

**Scottish Institute for Policing Research / Police Scotland  
Postgraduate Symposium**

*30 June 2015, Room 2S12, The Dalhousie Building, University of Dundee*

**Security Deficit, Communalisation  
of the Monopoly of Violence and  
Polity-Building in Cyprus during  
the 1963-64 Crisis**

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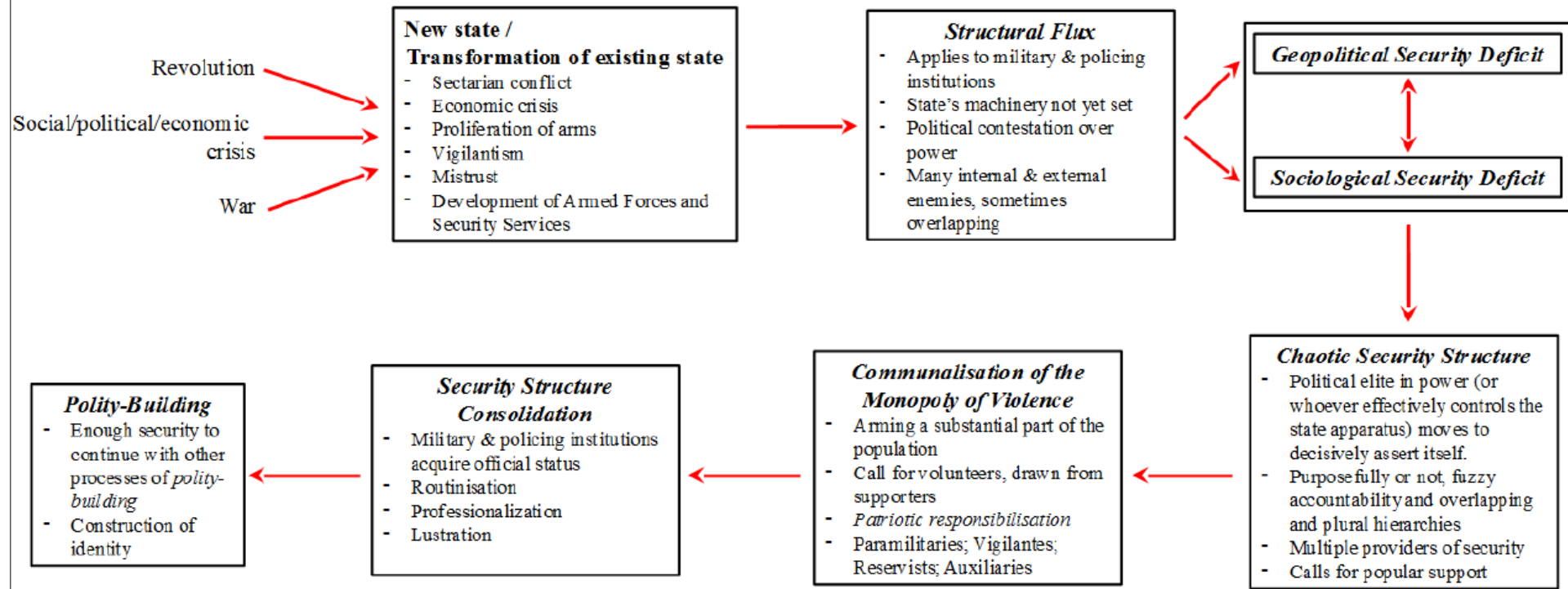
## Methodology

- **Interdisciplinary approach:** Research elements from Criminology, Sociology, History and Political Science
- **Construction of micro-theory**, production of limited generalisations and patterns.
- **Sources of data:**
  - a) Historical literature
  - b) Archives (The National Archives, Cyprus State Archive)
  - c) Press (newspaper, audiovisual)
  - d) Semi-structured interviews

———→  
("intermediary approach" developed in the process:  
Petkov, M.P. & Kaoullas, L.G. (2015) "Overcoming Respondent  
Resistance Using an Intermediary, *Qualitative Research*, forthcoming)



# Overview of the Conceptual & Theoretical Framework



1. **PROBLEM:** crisis → structural flux → security deficit
2. **RESPONSE:** chaotic security structure → communalisation of the monopoly of violence → paramilitary formations → patriotic responsabilisation
3. **AFTERMATH:** security structure consolidation
4. **OUTCOME:** polity-building

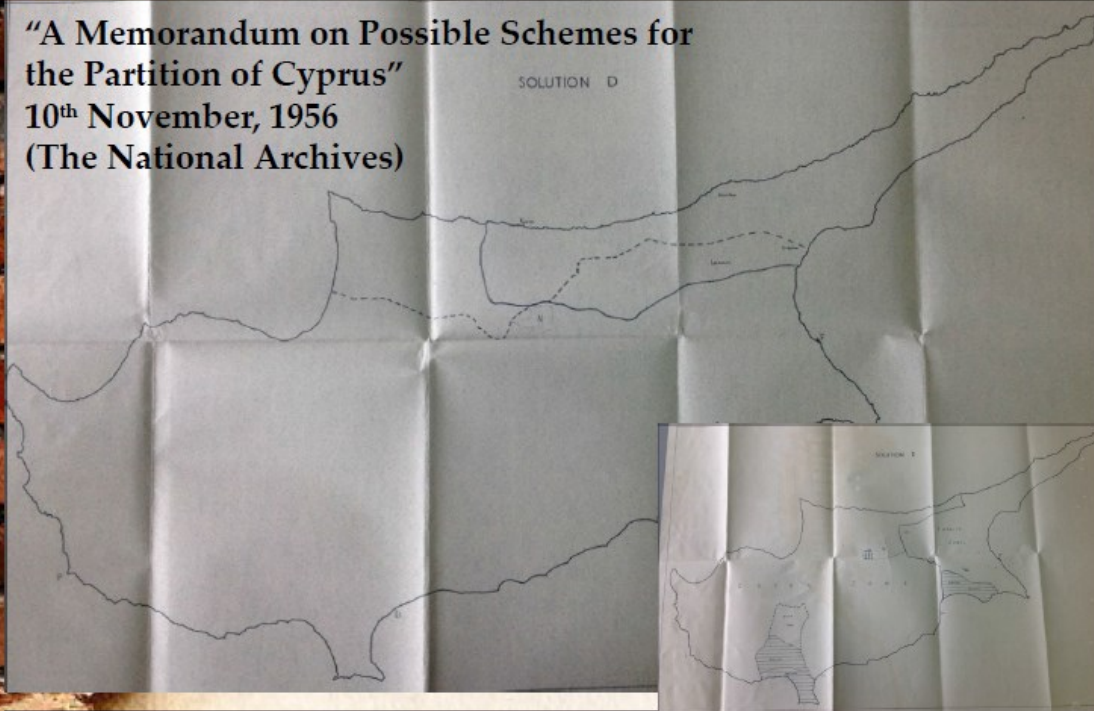


# Structural Flux & Security Deficit

*Geopolitical Security Deficit*

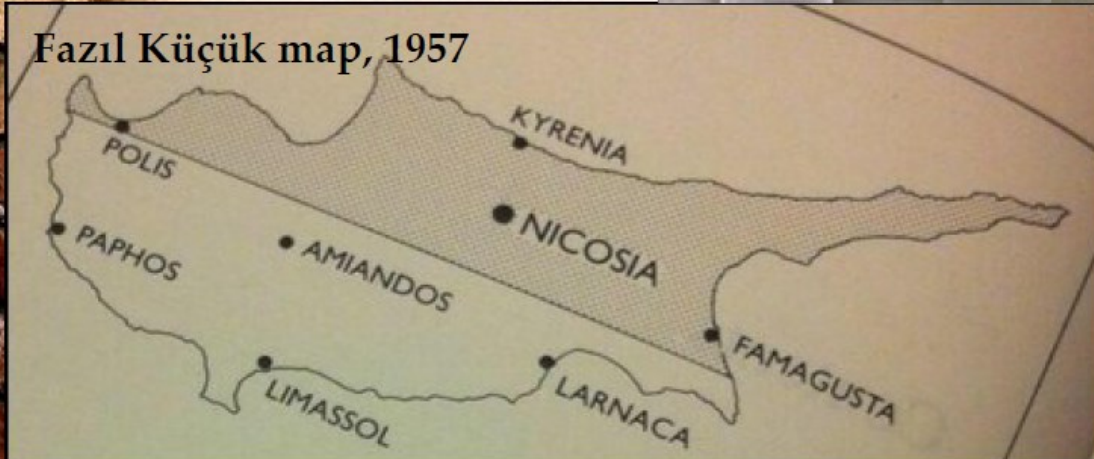
*Sociological Security Deficit*

"A Memorandum on Possible Schemes for  
the Partition of Cyprus"  
10<sup>th</sup> November, 1956  
(The National Archives)



Rauf Denktaş, President of the  
Turkish Communal Chamber and  
political leader of TMT in 1964

Fazıl Küçük map, 1957



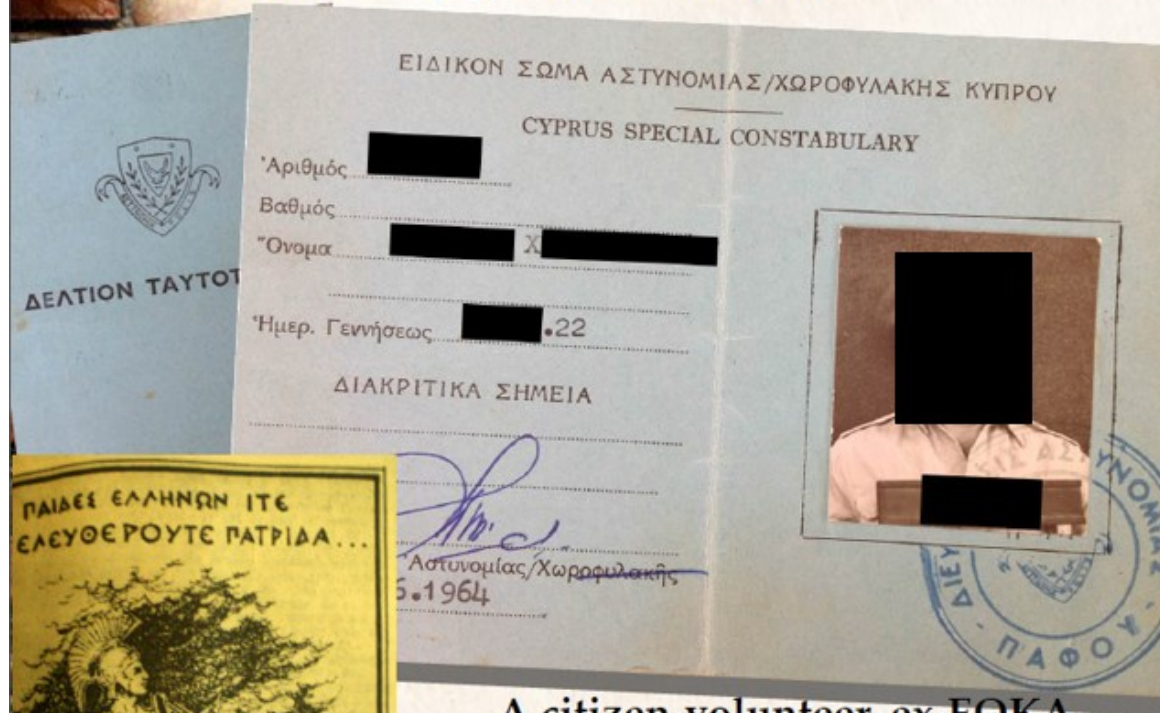


## Chaotic Security Structure





## Communalisation of the Monopoly of Violence & Paramilitary Formations



A citizen-volunteer, ex-EOKA member, with a "Cyprus Special Constabulary" identity card in Pafos

*Haravgi* (16/06/1964), official newspaper of AKEL (Communist Party) calling for youth to join the National Guard



President Archbishop **Makarios** with volunteers of the Lyssarides omádha in Pentadaktylos, 1964



# Comparative Knowledge & Applicability



*Freikorps, Germany (Weimar Republic), 1919-1933*



*Mahal (volunteers from abroad), Israel, 1947-1949*



*Alsa Masa, Philippines, 1987*

*Azov Battalion, Ukraine 2014-2015*





# Thank you!



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