, James J. Wirtz and Collin S. Gray, 299-318. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Papadakis, Yannis, Nicos Peristianis, and Gisela Welz. 2006. 'Modernity, History, and an Island in Conflict in Divided Cyprus an Overview.' In *Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History, and an Island in Conflict*, by Yannis Papadakis, Nicos Peristianis and Gisela Welz, 1-29. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Rothman, Jay. 2012. 'Engaging the Painful Past and Forging a Promising Future.' In *From Identity-Based Conflict to Identity-Based Cooperation*, by Jay Rothman, 3-20. New York: Springer.

Sheehan, Michael. 2014. 'The Changing Character of War.' In *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to international relations*, by John Baylis, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens, 223-237. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Soysa, Indra. 2000. 'The Resource Curse: Are Civil Wars Driven by Rapacity or Paucity?' In *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars.*, by Mats Berdal and David Malone. Boulde, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Sözen, Ahmet (2011). 'The Cyprus Challenge in Turkey-EU relations: Heading Towards a Defining Moment?', In *Turkey and the European Union – Facing New Challenges and Opportunities* by Firat Cengiz and Lars Hoffmann, 46-63. London: Routledge.

Stergiou, Andreas, Kivanc Ulusoy, and Menahem Blondheim. 2017. 'Energy in the Eastern Mediterranean: A Bridge Under Troubled Water?' In *Conflict and Prosperity: Geopolitics and Energy in the Eastern Mediterranean*, edited by Menahem Blondheim Andreas Stergiou and Kivanc Ulusoy, 7-15. Jerusalem: Hebrew University Press.

Steward, Frances. 2002. 'Horizontal Inequalities as a Source of Conflict.' In *From Reaction to Conflict Prevention: opportunities for the UN System*, edited by David M Hampson and David M Malone, 105-136. Boulder: Lynner Rienner.

Stivachtis, Yannis. 2019. 'Eastern Mediterranean: A New Region? Theoretical Considerations.' In *The New Eastern Mediterranean: Theory, Politics and States in a Volatile Era*, edited by Litsas Spyridon and Tziampiris Aristotle, 45-59, Cham: Springer

Toal, Gerard, and John Agnew. 2005. 'Introduction: Political Geographies, Geopolitics and Culture.' In *The Handbook of Cultural Geography*, edited by K Anderson, M Domosh, S Pile and N Thrift, 455-461. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Tsakiris, Theodoros. 2016. 'The Gifts of Aphrodite: The Need for Competitive Pragmatism in Cypriot Gas Strategy.' In *Energy Cooperation and Security in the Eastern Mediterranean: A Seismic Shift towards Peace or Conflict*, edited by Angelos Giannakopoulos, 22-36. Tel-Aviv: The S. Daniel Abraham Center for International and Regional Studies.

Tuathail, Gearoid O, and Simon Dalby. 1998. 'Introduction: Rethinking geopolitics: towards a critical geopolitics.' In *Rethinking Geopolitics*, edited by Gearoid O Tuathail and Simon Dalby. New York: Routledge.

Turan, Ilter. 2015. 'Reorienting Turkish Foreign Policy: Successes, Failures, Limitations.' In *The Eastern Mediterranean in Transition Multipolarity, Politics and Power*, edited by Spyridon Litsas and Aristotle Tziampiris, 133-145. Dorchester UK: Ashgate.

Tziampiris, Aristotle. 2019. 'The New Eastern Mediterranean as a Regional Subsystem' In *The New Eastern Mediterranean: Theory, Politics and States in a Volatile Era*, edited by Litsas Spyridon and Tziampiris Aristotle, 1-30, Cham: Springer

Varnava, Andrekos. 2013. 'Sophronios III 1866-1900 The last of the 'old' and the first of the new archbishop-ethnarchs.' In *The Archbishops of Cyprus in the Modern Age: The Changing Role of the Archbishop-Ethnarchs: their identities and politics*, by Andrekos Varnava and Michalis N Michael, 106-140. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars.

Waltz, Kenneth N. 1986. 'Reflections on theory of international politics: A response to my critics.' In *Neorealism and Its Critics*, edited by Robert Keohane, 322-345. New York: Columbia University Press

Weber, Bernard. 2017. 'The European Neighbourhood Policy and energy.' In *The Routledge Handbook on the European Neighbourhood Policy*, edited by Tobias Schumacher, Andreas Marchetti and Thomas Demmel, 381-392. London: Routledge.

Woodward, Peter. 1995. 'Sudan: War without End.' In *Conflict in Africa*, edited by Oliver Furley. London, New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers.

Young, Crawford. 2003. 'Explaining the Conflict Potential of Ethnicity.' In *Contemporary peacemaking. Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes*, by John Darby and Roger Mac Ginty, 9-20. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Yuksel, Inan, and Gözen Pınar Ercan. 2017. 'Maritime Relations of Peninsular Turkey: Surrounded by Hostile or Peaceful Waters.' In *Turkish Foreign Policy International Relations, Legality and Global Reach*, edited by Gözen Pınar Ercan, 281-300. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Zartman, William I. 2000. 'Ripeness: The hurting stalemate and beyond. Stern, P. & Druckman, D.,' In *International Conflict Resolution After the Cold War*, by Paul C Stern and Daniel Druckman, 225-250. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.

Zartman, William I. 2003. 'Ripeness.' In *Beyond Intractability*, by Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess. Conflict Information Consortium, University of Colorado: Boulder.

Zartman, William I. 2009. 'Conflict Resolution and Negotiation.' In *The Sage Handbook of Conflict Resolution*, by Jacob Bercovitch, Victor Kremenyuk and William I Zartman, 322-339. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

3. Academic Articles

Alkopher, Tal Dingott. 2005. 'The Social (And Religious) Meanings That Constitute War: The Crusades as Realpolitik vs. Socialpolitik, *International Studies Quarterly*, 49 (4): 715-737

Ahmadov, Anar K. 2014. Oil, Democracy, and Context: A Meta-Analysis.' *Comparative Political Studies* 47 (9): 1238-1267.

Anderson, Perry. 2008. 'The Divisions of Cyprus.' *London Review of Books* 30 (8): 7-16.

Aspinall, Edward. 2007. 'The Construction of Grievance: Natural Resources Identity in a Separatist Conflict.' *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51 (6): 950-972.

Aydın, Mustafa and Cihan Dizdaroğlu. 2018. 'Levantine Challenges on Turkish Foreign Policy.' *Uluslararası İlişkiler Dergisi*, 15 (60): 89-103.

Azar, Edward E. 1985. 'Protracted international conflicts: Ten propositions.' *International Interactions* 12 (1): 59-70.

Bahgat, Gawdat. 2005. 'Energy partnership: Israel and the Persian Gulf.' *Energy Policy* 33: 671-677.

Bahgat, Gawdat. 2012. 'Preliminary assessment of Arab Spring's impact on oil and gas in Egypt, Libya.' *Online Oil and Gas Journal* 11 (1).

Balzaq, Thierry. 2005. 'The Three Faces of Securitization: Political Agency, Audience and Context.' *European Journal of International Relations* 11 (2): 171-201.

Basedau, Matthias, and Jan Pierskalla. 2014. 'How Ethnicity Conditions the Effect of Oil and Gas on Civil Conflict: A Spatial Analysis of Africa from 1990 to 2010.' *Political Geography* 38 (1): 1-11.

Basedau, Matthias, and Jann Lay. 2009. 'Resource Curse or Rentier Peace? The Ambiguous Effects of Oil Wealth and Oil Dependence on Violent Conflict.' *Journal of Peace Research* 757-776.

Beckingham, Charles Fraser. 1957. 'Islam and Turkish Nationalism in Cyprus.' *Die Welt des Islams* 5 (1): 65-83.

Bensted, Roland. 2011. 'A critique of Paul Collier's 'greed and grievance' thesis of civil war.' *African Security Review* 20 (3): 84-90.

Berdal, Mats. 2005. 'Beyond Greed and Grievance- and not too soon.' *Review of International Studies* 31: 687-698.

Bilgin, Mert. 2015. 'Turkey's Energy Strategy: Synchronizing Geopolitics and Foreign Policy with Energy Security.' *Insight Turkey* 17 (2): 67-81.

Braun, Bruce. 2006. 'Environmental Issues: Global Natures in the Space Assemblage.' *Progress in Human Geography* 30 (5): 644-654.

Brewer, Gene, Sally Selden, and Rex Facer. 2000. 'Individual Conceptions of Public Service Motivation.' *Public Administration Review* 60 (3): 254-264.

Brouwer, Marten. 1999. 'Q is accounting for tastes.' *Journal of Advertising Research* 39 (2): 35-39.

Brown, Steven. 1993. 'A primer on Q methodology.' *Operant Subjectivity* 16 (1): 91-138.

Brown, Steven, and Thomas Ungs. 1970. 'Representativeness and the Study of Political Behavior: An Application of Technique to Reactions to the Kent State Incident.' *Social Science Quarterly* 51 (3): 514-526.

Bryant, Rebecca. 2001. 'Justice or Respect? A Comparative Perspective on Politics in Cyprus,' *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24 (6), 892-924.

Bryant, Rebecca. 2008. 'Writing the Catastrophe: Nostalgia and Its Histories in Cyprus,' *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 26 (2): 399-422

Bryant, Rebecca. 2012. 'Partitions of Memory: Wounds and Witnessing in Cyprus.' *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 54 (2): 332-360.

Burke John (2019) 'Homes Lost in Conflict: Reframing the Familiar into New Sites of Memory and Identity on a Divided Island,' *History & Memory*, 31 (2): 155-182

Callahan, Kathe, Melvin J Dubnick, and Dorothy Olshfski. 2006. 'War Narratives: Framing Our Understanding of the War on Terror.' *Public Administration Review* 66 (4): 554-568.

Christou, George. 2010. 'The European Union, borders and conflict transformation.' *Cooperation and Conflict* 45 (1): 55-79.

Christou, George. 2012. 'The European Commission as an Actor in the Cyprus Conflict.' *Journal of European Integration* 35 (2): 117-133.

Christou, Odysseas, and Constantinos Adamides. 2013. 'Energy securitization and desecuritization in the New Middle East.' *Security Dialogue* 44 (6): 507-522.

Ciuta, Felix. 2010. 'Conceptual Notes on Energy Security: Total or Banal Security?' *Security Dialogue* 41 (3): 123-144.

Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler. 1998. 'On economic causes of civil war.' *Oxford Economic Papers* 50: 563-573.

Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler. 2002. 'On the Incidence of Civil War in Africa.' *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46 (1): 13-28.

Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. 'Greed and grievance in civil war.' *Oxford Economic Papers* 56: 563-595.

Companjen, Francoise. 2010. 'Nagorno-Karabakh – Embedded in Geopolitics.' *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae European and Regional Studies* 1 (2): 230-240.

Constantinou, Costas. 2010. 'Cypriot In-Dependence and the Problem of Sovereignty', *The Cyprus Review*, 22 (2), 17-33.

Correlje, Aad and Coby van der Linde. 2006. 'Energy supply security and geopolitics: A European perspective', in *Energy Policy*, 34 (5): 532-543

Demetriou, Olga. 2004. 'EU and the Cyprus Conflict.' *Working Papers Series in EU Border Conflicts Studies*.

DeRouen, Karl J. 1995. 'The indirect link: Politics, the economy, and the use of force.' *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 39 (4): 671-695.

Dryzek, John, and Jeffrey Berejikian. 1993. 'Reconstructive Democratic Theory.' *The American Political Science Review* 87 (1): 48-60.

Dryzek, John S. 1988. 'The Mismeasure of Political Man.' *The Journal of Politics* 50 (3): 705-725.

Ellingsen, Ingunn T., Ingunn Storksen, and Paul Stephens. 2010. 'Q methodology in social work research.' *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 13 (5): 395-409.

Ercan, Yilmaz Muzzafer. 2010. 'Past hurts and relational problems in the Cyprus Conflict.' *International Journal on World Peace* 27 (2): 35-62.

Erim, Nihat. 1974. 'Reminiscences on Cyprus.' *Dış politika* 4 (2-3): 156-163.

Erişen, Cengiz. (2013) Emotions as a Determinant in Turkish Political Behavior. *Turkish Studies*, 14 (1): 115-135

Faustmann , Hubert . 2006. 'The Role of Security Concerns in the Failure of the Annan Plan and in the Post-Annan Plan Period.' *Cyprus- a conflict at the crossroads*. Nicosia: ECPR. 1-23.

Fearon, James D. 1995. 'Rationalist Explanations for War 379-414.' *International Organization* 49 (3): 379-414.

Fearon, James D, and David D Laitin. 2003. 'Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War.' *American Political Science Review* 97 (1): 75-90.

Foster, Dennis M, and Jonathan W Keller. 2014. 'Leaders' Cognitive Complexity, Distrust, and the Diversionary Use of Force.' *Foreign Policy Analysis* 10 (4): 205-223.

Frynas, George, Geoffrey Wood, and Timothy Hinks. 2017. 'The resource curse without natural resources.' *African Affairs* 116 (463): 233-260.

Gates, Christianne. 2013. 'The "Turkish Minority in Cyprus: An Artificial identity?" he *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 41 (5): 870-886.

Gilpin, Robert. 1988. 'The Theory of Hegemonic War.' *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 18 (4): 591-613

Grieco, Joseph, Robert Powell, and Duncan Snidal. 1993. 'The Relative-Gains Problem for International Cooperation.' *The American Political Science Review* 87 (3): 727-743.

Grieco, Joseph. 1988. 'Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism.' *International Organization* 42 (3): 485-507.

Grigoriadis, Ioannis N. 2014. 'Energy Discoveries in the Eastern Mediterranean: Conflict or Cooperation?' *Middle East Policy* 21 (3): 124-133.

Gürel, Ayla and Laura Le Cornu. 2014. 'Can Gas Catalyse Peace in the Eastern Mediterranean?' *The International Spectator: Italian Journal of International Affairs* 49 (2): 11-33

Guzansky, Yoel. 2014. 'Israel's Periphery Doctrine 2.0: The Mediterranean Plus.' *Mediterranean Politics* 19 (1): 99-116.

Habermas, Jurgen. 1981. 'New Social Movements.' *Telos Press* 49 (1): 33-37.

Hadjipavlou, Maria. 2007. 'The Cyprus Conflict: Root Causes and Implications for Peacebuilding.' *Journal of Peace Research* 44 (3): 349-365.

Hatzivassiliou, Evanthis. 2009. 'Cold War Pressures, Regional Strategies, and Relative Decline: British Military and Strategic Planning for Cyprus, 1950-1960.' *Journal of Military History* 73 (4): 1143-1166.

Herz, John H. 1950. 'Idealist Internationalism and the Security Dilemma,' *World Politics*, 2 (2): 157-180

Humpreys, Macartan. 2005. 'Natural Resources, Conflict and Conflict Resolution: Uncovering the Mechanisms.' *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49 (4): 508-537.

Inbar, Efraim. 2001. 'Regional Implications of the Israeli-Turkish Strategic Partnership.' *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 5 (2): 48-65.

Jackson, Richard. 2007. 'Constructing Enemies: 'Islamic Terrorism' in Political and Academic Discourse,' *Government and Opposition*, 42 (3): 394-426

James, Patrick, and John R Oneal. 1991. 'The Influence of Domestic and International Politics on the President's Use of Force.' *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 35 (4): 307-332.

Jeffares, Stephen, and Chris Skelcher. 2011. 'Democratic Subjectivities in Network Governance: A Q-methodology Study.' *Public Administration* 89 (4): 1253-1273.

Jervis, Robert. 1978. 'Cooperation under Security Dilemma.' *World Politics* 30 (2): 167-214

Johnson, Edward. 2000. 'Britain and the Cyprus problem at the United Nations, 1954-1958.' *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 28 (3): 113-130.

Johnson, Douglas H. 2012. 'The Heglig oil dispute between Sudan and South Sudan.' *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 6 (3): 561-569.

Johnston, Pamela, and Stanley Feldman. 1984. 'How people organize the political world: A schematic model.' *American Journal of Political Science* 28 (1): 95-126.

Joseph, Joseph S. 2009. 'Cyprus: Domestic Ethnopolitical Conflict and International Politics.' *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 15 (3-4): 376-397.

İşeri, Emre and Panagiotis Andrikopoulos. 2013. 'Energy Geopolitics of the Eastern Mediterranean: Will Aphrodite's Lure Fuel Peace in Cyprus?'. *Middle Eastern Analysis* 5 (51): 37-46.

Kahveci Özgür, Hayriye 2017. 'Eastern Mediterranean Hydrocarbons: Regional Potential, Challenges Ahead, and the 'Hydrocarbon-ization' of the Cyprus Problem.' *Perceptions* 12 (2-3): 31-56.

Kaliber, Alper. 2005. 'Securing the Ground through securitized 'Foreign Policy': The Cyprus case,' *Security Dialogue* 36 (3): 319-337.

Kanra, Bora, and Selen Ayirtman Ercan. 2012. 'Negotiating Difference in a Muslim Society: A Longitudinal Study of Islamic and Secular Discourses in Turkey.' *Digest of Middle East Studies* 21 (1): 69-88.

Karakasis, Vasileios P. 2019. 'The 2017 incidents in the Aegean and Turkish foreign policy: using Q-methodology to examine Greek viewpoints.' *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 19(3): 451-472

Karyotis, Theodore. 2011. 'Hydrocarbons and the Law of the Sea in the Eastern Mediterranean: Implications for Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey.' *Mediterranean Quarterly* 22 (2): 45-56.

Kaymak, Erol. 2012. 'If at first you don't succeed, try, try again: (Re)designing referenda to ratify a peace treaty.' *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 18 (1): 88-112

Ker-Lindsay, James. 2007. 'The European Union as a Catalyst for Conflict Resolution: Lessons from Cyprus on the limits of conditionality.' *Helen Bamber Centre for the Study of Rights and Conflict*, April 1.

Khadduri, Walid. 2012. 'Eastern Mediterranean Gas: Opportunities and challenges.' *Mediterranean Politics* 17 (1): 111-117.

Khan, Islam M.Z. 2016. 'Beyond Greed or Grievance Theory – What Explains Civil War?.' *Peace and Security Review* 7 (15): 26-49.

Klapisis, Antonis. 2013. 'The Strategic Importance of Cyprus and the Prospect of Union with Greece, 1919-1931: The Greek Perspective.' *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 41 (5): 765-782.

Kontos, Michalis and George Bitsis. 2018. 'Power Games in the Exclusive Economic Zone of the Republic of Cyprus: The Trouble with Turkey's Coercive Diplomacy.' *The Cyprus Review* 30 (1): 51-70.

Laffey, Mark and Jutta, Weldes. 1997. 'Beyond belief: Ideas and Symbolic Technologies in the Study of International Relations.' *European Journal of International Relations* 3 (2): 193-237

Law, John. 1999. 'After ANT: Complexity, Naming and Topology.' *The Sociological Review* 47 (1): 1-14.

Le Billon, Philippe. 2001. 'The political ecology of war: natural resources and armed conflicts.' *Political Geography* 20 (5): 561-584.

Leigh, James, and Predrag Vucovic. 2011. 'A Geopolitics of Cyprus.' *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 15 (4): 1-14.

Levy, Jack S. 1988. 'Domestic Politics and War.' *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18 (4): 653-673.

Loizides, Neophytos G. 2007. 'Ethnic Nationalism and Adaptation in Cyprus.' *International Studies Perspectives* 8 (2): 172-189.

Mackinder, Halford John. 1904. 'Geographical Pivot of History.' *The Geographical Journal* 23 (4): 421-437.

Mearsheimer, John J. 1994. 'The False Promise of International Institutions.' *International Security* 19 (3): 5-49.

Melander, Erik. 2001. 'The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict Revisited: Was the War Inevitable?' *Journal of Cold War Studies* 3 (2): 48-75.

Miller, Ross A. 1995. 'Domestic structures and the Diversionary Use of Force.' *American Journal of Political Science* 39 (3): 760-785.

Milliken, Jennifer. 1999. 'The Study of Discourse in International Relations:: A Critique of Research and Methods.' *European Journal of International Relations* 5 (2): 225-254.

- Mitchell, Sara McLaughlin, and Brandon C Prins. 2004. 'Rivalry and diversionary uses of force.' *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48 (6): 937-961.
- Morag, Nadav. 2004. 'Cyprus and the Clash of Greek and Turkish Ethnic Politics.' *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 4 (1): 1-20.
- Morelli, Massimo, and Dominic Rohner. 2015. 'Resource Concentration and Civil Wars.' *Journal of Development Economics* 117 (1): 32-47.
- Morgan, Clifton T, and Kenneth N Bickers. 1992. 'Domestic Discontent and the External Use of Force.' *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 36 (1): 25-32.
- Murshed, Syed Mansoob, and Mohammad Zulfan Tadjoeeddin. 2009. 'Revisiting the Greed and Grievance Explanations for Violent Internal Conflict.' *Journal of International Development* 21 (1): 87-111.
- Muth, John F. 1961. 'Rational Expectations and the theory of price movements.' *Econometrica* 29: 315-335.
- Niedzialkowski, Krzysztof, Ewa Komar, Agata Pietrzyk-Kaszynska, Agnieszka Olszanska, and Malgorzata Grodzinska-Jurczak. 2018. 'Discourses on Public Participation in Protected Areas Governance: Application of Q-Methodology in Poland.' *Ecological Economics* 145: 401-409.
- O'Connor, Karl. 2017. 'What are the ideas and motivations of bureaucrats within a religiously contested society?' *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 83 (1): 63-84
- Ó Tuathail, Gearoid, and John Agnew. 1992. 'Geopolitics and Discourse: Practical Geopolitical Reasoning in American Foreign Policy.' *Political Geography* 11 (2): 190-204.
- Papadakis, Yannis. 2003. 'Nation, Narrative and Commemoration: Political Ritual in Divided Cyprus', *History and Anthropology*, 14(3), 253-270.
- Paraschos, Peter. 2013. 'Offshore Energy in the Levant Basin: Leaders, Laggards, and Spoilers.' *Mediterranean Quarterly* 24 (1): 38-56.
- Powell, Robert. 1991. 'Absolute and Relative Gains in International Relations Theory.' *The American Political Science Review* 85 (4): 1303-1320.
- Prontera, Andrea, and Mariusz Ruszel. 2017. 'Energy Security in the Eastern Mediterranean.' *Middle East Policy* 24 (3): 145-162.

Proedrou, Filippou. 2014. 'Reconceptualising the Energy and Security Complex in the Eastern Mediterranean', *The Cyprus Review* 24(2): 15-28.

Putnam, Robert. 1988. 'Diplomacy and domestic politics: the logic of two-level games.' *International Organization* 42 (3): 427-460.

Richmond, Oliver P. (1999), 'Ethno-nationalism, Sovereignty, and Negotiating Positions in the Cyprus Conflict: Obstacles to a Settlement', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 35(3), 42-63.

Robbins, Simon. 2012. 'The British counter-insurgency in Cyprus.' *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 23 (4): 720-743.

Ross, Michael. 2006. 'A closer look at oil, diamonds and civil war.' *Annual Review of Political Science* 9: 265-300.

Russett, Bruce M. 1981. 'Security and the resources scramble.' *International Affairs* 58 (1): 42-58.

Sakkas, John, and M Zhukova. 2013. 'The Soviet Union, Turkey and the Cyprus Problem.' *Les cahiers Irice* 1 (10): 123-135.

Sambanis, Nicholas. 2004. 'What Is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition.' *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48 (6): 814-858.

Schmidt, Vivian. 2008. 'Discursive Institutionalism: The Explanatory Power of Ideas and Discourse.' *Annual Review of Political Science* 11 (1): 303-326.

Schweller, Randall. 1994. 'Bandwagoning for Profit: Bringing the Revisionist State Back In', *International Security*, 19 (1): 72-107

Shaffer, Brenda. 2011. 'Israel: New Natural Gas Producer in the Mediterranean.' *Energy Policy* 38 (6): 5379-5387.

Shaffer, Brenda. 2013. 'Natural gas supply stability and foreign policy.' *Energy Policy* 56 (2): 114-125.

Shafir, Eldar, Itamar Simonson, and Amos Tversky. 1993. 'Reason-based Choice.' *Cognition*, 49 (1-2): 11-36

Silvius, Gilbert. A., Martin Kampinga, Silvana Paniagoua and Herman Mooi. 2017. 'Considering sustainability in project management decision making; An investigation using Q-methodology.' *International Journal of Project Management* 35 (6): 1130-1150.

- Sirin, Cigdem. 2012. 'Examining the role of identity in decision making: the case of Cyprus', in *International Journal of Conflict Management*, 23 (4): 413-439
- Sitilides, John. 2014. 'Modern Geopolitics of the Cyprus Question.' *Mediterranean Quarterly* 25 (1): 77-94.
- Singer, J. David. 1961. 'The Level of Analysis Problem in International Relations.' *World Politics* 14 (1): 77-92.
- Snidal, Duncan. 1985. 'The limits of Hegemonic Stability Theory.' *International Organization* 39 (4): 579-614
- Snidal, Duncan. 1991. 'International Cooperation among Relative Gains Maximizers.' *International Studies Quarterly* 35 (4): 387-402.
- Sözen, Ahmet and Kudret Özersay. 2007. 'The Annan Plan: State Succession or Continuity', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 43 (1): 125-141.
- Stergiou, Andreas. 2016. 'Turkey-Cyprus-Israel relations and the Cyprus conflict.' *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 18 (4): 375-392.
- Steunenberg, Bernard, Simay Petek, and Christiane Ruth. 2011. 'Between Reason and Emotion: Popular Discourses on Turkey's membership of the EU.' *South European Society and Politics* 16 (3): 449-468.
- Stocker, James. 2012. 'No EEZ Solution: The Politics of Oil and Gas in the Eastern Mediterranean.' *Middle East Journal* 66 (4): 579-597.
- Stuart, Douglas, and Harvey Starr. 1982. 'The Inherent Bad Faith Model Reconsidered: Dulles, Kennedy, and Kissinger.' *Political Psychology* 3 (1): 1-33.
- Sullivan, John L, Amy Fried, and Mary G Dietz. 1992. 'Patriotism, Politics, and the Presidential Election of 1988.' *American Journal of Political Science* 36 (1): 200-234.
- Tang, Shiping, Yihan Xiong, and Hui Li. 2017. 'Does Oil Cause Ethnic War? Comparing Evidence from Process-tracing with Quantitative Results.' *Security Studies* 26 (3): 359-390.
- Tsakiris, Theodoros. 2017. 'Cyprus' Natural Gas Strategy: Geopolitical and Economic Preconditions.' *Mediterranean Quarterly* 28 (1): 29-57.
- Tucker, R. 1965. 'The Dictator and Totalitarianism.' *World Politics* 17 (5): 555-583.

- Tuncalp, Emre. 2015. 'Turkey's Natural Gas Strategy: Balancing Geopolitical Goals & Market Realities.' *Turkish Policy Quarterly* 14 (3): 67-79.
- Tundander, Ola. 2001. 'Swedish-German geopolitics for a new century: Rudolf Kjellén's 'The State as a Living Organism.' *Review of International Studies* 27 (3): 451-463.
- Tziarras, Zenon. 2016. 'Israel-Cyprus-Greece: a 'Comfortable' Quasi-Alliance.' *Mediterranean Politics* 21 (3): 407-427.
- Uluğ, Ö M, and J C Cohrs. 2016. 'An exploration of lay people's Kurdish conflict frames in Turkey.' *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 22 (2): 109-119.
- Uluğ, Özden M, and Christopher J Cohrs. 2017. 'How do experts differ from politicians in understanding a conflict? A comparison of Track I and Track II actors.' *Conflict Resolution Quarterly* 35 (2): 147-172.
- Vallacher, R, P Coleman, A Nowak, and A Bui-Wrzosinska. 2010. 'Rethinking intractable conflict: the perspective of dynamical systems.' *American Psychology* 65 (4): 262-278.
- van Eijk, Carola, Trui Steen, and Bram Verschuere. 2017. 'Co-producing safety in the local community: A Q-methodology study on the incentives of Belgian and Dutch members of neighbourhood watch schemes.' *Local Government Studies* 43 (3): 323-343.
- Varnava, Andrekos. 2010. 'Cyprus Review.' *Reinterpreting Macmillan's Cyprus Policy, 1957-1960* 22 (1): 79-106.
- Volkan, Vamık D. 2008. 'Trauma, Identity and Search for a Solution in Cyprus.' *Insight Turkey* 10 (3): 95-110.
- Vuori, Juha A. 2008. 'Illocutionary Logic and Strands of Securitization: Applying the Theory of Securitization to the Study of Non-Democratic Political Orders.' *European Journal of International Relations* 14 (1): 65-99.
- Weller, Nicholas, and Jeb Barnes. 2014. 'Pathway Analysis and the Search for Causal Mechanisms.' *Sociological Methods & Research* (1): 1.
- Wendt, Alexander E. 1987. 'The agent-structure problem in international relations theory.' *International Organization* 41 (3): 335-370.
- Wendt, Alexander E. 1992. 'Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics.' *International Organization* 46 (2): 391-425

- Williams, Michael. 2003. 'Words, images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics.' *International Studies Quarterly*, 47 (4): 511-531.
- Winrow, Gareth. 2016. 'The Anatomy of a Possible Pipeline: The Case of Turkey and Leviathan and Gas Politics in the Eastern Mediterranean.' *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 18 (5): 431-447.
- Yilmaz, Muzzafer Ercan. 2010. 'Past hurts and relational problems in the Cyprus Conflict.' *International Journal on World Peace* 27 (2): 35-62.
- Yarwood, Dean L, and Dan D Nimmo. 1976. 'The Role Approach to Participation and Administration Behavior.' *Policy Studies Journal* 5 (1): 41-50.
- Zabala, Aiora, and Unai Pascual. 2016. 'Bootstrapping Q-Methodology to Improve the Understanding of Human Perspectives,' *PLOS One* 11 (2).
- Zabala, Aiora. 2014. 'qmethod: A Package to Explore Human Perspectives Using Q-Methodology.' *The R Journal* 6 (2): 163-173.
- Zartman, William I. 2001. 'The Timing of Peace Initiatives: Hurting Stalemates and Ripe Moments.' *Global Review of Ethnopolitics* 1 (1): 8-18.
- Zartman, William I. 2011. 'Greed and Grievance: Methodological and Epistemological Underpinnings of the Debate.' *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 11 (2): 298-307

