

THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN CYPRUS

Marina Vasilara and Gotellenne Piaton

Abstract

Civil society, as a form of collective action, is a means of getting closer to direct democracy, and a way in which representative democracy, as found in modern societies, can be complemented by giving the space to groups and individuals to work together and express their voice that would otherwise not be heard directly. These issues are non-exhaustive but could include watchdog functions, service provision, research and awareness and in general mobilising citizens to take action about issues that concern them. Civil society action in Cyprus is not a new concept but one that has been quite controversial in the past few years. The reasons for its slow growth may be inherent confusions in society about its role, the role of the state and the role of political parties. Moreover, the institutional framework regarding civil society work is not clear and often proves to be more of a burden than a supporter in terms of promoting an enabling environment for the sector to grow. UNDP-ACT and its predecessor the UNOP's Bicomunal Development Programme have been working with civil society on the island for almost 10 years to empower it to have a voice. In 2005, UNDP-ACT undertook a study of the state of civil society on the island based on the CIVICUS methodology to determine its features and study possible ways to address the structural problems facing it.

Keywords: civil society, Cyprus, democracy, citizen participation, United Nations, civics (or civic education), civic organizations, active citizenship, civil society, organizations, non-governmental organisations

Introduction

Throughout history, people have developed various practices of collective action. Various new forms of civic engagement have flourished in different settings in recent years and these normally lie outside the traditional circles of the family, the market and the state. This is what is referred to as the third sector or civil society. Civil society lies between the two great domains of power in the modern world – government and corporations. It is a long-neglected or misunderstood domain. At the same time though, at a time when the need for more equitable and open societies has become one of the most pressing challenges of our century, civil

society is considered a crucial resource in advancing good governance principles, and among them open dialogue and democratic principles. Civil society has in many countries proven itself as a beacon for a more equitable, transparent, and peaceful society.

In Cyprus “civil society” is a new and emerging concept which only recently entered the daily vocabulary of the media or politicians, often though in inappropriate ways. (For example, political party leaders call their supporters civil society or simply equate society in general with civil society). However, civil society work is not new to Cyprus. Service-providing civil society organisations including volunteer groups have long been offering their services on the island on ad-hoc or more systematic patterns, whereas advocacy, dialogue and human rights groups are very few and in nascent stages of development, but do exist. The concept of the third sector has so far been limited to trade union groups and professional federations or chambers as the most organised forms of civil society action. In both communities of the island, Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot, the situation is very similar with the overall capacity of civil society at low levels as the political and institutional environment is not providing the necessary support. Concepts such as multiculturalism, intercultural dialogue, citizen action and active citizenship, as promoted by the EU and its democratic principles, have recently entered the public arena.

Defining Civil Society

Definitions of “civil society” are multiple and diverse. In some countries the term is used interchangeably with NGO (Non-Governmental Organisation) action, however, in most countries civil society is seen as a broader rubric that includes all organised or not so organised forms of civic engagement including trade unions and informal community organisations that are not officially registered. In some countries, political parties can also be considered part of civil society.

UNDP defines Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) as:

“CSOs are non-state actors whose aims are neither to generate profits nor to seek governing power. CSOs unite people to advance shared goals and interests.”¹

Therefore, civil society encompasses those parts of society that are neither government nor business, including associations, non-governmental organisations, non-profit organisations, advocacy groups, citizen groups, social movements, as well as the cultures, norms, and social values that enable these social phenomena. CSOs provide a direct channel through which citizens can have their voices heard.

Citizens' participation in decision-making process is one of the principles of a democracy. So what role can civil society play in a democratic system?

In the phrase of Abraham Lincoln, democracy is a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people."² Democracies can be either direct or representative.

"Conceptually, direct democracy is the basic form of democracy. The idea of representative democracy implies representatives who 'take the place of' or 'are present instead of' others."³

In a direct democracy, all citizens can participate in making public decisions without the intermediary of elected or appointed officials. This system can only work with relatively small numbers of people. To be practical, it demands that all members can regularly meet to discuss issues and arrive at decisions by consensus or majority vote. The oldest and probably the best achieved example of a direct democracy is ancient Athens. Athens managed in those times to practice direct democracy with an assembly of 5,000 to 6,000 persons. This is perhaps the highest number of citizens that can practice true direct democracy.⁴ Our modern societies, however, cannot be run through direct democracy. With their sizes and complexities, they offer very few opportunities for direct democracy. Direct democracy can still only be implemented at the very local level but is not appropriate at the state-level.

Nowadays most of our democracies are of the representative type, in which citizens elect officials to make policy decisions, formulate laws, and administer programmes for the public good. It is presumed that, in the name of the people, such officials can deliberate on complex public issues in a thoughtful manner that requires an investment of time and energy that is often impractical for the vast majority of private citizens.

The model of representative democracy is however characterised by a few assumptions which are useful to identify in order to understand the shortcomings of a representative democracy.⁵ The first assumption is that people elect representatives who take decisions that affect the life of the community/nation and who must be accountable for their choices before voters. It implies that all political choices can somehow be attributed to the will the people expressed by voting. The second assumption is that laws passed by representative bodies are the perfect tools through which such decisions are made. The third assumption is that there is an equation between general will and common good.

But this has little to do with the way representative democracy operates

nowadays. Indeed, there are shortcomings in modern representative democracy. As has been stated:

“It is wrong to assume that the people themselves decide issues through the election of representatives: elections are a better way to choose – or, better said in our times of greater dissatisfaction with politics, to get rid of – those who govern, and this choice is far from being only influenced by competing visions of the common good.”⁶

Besides, phenomena such as the emergence of large-scale bureaucracies, the growing importance of expert advice make the decision-making process complex and hence it is difficult to say that all decisions taken in a democracy are taken by people’s representatives. Political parties also play an important mediating/blurring role.

Yet, the basic function of democracy is to give people the space to participate in the decision-making processes that impact their lives through a critical and balanced debate. And any well-working democracy should have a participatory dimension.

As mentioned above, representative democracy cannot generally be considered as participatory. While etymological roots imply that any democracy would rely on the participation of its citizens (the Greek demos and kratos combine to suggest that “the people rule”), citizen participation tends to be limited to voting in traditional representative democracies, and the actual governance is left to politicians. On the contrary, participatory democracy is better described as a process emphasising the broad participation of citizens in the direction of their political system. A unique example is the case of Switzerland, whereby the citizens are invited to the ballots at least four times per year and oftentimes to cast their votes on referenda. The referendum was first developed in Switzerland in the mid-nineteenth century to provide a democratic replacement to the traditional assembly and in order to assist in making fundamental and often controversial policy decisions. After Switzerland became a federation the referendum was a tool to assist the representative government.⁷

In participatory democracy, all members of an organised group are given the opportunity to make meaningful contributions to decision-making, and it is sought to broaden the range of people who have access to such opportunities. Furthermore, on the contrary to traditional democracy which aggregates citizens by electoral districts, communities of interest are the basis on which citizens aggregate in participatory democratic systems.

In brief, participatory democracy happens when citizens increasingly act politically by participating directly in policy debates that particularly interest them. This is where CSOs can play an important role and can transform a plain representative democracy into a vibrant participatory democracy, where citizens can have their voices effectively heard. Given that civil society is: “the arena, outside the family, the state, the political parties and the market, where people associate to advance common interests”,⁸ CSOs are essential to a participative democracy for many reasons.

Firstly, a civil society is the mirror of the diversity of a society and enables any common interest to be expressed. CSOs are diverse and so are societies! No society can be said to be homogenous. All societies are diverse to a certain extent. Why? Primarily, because as human beings we are all different and have different needs and interests: but also because diversity has nowadays become unavoidable. In many societies, people come not only from different ethnic backgrounds, but also have varying needs and interests, speak different languages, and practice different religions. They are of different genders, ages and professions. Because diversity is a characteristic of civil society, there is no majority and no minority in civil society, on the contrary to the political sphere. Some civic organisations are large, but many are small. All of them, however, contribute to a vibrant open society.

“Civic organisations can play another vital role in democracy. They allow individuals and groups to mitigate the majoritarianism that can otherwise make a democratic government insufferable for marginal groups that are never able to win sufficient backing to see their ideas and values reflected in the policies of the state. For these groups, civic organisations offer a key way in which they can peacefully pursue their interests and goals without interfering with, or being suppressed by, the wishes of the majority.”⁹

Eventually and most importantly, civil society provides the much needed public space where citizens take action to promote common goals and visions, promote and protect their interests or the interests of other groups. It can be a forum in which everyone can take part and have his/her voice heard, while some CSOs are at the forefront of advocating principles of social justice and equity and others are in service provision.

In the past, civil society organisations have been crucial players in designing policies at the grassroots level taking into account the invaluable expertise of those most concerned.

To quote the International Centre for Not-for-Profit Law (ICNL),

“Civic organisations provide an opportunity for persons of different ethnic, racial or religious backgrounds to work together to further common interests, and thus can help serve as a bulwark against inter-communal violence.¹⁰ The existence of numerous and diverse civic organisations is characteristic of, and in itself helps promote, peaceful and stable societies where there is respect for the rule of law.”¹¹

Cyprus Civil Society: The Need for Strengthening

In 2005, the CIVICUS Civil Society Index on the state of civil society in Cyprus, assessed four dimensions – the structure of Cypriot civil society, the environment in which it operates, the values it promotes, and its impact. The findings showed that overall the nature of civil society is similar in both communities, characterised by limited citizen participation and low levels of membership in networks and organisations. While civil society organisations are based on strong moral values, they are poor at holding the public or private sectors accountable and influencing public policy. This is mirrored by low levels of corporate philanthropy and infrequent organised forms of volunteering in local communities. Furthermore, the research found that a number of checks and balances on the issue of financial transparency of the NGOs themselves and on the allocation of state funds to NGOs were absent institutionally.

It reported that although the Republic of Cyprus’ political system had many features found in modern democracies, notions of active citizenship remain weak and civil society is limited to trade unions, and recreational associations, while human rights and advocacy groups are very few. Greek Cypriots regarded most issues as having a political cause and consequence and left the politicians to deal with almost all issues affecting society. In the Turkish-Cypriot community, it can be said that “civil society’s ability to access many international legal and international resources” is limited and that “CSOs are constrained by a lack of autonomy from political forces”.

The Cypriot civil society therefore presents in both communities some structural weaknesses and suffers from a relative lack of autonomy. The study concluded that there is a low level of civil society participation in both communities, when it comes to influencing policy on issues such as democracy, transparency and peace. Moreover, it indicated a need for capacity-building programmes for CSOs, for networking initiatives, for raising awareness about civil society among citizens, but also the need to build constructive relations with the public sector.

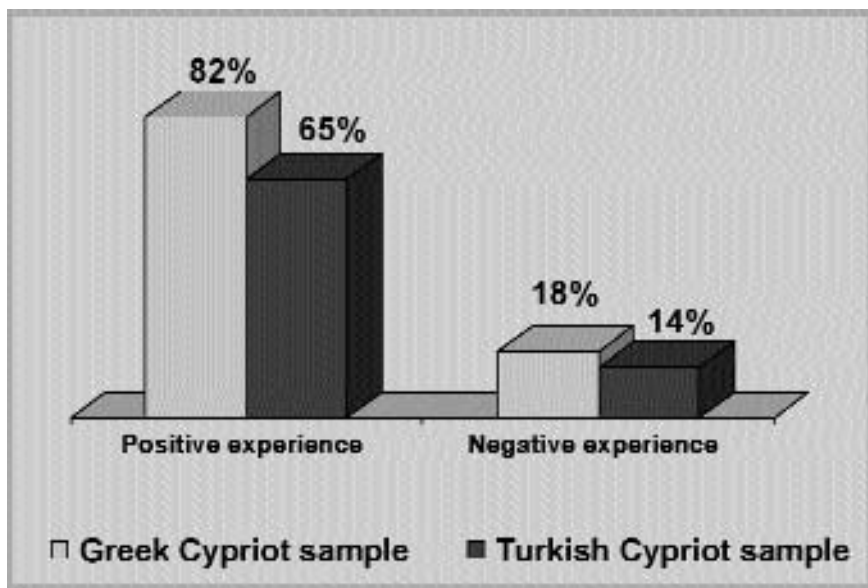
Civil Society in Cyprus: A Growing Sector

CSOs in Cyprus could indeed play an important role in having citizens consulted and participating in discussions on the future of the island and their quality of life. However, the state of civil society in Cyprus makes it difficult for CSOs to weigh as much as needed in the debate. Why? Because civil society is still a small but growing sector that needs to be nurtured and because active civic participation is still a concept that appears obscure to most Cypriots.

As the island remains physically divided for more than thirty years now with only controlled movement since 2003 at some crossing points along the Green Line, communication between the two communities has been very limited. Without the opportunity to work together, socialise, or know each other, a wide chasm has formed between the two major Cypriot communities. Until recently, the only mechanism for contact between the two communities was a small but steady set of bi-communal activities supported by the UN. These exchanges served as a crucial link between the two sides in the Buffer Zone, keeping alive the possibility of dialogue for a shared future. However, the potential for mutual understanding has not been realised with ease, as the levels of trust between the two communities are low.

A research by RAI consultants commissioned by UNDP-ACT in May 2007 revealed that in 2007 the majority of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots still had no real contact with people from the other community. The opportunities for contact remain low and most people are still unaware of the different kinds of inter-communal events taking place across the island. Yet at the same time the research shows that personal experiences are most influential in forming attitudes towards the other community. In the absence of personal experience, many Cypriots rely upon second hand information to form their perceptions, either through stories or friends and relatives or through images projected by the media. But given the opportunity, Cypriots embrace diversity. Of those who had contact with people from the other community, 82 per cent of Greek Cypriots and 65 per cent of Turkish Cypriots confirmed that it had enhanced inter-communal trust and left a positive impression. Similarly most Cypriots responded positively on hearing that their friends or colleagues had had contact with people from the other community.

How would you rate your experience of having contact with people from the other community?



Source: Research by RAI Consultants, May 2007

NB: 21% of the Turkish-Cypriot sample did not answer

Given the positive impact of having contact with members from the other community much more needs to be done to create opportunities for Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots to have substantive and meaningful contact. New ways to encourage cooperation still need to be explored and civil society is one mechanism through which avenues of communication and hope can be harnessed to foster cross-cultural dialogue and cooperation.

This raises the question of the role civil society can play in bringing Cypriots closer to each other. Civil society is indispensable to the health of the democratic culture in Cyprus but also to the peace-building efforts. Encouraging people across the island to take a more active interest in and be part of the debate about their future is important, given that creating sustainable peace requires that every Cypriot takes part in the debate, individually and collectively.

Because reconciliation demands that the voices of civil society and citizens be heard, UNDP's initiative, Action for Cooperation and Trust¹² is supporting and working with a wide range of civil society organisations that have played many key

roles and undertaken a wide range of functions to promote greater cooperation and trust between all communities in Cyprus. By establishing joint partnerships and networks, CSOs promote efforts to find solutions to issues that continue to separate Cypriots.

Developing an Open Civil Society in Cyprus

How can civil society strengthening be addressed in Cyprus? Apart from capacity-building programmes that UNDP-ACT is supporting through its Civil Society Strengthening Programme (implemented by INTRAC's consortium),¹³ two other areas need to be explored to empower the Cypriot civil society sector: the legal/institutional environment and active citizenship.

The existence of a blossoming civil society presupposes citizens with secured civil rights who organise themselves and operate independently, i.e. without state interference. That is why there is a paradox about civil society and law: civil society both needs the law but can be threatened by the law.¹⁴ Indeed, civil society's role in a healthy democratic society includes cooperation with the state, challenging the state or urging it towards taking decisions. Civil society is therefore in need of an enabling legal environment that would enhance its possibilities, while a hostile legal environment would endanger or limit it considerably.

The basis for civil society is freedom of association, expression, and assembly. The rights to establish and operate a formal civic organisation are an inherent part of the rights to freedom of association and expression that are guaranteed under international human rights law. The legal basis for a CSO to operate without state interference is enshrined in various international laws and UN declarations, such as the "General Declaration on the Rights and Responsibilities of individuals, Groups and Organs of Society to Promote and Protect Universally Recognised Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms":

"For the purpose of promoting and protecting human rights and fundamental freedoms, everyone has the right, individually and in association with others, at the national and international levels:

- (a) to meet or assemble peacefully;
- (b) to form, join and participate in non-governmental organisations, associations and groups;
- (c) to communicate with non-governmental and intergovernmental organisations."¹⁵

Security is a fundamental benefit, gained from laws, as they safeguard CSOs' rights and strengthen their ability to network with other CSOs, with agencies or

organisations and with both public and private spheres. A restrictive law can also be threatening for civil society as well. The notion of civil society is often oversimplified and reduced to “a sphere set apart from the state and holding it to account”. As a state mechanism, this seems to set law against civil society and indeed, there are many mechanisms through which control can be exercised over CSOs through legal tools. Registration is the most important of these mechanisms of state control.

“Provisions which create an organisation in legal terms, thereby enabling its members to operate effectively, may be misused as a mechanism to control what they may freely do. (...) The relationship of civil society to the law is thus conditional, dependent on the respect that the law and its enforcement show to the independence of civil society.”¹⁶

To conduct a more efficient advocacy work, Cypriot CSOs need to understand the legal environment they are working in and work on securing a position in the official decision-making mechanisms as a prerequisite to influence policy.

There are currently at least five laws by which different types of NGOs can be established in Cyprus. “The Companies Law” containing provisions for the establishment of non-for-profit entities, “The Trade Unions Law” providing for the establishment of trade unions, “The Pancyprrian Volunteerism Coordinative Council Law” which provides for the establishment and functioning of a coordinating body for NGOs involved in local social and humanitarian volunteerism action, and “The Societies and Institutions Law” and the “Registration of Clubs Law” both of which provide for the registration of clubs and other forms of civil society associations. These laws address the establishment and registration of NGOs in Cyprus but are not comprehensive documents in terms of providing a comprehensive legal framework that could, on the one hand, monitor and hold CSOs accountable, while on the other, provide them with the necessary institutional space to undertake their activities (be it advocacy, human rights monitoring, service delivery and or any other form of economic activity for the purposes of supporting their activities). Moreover, the existing legal framework does not cover issues such as public sector – NGO cooperation for the implementation of projects or programmes either in Cyprus or abroad.

CSOs are trying to function in a legal environment that appears unclear to most of them, given the number of laws and their differing conditions addressing the registration and operation issues. Oftentimes CSOs, except for trade unions and professional organisations that primarily serve the interests of their members, are not clear about the rules, regulations and laws that govern their public service activities, and are deprived of the means to influence the official decision-making mechanisms.

Cypriot civil society cannot grow without a better and clearer enabling legal framework, and mechanisms could be put in place to allow CSOs to have access to legal-advice and be better informed of the rules, laws and regulations affecting them. The need for a legal environment should not elude the most important need of CSOs in Cyprus: active citizenship. An enabling Law can make it easier for citizens to come together and defend their interests commonly in a CSO, it can help the development of a CSO but it cannot create the culture of engagement in collective actions to solve common problems.

“Civil society is a mix of the committed, not the complacent”. It is active, not passive. (...) People-based, people-driven civil society organisations bring vitality, diversity and a grassroots perspective to what otherwise may risk becoming a top-down, one-dimensional monochrome and stale process.”¹⁷

Indeed, what is civil society without widespread citizen involvement? A mere empty shell. A strong civil society is characterised by active citizen participation and active citizenship is about taking part. Not only does it need to be encouraged, but it needs to be practiced and informed. Active citizens are people motivated by an interest in public issues, and a desire to make a difference beyond their own private lives.

Active citizenship is, however, still a concept, not a practice in Cyprus. What hinders Cypriots to take part? The political culture in Cyprus prevents civil society from becoming a stronger and more autonomous voice. Indeed, citizens tend to consider that political parties are the only channel able to convey their concerns, and use their political affiliations as “a vehicle for personal and political career advancement”.¹⁸ Under those circumstances, being a member of a CSO has fewer benefits in terms of social status and benefits, as opposed to a party affiliation. The strong political affiliations of citizens tend to restrict the active dimension of citizenship to party-activism or bear the risk of “politicisation” of civil society. Organisations with political affiliations, such as professional associations, trade unions or CSOs linked to political parties have more adequate financial resources than smaller or advocacy organisations and this blurs the transparency in the relations between the government and CSOs. Though there are few legal restrictions on CSOs’ advocacy activities, relations between CSOs and the state are mostly determined by connections with particular political parties. The clientelistic relationships, characteristic of the political culture, shape civil society and its role in politics. This also breeds mistrust and absence of collaboration among CSOs and especially among advocacy groups that may serve the same interests.

This, as a consequence, depicts a poor image of civil society among the public and contributes to explain the low levels of public interest in supporting CSOs or in

volunteering for them. But structural problems of civil society in Cyprus can only be tackled with citizens' participation. When people decide they are going to be part of the solution, local problems are addressed. Working with other individuals, schools, associations, businesses, and government service providers constitutes the beginning of the solution. Civil society is also a way of rekindling communities. Because many problems do not stop at the limits of our district, of our town, of our community, they need greater cooperation between people to find a solution. This is particularly true in Cyprus. Because Cyprus is a small island, many problems are common to all Cypriots: Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots, and Cypriots from other communities. Environmental problems do not stop at the Green Line, neither do drug abuse, domestic violence, nor HIV/AIDS.

To be solved, these problems need a greater cooperation from all communities in Cyprus. And civil society indeed offers the opportunity for all Cypriots to discuss common issues. Civil society can act as a concrete platform for all citizens. It can offer Cypriots opportunities to work together on concrete projects and actions which will benefit all and offer Cypriots the opportunity to have their voices heard in the decisions that affect their lives, particularly those affecting the future of the island.

Conclusion

Civil society has been a wagon through which some characteristics of participatory democracy have been introduced in modern representative democracies by creating the space for the citizens to act or to influence decision-making in a more direct way. The EU strongly supports the creation of a strong and health civil society in its member states and the draft, new, proposed constitution aims to address this issue. Similarly the Council of Europe has recently adapted a Recommendation on the Legal Status of NGOs in Europe providing guidance to its member states as to the rights and duties of NGOs. Recent talk in Cyprus about giving a voice to NGOs in various issues including the Cyprus problem may be a step in the right direction if done as inclusive and non-discriminatory as possible. Civil society can be the space and place where Cypriots can build foundations for sustainable solutions to many of their problems, not excluding the political problem. Citizen-driven action will not replace processes happening at the political level but they can help inform and direct them.

For NGOs/CSOs to flourish, experience has shown that the institutional environment needs to be clear, transparent and fair starting from registration to operation. The legal and regulatory framework should in principle provide also the necessary pillars of protection and support to all types of organisations. Similarly though citizens should be ready to take up the challenge and stand up to demand information and express their views. And education around active citizenship and civil society empowerment are key elements of civic engagement from the early schooling stages.

To close, civil society is not a panacea of our modern societies but it is a step towards broader participation and direct democracy and towards mobilising citizens to take action for their lives. UNDP-ACT's role* and one of UNDP's broader goals regarding human development is to promote and help strengthen civil society opening opportunities to all Cypriots to be part of the debate on issues affecting their lives and their future and contribute to positive change.

-
- * UNDP-ACT is a programme that aims to build bridges of collaboration across communities in Cyprus and focuses on:
- 1) Empowering Civil Society,
 - 2) Promoting Sustainable Development,
 - 3) Cultural Heritage Preservation and
 - 4) Promoting Tolerance and Multicultural Education.

Notes

1. UNDP and Civil Society Organisations, a Policy of Engagement, 2001.
2. Abraham Lincoln gave this definition of democracy at the Gettysburg Address, a speech he delivered at the dedication of the Soldiers' National Cemetery in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, in November 1863.
3. Peter Singer (1973) *Democracy and Disobedience*. London, Oxford University Press, pp. 105-107.
4. Claude Mosse (1971) 'Histoire d'une Democratie, Athenes, des Origines', Le Seuil.
5. Alan Rosenthal, (1997) 'The Decline of Representative Democracy: Process, Participation, and Power in State Legislatures', *Congressional Quarterly*, Inc.
6. Renaud Dehousse (2003) 'Beyond Representative Democracy: Constitutionalism in a Polycentric Polity' in Weiler and Wind (eds.), *European Constitutionalism Beyond the State*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
7. See Daniel J. Elazar (1995) *The Use of Direct Democracy (Referenda and Plebiscites) in Modern Government* [<http://www.jcpa.org>].
8. "An Assessment of Civil Society in Cyprus, a Map for the Future", CIVICUS Civil Society Index Report for Cyprus, 2005.
9. *Guideline for Law Affecting Civic Organisations* ICNL for OSI New York, Open Society Institute (1997).
10. See Ashutosh Varshney, *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India* 3-4 (2002). ("Studies of intercommunal violence in India demonstrate that civic organisation engagement can promote peace, prevent communal violence and constrain the

polarising strategies of political elites.”), mentioned in Guideline for Law Affecting Civic Organisations ICNL for OSI New York, Open Society Institute (1997).

11. Guideline for Law Affecting Civic Organisations ICNL for OSI New York: Open Society Institute (1997).
 12. For more information about Action for Cooperation and Trust's projects, visit: [<http://www.undp-act.org>].
 13. The Cypriot Civil Society Programme implemented by INTRAC, the NGO Support Centre and The Management Centre aims to contribute to:
 - Strengthened role of civil society as a crucial actor in deepening citizen dialogue within and across communities and participation in decisions affecting the island's development
 - Strengthened, sustainable local capacity building support provision in Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities
- INTRAC's consortium provides Open Training Courses for Cypriot CSOs, Tailor-made Technical Assistance for Cypriot CSOs, Long-term Capacity Building Support. For more information, visit: [www.intrac.org], [www.ngo-sc.org], [www.mc-med.org].
14. Richard Fries (2003) 'The Legal Environment of Civil Society' in Kaldor, M., Anheier, H. and Glasius, M. (eds.), *Global Civil Society*.
 15. Declaration on the Right and Responsibility of Individuals, Groups and Organs of Society to Promote and Protect Universally Recognised Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. Resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisations, on 9 March 1998, in its fifty-third session (A/RES/53/144).
 16. Richard Fries (2003) 'The Legal Environment of Civil Society' in Kaldor, M., Anheier, H. and Glasius, M. (eds.), *Global Civil Society*.
 17. Michael Møller, UNFICYP Chief of Mission and Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary General, *International Civil Society Fair - newspaper supplement*, May 2007.
 18. "An assessment of Civil Society in Cyprus, a Map for the Future", CIVICUS Civil Society Index report for Cyprus, 2005.

Bibliography

- Broome, B. (2005) *Building Bridges across the Green Line*. Nicosia, Cyprus, UNDP.
- CIVICUS (2005) 'An Assessment of Civil Society in Cyprus, a Map for the Future'.
- Council of Europe (2007) Recommendation CM/Rec(2007)14 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on the legal status of non-governmental organisations in Europe (Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 10 October 2007).
- Dehousse, R. (2003) 'Beyond Representative Democracy: Constitutionalism in a Polycentric Polity' in Weiler and Wind (eds.), *European Constitutionalism Beyond the State*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Elazar, D.J. (1995) 'The Use of Direct Democracy (Referenda and Plebiscites) in Modern Government' [<http://www.jcpa.org>].

- Fries, R. (2003) 'The Legal Environment of Civil Society' in Kaldor, M., Anheier, H. and Glasius, M. (eds.), *Global Civil Society*.
- General Assembly of the United Nations (1998) 'Declaration on the Right and Responsibility of Individuals, Groups and Organs of Society to Promote and Protect Universally Recognised Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms'. Resolution (A/RES/53/144).
- ICNL for OSI (1997) 'Guideline for Law Affecting Civic Organisations'. New York, Open Society Institute.
- Mosse, Cl. (1971) 'Histoire d'une Democratie, Athenes, des Origines', Le Seuil.
- Rosenthal, A. (1997) 'The Decline of Representative Democracy: Process, Participation, and Power in State Legislatures', Congressional Quarterly, Inc.
- Singer, P. (1973) *Democracy and Disobedience*. London, Oxford University Press.
- UNDP (2001) *UNDP and Civil Society Organisations, a Policy of Engagement*.
- UNDP-ACT (2007) 'Where There is A Will There is a Way', International Civil Society Fair Newspaper supplement.