

The Placement of Cypriot Embassies and Embassy Staff: Power, the EU, and Overseas Cypriots

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Abstract

The intention of the paper is to gain an understanding of the nature and logic of investments by the Republic of Cyprus in embassies and staff for embassies abroad. A statistical model with 179 countries has been used to determine whether attributes thought to be linked with the allocation of resources for foreign policy, are consistent with actual allocations in 2012. The statistical model demonstrates that power and European Union membership play a substantial role in the allocation of Cypriot resources for embassies abroad. Moreover, the statistical models indicate that Commonwealth membership plays no role whatsoever in the allocation of resources in embassies abroad, although there are mixed outcomes for some of the other attributes hypothesised to be linked with the allocation of embassies and human resources overseas. The findings of interviews also give additional insight into other aspects of the allocation of embassies and resources.

Keywords: foreign policy, Cyprus problem, embassies, overseas Cypriots, diplomacy

Introduction

Embassies are important to states, for security, the economy, democracy, and the conduct of foreign policy (Dorman, 2011). Because few countries in the world have the resources to establish an embassy in every country in the world, states allocate embassies based upon some sort of logic and not a random allocation pattern. For the Republic of Cyprus (RoC), the decision of where to place its diplomatic resources is an interesting proposition that has been investigated in Webster (2001a). What is curious is that Cyprus, relative to its size, has a considerable number of embassies abroad. For example, Estonia, a country with about four hundred thousand people more than Cyprus, has fifteen fewer embassies than Cyprus with forty-seven. And Iceland, a country with less than half of the RoC's population has only sixteen embassies. So, as a country with a small population, it seems that its investment in embassies abroad is disproportionate to its size, when compared to some other small countries, almost definitely in response to the Cyprus problem and the need for the RoC to ensure substantial external support to solve the Cyprus problem. It is the intent of this research to investigate the logic and the background to the investment of resources that are made available in Cyprus for embassies abroad.

In this research, the authors explore the logic used in terms of allocation of Cypriot embassies and embassy staff overseas. To do this, two different yet complimentary methods are employed. A

rigorous statistical model is used which is an improvement on the model used by Webster (2001a), incorporating an additional dependent variable as well as new independent variables. Furthermore, interviews are carried out with people who are knowledgeable about Cypriot foreign policy with the aim of pursuing and assimilating the perceptions of the role of the embassy and the ways in which the bureaucratic processes function within the foreign policy establishment in order to gain an understanding of how embassies and human resources are allocated for the RoC.

What follows is a full investigation of the nature and logic of the RoC's allocation of resources abroad for embassies. The study begins with a literature review, which focuses on the literature relating to the allocation of embassies abroad for the RoC and other countries. The authors examine previous models with the intention to build an improved model to that which has been prepared previously; one that gives more insight into the allocation of resources for embassies by the RoC. The authors then perform a series of statistical tests, to clarify which arguments for the allocation of resources seem to be supported by the empirical findings. Following on from this, the authors consider the findings of interviews to detect whether the interviews can shed further light into the RoC's allocation of resources for its foreign policy. The authors then integrate and compare the results of the two different approaches to the question of the allocation of diplomatic resources abroad for the RoC. To end with, the authors integrate the information to illustrate what has been learned and how the research can be improved in order to become more proficient in their understanding of the foreign policy of the RoC in the future.

Embassy Location in the Literature

While embassies play a vital role in the practice of foreign policy, little research has been undertaken to date to investigate the role of embassies in foreign policy. However, in recent years some authors have placed the embassy at the centre of their research (see, for example, Hocking and Lee, 2006; Guenova, 2012; Samokhvalov, 2013). In terms of probing the placement of embassies and the logic of their placement, there is some research that has been done (Webster, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c and Webster and Ivanov, 2007, 2008). What is noteworthy of the research on the placement of embassies is that secondary data is utilised to explore the notion of why countries invest in embassies in other countries. Overall, the findings of the research on the topic exemplify that states generally invest in powerful countries and countries that are nearby. But there are other features that seem to influence the investment in embassies, in some cases, as the literature illustrates.

In the most comprehensive work on this topic, Webster (2001b) performed logistic regression for five Commonwealth countries (Australia, Bangladesh, Canada, Cyprus and Kenya) to determine if Commonwealth membership plays a role in the placement of embassies and high commissions¹ abroad. In this earlier research, the dependent variable was the presence of an

1 A 'high commission' is an embassy of one Commonwealth member in another Commonwealth member country.

embassy in another country for the five Commonwealth countries considered for the analysis. Explanatory variables used to quantify how these five countries would measure the value of dyadic relationships with other countries were; power, geography and Commonwealth membership. The findings of this research highlighted the importance of power and geography in the allocation of embassies and high commissions abroad, while the Commonwealth membership seemed to play a role only for Kenya. The findings support the notion that countries tend to place embassies in countries that are powerful and nearby. Therefore, the conclusions emphasised that realist and geopolitical approaches seem to underscore the placement of embassies abroad for most countries, although there were indications that some cultural aspects might also be important. Webster (2001c) did similar work on Canada and the outcomes for this particular country showed that the measure of power and membership in the Francophonie were the variables best correlated to the allocation of Canadian embassies.

In a later work, Webster and Ivanov (2007) explored the considerations that seem to play a role in the location of embassies abroad for Romania and Bulgaria. Due to the political and social similarities of Romania and Bulgaria (aspiring EU members at the time, Communist legacy, and Orthodox Christian populations), the authors expected that the countries would likewise have comparisons in their foreign policy too, as expressed in where they place embassies. By setting the existence of a Romanian or Bulgarian embassy in a country as the dependent variable, the research team used five independent variables in order to investigate the logic by which Romania and Bulgaria allocated their embassies abroad; power, Balkan states, Orthodoxy, European Union (EU) member states and Communist legacy. The model managed to predict correctly about 88% of the placement of the Bulgarian and the Romanian embassies. What was interesting to discover was that despite their political and social similarities, Bulgaria and Romania located their embassies using a slightly different logic. Romania located embassies strategically so that communications with EU members and powerful states were facilitated, whereas Bulgaria appeared to locate embassies in those countries with a Communist legacy, in powerful states and those with an Orthodox population. Moreover, Romania did not seem to favour embassies in Orthodox Christian countries. The common element between the two countries was that neither of them seemed to favour countries in the Balkan Peninsula and both countries favoured embassies placed in powerful states.

In another work focusing only on Cyprus, Webster (2001a) investigated the placement of Cypriot embassies using secondary data and explored the possible concerns that might be correlated with the placement of Cyprus' embassies abroad. Power, EU membership, Middle East region countries, Christian Orthodoxy and British Commonwealth membership were set as the independent variables to be explored in this way. The logistic regressions demonstrated that Cyprus allocates its embassies in powerful countries as well as in EU countries and correctly classified 87% of the placements of embassies for 149 countries. The findings emphasised that countries located in the Middle East region and countries with Christian Orthodox population,

were more likely to host a Cypriot embassy. This Cyprus-specific work exemplified that the presence of a Cyprus embassy abroad was linked first and foremost with power, EU membership, location, and Orthodox civilisation.

The research, as a whole, has illustrated that countries place embassies consistently in the most powerful countries in the world. Yet, there are other features that also seem to play a role in the placement of embassies for many countries. So, to examine how particular countries disseminate their embassies abroad, a general model using power as an independent variable to condition the likelihood of the placement of embassies should be used in conjunction with attributes designed with the particular strategic, cultural, economic, and historical concerns of a country in mind.

The previous research on the allocation of embassies plays a major role in guiding this research to enable us to better understand how the RoC disseminates its embassies abroad. The former work on embassies used only one approach – logistic regressions using secondary data – in order to observe how countries disseminate embassies. Thus, in this work, interviews with people with knowledge of Cypriot foreign policy are used to supplement the use of secondary data.

In terms of improving upon the statistical model used previously to indicate how Cyprus disseminates its embassies abroad, there are several progressions that this investigation includes to develop the earlier work. First, additional independent variables are added in order to properly model the possible influences upon the placement of Cypriot embassies abroad (trade relationships, Non-Aligned Movement, and overseas Cypriots). Second, two different measures of power are employed, as Gross Domestic Product (GDP) or Gross National Product (GNP) measures may largely reflect a purely economic vision of the power of countries. Third, two different dependent variables are used; one a dichotomous variable determining whether an embassy is placed in a particular country or not, and another to denote the size of the embassy. The use of an improved statistical model with new independent variables, an additional dependent variable, and a new measure of power, should assist in shedding more light into the logic behind the dissemination of embassies and resources abroad.

Statistical Model and Data

Consistent with previous research (Webster, 2001a), multiple regressions are used to investigate the statistical correlates of Cypriot embassies abroad, with many of the same variables being used. That said, in certain cases, some variations and improvements have been made to the model used by Webster (2001a). Table 1 summarises the concepts and how these concepts have been operationalised in the analysis.

Table 1: Concepts, Operationalisation, and Hypothesised Relationships

Concept	Measure (Level of Measurement)	Hypothesised Relationship with the Dependent Variable (Cyprus Embassies)
Embassy	Presence of embassy (nominal), Number of civil servants stationed in an embassy abroad (interval)	NA
Power	GDP (interval) and Composite Index of National Capabilities (CINC) (ratio)	Positive
EU member	EU member (nominal)	Positive
Commonwealth member	Commonwealth member (nominal)	Positive
Non-Aligned Movement member	Non-Aligned Movement member (nominal)	Positive
Proximity	Middle East countries (nominal)	Positive
Trade	Trade partners (nominal)	Positive
Orthodox Population	Per cent of population adhering to Orthodox Christianity (ratio)	Positive
Overseas Cypriots	Overseas Cypriots (nominal)	Positive
Organisation of Islamic Cooperation	Organisation Member (nominal)	Positive

Dependent Variables: Embassies and the Number of Civil Servants

The purpose of this analysis is to learn about the dissemination of the Cypriot state’s resources abroad. To do this, two different dependent variables are used to measure the importance of the dyad between the Cypriot state and another state, one variable indicates the presence of an embassy and the other specifies the number of civil servants sent to Cypriot embassies abroad. Having two different dependent variables enables the research to envision the Cypriot investment abroad in an embassy as measured in a dichotomous way and at the interval-level, showing a variation in the amount of resources dedicated to particular missions abroad. Though Webster (2001a) in his earlier work was not able to access the number of civil servants working in Cypriot embassies abroad, such data became available for this research.

The presence of an embassy in a country is measured at the nominal level – those countries with a Cypriot embassy are coded with ‘1’ to denote presence of an embassy in the country whereas ‘0’ is used for those without an embassy. The number of civil servants sent to embassies abroad is

measured at the interval-level. The RoC operates forty-five embassies abroad (Holy See and Palestine are excluded). The information gathered refers to embassies operating in 2012 and to the number of civil servants sent to embassies during that same year, based on data supplied from the Cypriot Ministry of Foreign Affairs. There are 179 countries in the analysis.

Independent Variables

Power

For this work, two different indicators of power are used, GDP and the Correlates of War project's Composite Index of National Capability (hereafter CINC). The use of GDP as an independent variable is consistent with the method of quantifying power used by Webster (2001a). While measuring the size of an economy is one method of measuring the power of a country, there are, arguably, better ways available. CINC is a standard indicator of the 'power' of countries and is often used by International Relations scholars. It calculates the amount of power that a country has in the international system, as a percentage of all the power that is available in the system, as explained by Singer, Bremer, and Stuckey (1972). In contrast to GDP, it focuses on concepts that are more salient to the perception of true state power (Heckman, 2009). Thus, it is composed of an average of percentages of world totals of six different sub indicators (total population, urban population, iron and steel production, primary energy consumption, military expenditure, and military personnel). As opposed to using the GDP of countries to model how powerful countries are, CINC takes economic, demographic, and military factors into account.

In this analysis, the authors use both GDP and CINC. The GDP data were compiled by the International Monetary Fund for 2011 and are reported in US dollars. Due to the Syrian civil war, the data used for Syria are for 2010. According to these data, the five most powerful countries in the world are the USA, China, Japan, Germany and France. The CINC data are derived from the Correlates of War official website (using version 4.0 of the National Material Capabilities dataset) and are for 2007 (data are available only from 1816–2007). As specified by the data, the five most powerful countries in the world are China, USA, India, Japan and Russia. So while the two indicators for power are different, there appears to be significant overlap. In both cases, a natural log of the GDP and CINC indicators of power were used, as the irregular distribution of the data would otherwise cause serious statistical problems in the analysis.

Additionally, it may be considered that permanent members of the UN's Security Council can be judged the measure of powerful states, since their impact is qualitatively greater based upon holding a permanent seat in the Council. In order to test this proposition, a correlation was run to test how different these two measures of power are relative to permanent members of the Security Council. The data show high levels of correlation ($r=.673$ for GDP and $r=.687$ for CINC). What the data suggest are that much of the variation of power in the analysis is explained by the

permanent members of the Security Council. Nonetheless, for collinearity concerns, placing the nominal indicator for these Security Council members in a regression with one of the other measures of power would create significant insurmountable technical problems in multiple regressions.

EU Members

It may be expected that EU members will be more likely to host Cypriot embassies and be appointed with more staff than non-EU members. There are 27 members in the EU included in the dataset.² The concept is measured at the nominal level; the EU members are coded with '1' while non-members are coded with '0', consistent with previous research on Cyprus (Webster, 2001a).

Commonwealth of Nations

It is expected that Cyprus would prefer to allocate its embassies and high commissions in Commonwealth member countries. Currently, there are 54 member countries in the Commonwealth from which 50 are included in the dataset (Nauru, St Christopher, St Lucia and, St Vincent and the Grenadines are excluded due to other missing data). The concept of the Commonwealth of Nations is designated at the nominal level. The country-members of the Commonwealth are denoted with '1' whereas '0' represents non-members, consistent with previous research on Cyprus (Webster, 2001a).

Non-Aligned Movement

It is expected that Cyprus will have a bias in favour of Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) members. The reason is that historically, Cyprus played an active role in the NAM. Today, the movement counts 120 members and 17 observers. The data come from the official website of the Sixteenth Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). The concept of the Non-Aligned Movement is designated at the nominal level. The country-members are denoted with '1' while '0' represents non-members. Although this variable is an innovation that was not incorporated into the research by Webster (2001a), it is incorporated into the analysis to determine whether historical and current links with other countries via the NAM play a role in conditioning the consideration for where Cypriot embassies should be located.

2 As data were for 2012, only those members of the EU at the time were noted as being members.

Proximity (Middle East Region)

It is anticipated that Cyprus will seek to have representation and more staff in countries of the Middle East region. Currently, 19 countries are reported as 'Middle East countries', in the CIA's World Fact Book list (CIA's World Factbook official website, 2012a). For this analysis, the Middle East countries are coded with '1' while the remaining countries of the world are coded with '0' (the concept is measured at the nominal level). This variable is incorporated to be consistent with previous research on Cyprus (Webster, 2001a).

Trade

There is the expectation that those countries with which Cyprus maintains significant trade relationships will lead to a favouring in terms of the allocations of embassies and diplomatic resources. The data were supplied by the Cypriot Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism official website and are for 2011. Several countries are denoted as major trading partners and are divided into 6 groups; the EU group, the Middle and Near East group, the other Asian countries group, the other European countries group, the North America group and the rest of the world group. The EU group is by far the most important market area for Cyprus. On a country basis, the major markets during 2010 were Greece, Germany, the United Kingdom, Italy, Israel, Lebanon, China, Russia, India and the Netherlands. The data, which are reported in Euros, are available only for each group of countries and not for each country separately. For example, although it is indicated that for 2011 almost €358 million of the Cypriot domestic exports were absorbed by the EU group, the share of each EU country-member in this total is not available. For this reasoning, the concept of trade uses an indicator at the nominal level instead of the ratio level. As a consequence, the countries in which the RoC has significant trade relationships are coded with '1' while '0' is used to denote the countries that Cyprus does not maintain any significant trade relationships. Despite data limitations, a nominal figure is used, expanding upon the model used in Webster's (2001a) research.

Culture (Orthodoxy)

Countries with large Orthodox populations, it is anticipated, will be more likely to host a Cypriot embassy and more staff, as Webster (2001a) discovered in his research. The data were found in the CIA's World Fact Book and from the Russian Orthodox Church of Three Saints official website (2012b). For the purpose of this analysis, the concept of Christian Orthodoxy includes all its regional forms (e.g. Greek Orthodox, Russian Orthodox, Serbian Orthodox, and Ukrainian Orthodox). Coptic Christians are also classified as Orthodox Christians. The concept is measured at the ratio level representing the percentage of the population adhering to Orthodoxy. The code '0' is used to denote the countries that have no significant Orthodox Christian population. This

variable is incorporated to be consistent with previous research (Webster, 2001a) on Cyprus.

Overseas Cypriots

Cyprus, it is expected, will choose to place embassies and send more staff to countries with a significant number of overseas Cypriots. For the purpose of this analysis, the concept is measured at the nominal level and the data used come from the Service of Overseas and Repatriated Cypriots. The countries that host overseas Cypriots are coded with '1' while the rest are coded with '0'. During the data collection a problem with the conceptualisation of the term 'overseas Cypriots' occurred. What proved difficult to clarify is the question of 'up until what generation is a person still considered an overseas Cypriot?' According to a contact in the Service of Overseas and Repatriated Cypriots, the term 'overseas Cypriots' is defined broadly; thus, overseas Cypriots are not only those that hold a Cypriot passport but also those who have a Cypriot origin. This variable is an innovation that was not incorporated into the research by Webster (2001a) but it is incorporated into the analysis to determine whether the location of significant numbers of 'overseas Cypriots' conditions the political consideration as to where Cypriot embassies should be located.

Islamic Countries

To close, it is anticipated that Cyprus places value on influencing Islamic states so as to counter the influence of Turkey. The intention of this in foreign policy was to specifically counter the influence of Turkey in its attempt to seek recognition of the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus', specifically among countries with large Muslim populations. This variable is a novelty that was not incorporated into the research by Webster (2001a) and it is incorporated into this analysis to ascertain whether the favouring of Islamic countries takes place, using a dummy variable to indicate those countries that are members of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation.

Statistical Findings

Before performing statistical tests bivariate correlations were performed with the independent variables used in the analysis. The correlations showed that all the factors, with the exception of Commonwealth members, Non-Aligned Movement, and Organisation of Islamic Cooperation are positively associated with the presence of Cypriot embassies. The factors that are the best correlated with the presence of a Cypriot embassy abroad are the EU members, the major trading partners, the powerful countries, the presence of overseas Cypriots, and measures of power. While Orthodoxy and Middle East countries seem to have a positive but weak relationship with the presence of a Cypriot embassy abroad, Commonwealth member countries and Non-Aligned Movement members have a negative relationship. The correlations are shown in Table 2.

Additional correlations illustrate that the CINC and GDP data are almost identical in a statistical sense ($r=.866$), meaning that they are positively correlated and very similar.

Table 2: Pearson Correlations (Cyprus Embassies and Number of Employees)

	Cyprus Embassies	Cyprus Embassies Number of Employees
Cyprus Embassies	1	.277**
Cyprus embassies number of employees	.277**	1
GDP 2012	.313**	.093
Composite Index of National Capabilities	.304**	.080
EU members	.529**	.266**
Commonwealth member	-.209**	-.064
Non-Aligned Movement member	-.359**	-.164*
Proximity/Middle East	.208**	-.003
Trade	.430**	.077
Orthodox Population	.135	.004
Overseas Cypriots	.335**	.087
Organisation of Islamic Cooperation	-.077	-.072
Security Council Members	.293**	.099

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Presence of Cypriot Embassies Abroad

Logistic regressions were run using CINC in one case and GDP in the other to measure power in multiple regressions to determine which independent variables had an impact upon the dichotomous dependent variable. In both cases, the variable indicating power was logged. Table 3 illustrates the findings from the regression using a logged version of GDP as the indicator of power.

The outcome of the analysis suggests that the logistic regression predicts nearly 90% of the allocations of embassies (while guessing that no countries have a Cypriot embassy would be correct about 75% of the time). The analysis illustrates that power, EU membership, proximity, and the presence of Orthodox populations seem to be best linked with Cypriot embassies abroad. However, it also seems that there is some reason to believe that Non-Aligned Movement membership and the presence of overseas Cypriot populations are also linked with diplomatic representations, although the statistics do not elucidate such a definitive relationship

Table 3: Logistic Regression (Dependent Variable Presence of Embassy)

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Power (log GDP)	1.023	.245	17.430	1	.000	2.782
EU member	4.382	.996	19.371	1	.000	79.982
Commonwealth member	-.317	.849	.139	1	.709	.728
Non-Aligned Movement member	1.364	.847	2.591	1	.108	3.912
Proximity/ Middle East	1.976	.868	5.185	1	.023	7.215
Trade	.389	.694	.313	1	.576	1.475
Orthodox Population	.031	.014	4.658	1	.031	1.031
Overseas Cypriots	1.517	.963	2.483	1	.115	4.559
Organisation of Islamic Cooperation	.133	.816	.026	1	.871	1.142
Constant	-15.393	3.371	20.847	1	.000	.000

Classification Table

	Observed	Predicted			
		Cyprus Embassies		Percentage Correct	
		0	1		
Step 1	Cyprus Embassies	0	126	9	93.3
		1	11	33	75.0
	Overall Percentage				88.8

a. The cut value is .500

In another regression using the logged CINC data as the indicator for power (See Table 4 below), the findings are quite similar to those using the logged GDP, although there are some noteworthy differences. First, while the predictability of the data are almost identical, using a logged version of the CINC data for the indicator for power suggests that the allocation of Cypriot embassies abroad is only linked with power, EU membership, the Middle East, and Overseas Cypriots.

Table 4: Logistic Regression (Dependent Variable Presence of Embassy)

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Power (log CINC)	1.010	.253	15.958	1	.000	2.744
EU member	4.838	1.070	20.435	1	.000	126.156
Commonwealth member	-.298	.868	.118	1	.732	.743
Non-Aligned Movement member	.546	.816	.448	1	.503	1.727
Proximity/Middle East	2.198	.881	6.218	1	.013	9.004
Trade	.593	.719	.680	1	.410	1.809
Orthodox Population	.015	.013	1.344	1	.246	1.015
Overseas Cypriots	2.140	1.030	4.321	1	.038	8.501
Organisation of Islamic Cooperation	.051	.820	.004	1	.950	1.053
Constant	3.142	1.446	4.723	1	.030	23.149

Classification Table

	Observed	Predicted			
		Cyprus Embassies		Percentage Correct	
		0	1		
Step 1	Cyprus Embassies	0	125	9	93.3
		1	11	334	75.6
	Overall Percentage				88.8

a. The cut value is .500

What is common between regressions using either the GNP-based measure of power or the CINC measure of power is that the outcomes all agree that allocations of embassies are linked with power, EU membership and locations in the Middle East region. They are also in agreement in that Commonwealth membership, trade, and membership in the Organisation for Islamic Cooperation have no relationship to the allocation of Cypriot embassies abroad. That means that the findings of the relationship of Cypriot embassies and Non-Aligned Members, Orthodox populations, and overseas Cypriots are not definitive and that any relationships for these factors are largely the artefact of whichever indicator of power is used.

Number of Civil Servants Sent to Embassies Abroad

Before analysing the data it is important to mention two anomalies during 2012 which affected the data. Since March 2011, Syria has been embroiled in civil war, forcing the Cypriot ambassador and embassy staff to abandon Damascus. As a result, for 2012, the data entries regarding the number of civil servants sent to the Cypriot embassy in Damascus are zero. In addition, due to the Cypriot Presidency of the Council of the EU, the number of civil servants sent to the Cypriot embassy in Brussels was significantly increased, reaching one hundred people in staff. As a consequence these two cases were removed from the data, as they are unique cases in terms of allocation of staffing and reflect nothing regarding the general hypothesised systematic nature of workforce allocations.

Two OLS regressions were run (one using CINC and one using GDP) as the indicator of power. In both instances, the data for the indicators of power were logged. The output for the regression using GDP as a measure of power is shown in Table 5 and the findings for the regression using CINC are almost identical. In the case of logged GDP as the indicator for power, the resulting Adjusted R-squared value is .542, whereas in the other regression using the logged CINC score as the measure of power, it is .549. The findings for both regressions show that there is an indication that power, EU membership, trade partners, and the presence of overseas Cypriots (either measured with CINC or GDP) play a role in the number of civil servants sent to Cypriot embassies abroad. There is no evidence in either of the regressions that Commonwealth membership, Non-Aligned Movement membership, presence in the Middle East or membership in the Organisation for Islamic Cooperation matter at all in the allocation of employees to Cypriot embassies abroad. The significance levels received for the data on Orthodox populations are suggestive that there is some slight favouring, although by any statistically meaningful interpretation it would be rejected that Orthodoxy is linked with the systematic allocation of manpower in embassies.

Interviews

In order to gain a better understanding of the issue, four interviews were held to determine what other factors apart from those explored in the quantitative analysis would explain more about the

nature and logic of the Cypriot state's investment in diplomatic resources. Using a convenience sample, four interviews took place among a mixture of practitioners and scholars dealing with Cypriot foreign policy issues. The intention of the convenience sample was to gather insight into the process of the allocation of embassies from the perspective of the government of Cyprus. Of the four interviews, two of those interviewed were academics with knowledge of the foreign affairs and foreign policy of the RoC. The third interview was with a retired ambassador who has substantial experience within the foreign policy establishment of the RoC. The fourth interview was with a person who currently works in a position of considerable responsibility at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the RoC.

Table 5: OLS Regression (Dependent Variable Number of Civil Servants)

	B	S.E.	B Standardized	t	Sig.
Constant	-1.235	.493		-2.503	.013
Power (log GDP)	.110	.043	.169	2.566	.011
EU member	1.357	.269	.314	5.039	.000
Commonwealth member	.189	.191	.056	.989	.324
Non-Aligned Movement member	.121	.216	.039	.563	.574
Proximity/Middle East	.278	.303	.053	.917	.361
Trade	1.214	.258	.299	4.697	.000
Orthodox Population	.006	.004	.082	1.451	.149
Overseas Cypriots	1.837	.330	.319	5.565	.000
Organisation of Islamic Cooperation	.025	.193	.008	.131	.896

The intention of the interviews was to gather knowledge from those who had studied Cypriot foreign policy in theory and who had been experienced in the bureaucracies involved in foreign policy for the RoC. It was anticipated that there would be biases from the respondents based on their experiences and knowledge. The predictions were that those interviewees with only a theoretical knowledge of the making of foreign policy may overestimate the intentional and systematic nature of decision-making in the crafting of foreign policy, and likewise it was expected that those interviewed with substantial experience in the Byzantine foreign policy establishment may over-stress the administrative complexities of decision-making.

The interviewees were asked to respond to five questions on the placement and function of Cypriot embassies abroad. Although the subjects to be discussed were decided *a priori*, the structure of the interviews (open-ended questions) gave both the researcher and interviewees the freedom to change the order and their stories (Müller, 2008). Interviewees were asked to comment on the purpose for the RoC to have embassies abroad, the factors that are the most important in terms of placing embassies abroad, the reasons why some Cypriot embassies have more staff than others, and finally, the types of considerations that should be taken into account if Cyprus decides to open a new embassy. At the end of the interviews, an additional question was posed to discuss countries that should be favoured with a Cypriot embassy. Overall, the interviews proceeded without major problems and the respondents were willing to answer every question.

All four interviewees seemed to be in agreement regarding the general purposes for the RoC to have embassies abroad. They indicated that a Cypriot embassy abroad aims to represent the RoC abroad. As stated by one respondent, embassies are embedded in the foreign relations of each country and form an integral and essential part of their foreign policy. Respondents indicated that national interests also appear to be related to the placement of several Cypriot embassies abroad. In terms of defining the national interest, the Cyprus problem was mentioned topmost on the list by respondents while the economy was frequently mentioned also. Trade relationships, enterprises and tourism were included in the concept of economy, as the respondents explained it. The presence of overseas Cypriots and cultural links were also noted in responses by two interviewees in order to address the question on the purposes for the RoC to have Cypriot embassies abroad.

When asked about the specific placements of Cypriot embassies abroad, the interviews indicated that historical contingency and historical legacy lay behind the Cypriot Government's choice to place an embassy in a particular country. Nevertheless, all those interviewed appeared to agree that not only objective but also subjective factors too, could determine the Government's choice to place a Cypriot embassy in a specific country instead of another. It was heavily underlined as well that subjective factors, in terms of governmental preferences and ideological and sentimental reasons, can be evidenced in the placement of Cypriot embassies in Egypt, India, Yugoslavia and Cuba. The first three embassies exemplify the close relations between Archbishop Makarios III, Nasser, Nehru and Tito, whereas the latest placement of embassy, in Cuba, undoubtedly reflects something about President Christofias' ideological background.

Several factors are classified as 'objectives'; the overriding priority being the Cyprus problem. As mentioned in one interview, Cyprus may choose to place embassies in countries that constitute the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP). Furthermore, the level of relations between one country and the RoC is also crucial for the placement of a Cypriot embassy abroad; political relationships, the presence of overseas Cypriots, trade relationships, together with economic, tourist and cultural links (Orthodoxy, archaeology/excavations), consistent with the 'level of relations' concept. The interviews also highlighted that EU membership is another important factor in the placement of a Cypriot embassy abroad. Another aspect frequently

mentioned was the influence of a country on the international arena and its ability to define the global political processes, for example as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council. Other confirmed determinants were proximity, 'geopolitical reasons', and Commonwealth and the Non-Aligned Movement membership.

Although in the first two questions the responses in the interviews were very similar on most points, this does not seem to apply to the third question in which those interviewed were asked about the size of staff in different embassies. Only one of those interviewed emphasised the role of subjectivity in this. As he stated, 'politics are always behind decisions', implying therefore, a higher propensity to subjectivity when the Cypriot Government is to define the number of civil servants sent to Cypriot embassies abroad; there are cases where an average diplomat is sent to a 'good' embassy while at the same time an excellent diplomat might find himself in a 'bad' embassy. A heavy workload was considered by one of those interviewed as a reason to explain why some Cypriot embassies are more staffed than others; it should be taken for granted, one said, that the Cypriot embassy in Washington should need more staff than the Cypriot embassy in Kenya. He also referred to the role of the Cypriot community. As maintained by one interviewee, the presence of overseas Cypriots and national interests seem to govern the number of civil servants sent abroad. Another remarked that the level of relations between Cyprus and a certain country might probably answer the question as to why some Cypriot embassies are more staffed than others; while during 2012, he said, the Cypriot Government decided to send eight civil servants to the embassy in Greece, but at the same time it sent only five to China. This, he continued, should not be surprising; although Greece neither maintains a decisive role in world affairs nor does it influence the global political process, its extremely close relationship with Cyprus has rendered Greece a country of crucial standing for Cyprus. Of course, he added, no one should ignore the determinative role that powerful countries play in the number of civil servants sent to Cypriot embassies abroad.

In the fourth question (regarding considerations to be taken into account when allocating resources for embassies), two of those interviewed adopted a critical attitude whereas the other two repeated the reasons they put forward to answer the previous questions. In the opinion of one of those interviewed, national interests should define the allocation of Cypriot embassies abroad, although the interviewee noted the weakness of the Cypriot government to clearly determine its national interests. Today, one interviewee stated, the answer to the question of where the Cypriot Government would place its next embassy is based more on 'who governs' (Minister of Foreign Affairs, Director General, Diplomats) and less on 'which are the country's current national interests'. He also stressed the beneficial effects that an embassy in an unfriendly country might have on the island's foreign policy. Using the same critical tone, one of the respondents disapproved of the way Cyprus allocates its embassies abroad. In his view, possible future alliances, the challenges in Europe and the surrounding area, as well as national interests should be taken into account if Cyprus decides to open a new embassy abroad. Another respondent considered the

following should be taken into account if Cyprus decides to open a new embassy abroad: the need to communicate and to promote the island; national interests; ideological and sentimental reasons; historical legacy; geopolitical reasons; heavy workload; a large Cypriot community, and the political significance of a country. On the authority of one other respondent, the Cypriot Government should consider financial issues before it decides to open a new embassy abroad, since embassies entail substantial costs.

Finally, a wide variety of responses were advanced for the last question regarding the countries that ought to be considered for a Cypriot embassy. Three of those interviewed agreed on the importance of having embassies in Japan, and two mentioned placing an embassy in Canada as well. Other countries that were mentioned as important places to have embassies were Senegal, Saudi Arabia, Argentina, Nigeria, Sri Lanka and the Philippines. One respondent stated that he felt it would be better if Cyprus did not open a new embassy, but instead approved additional staff for Cypriot embassies in China, Russia, and Brussels plus the Permanent Mission to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg.

Conclusions

There is interesting information to be gleaned from integrating and comparing the findings of the statistical analysis and the interviews. Table 6 summarises the concepts and the outcomes using different methods. The results of the statistical analysis illuminate that when correlations are performed, all the factors, with the exception of Commonwealth members and Non-Aligned Movement, appear to be generally positive when linked with the presence of Cypriot embassies abroad and allocation of resources abroad. Power, EU membership and the presence of overseas Cypriots are consistently demonstrated to be associated with embassy placements and the allocation of human resources abroad. The findings illustrate that Commonwealth and Non-Aligned Movement membership play no role at all in the placement of Cypriot embassies abroad and human resources abroad.

The discoveries from the interviews seem to square well with the statistical findings, in many ways. Firstly, as the interviews supported and the statistical analysis illustrate, it is rather easy for someone to identify the crucial role that the Cyprus problem plays in the Cypriot foreign policy and in the placement and function of Cypriot embassies abroad. Three of the hypotheses tested in the statistical analysis (power, EU members and proximity) were linked with the need of the RoC to settle the Cyprus problem, as the interviews made reference to repeatedly. As it has been arguably maintained, the Cypriot Government, in order to achieve the reunification of the island would seek to have representation and an increased staff in powerful, Middle East countries, and EU member-states; all three hypotheses were confirmed. In the same manner the four interviewees based nearly all their answers on the need to promote and settle the Cyprus problem. The statistical analysis as well as the results from the interviews indicates that powerful countries and EU member-states may not only contribute to the settlement of the Cyprus problem but they can also

help with the promotion of other national interests too. Directly associated with the second similarity is the important role that trade seems to play in the placement and function of Cypriot embassies abroad. While the statistical analysis shows that trade does seem to condition the allocation of diplomatic resources in a consistent way, the interviews affirm that there is and should be, more stress placed upon those countries in which Cyprus maintains significant trade relationships.

Table 6: Relationships of Concepts and Findings Using Different Methods

Concept	Embassy allocations (regressions)	Staff allocations (regressions)	Embassies (interviews)
Power	Positive	Positive	Positive
EU member	Positive	Positive	Positive
Commonwealth member	No Relationship	No Relationship	Positive
Non-Aligned Movement member	Mixed Results	No Relationship	Positive
Proximity (Middle East countries)	Positive	No Relationship	Positive
Trade	No Relationship	Positive	Positive
Culture (Orthodoxy)	Mixed Results	No Relationship	Positive
Overseas Cypriots	Mixed Results	Positive	Positive
Organisation of Islamic Cooperation	No Relationship	No Relationship	Not Mentioned
Permanent Security Council Members	Not Fully Tested	Not Fully Tested	Positive
Subjectivity	Not Tested	Not Tested	Positive

What is notable about the statistical analysis is that it has been based exclusively on the rational actor approach, as defined by Allison and Zelikow (1999) (Webster and Ivanov, 2007). Thus, the analyst perceived the way that states act based mainly on the Rational Actor Model. In line with such an approach, Cyprus, as the basic unit of analysis seeks to place and staff embassies

in countries that would mainly promote and ensure its national interests. Weighing the pros and cons of each country, the Cypriot Government makes eventually the most value-maximising choice and places an embassy in a country that can promote and ensure its national interests as much as possible (Allison and Zelikow, 1999). Interviews provided supplementary explanations for the Cypriot Government's decision to place and staff embassies in certain countries, including bureaucratic politics and governmental/personal preferences. So, in order to explain the decision of the Cypriot Government to favour certain countries with Cypriot embassies and more staff, the analyst needs to confirm who is involved in the decision-making and implementation process. On that account, governmental preferences and ideological and sentimental reasons may determine not only the Government's choice to place a Cypriot embassy in one country instead of another, but also define the level of human resources it will devote to it. The absence of the concept of 'subjectivity' from the statistical analysis was the result of a weakness of the quantitative method to measure and indicate the independent variable of 'subjectivity' even though, to some extent, this was modelled into the equation by adding variables that would impact upon the subjective perceptions of the value of relationships with another country.

GDP and CINC were both used in the statistical analysis to measure the independent variable of power. According to interviews, the significance of a country in international relations and its participation and central role in peripheral organisations (e.g. as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council) could probably place it at the top of powerful countries. That being the case, it seems that interviews suggest a more political view in order to define the concept of 'powerful countries', in contrast to the quantitative measures that utilised largely economic indicators to signify it. Apart from powerful countries, culture has also been indicated differently in the approaches used. Although the interviewees used Orthodoxy in order to denote the concept of culture, archaeological excavations were also used to describe it. Therefore, not only countries with high Orthodox populations but countries which Cyprus maintains significant links via archaeological cooperation are likely to host a Cypriot embassy as well.

The advantage of using a statistical model in conjunction with interviews illustrates that there is a great deal of overlap in the findings and there is an interesting composite picture that appears, regarding the nature of the foreign policy of Cyprus. Although there is an overlap in what is thought to be true by those interviewed in terms of what is linked with allocating resources for embassies, the statistical analysis shows that the speculation by those interviewed does not seem to be embodied in empirical ways that are detectable by the statistical analysis. While some influence may be taking place in the bureaucratic or governmental process, it is not apparent that the preferences become embodied in ways that are measurable to an analyst on the outside of the organisations allocating resources.

Nonetheless, there are some weaknesses in the research and some suggestions for future investigations. In the first instance, the research is mainly characterised by its static nature, hence, by its inability to indicate changes happening over time. Regardless, the interviews remedied this

to some degree, because in the discussions with interviewees they were able to speak about change. Future research should look at interviewing people who were involved in the decisions to open and close embassies or shift human resources; this would give greater insight into how the values of relationships with other countries are weighed in the changes in resources allocated in foreign policy in Cyprus. A further limitation relates to the number of the hypotheses, the variables and the indicators that were tested. Although a simple model managed to predict correctly about 88% of the placement and staff of Cypriot embassies abroad (by using a few independent variables), there are more independent variables that could be adopted to make the model stronger. While interviews added 'subjectivity' as a consideration in the analysis, it is unclear how this might be incorporated into a statistical analysis of the allocation of embassies. The small sample size used in the interviews is also another constraint. An increase in the number of interviews would contribute a more in-depth understanding of the topic, especially if those consulted were involved in the decision-making process in the shift of resources to different embassies or the opening/closing of an embassy. One other improvement to consider in future efforts is to delve into the reciprocity of embassies, as the game of diplomacy may be viewed as an interactive game between states. In addition, future interviews should make a point of asking which countries or classifications of countries would not be considered under the current circumstances as this would allow respondents to deal with the case of Turkey and other countries or classes of countries that decision-makers in Cyprus would not envision hosting a Cypriot embassy.

This research contributes further to the understanding of the foreign policy of the RoC. Despite the fact that many of the conclusions are comparable to the findings of Webster (2001a), the authors believe that the improved model plus the increased/improved variables used, and the addition of interviews, have added to the richness of the knowledge on the topic. It has been demonstrated that with limited resources, Cyprus places and staffs its embassies abroad consistent with realist principles and concerns about integrating into the EU. But, it also has been shown that other factors such as overseas Cypriots and proximity play an unfailing role in the allocation of embassies and resources abroad too.

To conclude, this research has made a modest contribution to the understanding of the processes and logic behind the foreign policy of the RoC. The interviews and statistical analysis underscore that the priorities for the Cypriot state's foreign policy include the use of diplomatic channels to find a favourable solution to the Cyprus problem and to integrate Cyprus into the community of countries in the EU. What is also intriguing is that there is considerable evidence that the State works in ways to continue a relationship with overseas Cypriots – something that may be of sentimental interest but of questionable political value. Yet, while many things seem to influence the allocation of resources for Cypriot foreign policy, some appear to be commitments and concerns that only remain on paper and do not translate into meaningful allocations of resources.

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