The Voluntary Sector in Welfare:
Understanding the factors that have influenced its development in Cyprus from the mid-end Colonial period to the present

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Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

March 2014

Abstract

In the long history of Cyprus, the 'persona', contributions, underpinning ideologies, role and historical trajectory of the voluntary sector, have not, unlike in other countries, been the subject of any substantial empirical and theoretical exploration, remaining under-researched questions. The main purpose of the research is to understand the rich past of the Cypriot voluntary sector and trace its trajectory to the present. How and why did the voluntary sector develop? Which factors lie behind its development?

Using the framework of non-profit regimes, the main research tool for exploring voluntary sector development and its attached social origins theory, the research moves beyond the dominant state-society approach to study the Cypriot voluntary sector trajectory. Using qualitative rather than a quantitative methodology, and moving between the micro, meso and macro levels of analysis, the research explores welfare actors, institutions, structures, cultural and non-cultural elements, including any aspect which provides insight into how and why the voluntary sector in Cyprus developed the way that it has. It asks separately about the relationships between the voluntary sector and a) the state/regime, b) the Church/religion and c) society, exploring explanations for the distinctive features of Cyprus' voluntary sector. The thesis furthermore makes use of the tools of historical institutionalism, specifically critical junctures and path dependency.

Evidence not only challenges the narrow view in the literature, both theoretically and methodologically, for the study of voluntary sector development, but also the restricted experiences of non-profit regime typologies and their assumptions about regimes, welfare

negotiations and power relationships. Hence, the research argues for a refined approach to investigate voluntary sector trajectories and suggests new dimensions, beyond the 'traditional' origins factors of non-profit regime theory.

The thesis' main arguments, mostly underexplored or missed in non-profit regime research, are that the voluntary sector not only derived from the Cypriot regime and its distinct evolutionary process, influenced by the dynamic historic and socio-political context and path dependency forces, but was also a source for the welfare state's development. Religion, both as institutional structure and cultural and political force, shaped associational life; it also had a profound impact in shaping the voluntary sector's major transformation points. The thesis also reflects how societal synergies, families, communities, and gender can contribute to our understanding of voluntary sector trajectories. Underlying forces emerge as authoritarianism, a weak welfare regime growing under the shadow of political turbulence, social, national/ethnic identity issues and empowerment.

Acknowledgments

This PhD has been a long, insightful and once-in-a-lifetime experience. I could write endlessly about the whole experience and how it changed my various perspectives. My supervisors, Gillian Pascall and Mark Lymbery, have done too much to help my development along the way. I feel very grateful for knowing them as individuals, academics and supervisors. Without their supervision, completing this PhD thesis would not have been a reality.

I would also like to thank my parents, †Andreas and Christina, for supporting my bachelors and master degree studies, giving me the opportunity to move on to PhD level. I also thank my husband Soteris for his patience and support and also my twin boys, who have given me the strength to work so hard and for endless hours, in the past few months, in order to complete one big objective (the PhD) while also entering into the new parental adventure.

List of Contents

Abstract 2

Acknowledgments 4

List of abbreviations 11

Chapter 1

Introduction 12

Research question & scope of research 14

Original contribution 17

Welfare and socio-political history: a background 19

- Geography and demography 19
- Island's historic trajectory 20
- The historic role of the Church of Cyprus 24
- Social protection in Cyprus 25
- The history and scope of the voluntary sector in Cyprus 26

Chapter structure 27

Concluding remarks 29

Chapter 2

The Voluntary Sector: Perspectives from the Literature 31

Introduction 31

Language and typology 31

Understanding the voluntary sector 33

Distinct sectors or hybrid welfare arrangements? 37

Relations in defining welfare patterns 39

Economic perspectives on voluntary sector development 42

Family, community and gender perspectives 44

Religious and cultural perspectives 48

Understanding voluntary sectors as part of their welfare regimes 53

Dimensions of authoritarianism and war 63

Understanding development under a path dependence lens 65

Can welfare regimes explain voluntary sector patterns? 68
The social origins perspective 70
The power resources approach in regime research 75
The new politics of welfare 76
Conclusion 77
Chapter 3
Methodology 79
Introduction 79
Voluntary sector research designs 79
Worldview and research strategy 80
Conceptual context 82
Research methods: a qualitative approach 86
The oral history interview method 88
Semi-structured in-depth interviews 90
Document/archival research 90
Designing the data collection context 91
The interview structure 92
First set of questioning/Oral history part of the interviews 93
Second set of questioning: a focused approach with semi-structured interviews 94
Third set of questioning/Semi-structured interviews 95
Design of the document data collection process 96
Sampling 96
Sampling the Cypriot voluntary sector 97
Time sampling 97
Sampling interviewees and structures 97
Document research sampling 99
Scheduling, procedures and reflections 101
Analysis 103
Thematic analysis using thematic networks 105
Practical aspects of analysis and monitoring 107

Ethical considerations 108
Conclusion 111

DATA CHAPTERS & ANALYSIS

Chapter 4

The State/regime and the voluntary sector

Introduction 112
The impact of authoritarianism and peculiar state building process 114
The impact of colonialism and 'turbulent' socio-economic and political context 115
Associations as a response to the weak colonial welfare regime ... 115
Associational life as a reaction to authoritarianism and a means towards empowerment 123
The colonial regime, society's struggles and their decisive impact on associations 134
Democracy: the impact of the authoritarian legacy and 'turbulent' welfare state building process 139
The transition to democracy and the state's turbulent path 139
The impact of democracy 139
The key systematic patterns 141
The first decade's patterns (1960s) 143
The second decade's patterns (1970s) 151
The 'path dependency' decades (1980s-2010s) 159
The impact of the 'small island' feature 167
Defining the 'small state/island' feature in the Cypriot context 168
The positive impact of the islands' small size on social relations and in welfare arrangements 169
The negative aspects of 'smallness' reinforced voluntary associations' development 174
The state-voluntary sector relation in Cyprus: a unique case or a context shaped by distinct origin factors? 178

Cypriot regime's developmental process: departing from western reality 179
Exploring non-profit regime dimensions against the static-temporal dichotomy 182
Distinctive power relations and struggles 184
The impact of the voluntary sector on the welfare state 190
Conclusion 192
Chapter 5
Religion and the voluntary sector
Introduction 195
The distinctive hegemony of religion before democracy and its impact on associations 198
The impact of religion as a spiritual/religious doctrine and a cultural force 198
The Church's influence as a welfare provider and coordinator of welfare 211
The impact of Church's national/political role on associations 222
The impact of religion and the Church after democracy 230
The Church/religion-voluntary sector relationship: a synthesis of religious, secularisation, power-relations, non-profit regime and path dependency considerations 241
Religion and doctrine matter 243
Power relations approach and dimensions of inter-relations revisited? Exploring cultural, national and religious interests 245
The secularisation approach 249
Revisiting the dimensions of path dependency in understanding welfare arrangement transformations 251
Conclusion 254
Chapter 6
Society and the voluntary sector
Introduction 258

Societal synergies to understand voluntary sector development.....260
The family and community perspective under colonialism in understanding the voluntary sector.....260
Families and communities after democracy.....275
Family and community patterns in war-torn/divided societies with developed voluntary sectors.....281
Adding a gender perspective in exploring voluntary sector development.....287
The evolution of women's roles and gender relations in understanding change and development in voluntary associations291
A distinctive synergy of a matriarchal voluntary sector in a patriarchal society.....300
Families, communities and women as major sources of social capital.....305
Locating the findings in non-profit regime modelling.....309
Concluding remarks.....312
Chapter 7
Conclusion
Introduction.....315
Locating the research in the voluntary sector literature.....315
New/refined approaches to studying a voluntary sector.....317
Origin factors: introducing an extended conceptual framework.....320
A reflection on the new origin factors:.....325
The regime-state development defines the voluntary sector trajectory: emphasising process to understand patterns and outcomes.....325
A multi-faceted view of struggles can define more patterns.....331
Path dependency in welfare?.....336
Voluntary sectors in small islands.....338
Religion: an origin factor under a new lens.....340
A gender / familial, community synergy.....343

Which non-profit regime for Cyprus? 346
Mediterranean and turbulent clusters of non-profit regimes? 351
Limitations of the research 352
Concluding remarks 355
BIBLIOGRAPHY 358
Appendix I: Research Information for Participants 391
Appendix II: Participant Consent Form 393
Appendix III: Thematic Network 394
Appendix IV: Interviewee Code List 395
Appendix V: Sample listings of themes 396
Appendix VI: Interview material and thematic categories 402
Appendix VII: Timeline of critical junctures and outcomes 405
Appendix VIII: The welfare triangle 408

List of abbreviations

AON	Restorative Organisation of Youth
AKEL	Progressive Party for the Working People
CY	Cyprus
DSWS	Department of Social Welfare Services
EC	European Commission
ECNL	European Centre for Non-Profit Law
EOKA	National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters
EU	European Union
GSIS	General Social Insurance Scheme
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MLSI	Ministry of Labour and Social Insurance
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OHEN	Union of Greek Christian Orthodox Youth ('ΟΧΕΝ')
PEON	Pan Cyprian National Organisation of the Youth ('ΠΕΟΝ')
PFWO	Pancyprian Federation of Working Women
PIO	Press and Information Office
PVCC	Pancyprian Volunteerism Coordinative Council
SWS	Social Welfare Services
THOI	Orthodox Religious Foundations ('ΘΟΙ')
TSEP	Third Sector European Policy
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
WHO	World Health Organisations

Chapter 1

Introduction

In Cyprus' long social history, the 'persona', contributions, underpinning ideologies, roles, values and historical trajectory of an important organisational welfare provider, the voluntary sector[1], have not, unlike in other countries, been the subject of any substantial empirical and theoretical exploration, remaining under-researched questions. How and why did the voluntary sector develop? Which factors lie behind its development besides the traditional national rhetoric that the voluntary sector has been solely an offspring of religion?

As economic crisis pours from state to state and financial breakdown touches more nations, national governments, in the context of European and international mechanisms, strive to secure and manage rescue packages to bail out their financial systems. There has also been a widespread effort in recent years to rethink the division of welfare responsibilities and the organisation of welfare arrangements in welfare states. The Cypriot voluntary sector, now paving its way deep into economic bankruptcy (PVCC, 2013), may be called to take more responsibility in welfare, provided it does not fall into the financial system's economic trap. Can the Cypriot voluntary sector take more responsibility in welfare?

[1] *Note on terminologies*: All references to the research subject and the wide volunteering landscape of welfare associations use the term 'voluntary sector' as it neatly adapts to its use at national context, rather than 'third sector', the 'non-statutory sector', the 'non-profit sector' or 'civil society' used in the literature. Use of this terminological context serves only to reflect the exact term used by specific authors. Besides the 'voluntary sector' term the reader also encounters the terms voluntary associations, philanthropic networks as these have emerged from the findings. This helps to reflect the meaning and usage of terms in the various chronological periods that this thesis covers or the way they have linked to socio-cultural historical norms and concepts.

The past has always been a good source of lessons for the future. Now that Cyprus faces its current financial crisis, it is more essential than ever to look back and understand the forces and dynamics that have shaped welfare arrangements in Cyprus, before and after the island's transition to sovereignty and democracy, as the organised networks of society are called on today to address anew poverty, destitution and crisis.

Understanding voluntary sector trajectories is not a new research domain. During the last decade there has been increasing interest in understanding how and why voluntary sectors develop, using theories that move away from traditional one-dimensional approaches. The concept of non-profit regimes, introduced when welfare regime modelling reached its peak, has become the main tool for exploring voluntary sector trajectories. The non-profit regime concept has been linked to social origins theory, which has dominated the literature in the last decade, resulting in the proliferation of national and comparative studies. Social origins theory posits that voluntary sectors are embedded in "social, economic and political realities" (Salamon and Anheier, 1998:215) with non-profit regimes deriving from a specific "constellation of class relationships ... among social classes and social institutions" and "state-society relations" (Salamon and Anheier, 1998:213, 226). The concept of power relations, heavily based on capital-labour conflict, is the theory's main tool for understanding voluntary sector development. Each regime reflects a specific model of welfare arrangements and a set of socio-political and historical experiences. Economic crisis may soon alter the neatly built conceptual blocks of the main non-profit regimes that have developed so far: the liberal, social democratic, corporatist, statist regimes introduced by Salamon

and Anheier (1998); Kabalo's (2009) 5th regime capturing cases such as Israel, and Archambault's (2009) Mediterranean cluster.

Research question & scope of Research

The research's main purpose is to understand the rich past of the Cypriot voluntary sector[2] and trace its trajectory to the present. Its initial impulse came from the researcher's location in the voluntary sector, as an employed officer, and from personal interest in exploring and understanding the history of institutions, in this case the past of the voluntary sector. The researcher's particular role in the voluntary sector has facilitated decision-making and access to some key respondents. Considering the researcher's location in the voluntary sector, all methodological aspects have been formulated to reduce bias. Specifically, all stages of research have been guarded by procedures. Interviewees were selected on the basis of pre-defined criteria. Since some material, particularly minute papers of one organisation, were familiar to the researcher, fieldwork preceded documentary research to minimise influencing the inductive effort of the interviews. All interviews were systematically analysed so that emerging themes were grounded in the research data. In this way the researcher's professional position was used to better understand and interpret the research data.

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2 The research covers all types of voluntary activity that developed in Cyprus in the social welfare domain. Sports associations, professional organisations, social movements etc, are therefore excluded. Any reference to this broader context of civil society organisations only serves to introduce and support the findings, rather than being a part of the rigid analysis or research outcomes.

The research focuses on the Greek Cypriot context, culture and institutions and do not provide insight on Turkish-Cypriot perspectives. This does not intent to minimize the contribution of the Turkish Cypriot society, its culture and structures to the development of its separate voluntary sector, rather it relates to decisions made at the initial research design process. An alternative research design could seek to understand variations in relation to the research subject across the two communities and the impact on the separate voluntary sectors that function today. This will be left to future research as such an endeavour would require access to Turkish and Turkish-Cypriot primary sources and certainly a greater investment of time and resources.

Lack of original, national research was a key stimulus to further understanding Cyprus' voluntary sector. An academically-oriented course followed, with registration as a PhD student, where interest in understanding the voluntary sector was informed by the academic literature and the aim developed of undertaking original academic research on questions about the voluntary sector's development, role and contribution in Cyprus.

The research aims to explain factors and conditions that have influenced the voluntary sector's development, from the mid-end Colonial Period to the present. Why this specific period? The transition from colonialism to sovereignty and democracy covers one of the most important periods of the history of the island. Following its development to the present day helps to place the voluntary sector into a coherent context.

The research has been mainly informed by the dominant framework of non-profit regimes and its linked social origins theory, while taking a multi-level route for data collection and analysis, moving between the micro, meso and macro levels. It explores welfare actors, institutions, structures, cultural and non-cultural elements: any aspect that could provide insight into how and why the voluntary sector in Cyprus developed as it has. Rather than following the static approach of other work, process, change, transformation and critical junctures form the heart of research and analysis, yielding a depth of detail. The research also moves beyond the dominant state-society approach to studying the voluntary sector trajectory, using, instead, multiple levels of observation and analysis, asking separately about relationships between the voluntary sector and a) the state/regime, b) the Church/religion and c) society, exploring the reasons for the distinctive features of Cyprus' voluntary sector. Also,

the study, in contrast to the rather static route of the capital-labour based power resource approach upon which social origins theory (Salamon and Anheier, 1998) was conceived, moves flexibly beyond materialistic objectives, opening a new route for understanding power relations, in the division of welfare and organisation of welfare arrangements. Last, but not least, the research uses qualitative rather than the quantitative methodologies applied by most research, bringing more routes to understanding voluntary sector development. Drawing from archival sources, oral history and semi-structured interviews, the research brings rich data, highlighting the value of qualitative approaches in studying development and historic trajectories.

Having established the aims of the research, its conceptual roots and methodologies, the next section introduces its main arguments briefly. Perhaps as expected, the big themes of state, Church and society emerged as having played a decisive role in shaping the Cypriot voluntary sector's trajectory. This broad argument mainly reaffirms the main position of the literature in understanding a sector's development. But the research challenges current non-profit regime typologies and their capacity to accommodate more cases, experiences and countries. Without entering the detailed findings, the main emerging argument is that, although the voluntary sector has been a derivative of the Cypriot regime and its distinct evolutionary process, it has been influenced by a complex set of dynamic historic and socio-political conditions and path dependency forces that hardly reflect the realities of comparative contemporary non-profit regimes, or the theories which attempt to understand them.

It emerges that, behind these rather predictable broad labels (state, religion, society), lay underlying distinctive elements that provide a new dynamic context to explain patterns of voluntary sector development. Firstly, new regime-related factors emerge including: stateless/authoritarian and colonial conditions, conflict, war, state collapse, unresolved political issues and the functioning of separated states. Secondly, are new underlying factors behind the dominant Church 'variable' in understanding voluntary sector development, reflecting different facets of religion: institutional/structural, cultural/spiritual (including religious doctrines) and political. Thirdly, are underlying social forces (communities and families and gender divisions) that matter in understanding voluntary sector development, not captured by most studies' higher level of analysis. Also, the small state/island factor and others, including ethnicity/nationalism, identity and culture have emerged as cross-cutting issues in analysis. The complex interaction of these elements has marked the major phases of the voluntary sector's transformation.

Original contribution

Although the first contribution of the research stems from its empirical research findings, a broader theoretical contribution can be claimed. A review of existing national and comparative literature finds the voluntary sector in Cyprus unexplored. Existing studies in voluntary sector welfare have accounted, only descriptively and indirectly, the activities of the social welfare voluntary sector in the modern welfare state (ECNL, 2008; Katsikides, 2001; Shekeris, Ioannou and Panagiotopoulos, 2009; Triseliotis, 1977) rather than asking analytical questions about its role, contribution and development. The lack of a solid body of literature on the voluntary sector and

welfare in Cyprus creates a great gap in national and international literature. Although this research cannot bridge this wide gap, it offers original contributions, contextualising, for the first time, the Cypriot voluntary sector within its socio-political past and present. Beyond academic study of the voluntary sector over time, the research contributes to our understanding of the complex arrangements and forces that have influenced the voluntary sector's recent path. The research's analytic approach links the sector's development to its history, tradition and culture and to emerging themes in literature and theory. Linking findings to current theory opens new routes to reassess theoretical frameworks so that they can capture the reality of more countries.

Analysis of emerging factors, forces and dynamics that have 'pushed' the voluntary sector in a specific trajectory also enables the location of the case of Cyprus in the comparative map of non-profit welfare regimes and trajectories, as well as traditions and histories of voluntary sectors. Identifying the Cypriot voluntary sector trajectory in one of the routes of third-sector development, as posited by non-profit regimes, also helps to understand similarities and differences with other geographical contexts, informing future national and comparative research.

Another factor adding importance to the research is the recent prominent emphasis on studying the past. According to Robbins (2006:13), there is renewed interest in understanding linkages between past and present: it has become important to understand how and why old forms of philanthropy continue to inform the work of modern organisations. In the case of Cyprus, for example, important decisions need to be taken, not just to bail out the national economy from bankruptcy, but also regarding the future of

voluntary organisations, which risk becoming unsustainable. Taking lessons from the past is, at least in the Cyprus case, important in addressing effectively the interaction of a complex set of crises: financial, institutional, political and ethnic.

Welfare and socio-political history: a background

The thesis asks about the deep past as well as the recent history of the island. References to socio-political events are therefore made throughout the thesis. A brief account of the island's social and political history and other elements will place the findings in their wider socio-political context. The past is always important in understanding the welfare regime or system of a country and provides insight into the role of the voluntary sector in social welfare and its place in the welfare system. A synoptic account of the historic trajectory of Cyprus from ancient years to modern history, provides a platform to better understand and analyse the historic trajectory of social welfare in Cyprus and the role of the voluntary sector in its wider welfare context and history.

Geography and demography

Cyprus, a 9,251m² island situated in the north-eastern part of the Mediterranean Sea has a wealth of documented historic accounts relating to its socio-political, religious, economic and cultural development, especially during periods of 'turbulence' caused by the subsequent foreign occupations/invaders from ancient years until today. The geographical location of the island has shaped its historical trajectory and has been a crucial factor determining its fate. Its vital strategic position has made it a significant and desirable target for external countries throughout the years. Today

36,2% of its territory remains under illegal occupation after Turkey's military invasion in 1974 (PIO, 2011a).

Administratively, the island is divided into six districts, two of which are in the occupied area of the island. Local authorities take the form of Municipalities and Communities, the former representing local government in urban and tourist areas, while the latter comprise extended local structures in the island's rural areas (Ministry of Interior, 2011). The local government structure was similar before the island's democratization, based on Colonial legislation from 1881 (Triseliotis, 1977), which divided the island into constituencies (Chatzidemetriou, 2002). Key elements are the proximity of territories, people, communities, social and state structures. The development of welfare arrangements and networks took place under conditions of territorial closeness and small numbers.

Its population of 892,400[3] (including 803,200 in the government controlled area) represents only 0.2% of the total population of the European Union (Statistical Service, 2009). Historical figures show a population of 186,173 (Census year of 1881), which increased to 573,566 (Census year of 1960), by the island's independence (Statistical Service, 2009).

Island's historic trajectory

Civilisation goes back 11.000 years to the 9th millennium B.C. (PIO, 2011). Greek culture and language were introduced by the Achaean Greeks, who settled during the 2nd millennium B.C. (Michailidis, 2004). During the late Bronze age (1200-1100 BC), Cyprus was settled by Mycenaean Greeks, where the Greek sacred virtues

[3] Total figures do not include illegal settlers from Turkey, which may increase the population by 170,000 people.

of hospitality, responsibility in city state affairs, especially acts of caring and welfare to everyone in need, even to strangers, were practices of Cypriots' everyday life (Markides, 1974; Triseliotis, 1977). The earliest forms of philanthropic acts included 'Xenones' which gave shelter and food to strangers, the brotherhoods of hospitality (known as 'Xenoi' or guest-friends), which looked after the needs of strangers and the ill (Triseliotis, 1977:3; Pavlides, 1999).

The Christianization period started with the establishment of the Christian Church of Cyprus in 45 AD. It adopted all characteristics of the early Christian Church and the virtues of the Gospels (Triseliotis, 1977), including the values of Christian philanthropy (Michailidis, 2004; Theodoulou, 2005). The Church of Cyprus, having an autocephalous status, has, over the years, secured its autonomy over external ecclesiastical dominations and threats and rivalries from other autocephalous churches (Theodoulou, 2005).

At the end of the 4th century Cyprus came under the rule of the Byzantium and was influenced by the Byzantine Empire's civilization philanthropic ideals, thought and practices (Triseliotis, 1977:5). Apart from the Mycenaean influence "...the culture of Byzantium penetrated every fibre of Cypriot life, perhaps more so than in any other part of the Greek world" (Markides, 1974:310-311). Consequently, the Byzantine 'legacy' was embedded in social life, even in subsequent occupations on the island. Subsequent foreign invaders have brought serfdom and severe destruction of the island's religious practices and social fabric (Triseliotis, 1977). The social stratification system was mostly composed of peasants (Konnarē and Schabel, 2005).

From 1489, Cyprus came under Venetian domination, succeeded by Ottoman rule in 1578, which brought a further decline in the island's social fabric, heavy taxation, poverty and harsh conditions. The settlement of military officials and Asia Minor settlers created a Turkish Cypriot minority on the island (Chatzidemetriou, 2002; Theodoulou, 2005:47). The Church of Cyprus regained the power it had lost during Catholic rule (Pollis, 1973; Seretis, 2003). Mainly for political reasons, as well as to control Cypriots and maintain contact with the Church, the Turks recognised the Archbishop of Cyprus as the political leader and religious representative of the Greeks. Cypriots were allowed to practise their religion freely (Chatzidemetriou, 2002; Theodoulou, 2005). Despite successive settlers and rulers on the island, early Greek settlers and Greek influence were so pervasive that the island's socio-cultural and ethnic character has endured throughout the centuries.

British Colonial Rule started from 1878. Material on this period is provided in the data chapters. Following lengthy colonial rule, Cyprus gained its independence in 1960, when it was granted sovereign democratic status. Since then it has enjoyed membership of key international organisations[4]. According to its Constitution, Greece, Turkey and Britain act as guarantors of the country's independence under the Zurich-London agreement, signed on behalf of Cyprus by Archbishop Makarios III. It has a presidential system of government, with separate executive, legislative and judicial powers. Under the Constitution, political power is shared between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in a 7: 3 ratio (PIO, 2011). Local

[4] The United Nations (UN) since 1960, the Council of Europe and the Commonwealth since 1961, the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe since 1975, the World Trade Organisation since 1995, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. It is a full member of the European Union since 2004 (PIO, 2011).

authorities are divided among Municipalities and Communities. Broadly[5], Greek Cypriots are Greek Orthodox Christians, Turkish Cypriots are Sunni Muslims, Maronites belong to the Maronite Catholic Church, and Armenians to the Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Church.

Divisive elements of the Constitution led to inter-communal strife in 1963; continuous threats by Turkey to invade the island followed. After this inter-communal strife, Turkish Cypriots abandoned their representative position in legislature and civil service. A UN peace-keeping force was established on the island and has remained ever since. Turkish threats materialised in 1974 with an armed invasion of the island. Following the invasion, Cyprus lost nearly 36.2% of its territory, which remains under Turkish occupation. Thousands were killed, more than a third of the population became refugees and more than 1400 people are still missing. Much of the cultural heritage was seized and destroyed, and more than 30% of the population became unemployed (PIO, 2008, 2010a, 2011a, 2011b). The Republic of Cyprus (territory not under Turkish occupation) is internationally recognised as the only legitimate sovereign state on the island, while its political problem remains unresolved (PIO, 2011). The economic system soon recovered, making, according to international economists, an 'economic miracle' (Theophanous, 1995; Trimikliniotis, 2013). Cyprus has created a large tourist and service industry. Today Cyprus faces serious economic imbalances (European Commission, 2012) and a high risk of bankruptcy. Expenditure on social protection as percentage of GDP is 21.6%, ranking in twenty-first place in comparison with other European states

[5] Out of a total of 892.400 inhabitants the population's composition by the end of 2009 was: Greek Cypriots 672.800 (75,4%) among which there are: 2.700 Armenians (0,4%), 4.800, Maronites (0,7%), 900 Latins (0,1%). The Turkish Cypriots reach 89.200 (10,0%) and foreign residents are 130.400 (14,6%) (Statistical Service, 2009)

(Eurostat, 2012). The serious economic crisis may alter these data dramatically.

The historic role of the Church of Cyprus

An introduction to the historic role of religion and the Church of Cyprus' trajectory are important for enhancing our understanding of the findings against a brief historic background.

The Church of Cyprus, with its two thousand years of history and tradition and autocephalous[6] church system, has shaped the island's historical trajectory. The Church has played a leading role in preserving Orthodoxy, Hellenic identity and protecting the Cypriot people under the harsh conditions imposed by successive conquerors (Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, 2011). The close relationship between religion, Hellenism and the protection of the nation and its people has been deep, defining the trajectory of religion and associational life through the years.

Although the colonial regime brought a period of disorganisation in the Church's ranks (Holy Metropolis of Constantia-Famagusta, 2008), the Church of Cyprus revived and acted as a "nation-leading Church" (Karayiannis, 2004:3), through the institution of Ethnarchy, established during the Ottoman Empire (1571-1878), where the Archbishop was the Ethnarch, the political, national and religious leader of the Cypriots and drove the island to its independence.

In social welfare, and under stateless conditions, the Church has introduced and institutionalised philanthropy in society. The early philanthropic activities and networks created a large Philoptochos

[6] A self-headed Church that enjoys total canonical and administrative independence and elects its own primates and bishops (Encyclopaedia Britannica)

('Friends of the poor') movement, which comprised informal and more formal networks: philanthropic networks, religious and welfare associations serving philanthropic purposes. Most sources suggest that during colonialism the Church could not contribute significant funds to support social welfare, although the higher clergy of the Church and some big landowners allegedly controlled large segments of land (Anagnostopoulou, 1999). Chatzidemetriou (1985:293) confirms that the bad socio-economic conditions restricted the Church's income. Sources discuss how the Church has 'turned' to charity to address needs through the mobilisation and contributions of society and the welfare/philanthropic structures it created (Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus Archive, File 113; Γ). After the island's democratisation the Church took control of its wealth and assets that could not be effectively used during authoritarian conditions. After the Turkish invasion the Church distributed land and funds to organised groups to address pressing needs. Recent sources suggest that the Archbishopric of Cyprus possesses more than 850 million euros, contributed as security towards Cypriots' economic relief (Vima Newspaper, 2013). No other sources could be accessed to provide insight into the finances of the Church and their relation to welfare.

Social protection in Cyprus

Social protection built progressively and in a fragmented way. The system's main elements include: pensions, health care and long-term care. Pensions are provided through one of two routes: 1) the General Social Insurance Scheme (GSIS), established in 1957, and 2) the Government Employees Pension Scheme. The GSIS, based on an earnings-related approach, is funded by the tripartite contributions of state, employer and employee. A social pension is granted to those not meeting the GSIS requirements. Provident funds, based on

collective agreements, are also available. Cyprus still lacks a universal health care system and is characterised by fragmentation between public and private health care services (Pashardes, 2003; Petmesidou, 2012). A Public Benefit and Services scheme guarantees a decent standard of living through benefits and social services as well as personal social services to vulnerable social groups (Amitsis, 2009). Expenditure on social protection as a percentage of GDP reached 21% in 2010 (Eurostat, 2012).

The history and scope of the voluntary sector in Cyprus

Understanding an under-researched sector can be demanding without a brief introductory account.

In the absence of a legitimate, democratic state, until 1960, the Church and society undertook responsibility for welfare, addressing diverse social needs. The voluntary sector evolved in a context of multiple influences and socio-economic and political dynamics. Its origins can be traced to early philanthropy and religion. It included: Philoptochos Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods as early as the 1800s, various religious/philanthropic networks which were progressively enriched, by the 20th century, with women's religious groups, Christian associations and clubs, Unions of Greek Christian Orthodox Youth (OHEN/*'OXEN'*), Orthodox Religious Foundations (THOI/*'ΘΟΙ'*) and more welfare-based associations. The networks' primary mission during colonisation was philanthropy and welfare, but by the 1940s, they were influenced by the nation-leading Church. The larger the political divide between the left and right camps in society, the greater the dividing lines in the landscape of associations.

The voluntary sector structure of the new sovereign state involved three main organisational forms: social service community network

(Community Welfare Councils), voluntary associations and co-ordinating councils, while a fourth form, the traditional philanthropic association, though in ascendance was outside the control and funding of the state.

The Cypriot voluntary sector has traditionally contributed enormously to the delivery of welfare. Throughout the decades the voluntary sector had different ways to address the needs of specific groups such as children and families, the elderly, people with disabilities and issues of society at large. Activities included services and more institutionalised forms of welfare provision.

Today, Cyprus' voluntary sector functions in a rather disabling environment, imposing many threats to its future development and sustainability: lack of resources, increased regulations, pressure to adopt modern and managerial-style practices, changing values towards the traditional volunteering culture and increased social needs, not addressed by the state, are some of the problems the sector faces today. Cyprus has been, in the period preceding submission of this thesis, in a state of economic collapse, striving to find a bail-out solution from the EU. Looking forward, many forces are expected to change the nature and role of voluntary organisations in Cyprus. Clearly, there is not one future, but multiple possible futures, depending on how the sector will respond to the challenges or create change. Understanding the voluntary sector's trajectory is key to planning its future.

Chapter structure

The thesis is divided into the following chapters. Following the introductory chapter, Chapter 2 (Literature Review) provides a rich

context of theoretical frameworks, representing the strongest theoretical platforms that can provide explanatory insight into the research question and give direction to the research investigation. Chapter 3 (Research Methodology) discusses the methodological strategy of the research and its research design, the structuring of the research methods and the analysis strategy. Chapters 4 to 6 bring together the evidence from the data and provide analysis of the findings. Chapter 4 discusses the relationship between the voluntary sector and state/regime-related factors, analysing factors that have influenced the development of Cyprus' voluntary sector.. The chapter's main question was 'How and under what conditions have the regime, state-related elements and the surrounding socio-economic, political context influenced the developmental process of Cyprus' voluntary sector'? Chapter 5 moves beyond the state/regime-voluntary sector analysis to explore the role and influence of religion on the voluntary sector's development. The key questions asked of the data are: 'How have the cultural/religious, political and institutional dimensions of religion influenced informal and formal/institutionalised voluntary activity? What was the impact of the Church trajectory in the voluntary sector's development? Chapter 6 takes a society-centred approach, exploring how key societal spheres and embedded elements can further contribute to our understanding of Cyprus' voluntary sector's development. The key questions raised to analyse the data have been how can families, communities, gender roles and other society-related elements and dynamics help us understand the way the voluntary sector developed? In what ways has the evolution of society at large shaped the voluntary sector trajectory? The Conclusion (Chapter 7) provides a synthesis of the main findings, to address the research questions; it sheds light on key themes within which the relationships between religion, society, the state and the voluntary

sector may be explored. It also discusses how the emerging themes provide a new perspective for understanding the factors that have contributed to its development, and the theoretical implications for current and future research, in analysing the voluntary sector's development, based on the case of Cyprus.

Concluding remarks

The choice made of 'uncovering' and unfolding the voluntary sector's history has been inspiring. The empirical journey to the sector's past revealed rich findings that have made the whole research process a worthwhile and valuable experience and hopefully a comprehensive and interesting qualitative account for every reader interested in voluntary sector development research and specifically the case of Cyprus.

As Cyprus drowns in debt it seems that it cannot maintain its welfare state, even in its residual character. Social protection cuts, rising levels of unemployment, new to Cyprus since the 1974 Turkish invasion, and rising poverty will unavoidably push the state to strengthen its relations with old and modern allies in welfare provision. This seems to be the only scenario if the state is to safeguard a quality of living, human rights and social justice. The voluntary sector - both the old world of philanthropic networks, which have recently started to revive in society, and modern social policy based, state-funded voluntary organisations - must unite to address the enormous needs and outcomes of the economic crisis.

The thesis hopes to prove useful in making decisions regarding divisions in welfare provision, in view of the factors that emerged in

this research as important in shaping trajectories or creating opportunities and new dynamics.

Chapter 2

The Voluntary Sector: Perspectives from the Literature

Introduction

This chapter aims to discuss various theoretical perspectives that can provide explanatory insight into the voluntary sector's development in Cyprus, and the forces that have shaped its historic trajectory. Considering the lack of national research on the subject, the chapter draws from international literature with the greatest explanatory and analytical potential for understanding Cyprus' voluntary sector. Although the theories and arguments examined here are far from exhaustive, they represent strong theoretical platforms for giving direction to the research investigation, informing and linking to the research question, so the research findings can build upon and add to existing knowledge.

Language and typology

Various disciplines have built their own theories and methodologies while establishing diverse terminologies to explore the sector. Exploring this rich landscape in the literature is important, firstly to make a conscious use of terms in the research but also to understand the ideology behind terminologies. The 'non-profit sector' term, having its roots in economic thinking, emphasises the non-distributional character of organisations. The 'voluntary sector' term has a more sociological basis and comprises organisations formed, operated and administered by voluntary initiative and voluntary human capital (volunteers). Religious organisations, informal (self-help) groups, mutuals and cooperatives are distinct

entities, not part of this definition (Anheier, 1990; Lohmann, 1992). The 'non-governmental sector' term describes all entities outside government. Similarly, 'third sector' distinguishes a third sector among the other two, namely the state and the market. The 'philanthropic sector' describes individual or organised philanthropic action that meets the common good A less dominant term in the literature, the 'eleemosynary sector', describes the behaviour of donations and giving, usually found in strong religious traditions (Lohmann, 1992; Salamon and Anheier, 1997a). The term 'civil society' reflects ideologies such as freedom of speech and association, and democracy. The word 'sector' usually accompanying the various terms, notes the existence of a distinct organisational arrangement in a given societal structural context, assuming an established division among the other sectors such as the market/private or governmental sectors (Evers and Laville, 2004).

In country-specific studies, the diversity of terms reflecting the reality and traditions of each distinct geographical context does not pose major problems. When research is comparative or when the effort is to locate voluntary sectors in the wider empirical landscape, then the diversity of terminologies poses many obstacles. Finding common ground on terminologies has constituted a large debate in the literature.

On language, Morris (2000) has pointed to another problematic dimension relating to the impact of time on the evolution of structures and terms: no universal definition can capture the changing role and development of the sector's components at different historical stages. Furthermore, modern definitions of civil society, third sector, non-governmental sector and non-profit sector cannot capture the realities of the past or the nature of early forms

of association. Lohmann (1992) shares this view, arguing that historical research cannot possibly use the term 'third sector' over the term 'philanthropy' to describe the past.

The use of single, static terms to trace the origins and history of institutions, therefore fails to account for changes within organisations and external developments in the socio-political context. Such terms also fail to capture the spirit of past arrangements, of early mobilization, the changing nature and scope of organisational networks and socio-political institutions (Hall, 1992; Lohmann, 1992; Morris, 2000; Salamon and Anheier, 1997a).

Understanding the voluntary sector

The voluntary sector in Europe evolved through various forms, from charities, friendly societies, voluntary organisations, foundations, social movements, social economy organisations including mutuals and cooperatives, and was the platform from which major public social provision developed (Evers and Laville, 2004). From a global perspective, Salamon, Sokolowski and List (2003:1) argue that non-profit organisations incorporate any institution that is a product of "religious impulses, social movements, cultural or professional interests, sentiments of solidarity and mutuality, altruism" or serves "to carry out public functions" and does not distribute profits. The dominant position on volunteering is that it reflects the effort of individuals and communities to mobilize to address the needs of groups in a society that are not addressed by the state and the market (Anheier and Salamon 1999).

Another generally agreed argument is that the voluntary sector has existed long before the establishment of the welfare state, has contributed to its creation, shaped its contours and made its values

and principles part of the welfare regime (Hasenfeld and Garrow, 2007). The voluntary sector has followed diverse traditions, shaped by various socio-economic, political, cultural and religious factors, while its trajectory has been influenced by forces embedded in every country's regime (Anheier, 2000, 2001; Anheier and Salamon 1999; Salamon and Anheier, 1996, 1998). This approach has established voluntary sectors as 'a function of their welfare regime' (Anheier and Salamon 1999; Salamon and Anheier, 1998). While evolving differently across countries it reflects distinct as well as common historic trajectories, cultural paths and traditions (Anheier and Salamon 1999; Defourny and Pestoff, 2008).

Different strands of research – disciplines, strategies, conceptual approaches - have tried to explain the voluntary sector's development. The main analytical tools for studying social welfare arrangements have been regime typologies, the pillars of the society (state, market, family), the "assimilation of pillars to regimes" and a "mixing and matching" approach of different types of regimes and different type of pillars (Goodin and Rein, 2001:770-771). Initially driven by economic theory (Hansmann, 1987; Weisbrod, 1975) voluntary sector literature has taken several paths to understand the social role of voluntary associations, and its relation with different sectors. Most research has explored the "composition, scope and structure" of the voluntary sector (Taylor, 2010:1), analysing ideologies, the relations and responsibilities of actors in welfare provision. While the US approach has used economic concepts, analysing in terms of the various sectors (market, public, private), the European approach has followed sociological and political approaches, using hybrid/welfare mix methods.

Voluntary sector studies, especially in social welfare, have sought to locate the pattern of voluntary sector development within its surrounding welfare context. The connection between voluntary activity and social welfare is found in the origins of social welfare itself. From ancient times, people associated in groups or tribes, to safeguard survival and meet needs (Ellor, Netting and Thibault, 1999). The gradual development of welfare was based on prominent religious ideologies and practices. Accounts from the early Greek 'polis' show philanthropy as a way to achieve welfare while establishing the early societal hierarchies, with polis' structures divided between those who could give, and the deserving and the undeserving poor (Ellor, Netting and Thibault, 1999; Lohmann 1992). The genesis of a pre-modern model of European welfare states came with the introduction of the poor laws from the 16th to the 19th century (Flora and Alber, 1981), alleviating poverty while defining reciprocal responsibilities at all structural levels of society. Each country's development came with the "liberal break" and its differentiated principles for "individualistic freedom, equality and self-help", opposing previous conceptualisations in welfare provision of "dependence and protection" (Flora and Alber, 1981:48). How each country developed its welfare state and voluntary sector depended on its socio-economic developmental process (the extent of industrialization, labour force and working class elements and their relation to political structures, social needs, religious and cultural influences, political), (Flora and Alber, 1981; Saint-Arnaud and Bernard, 2003). Welfare developments gradually opened the route to the creation of the 'new' welfare states, particularly after the second world war.

Comparative social policy literature has, since the 1960s, engaged in understanding the similarities and differences of welfare states.

Primarily driven by pure quantitative indicators on social welfare expenditure, most work proved problematic, with vital factors influencing the delivery of social provision in the welfare states missing (Abrahamson, 1999; Bonoli, 1997). With the publication of the pioneering work of Esping-Andersen (1990), academic analysis started to study welfare states "... as political, economic and social configurations, developing through distinctive historical trajectories and shaped through the interplay of a complex of factors" (Taylor-Gooby, 2001:5). Although Esping-Andersen's (1990) work 'displaced' the simplicity of earlier work such as the Beveridgean and the Bismarckian models[7] and Titmuss' (1972)[8] three welfare model approach, it has not given enough theoretical space to understand the voluntary sector's development. Welfare state theory has also neglected the role of voluntary organisations. In welfare state theory the voluntary sector has been viewed as a 'pre-modern mechanism' incapable of dealing with the problems addressed by modern welfare states: hence they were 'dislocated' when states materialized all their capabilities. This line of argument understands voluntary organisations as retained mostly through tradition rather than the need to bridge gaps resulting from the failures of the state (Flora and Alber 1981; Salamon, 1987; Salamon and Anheier, 1998). This 'closed' view for voluntary sector analysis has been challenged by other work.

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[7] Bismarckian tradition: social protection or welfare systems based on work performance and the contributions of employers and employees. Beveridgean model: a comprehensive welfare approach (i.e. covering all needs, usually for the whole of the population, without applying any means-tested-methods) (Bonoli, 1997; Abrahamson, 1999).

[8] Titmuss' models: a) The residual welfare model: social needs are met by the private market and the family and welfare institutions intervene only when the market and the family can not address welfare needs, b) The industrial, achievement-performance model: social welfare institutions are responsible for addressing needs, hence social needs are met according to work performance and productivity (based on the social insurance schemes) and c) The institutional-redistributive model: the public sector has a great role in social welfare, needs may be addressed both universally as well as selectively. It does not differentiate between social classes and has a strong redistributive character to serve the wider interests and needs of the population (Abrahamson, 1999).

Distinct sectors or hybrid welfare arrangements?

The literature has also developed conflicting approaches on how to conceptualize the landscape of voluntary organizations, divided between the mainly American ontological approach, which views the sector as a distinct entity separated from other sectors, and the mainly European epistemological approach, which has treated the voluntary sector as a hybrid case of other social institutions or an outcome of societal processes (Corry, 2010). Understanding this dividing conceptual landscape is important because it provides two different ways to analyse the voluntary sector's development.

The literature documents voluntary organisations as major components of welfare provision, to address common welfare needs. Proponents of the welfare mix approach argue that the complex processes and relationships in welfare provision cannot validate the independence of the sector from the state or other sectors and welfare actors (Abzug, 1999; Evers and Laville, 2004; Hasenfeld and Garrow, 2007): it makes no sense to separate the whole welfare system into strict sectorial sub-systems. Under the welfare mix approach, voluntary organisations are conceptualised as units that interact with or spring from the state, market and family/community, acting "as hybrids, intermeshing different resources and connecting different areas, rather than setting clear demarcation lines around a sector and mapping its size" (Evers 1995:160). Evers' (1995) 'welfare triangle' helps to analyse the plurality of welfare interventions, emphasising the role of informal welfare provision provided by informal networks, families and communities. The starting point, development, scope, nature, activity and structure of the voluntary sector are guided by socio-economic and political forces: legislative frameworks, values and ideologies regarding roles and responsibilities in welfare provision,

imposed by the 'corners' of the 'welfare triangle' (the state, market and private households) (See Appendix, VIII). This paradigm depicts a web of linkages and the interplay of forces engaged in welfare provision, which may independently affect the sector's cause, course of evolution and development (Evers and Laville, 2004). The 'distinct sector' US approach on the other hand, views the volunteering landscape as a distinct arena away from state and market sectors, analysing the composition, functions and relations among sectors. In theory and practice the non-profit sector is in 'competition' with the other sectors, without the close state-sector collaboration of European approaches and context.

These opposing paradigms have built into major debates, sparking confusion rather than providing clear analytical tools. Bahle (2003) argues that rather than separating actors into sectors, research could simply study societal structures - state, family, church - and their diverse interconnection in welfare delivery. Kramer (2000:16) has also argued that by "de-throning" voluntary organizations we can gain new insight from studying the interdependent work of networks in societies and communities. This assumes that to study the sectors separately runs the risk of missing important factors that have contributed to the voluntary sector's development.

The 'sectorization' approach proves even more problematic when research focuses on the historic development of welfare actors: Abzug (1999) argues that the modern conceptualisation of the 'sectoral' distinction of the welfare system cannot reflect the reality of ancient welfare regimes and actors.

Relations in defining welfare patterns

Both conceptual approaches highlight 'relations' as means to understand actors' roles in welfare and location in the wider context. Understanding relations among welfare provision structures and actors is important because "welfare patterns", according to Taylor and Bassi (1998:116) are "a product of a variety of relationships": the nature of the relationship is a strong determinant of the development of non-profit organisations. The study of relations has been a major analytic tool in understanding ideologies in welfare, divisions of responsibilities among actors, models in welfare arrangements as well as evolutionary patterns and changing roles over time.

Many types of relationships have emerged in the literature, most focusing on the voluntary sector-state relation. Young (2000) proposed a three-fold schema: complementary/cooperative, supplementary/independent and adversarial/mutual state-voluntary sector relationships. In supplementary relationships the sector engages in welfare provision when the state fails to provide the services or welfare benefits in demand (Young, 2000). In complementary relationships there is a direct state-voluntary sector connection, with the government undertaking financing while the voluntary sector delivers welfare goods and services (Young 2000). This type of relationship is more likely to emerge after wars or crises Gidron, 1997). In complementary relationships, states usually use an empowerment and participation strategy: mobilizing and empowering groups to fulfil their potential in meeting needs through their active engagement in service delivery (Evers, 2008 in Kolaric, 2009). In adversarial relationships the state and the voluntary sector place demands on each other (to change governmental policies or impose regulations to influence the sector's scope) (Young, 2000). Similarly, Gidron, Kramer and Salamon (1992) introduced more

variety into analysing relationships, offering: 1) government dominant, 2) third sector dominant, 3) dual, reflecting minimal interaction of the two sectors and 4) collaborative, bringing more depth to the analysis of the interaction of states and voluntary sectors. A rather more complex approach is found in Coston's (1998) politics-driven models (repression, rivalry, competition, contracting, co-operation, complementarity and collaboration) usefully adding the dimension of power in relationships.

On the state-voluntary sector relations Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff (2002:10) add that "there is a greater number and variety of relationships and greater complexity than is often recognised". This position has been analysed previously under the 'welfare triangle' approach (Evers 1995) portraying the complex interaction and relations among state, market, family and community. The complexity of relations among many actors and dimensions and their interaction with the voluntary sector will be a strong element of the chapter. Lewis (1999:256) has argued that academic 'persistence' in analysing state-voluntary sector relations derives from the fact that "the voluntary sector has always sought a partnership with the state" and likewise the state has historically looked for welfare partners in service delivery as part of the welfare pluralism ideology. This is why later debates have supported study of relationships from a wider inter-sectoral approach (Kim, 2008) since nonprofits "interact with different environments simultaneously" (Rymsza and Zimmer (2004:169). Cho and Gillespie (2006) have introduced a more dynamic approach to studying relationships by addressing the limitations of the 'static' element of state-sector relations and identifying welfare recipients as key to understanding relations in welfare provision.

Which forces define the type of relationship in a context and how can relations define welfare patterns and responsibility in welfare? Most authors agree that the voluntary sector-state relationship is a result of dynamic forces or an outcome of the type of welfare regime (DiMaggio and Anheier, 1990; Hasenfeld and Garrow, 2007; Salamon and Anheier, 1996, 1998; Salamon, Sokolowski and Anheier 2000). For example, the universal/social democratic system favours a relationship where the state has full responsibility and authority over welfare provision, while associations have a role in channelling people's needs to the state (Evers and Laville, 2004). In a dual/liberal system, relationships take another form. The government's responsibility and engagement in welfare is highly restricted: provision is the responsibility of the family and private sector, while the role of the third sector remains limited. A corporatist regime gives an important role to the voluntary sector in service provision and encourages strong relationships between public authorities and voluntary organisations (Evers and Laville, 2004). The interdependence theory adds that the type of state-sector relationship is shaped by previous circumstances: in cases where non-profit organisations are already established in a certain field the state is 'forced' to rely on voluntary organisations' expertise and experience. But this theory provides no explanation of the dynamics or factors accounting for the relationship between the state and the sector (Salamon and Anheier 1996).

Choices and decisions also shape relationships. According to the regime/neo-institutional model, structures evolve or become embedded in society according to choices and decisions: the sector is the outcome of political decisions and surrounding forces. Highly bureaucratic and regulative structural arrangements or an

authoritative ruling system can suppress the sector and create a strict form of relationships (Smith and Gronbjerg, 2006).

Economic perspectives on voluntary sector development

The economics discipline has also developed an extended body of theoretical and empirical research to analyse the origins, behaviour and relationships of actors in providing welfare. Despite its quantitative and economic approach it provides important insight into the voluntary sector, with early attempts to understand the different functions and motives of the voluntary sector in relation to the state and market.

The classical 'public goods' theory ('market failure/government failure' and 'heterogeneity theory') (Weisbrod, 1977) suggests that the existence of the non-profit sector is a result of government and market failure to produce 'public or collective goods' that are in demand. Failure may occur either because the state has no interest in satisfying the demand or because it aims to limit provision to goods for which there is political support from political echelons or voters. The "residual unsatisfying demand" (Hansmann, 1987:29) against the heterogeneous needs and preferences is what encourages the formation of groups and associations, mainly as a reaction to the failure to satisfy demand for public goods. Additionally, the greater the heterogeneity and 'absence' of adequate market and state welfare provision, the larger the non-profit activity. The major limitation of this theory is that it cannot identify a relationship between the sector and the state, assuming that the sector acts as a substitute for the government (Kingma, 1997; Salamon, 1987; Salamon and Anheier 1996; Young, 2000). Another limitation is failure to acknowledge the voluntary sector's own 'failure'. The first

assumes that a voluntary sector grows and expands only when the market or the government fail to address social needs: a weak correlation (Salamon, Sokolowski and Anheier, 2000). These limitations have been addressed by Salamon's (1987) 'third-party government' theory and 'voluntary failure' theory: multiple actors engage in providing public goods, suggesting an interactive relationship. The latter assumes limitations within the non-profit sector to address needs (Salamon, 1987; Salamon and Anheier 1996). Salamon (1987) sees 'voluntary failure' as a result: a) philanthropic insufficiency (the sector's inability to mobilize the resources required to address needs in advanced/industrial societies), b) philanthropic particularism (the sector's inability adequately to represent the groups it serves and accommodate their needs, c) philanthropic paternalism (a weakness resulting from the way voluntary action is 'shaped' and guided by those owning the means to support the sector), and d) philanthropic amateurism (the sector's amateur approach, due to lack of professional staff, in dealing with social problems) (see also Salamon and Anheier 1996).

Hansmann (1980, 1987) also developed a comprehensive thesis to explain the rising levels of non-profit organisations. Placing trust at the centre of his analysis he argues that voluntary organisations increase because there are higher levels of trust in the non-profits than the for-profits. This brings the non-distribution dimension as key to understand differences in welfare provision between market and non-profit sectors. Hansmann (1987) has also theorised a supply-side approach to explain non-profits emerging from "social entrepreneurship" endeavours and motives such as tax and other exemptions or finances (Hansmann, 1987). Alternatively, James (1987) has discussed social entrepreneurship related to religious motives.

Despite economic theories' valuable contribution, all share severe deficits in drawing concepts strictly from market theories which disregard mutual benefit, moral, social and altruistic dimensions of the voluntary sector (Evers and Laville, 2004). Their single-factor platform results in major deficiencies in understanding the "overall contours" of the state-sector relationship in social service provision (Kim, 2010: 3).

Family, community and gender perspectives

So, the pillars of society, including the family and the community, are key tools for understanding welfare arrangements in societies. The wider effort to bring all main welfare actors to the centre of voluntary sector analysis has produced various arguments for understanding the contributions of families and communities to its development.

A shared argument is that a strong connection exists between families/communities and the creation of voluntary associations. Evers' (1995) 'welfare triangle' views voluntary organisations as structures shaped by multiple needs, qnd contributions, of families and communities. Wilson (2000:225) adds: "much volunteer work is organised by and around family relations". The linkage between voluntary associations and communities has been studied much earlier. Aristotle viewed communities as the result of people's social interaction, and the basis from which people have built formal and informal associations to achieve their common purpose. The sharing of values, goods and experiences bonded people into friendships in search of the 'Good Life' and common benefit, achieved through people's association into networks (Young, 2005). Therefore, mutual help in welfare, based on kinship and community ties, has been

rooted in philanthropy, altruism and reciprocity within communities (Santos, 1999 in Ferreira, 2005).

The family's historical responsibility in welfare, developing into strong informal welfare platforms, has contributed to the voluntary sector's development (Abzug, 1999; Defourny and Pestoff, 2008; Portes and Zhou 1992). Beyond micro-analysis arguments for people's "natural propensity" to associate in organised welfare networks (Fukuyama, 1999), a macro-structural approach would add that outcomes are responses to surrounding forces, the state and the market, where the lower the 'guarantees' for peoples' well being, the higher the level of voluntary activity (Salamon and Sokolowski, 2001). Stronger mutual help and philanthropic traditions tend to develop under more critical circumstances. Such insight connects the community perspective with collective power theories, which explain how individuals join forces to change a problematic situation (Parsons 1960 in Mann, 1985). Authors have highlighted various conditions such as the absence of a formal welfare state (Santos, 1999 in Ferreira, 2005), nations experiencing 'stateless' conditions (Gidron, et al., 1997; Jaffe, 1992), political instability with rapidly changing social conditions (DiMaggio and Anheier, 1990), and harsh authoritarian systems (Coleman, 1994). From a sociological perspective, Portes (1992) argues, communities have learned to act as informal economies, developing stronger bonds under authoritarianism, state oppression or external threats. Similarly, Scott (1990) argued that, under colonial conditions, or when people experience domination, a 'richer' and more 'active' behaviour develops. Strong familial and community bonding have also been connected with other conditions: Baldacchino (2011) has found a strong connection between small states and high levels of family and community solidarity.

Social capital, "a broad term encompassing the norms and networks facilitating collective action for mutual benefit" (Putnam, 1993:35), has also been related to families, communities and the voluntary sector. Stolle and Lewis (2002:20) have argued for "social capital's embeddedness in the triangular relationship between the state, the family and civil society". Sedano et al (2009:165) identified the family as "the place where social capital is formed" and found close links between social capital, participation in voluntary associations and the density of social networks/associations. Similar positions are shared by others: social capital is expressed in activities "in the interests of the collectivity" (Coleman, 1988:104) or strong community bonds (Birch and Whittam, 2008), with great influence on the development of associations. Oorschott and Arts (2005), under the 'crowding out hypothesis', suggest that high welfare spending results in decreased levels of social capital as expressed in social informal relations and social networks. An opposite position, under the welfare regime approach, is expressed by Gelissen, Van Oorschot and Finsveen (2012), who have explored the welfare state's impact on social capital, focusing primarily on causality, concluding that social capital, specifically participation in voluntary associations, is higher in countries with higher levels of welfare provision. Social capital has been such a strong concept in the literature that it has been brought into the logic of regimes: Pichler and Wallace (2007) have developed a typology of "social capital regimes" reflecting the diversity of culture in formal and informal welfare participation.

Insight into the link between the family/community and the voluntary sector's development is provided by studies following biological and sociological perspectives. Darwin viewed altruism as an evolutionary trait that 'managed' to evolve because it benefits both individuals and groups. Sober (2002) added that the evolution of altruism

through generations is also a result of 'inheritance mechanisms' where parents transmit their altruistic behaviour to their children. More insight into understanding social behaviour is provided by Gintis' (2000) evolutionary model which posits 'strong reciprocity traits', transferred through genes from generation to generation, reinforcing co-operation between members of a society, strengthening at times of systematic threat or war. Societies which have historically experienced major threats, survived because they possessed high levels of the 'strong reciprocity trait' (Gintis, 2000). Following a sociological approach, Alexander (1974) argued that social groups engage in various forms of social interaction, involving altruistic acts, to survive or achieve common interests. Defining common interests closely relates to formal organisation of welfare provision. According to Shervish (2008), caring acts and philanthropic interaction lie at the heart of the evolutionary path of philanthropic associations and also help (Martin 1994:1), to "unite individuals into caring relationships".

Gender has featured strongly as a strong dimension for exploring the voluntary sector. Wilson and Musick (1997) distinguish three factors facilitating female participation in voluntary work: human (socio-economic status), social (social ties) and cultural capital (ethics, morality, religion). Ridgeway and Lovin (1999) made an important contribution in relation to the diverse identities produced by gender. They have argued that "gender is a background identity ... enmeshed with other identities" (Ridgeway and Lovin, 1999:193) analysing how gender interaction in voluntary associations creates dimensions of segregation.

From a regime perspective, Orloff discussed the complex interplay between gender and welfare states, concluding that gender

relations shape welfare states while state policies affect gender relations. This complex interplay is (Orloff 1996), responsible for the division of labour and allocation of gender roles in welfare. Introducing 'de-familisation', Bambra (2007) studied how welfare states and regimes support female independence from family relationships (welfare responsibilities and unpaid work) and the extent to which they facilitate their participation in socio-economic life. Such insight is important to our understanding of how welfare states and surrounding conditions facilitate participation in voluntary associations from a gender perspective.

Similarly, Themudo explored the relation between empowerment, gender and the non-profit sector, arguing for a stronger voluntary sector in contexts where there are high levels of women's empowerment. Themudo adds that women's position in social hierarchies can explain their level of participation in voluntary associations. He also finds a close link between female empowerment, socio-economic characteristics and participation in voluntary associations. Arguing for a gender theory of the non-profit sector, Themudo (2009) concludes that women behave more altruistically, supported by Wilson and Musick (1997), while greater levels of women's empowerment lead to higher government spending on voluntary associations. Although Themudo (2009) focuses on the empowerment/non-profit participation relationship, he does not provide a wider perspective on the relationship between gender and voluntary sector development.

Religious and cultural perspectives

Closely related to voluntary sector analysis have been religious and cultural perspectives. Salamon, Sokolowski and List (2003:1-2) note:

"what lies behind this [the voluntary sector's] development is a wide assortment of different factors", one of which is religion. Many explorations of the connection between welfare and religion offer important insight into religion-voluntary sector relationships. Bahle (2003) and Jeffers (1999) argued that religious welfare organisations long formed the basis of the voluntary sector, while Michailidis (2004:29) described philanthropy, religion's major component, as "the most ancient precursor of today's social welfare practices". Theoretical insight into religion and its pervasive influence on human behaviour, welfare arrangements and the development of the sector are explored in the following sections.

Charity and philanthropy are the most ancient welfare acts, existing in ancient societies: hence the linkage between religion and social welfare dates back to the origins of religious traditions (Ellor, Netting and Thibault, 1999; Midgley, 1995). Various ancient scripts and work in the tradition of Christianity record this relationship. The Odyssey, one of the oldest works of Homer in Greek Literature, presents an extensive account of philanthropic acts towards beggars. Cicero's work 'The Moral Obligations' (in 44 B.C.) discusses generosity and giving to deserving others. Also, in the work 'On Benefits by Seneca the Younger' (62-64 A.D.), individuals are encouraged to be 'charitable' to those in need and deserving (Bremner, 2000). Jesus preached love the stranger as well as the enemy, give to all in need and do charitable acts in a silent way (Matthew Ch. 5:41-44; 6:1-6). Paul developed "communities of donors, empowered spiritually and philanthropically through the church" (Robbins, 2006:20).

With the establishment of various religious traditions in pre-modern or pre-state societies, religious institutions undertook welfare responsibility, with clear charity obligations and practices. Religion

continued to have a key welfare role in collaboration with the leaders of developing societal systems or heads of states, which gradually took the form of welfare states (Berger, 2006; Ellor, Netting and Thibault, 1999).

The relationship between religion and associational life is widely documented to explain voluntary and social behaviour. Smidt (2003:2) has argued that religious beliefs and values have served "to shape the level, form and goals of one's associational life" which also developed collective responsibility into a 'social norm' to address welfare needs. The dynamics and importance of religion are also reflected in comparative regime studies, which have sought to understand its influence in political, societal, governmental and welfare structures, used as a variable to understand commonalities and differences in welfare states (Gal, 2008; Gough, 1999; Manow and Kersbergen, 2006, 2009; Salamon and Anheier, 1997a).

The role of churches as agents of welfare and important contributors to the shaping of welfare regimes is widely discussed. On the contribution of religion in welfare state development, Manow and Kersbergen (2009) have added a religious dimension to the traditional class-based/power resource approach, thus providing another way of understanding the development of welfare arrangements, based on the institutional role of the Church in societies. This moves beyond the traditional account, which rooted welfare states in modernisation processes (industrialisation, democratisation, political) and supports the argument that state-Church struggles over welfare have been as intense as capital and labour conflicts and should have more central roles in research. Haynes (2006) also supported this argument with his triad of state-society-religion analysis, contradicting the two-fold state-society

analysis. Haynes (2006:2) argues class-based analysis "on its own" can no longer be "a defensible form of political analysis without concern with other, non-materialist issues, including religion". The need to consider the diverse dimensions of religion - cultural, welfare and ethnic - is shared by Madeley (2000) who has defended the analysis of church-state relations.

The diversity of religious doctrines in relation to developing welfare arrangements has triggered debates. Manow and Kersbergen (2009:7) have argued that state-Church cleavage lines or class cleavages and their relation to the Church can explain "the different directions nations went in their social policy development". Similar arguments have emerged in the non-profit literature. To date, studies have given little analytical attention to religion and its diverse attributes around the globe. Such concerns have been addressed by Salamon's and Anheier's (1997a) third sector/third world research. They have focused on religious doctrines and how they influence voluntary sector development, based on these dimensions: stance of religious doctrine on altruism and philanthropy, ideology around the institutionalisation of religion and the Church's place in society (autonomy from the state) (Salamon and Anheier, 1997a:6). An important contribution is made by Backstrom's, Davie's, Edgardh's and Pettersson's (2011) study on state-Church-society relations. They linked regimes to Church traditions, identifying four different welfare regimes and four different Church traditions: social-democratic welfare regimes (representing the Lutheran Church); liberal regimes (reflecting the Anglican Church tradition); continental welfare regimes of Germany and France (reflecting the Catholic tradition); and the more rudimentary welfare regimes (representing both Catholic and Orthodox traditions). Using secularisation as an analytical tool, the authors argue that different secularisation

trajectories can explain the balance of roles in welfare among the state, the Church, religious organizations and the voluntary sector. Alternatively, Wagner (2008) notes the limitations of the secularisation approach in understanding religion-welfare relations arguing the persistence of religious values, not fading with secularisation.

Other routes have been taken to examine the role of religion, regimes and development of the voluntary sector. The relation between culture and the welfare state is one (Baldock, 1999; Oorschot, 2007; Oorschot, Opielka, Pfau-Effinger, 2008). Pfau-Effinger (2005b) has analysed how cultural ideas and the 'welfare culture' of social actors, including voluntary organisations, affect the welfare state. Conflict and crisis have been added,, with arguments that political conflicts have their roots in religion, while religion can build strong religious and ethnic identities, also a strong source creating social movements (Markides, 1974; Sherkat and Ellisson, 1999). Fokas (1997) argues interestingly for understanding the diverse impacts of church in society through the linkages between religion, nationalism, identity, culture and political life. For Greece, Fokas (1997:11) argues, Christian Orthodoxy has historically been: "granted national character and is still acknowledged as the defender and perpetuator of the nation".

Social capital has also been strongly associated with religion and voluntary organisations. Social capital, in any form - social organisation, close relationships, trust and social participation for mutual benefit - is largely generated by religion, with voluntary organisations the outcome of both religion and social capital (Abzug, 1999; Coleman, 1988; Portes, 1998; Smidt, 2003; Wagner, 2008). Religion's importance in the creation of voluntary organisations has also been explained from an economic

perspective, based on 'supply-side' logic (Hansmann, 1987; James, 1987), where voluntary organisations' genesis is influenced by 'social entrepreneurship' incentives as well as religious motives.

Interesting links are also found between women, religion and voluntary care provision. Sherkat and Ellisson (1999:372) argued that religion traditionally shaped gender roles within its structural welfare arrangements (religious/welfare organisations). This is why Backstrom, et al. (2011:1) argue that welfare, religion, voluntary associations and gender interact in more complex ways than previously assumed arguing for a more "fruitful synthesis" emerging when social sciences, theology and gender studies interact.

Understanding voluntary sectors as part of their welfare regimes

Important structures have claimed influence on the way voluntary associations develop. Despite the one-dimensional theorising on the voluntary sector's development in perspectives focusing on families, religion, gender, social capital and social behaviour, the welfare regime literature employs more diverse theoretical concepts to understand the complexity of factors that define welfare states and their ordering into distinct regimes. Some seminal work has already been discussed. Still, more insight is needed, for three main reasons. Firstly, stands a dominant notion that the voluntary sector is a 'derivative' of its regime (Salamon and Anheier, 1998) its nature and expansion largely depending on the welfare regime type in which it functions (Anheier, 2000; Hasenfeld and Garrow, 2007). Secondly, the assumption that the way "welfare production is allocated" among welfare actors (Esping-Andersen 1999:73) is shaped by "systems of power stratification [hierarchies of class power] that uphold different types of welfare states" (Kemeny, 1995), the essence

of regime conceptualisation. The third reason relates to the dominant social origins theory, the most comprehensive theory in voluntary sector research, which explores the development of voluntary sector, resting on traditional welfare regime typology.

What are welfare regimes and how can they provide insight for voluntary sector research? A regime, according to Krasner (1983) is a set of "principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures around which actor expectations converge in a given issue area" (Krasner, 1983:1). Welfare regimes move beyond the Bismarckian and the Beveridgean traditions, Titmuss' (1972) welfare models (residual, industrial-achievement performance and institutional redistributive) or the narrow/single-factor explanations developed by traditional welfare state and economic theories. Esping -Andersen's (1990) pioneering work, 'Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism', identified political complexities and interaction between state, market and family, as prime forces behind the trajectory of social welfare systems. A traditional account of welfare state development would focus on industrialisation, demography, labour participation and economic development to understand the trajectories of states (see Wilensky, 1975). According to Esping-Andersen (1999:34-5) a welfare regime is "the combined, interdependent way in which welfare is produced and allocated between state, market and family". His 'welfare capitalism' concept, as opposed to traditional welfare state theory, locates the welfare mix reality in social welfare thus shifting the focus from previous views holding the state as the main welfare provider. Since the dominant non-profit sector theory builds on the work of Esping-Andersen (1990) it is important to introduce his thesis. Without limiting his approach to any single factor to understand welfare regimes he argues that regimes designate "the institutional arrangements, rules and understandings that guide

and shape concurrent social policy decisions, expenditure developments, problem definitions ..." (Esping-Andersen, 1990:80). Esping-Andersen's (1990) analysis focuses on society's classes and power relations to explore how multiple interacting factors, mainly coalitions, the mobilisation of classes and their representation in politics as well as their conflicting interests, shape welfare regime types, determine welfare principles and the whole organisation of the welfare system. Variations and differences among welfare states result from different political choices, decisions and historical coalitions. Esping-Andersen (1990) has furthermore developed ideal welfare regime types[9], according to how much they de-commodify[10] labour, thus departing theoretically, from the traditional single social expenditure analysis.

Mapping all alternative typologies arising from Esping-Andersen's (1990) modelling (see Arts and Gelissen, 2002 for an overview) would be beyond the scope of this thesis. The focus here is on theoretical

[9] Esping-Andersen's (1990) threefold welfare regime typology includes: The liberal welfare regime, based on the laissez-faire ideology and the residual welfare systems (found in the UK, USA, Ireland, Canada and Australia or Anglo-Saxon countries) is tax financed and provides minimal and means-tested benefits and emphases the free market for further social protection. The conservative welfare system, based on the corporatist welfare regime, experienced in Continental Europe (Germany, France, Austria, Belgium, Italy and, to a lesser extent, the Netherlands), greatly influenced by Catholicism, excludes the market from any social provision. The family is at the centre of welfare provision, which provides obstacles to the participation of women with dependants in the labour market and the state plays a dominant role in social protection and welfare. It is financed by the contributions of employers and employees and tends to favour the more privileged groups of society (those in the labour force) and minimize social redistribution. The private sector covers social groups not entitled to social assistance. Such regimes develop in countries with various social-class interests resulting segmented welfare states. The Scandinavian welfare model, based on the social democratic regime found in Scandinavia provides 'universal' welfare and does not give any role to the market in welfare. 'Universality' stems from active political participation and direct democracy and is the result of powerful coalitions between the working-class and white collar interests. It promotes the principle of full employment, emphasises the provision of public services rather than cash distributions and is financed by taxes (Arts and Gelissen, 2002; Baldwin, 1992; Esping-Andersen 1990; Kemeny 1995).

10 Decommodification refers to 'the extent to which individuals and families can maintain a normal and socially acceptable standard of living regardless of their market performance' (Esping-Andersen, 1987: 86)

alternatives that may relate to Cyprus and its characteristics and can contribute to the thesis.

Cyprus' geographical location in the Mediterranean makes the Southern/Mediterranean regime typology important to consider. The Southern European state can be located in the middle of "highly functional states" such as Britain, France, Japan, Sweden, Germany and the United States and the "dysfunctional states" including Imperial China, Ottoman Empire, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East (Gunther, et al, 2006:10). Research on Southern/Mediterranean regimes has typically studied Portugal, Spain, Italy and Greece, except Gal (2010) who added Cyprus and Malta.

The Mediterranean welfare regime, introduced by Ferrera (1996), has received generous attention from many important contributors (Bonoli, 1997; Ferrera, 1996, Gal 2010; Gunther, et al. 2006; Karamessini, 2007; Katrougalos, 1996; Leibfried, 1992; Moreno, 1998; 2006; Rhodes 1997; Trifiletti, 1999), attempting to locate southern countries in the welfare regime map.

A strong feature, underlying the model's distinctiveness, is the strong inheritance of a corporatist past, still underpinning many social welfare domains. Gunther, et al (2006), argue that common social, political and cultural past separates Mediterranean countries from other clusters. More insight is gained from these countries' commonalities. Their 'polarized' and 'fragmented' social insurance systems, divided according to segments of the labour market, favouring core sectors such as the regular workforce and privileged occupations (Ferrera 1996, 2007), have given limited access to various segments of the population and a fragmented provision of

welfare benefits (Gunther, et al. 2006). Mediterranean social insurance systems have also shared high social spending to cover 'standard risks' such as pensions, rather than cover family or vulnerable groups adequately (Ferrera, 1996). Social welfare developments, incremental and fragmented, lying in these countries' past (Katrougalos 1996), marked by an "interrupted" history of welfare state development resulted in "incomplete institutionalization" of their welfare states (Rhodes 1997:14). Fascism in Italy, dictatorship in Portugal and Greece, Francoism in Spain, civil wars and other internal conflicts and forces have delayed democratisation and modernization, economic and industrial development, causing difficulty in stabilizing democracy compared with other European countries (Ferrera 1996; Moreno, 1998; Petmesidou, 1996; Rhodes 1997). From the early 1980s these southern countries managed to restructure their socio-political environments and boost their economies. Spain, Portugal and Greece achieved stabilization of their democratic regimes only in the 1970s and Italy in the 1940s (Ferreira 2005; Gunther et al, 2006; Nagle and Mahr, 1999; Rhodes, 1997). This common history has resulted in an extensive engagement of non-state actors and institutions in shaping welfare and outcomes (Ferrera, 1996; Moreno, 2006), with voluntary associations key welfare actors in areas not covered by the state (Moreno, 2006). Powerful clientelistic norms embedded in public institutions, are another feature of this cluster. This entails on-going patterns of exchange of favours of many forms, one being welfare provision, which progressively brings high levels of welfare 'manipulation' (Ferrera, 1996; Gal, 2010; Gunther, et al 2006; Piattoni, 2001). Clientelism, in informal and formal contexts of relations between individuals or groups, is usually related to late democratisation and peculiar political contexts or unstable and weak welfare states.

Religion as an embedded feature of everyday life is another commonality. The Church has not only been a dominant actor in welfare but also a force which has empowered familialism, strengthened family solidarity and developed the notion of "intra familial" material and non-material transfers (altruism and care) in families and community (Moreno, 1998:3 and 2006). High levels of informal care and unpaid work, mostly provided by women within the extended family and kinship network (Naldini 2003) and the development of strong informal care regimes (Ferrera 2005; Karamessini 2007; Moreno, 2002) lead to low-levels of state intervention in welfare provision (Ferrera, 1996; Moreno, 2006) and minimal opportunities for shaping a universalistic welfare state (Flaquer 2000; Gunther, et al 2006).

Whether Southern European welfare regimes constitute a combination of a conservative-continental and corporatist state regime or a separate Mediterranean regime has been widely discussed (Bonoli, 1997; Ferreira and Figueiredo, 2005; Ferrera, 1996, 2007; Gal, 2010; Gunther et al, 2006; Karamessini, 2007; Katrougalos, 1996; Leibfried, 1992; Moreno, 1998, 2002, 2006; Petmesidou, 1996; Rapti, 2007; Rhodes 1997; Trifiletti, 1999; Vogel, 1999). Esping-Andersen (1997) argued that, although familialism is a strong determinant in southern countries, their regimes fall under the continental/corporatist cluster. Similarly, Abrahamson (1992:405) argued that the southern welfare regime can be understood as a "discount edition" of Esping-Andersen's (1990) continental model rather than a distinct fourth model. Also, Katrougalos' (1996) analysis of Greece's position in welfare regime typologies concludes that southern countries are just a sub-category of the continental model.

Gal's important contribution to analysis of the southern model (Gal 2010) not only supports the existence of a Mediterranean model but argues for an "extended family of Mediterranean welfare states", including Malta, Cyprus, Turkey and Israel which have been traditionally excluded in regime analysis (Gal, 2010). His argument has been empirically supported by Böhnke's (2008) analysis of poverty and social integration, which locates both Malta and Cyprus in the Mediterranean welfare cluster. The most profound differences lie in the countries' ideological approach to welfare. Israel and Cyprus have followed the Beveridgean legacy, Greece, Italy and Spain the Bismarckian tradition, while remaining countries are more hybrid cases (Gal, 2010). Gal (2010) argues all eight nations have in common: a history of tense political environments, internal ethnic/political strife and authoritarianism, delay and discontinuity in the development and stabilization of democracy and welfare state building. Large resources have been systematically allocated to other domains, in particular the military, to safeguard stability, unity, security and peace rather than building strong welfare states.

Despite strong support for the Mediterranean regime, authors have argued that internal and external forces not only challenge but also transform the common features of countries in this cluster. European integration is one such challenge that has systematically 'distorted' characteristics of all clusters, including the Mediterranean cluster (Ferrera, 1996; Gal, 2010; Katrougalos, 1996; Moreno, 2006; Moreno and Palier, 2004). Secondly, the "superwoman" Mediterranean model of caring, formed by increased levels of female labour market participation, started to weaken with changing familialist values and socio-economic conditions, with crucial "knock-on effects" (Moreno, 2006:8) to the traditional welfare structure, influencing the behaviour of current and future generations (Moreno, 2002). Thirdly, changes in

the traditional Mediterranean family have brought more coherent social strategies balancing the 'fragmented' characteristic of these welfare systems (Ferrera and Hemerijck, 2003; Matsaganis, et al, 2003:15; Moreno, 2006). Fourthly, the large numbers of immigrant household carers have threatened familialism, which is one of the most important Mediterranean characteristics. Furthermore, welfare mix tendencies in service provision have reinforced the role of different actors, weakening the traditional responsibility of the family in welfare (Grasselli, Montesi and Iannone, 2006).

Welfare regime modelling has been extended to the underdeveloped world, providing rich insight into welfare conditions and interacting forces beyond the western capitalist world. Wood and Gough (2006) have suggested that Esping-Andersen's pioneering typology can only apply to capitalist countries in the OECD[11], which have made their transition into the known idea of the welfare state. They define, insightfully, welfare regimes as "repeated systemic arrangements through which people seek livelihood security both for their own lives and for those of their children, descendants, and elders" (Wood and Gough, 2006:1700). They also discuss the main features of the capitalist world, to highlight the distinctive differences from poor countries. In their view, western regime types derive from seven conditions: 1) highly capitalist arrangements, where the division of labour is based on the ownership or non-ownership of capital, 2) class relations develop as a result of labour divisions, 3) livelihood and income is achieved through labour market employment, 4) political arrangements are shaped by the mobilization of classes, 5) the existence of autonomous states,

[11] The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) is an international organisation composed mostly by members of high-income economies (developed countries). Its origins date back in 1948 and today its membership extends beyond European states.

engaging variously in social provisions, 6) the welfare matrix defines class power and the means to distribute resources, 7) established welfare regimes (Wood and Gough, 2006:1699). But in poor countries, we observe: absent states and capitalist features, high rates of poverty, powerful kinship relations and high community engagement in security and social affairs. The principal argument is that in countries of welfare capitalism, welfare is delivered by the 'formal welfare state' while in developing countries people rely on communities, the family and other organised networks to meet their needs, except in cases where powerful external forces impose political instability and conflict, diminishing the development of informal mechanisms. This contradicts, in many ways, the traditional regime approach extending the traditional form of the welfare regime (state, market and family) to include the community, informal social relations and the international factor. In developed countries, the means to secure welfare rights and outcomes (through social policy) result from "pressures from below [labour movements, welfare institutions] and reforms from above", coming from the top/elite group which uses social policy to serve its own interests (i.e. their power or even legitimacy) (Wood and Gough, 2006:1708). The authors' argument accounts for the different contextual and social conditions existing in poor countries, marked by "path-dependent patterns of development or underdevelopment": a) lack of legitimacy and dysfunctional labour and markets, b) citizenship rights and welfare mainly provided through informal relationships and kinship rather than statutory state arrangements, c) path dependency acting as a dynamic force preserving elements from the past (Wood and Gough, 2006:1697).

Gough (1999) has also studied developing societies, introducing other interesting elements to the regime debates. He has noted the

impact of colonialism, a common experience in the history of underdeveloped countries, and the spread of colonizers' welfare practices in these contexts. Dependency on international economic and political factors (the ILO, WHO and IMF), different patterns in societal structures (household and gender issues), social protection systems based on unpaid labour by religious and non-governmental institutions, foreign aid, community, clan and the household, form the key forces behind regime development. Gough's main argument is that regime studies should explore "pre-capitalist sources of identity and political mobilisation ... ethnic, religious, racial, regional, caste or others" (Gough, 1999:12) as sources of stratification rather than limiting the focus to class analysis.

Beyond the regime dichotomies in developed or underdeveloped contexts, an interesting body of work focusing on small states/islands (United Nations and Commonwealth Secretariat studies) provides important conceptualisations to understand welfare arrangements in small national contexts. The traditional literature on welfare state development and welfare regimes (Esping-Andersen, 1990) and non-profit regime literature (John Hopkins Comparative Non-Profit Sector Studies) have neglected the significance of the 'small state/island'.

Richards (1979:179-180) has explored the impact of a country's size on society arguing that "in small polities, society is still very closely enmeshed with the state and the state with society ... resulting in a stronger feeling of community ... more emotional commitment towards civic relationships...", more energies to address social issues and better organisation of welfare based on networks of solidarity. Baldacchino (2011), in his study on social policies in small states, argues that strong ties, social capital and sense of collective identity that extend from family to community, even to the whole fabric of

society, are important characteristics, indicating their pattern of development and degree of prosperity. Similarly Irving (2011) has argued that high levels of solidarity in welfare relations, are shaped by small size, and Richards (1979) has shown small societies as more solidaristic and resourceful in solving social problems from below rather than from above. From a historical and political perspective, Bertram (2011) adds that the current shape of welfare states in small jurisdictions "flows from key events" during the period of decolonisation (1950-1980s), while "the nature and purposes of government" have been determined by "metropolitan powers exercising strong influence via colonial rule". Irving (2009) has highlighted how population size, political and economic vulnerability, and culture shape welfare regimes in small islands, noting social and political proximity to institutions, social relations, and social capital as determinants in understanding welfare development. Elsewhere, Irving (2011:227) adds, "it is often from the study of the small that important insight is generated and variation in universals can be found", concluding for "exceptionalism" and "hybridity" in welfare state research which tends to ignore 'size' as a factor. Katzenstein (2003:12) argues: "the ideology of social partnership, the centralisation of politics and the voluntary and informal cross-issue policy coordination", the cross-class coalition dimension, specific patterns of history development "set the small states apart from large ones".

Dimensions of authoritarianism and war

Authoritarianism and war emerged, in various theoretical arguments, as key forces behind the development of welfare states and regimes. As such events have an impact on society and specifically welfare arrangements, more insight is needed to understand their

influence on voluntary sectors. A classical work by Charles Tilly (1975:42) argues that war is complex enough to account for great variation in state formation. The relation between wars, welfare states and regime related factors provides insight into how "states make war" but also "war makes states".

The big picture of war consequences, captured by Paffenholz and Spurk (2006:17), is that "armed conflict dramatically changes the life of all people at all levels, from individual changes in attitudes and behaviour (trust and confidence) over economic and social change, to ultimate shifts of power relations in communities, regions and the society as a whole".

The welfare state/war relationship has been noted in most comparative social science as an outcome of World War II. Porter (1994) has argued that most European states derived from war and tension between 1648 and 1789, providing a thorough analysis of the impact of war on state formation and welfare states (Porter, 1994:106). Wilensky (1975:72) has noted that war mobilization "is one of a larger class of national crises that inspire a collective willingness to move fast in the development of the welfare state" pointing to the great paradoxes of war: greater equality, more opportunities, social cohesion and solidarity. Similarly Tamir (2004:152) argues that "the history of the welfare state suggests that war has been a mobilizing force ... invoking social cohesion and social solidarity".

Moving beyond world wars, Porter (1994) has focused on national warfare, its broad range of socio-political and economic causes and diverse outcomes, highlighting a close connection between war and nationalism. Shaw (1994) adds that war has been mostly studied as a historical phenomenon in social sciences rather than a process

with a continuum of effects in nations' social history, especially state formation and the structuring of society. From a different perspective, Potter (2004) has introduced a model defining and locating states in a continuum of weak, failing or failed states. State failure encompasses more than the traditional failure to provide adequate welfare. Failure is also associated with 'state collapse' under war conditions, unresolved ethnic and political issues, weak infrastructure and services, internal and external threats to sovereignty or territorial borders (Potter, 2004). Potter also argues: "the intensity of military conflict unleashes or accelerates numerous forces for change, transforming industry, society and government in ways that are fundamental and permanent" (Porter, 1994: xiv).

The voluntary sector literature lacks a comprehensive framework to understand the impact of war on the development of voluntary associations. Salamon and Anheier (1997a) have introduced the important role of authoritarianism to understand the pattern of non-profit sector development, albeit focusing on the third-world. Specifically, colonialism/colonial control has emerged as key to understanding the "retarded pattern of third sector development in the third world" (Salamon and Anheier, 1997a: 16). Heurlin (2010) has also studied state-voluntary associations relationships under conditions of dictatorship, arguing for a two-fold model of corporatist and exclusionary strategies shaped by regime-related factors.

Understanding development under a path dependence lens

Another important theoretical perspective on the developmental trajectory of voluntary sectors is 'path-dependency'. The concept has been widely used to explore welfare trajectories, through the

analysis of 'paths' which can powerfully explain the development of society (Torfing 1999).

The concept's dominant principle is seeing current arrangements as outcomes of the past. Path dependency "stresses the importance of early events for later occurrences" (Mahoney, 2000:536), specifically the "lasting consequences" (Pierson, 2000:263) of historic events, and explains how "events set into motion institutional patterns or event chains that have deterministic properties" (Mahoney, 2000:207) Welfare states can be "locked into a particular developmental pattern" (Torfing, 1999:371).

Debates developed regarding the 'stability' of patterns that path dependency suggests. Torfing (1999:389), saw a stable path as one characterised by 'solid' organisational patterns and relations of societal structures, with a "coherent set of structured conditions" resulting in a specific pattern of development. When a 'stable path' enters its developmental phases, change occurs in line with the pre-determined patterns of the path. Even in circumstances of major breakdown or crisis, institutions may reproduce, bring change and influence policy, without escaping the 'stable path' pattern (Torfing, 1999:389). Thelen, (2003) similarly argues that paths may be so specific that even dramatic or powerful historic events or "exogenous shocks" cannot "disrupt previous patterns" (Thelen, 2003:209). Levi, (1997), focusing on structures, has argued that path-dependency can explain why structures (political and social) 'choose' to remain in stable patterns. According to Levi (1997), social structures find it less costly to 'stick' to the well-known past rather than adapt to new arrangements.

Alternatively, Pierson (2000:252) suggests that a sequence of past circumstances may affect "outcomes and trajectories but not necessarily ... in the same direction". He argues, therefore, that it is vital to study the "triggering events which set development along a particular path and the mechanisms of reproduction" of the path under study (Pierson, 2000:263). Graefe (2004) argued that most research using path dependency to understand welfare regimes sees countries experiencing change but "unlikely to deviate from their existing paths as institutions and economic forces prevent countries from radically shifting the bases of their political economy" (Graefe, 2004:2). He adds that most scholars have ignored the role of voluntary organisations in shaping welfare regimes and what enslaves countries in their path dependency patterns is incomplete without studying the role of actors and agents that can "lead significant departures" (Graefe, 2004:2) from established welfare strategies and paths.

That regimes can escape their path dependency has gained more support. Sewell (1996) argued that although "what happened at an earlier point in time will affect the possible outcomes of a sequence of events occurring at a later point in time", outcomes may cause trajectories to follow completely different directions and escape their path dependency (Sewell, 1996, in Pierson, 2000:252). North (1990) offers support: "at every step along the way" there are choices providing "real alternatives" where path dependence can no longer remain "a story of inevitability in which the past neatly predicts the future" (North, 1990: 98-99).

Key to path dependency are the historic dimension and the relevance of institutions. Historical institutionalism "gives many insights into the functioning and structure of institutions, as well as

their historical evolution". (Esping-Andersen 1999:35) It makes one main assumption: institutions shape politics, actors' activity (collective behaviour), while outcomes are shaped by history (Hall and Taylor, 1996). Positively, historical institutionalism offers a macroscopic lens,, searching for "historical dimensions of causation" (Pierson and Skocpol, 2002:6), based on events and processes as they develop in a "co-evolutionary process" Pierson and Skocpol (2002:14). Historical institutionalism also focuses on the micro and meso levels to reflect how they produce certain outcomes (Steinmo 2008) and welfare regimes (Esping-Andersen, 1990).

Although the literature provides tools to explore path trajectories, it lacks strong empirical applications of path dependency to understand its impact in shaping the patterns and development of voluntary sectors.

Can welfare regimes explain voluntary sector patterns?

Sivesind and Selle (2004:3) have argued that regimes cannot be the "ideal-typical patterns of causes and effects" as many have assumed, because reality shows causes and outcomes cutting across patterns, minimising the distinctiveness of regimes, a position shared by various authors. Bode (2006:355) has characterised welfare regimes as "disorganized welfare mixes exhibiting fuzzy characters"; Arts and Gelissen (2002:148) have stressed the lack of universal agreement on the classification of countries. The clustering of nations loses meaning when the base of typologies is applied in policy areas such as social care, social insurance and health care (Abrahamson, 1999:410; Baldwin, 1996; Kasza, 2002). Boje and Ejrnæs (2008) add that no single set typology can explain the spectrum of socio-economic factors, the role of many actors, the

peculiarities of different countries, institutional and organisational differences or diverse historic trajectories of welfare systems. Few welfare states have the "internal consistency" to support the regime concept because social policies have different starting points, diverse welfare players with different interests, different histories and policy trajectories influenced by external forces (Kasza 2002:283): coherence is possible only under lengthy authoritarian rule (Kasza, 2002). Kasza (2002:283) suggests "the concept of welfare regimes is not a workable basis for research ... [because] it does not capture the complex motives that inform each country's welfare programmes".

The 'tools' of regime research have been debated. Using welfare spending indicators to explore regimes is weak because it underplays the policymaking process, "the practical and moral ideas that generate policies and give them substance" Kasza (2002:283), the context of services, failing to see welfare states as diverse and complex systems (comprising both benefits and services) (Abrahamson, 1999; Bambra, 2005; Hinrichs, 1992). Therefore debates have focused on more dimensions, geographical and ideological factors Baldwin (1996) has argued that there is no such thing as a static welfare regime, Taylor-Gooby (2001) agreeing that welfare states are dynamic, changing organisms which continuously transform their welfare arrangements, adapting to socio-economic and political forces, interacting with their internal structures and external environment. While Esping-Andersen (1990) argued that shifts and transitions between the various clusters must be rare incidents because nations cannot 'escape' from their history.

A deficiency of welfare regime typologies is their failure to acknowledge the contribution of vital organisational arrangements,

the family and non-governmental welfare associations (Abrahamson 1999; Boje 1996; Graefe, 2004; Moreno, 2002; Pestoff and Brandsen, 2009) and gender perspectives (Boje 1996; Lewis 1992; Moreno, 2002; Siaroff 1994; O' Connor, 1996; Trifiletti, 1999), bringing the development of alternative typologies. So Leibfried and Mau (2008: xvi) have argued that welfare state variation exists not only through different approaches and ideologies in relation to the state but also "to the third sector reflecting contrasts in historical policy legacies, legal traditions, and prevailing ideologies". Arts and Gelissen (2002) have also argued the need for an alternative approach to understanding regimes, departing from the power–resources mobilization paradigm which hypothesizes that welfare regimes are the result of competing class coalitions (Esping-Andersen, 1990). That welfare regime modelling has largely focused on class and the power of political structures to understand social policies is important here, as this approach has been followed in non-profit regime modelling.

Is there a common ground for welfare regimes? Various authors have tried to cluster and re-cluster countries or added new variables to gain more understanding to causes, institutions, and/or outcomes of the welfare system. Most new typologies have served to accommodate hybrid or distinctive welfare state cases and to a lesser extent to develop original approaches to advance regime analysis.

The social origins perspective

If there are strong negative elements in welfare regime modelling, then why study voluntary sectors under the regime approach? Regimes can explain historical and social forces that define

variations across countries, shaping the voluntary sector's development. The regime approach can also locate voluntary organisations in the complex set of relationships and processes, not identified by single-dimensional theories (Anheier and Salamon (1999). Non-profit regimes can be "traced to an identifiable, and predictable, set of social circumstances" (Salamon and Anheier, 1998:241; Anheier, 2000; Salamon, Sokolowski and Anheier, 2000).

The dominant theoretical approach to studying the voluntary sector's development is the social origins approach, based on the regime paradigm. Social origins theory places the non-profit sector as a vital part of the social system, recognising that its origins, role, scale and function result from dynamic socio-economic and political factors and complex historical forces. According to social origins theory, the non-profit sector has "different moorings, being rooted in long-standing patterns of non-profit-government and non-profit-society relations" (Anheier, 2000:14). Its key strength is providing a multi-dimensional explanation of the development of the sector, concentrating not only on historical paths, but also social factors and inter-related political and economic phenomena. The theory does not view non-profit organizations simply as social welfare providers that "float freely in social space" (Salamon and Anheier 1996:18), but as vital players in the socio-political arena, "embedded" in institutional structures, often serving as "the knots within networks of elites with reputation, finance, and power" (Seibel 1990: 46 in Salamon and Anheier, 1996:18). Social origins theory clearly reflects and 'builds' on the principles of Esping-Andersen's (1990) welfare regime typology, to explain the trajectory, variations and similarities of non-profit sectors (Salamon and Anheier 1996). It views the development of the sector as a result of "complex interrelationships

among social classes and social institutions" (Salamon and Anheier, 1998: 228).

It also bridges the gap between economic models' restricted foci, which have left "most variation unexplained" and the "dense detail" of historical approaches (Salamon and Anheier, 1996:35). Based on analytic tools such as the power resources dimension (class power) and relationship dynamics, the theory provides one of the most powerful theoretical platforms to study the voluntary sector. The theory's emphasis on the political factor, gives room to explore class relations and their influence in policy-making, and the relationships of structures, including the voluntary sector, in various welfare regimes (Smith and Gronbjerg, 2006). A key component of the theory is class relations, where the power different classes exert in society defines welfare relations and the patterns of development of voluntary associations. The interaction of working class, elites and the middle-class gains importance as their power can determine the interests that will be served in social protection, and wider political and economic domains. This builds a conceptual framework (Salamon and Anheier, 1998) where: a) a strong middle-class, in the absence of a working class, results in a liberal regime with a limited welfare state and a large non-profit sector, b) a social democratic regime where a strong working-class overpowers the middle-class, thus achieving a generous welfare state and small non-profit sector, c) when "landed elements" are stronger, against both middle-class and working-class power, then a corporatist non-profit regime develops with a "sizable" welfare state and relatively large non-profit sector and d) in a statist non-profit regime "conservative elements" are in "ascendance and in control of the apparatus of the state", resulting in a weak welfare state and non-profit sector (Salamon and Anheier, 1998:230).

Another key principle in the theory is institutional choice. This depicts a number of interrelated conceptual dimensions. Firstly, choices around who should deliver welfare "are heavily constrained by prior patterns of historical development" that "shape the range of options available at a given time and place" (Salamon and Anheier, 1998:226). Secondly, the emergence and development of welfare organisational arrangements - welfare state or voluntary sector - can only be located in a complex context of relations among social actors, rather in 'single factor' explanations, where power resources and social class hierarchies play a dominant role.

The underlying indicators giving shape to non-profit regimes/typologies according to Salamon and Anheier (1996) are the levels of governments' social spending and the size of the non-profit sector, measured in employment levels, volunteer time, expenditure and income. Forces based on institutional choice of welfare responsibilities, interrelations of social class and power hierarchies, and socio-economic and political forces are then used to explain the nature of each non-profit regime. A liberal non-profit regime is shaped by low social welfare spending and a large non-profit sector. The contributing forces have been weak working class movements that have not secured adequate welfare benefits, hence a weak welfare state, and ideologies that favoured the engagement of the voluntary sector in welfare provision. In the social democratic non-profit regime, high social welfare spending is associated with a smaller non-profit sector. The forces shaping this regime are a tradition of strong working class movements with political influence, which has secured a generous and universal public social welfare provision. The role of the voluntary sector is minimal because social needs are effectively addressed by the state. In both the liberal and social democratic regime the sector is

funded by private charity. Corporatist non-profit regimes are shaped by traditional powerful elites and social groups that have exerted powerful influence on social spending. For different historical reasons, corporatist non-profit regime countries have been forced to collaborate with the voluntary sector, hence the sector has historically functioned as part of the welfare state's mechanisms, funded by the state apparatus. In the statist model, the authoritarian state has a key role in social policy (Japan, developing countries, Central and Eastern Europe) while the sector addresses social needs only as a subsidiary mechanism of the state, subject to bureaucratic control and procedures. Both social spending and the size of the sector remain low (Anheier 2000; Anheier and Salamon 1999; Salamon and Anheier 1996; Salamon and Sokolowski, 2001).

Social origins theory has received generous attention in the literature. Many authors have successfully applied the theory in their national contexts or provided more insight into new origin factors and dimensions, leading to alternative typologies (Gidron, et. al., 2003; Ju and Tang, 2010; Kabalo 2009; Kala, 2008; Kim, 2008; Lee, 2005). Archambault (2009) offers a new approach with the introduction of Continental/Corporatist, Anglo-Saxon/Liberal, Nordic/Socio-Democratic, Mediterranean and Oriental (post-communist) clusters. Similarly Kabalo (2009) has developed an argument for a fifth non-profit regime, based on the Israeli voluntary sector, one that clusters countries with different experiences from western states: late independence, different state-sector-society relations, relations beyond the border lines (a strong diaspora). Much earlier, Ferreira (2006) made a strong argument for a Southern European third sector regime, placing Portugal, Spain, Italy and Greece in a distinct cluster based on these countries' common experiences: Mediterranean

societal characteristics, late development of the welfare state, long authoritarian regimes and cross-sectoral partnerships in welfare.

The power resources approach in regime research

The power resources approach emerges as a key component behind all debates of welfare states and regimes. Under the broad domain of institutionalism, the theory explores the development of institutions, power issues among actors, the distributive and long-term outcomes of welfare states (O'Connor and Olsen, 1998) and non-profit regimes (Salamon and Anheier, 1998). Power resources, as a tool, explores the distribution of resources, as an outcome of conflicting relationships and power hierarchies among classes, and analyses how these processes produce specific welfare arrangements, satisfying particular interests and shaping regimes (Korpi, 1998).

How can power resources theory contribute to the research objectives? From the pioneering work of Esping Andersen's (1990) welfare regimes to Salamon and Anheier's (1998) non-profit regimes, many authors have assumed that actors' relationships are based on distributive motives, aiming to acquire gains to their advantage. Class, a key determinant, according to Korpi (1998:viii), in structuring "distributive processes", through conflicting relationships, defines who gets what while shaping the development and characteristics of states and regimes. Korpi (1998:53) added that societal institutions should be viewed as "residues of previous activations of power resources" developed through conflict and compromises. Radical approaches on the other hand argue that, although class is a determinant of power hierarchies, it should not translate that higher classes always satisfy their interests at the expense of the working

class, and that the latter, depending on its degree of mobilisation, strength and influence in society can secure benefits to satisfy its interests (Olsen and O'Connor, 1998).

To date, power resources theory has been applied in non-profit regime research, without much modification from its basic principles. Salamon and Anheier (1998) used the class dimension and a narrow context of institutional actors to explain the variation of non-profit regime paths. What social origins theory misses, perhaps because of its location in the broader power resources theory, is the identification of a wider range of interactions, actors and historical circumstances to understand the importance of power in shaping regime paths.

The new politics of welfare

How relevant is the literature reviewed, considering the outcomes of the economic crisis in many countries? Do new dynamic processes emerge? To understand this changing environment it is essential to establish a new politics of welfare literature with relevance to non-profit research. This is important because the welfare state's retrenchment process creates a 'new environment' Pierson (1996:173), while substantially altering traditional states' agendas, creating new politics (Bonoli and Natali 2000). Retrenchment translates into welfare spending cuts and reorganisation of welfare arrangements (Bonoli and Natali, 2000). So how does decision-making within the new environment affect path dependency and welfare legacies? Bonoli and Natali (2000:2) argue that welfare institutions have formed "dense interest-group networks ... creating their own constituencies capable of blocking major change". The power resources perspective in this new context moves from class-

based cleavages, giving way to “new cleavage lines” Bonoli and Natali (2000:15) such as gender, age and employment status. In welfare, Nolan (2013) argues, the “politics of austerity” period creates rising demand for social welfare provision, generating community mobilisation and welfare ‘localism’, where struggles between the state and the local level do not depart significantly from the ‘traditional’ context of welfare politics (Nolan (2013).

Conclusion

Voluntary sector research is developing, whilst qualitative approaches remain scarce. An increasing body of work has an ontological focus, divided between the ‘hybrid’ approach and the ‘separate sector’ paradigm with little contribution to the broader and more complex dimensions of the voluntary sector. Although this is addressed by epistemological work focusing on thematic dimensions to explore the development of the voluntary sector, no single current theory has proved sufficiently comprehensive to accommodate the diverse factors, reflecting the reality of all nations.

Methodologically, the dominant use of quantitative indicators is clearly problematic, lacking the depth of qualitative research. Traditional welfare state theory has restrictively conceptualised the voluntary sector as a ‘pre-modern mechanism’, displaced by modern welfare states, failing to acknowledge cases of sectors that remain strong in modern societies or the contribution of key actors such as families and communities in welfare provision. Although this is partly addressed by the ‘welfare triangle’ approach (Evers 1995) which studies the interaction of the state and broader actors shaping the volunteering culture and context, it identifies a relationship

between the sector and the state only of substitution, or the sector's own 'failure' in addressing needs.

Economic theories in voluntary sector research have their own deficits, as their single-factor platform does not facilitate a broader understanding of the diverse dimensions of the state-sector relationship or interaction with other factors. Hence the dominant assumption that a voluntary sector grows only when states and markets fail in welfare provision is clearly limited.

Theories exploring the voluntary sector through social capital, gender and religion, war consequences and the size of nations again cannot capture alone the complexity of the phenomenon, unless more dynamic tools are employed, such as the regime approach which seeks to understand welfare arrangements and trajectories by acknowledging the existence of broader factors in voluntary sector research.

The regime concept, with its focus on "higher-order factors" (Katznelson and Weingast, 2005:4) rather than the simplicity of functionalist explanations has proved a more effective approach to exploring voluntary sectors. Hence this research adopts the regime tools. The adoption of the regime approach unavoidably links the research to the framework of institutionalism and the influential social origins theory (Salamon and Anheier, 1998) and its non-profit regime modelling. To address the research's extended time framework the theoretical approach of historical institutionalism is employed, studying higher order factors and the way historical evolution shapes trajectories.

Chapter 3

Methodology

Introduction

This chapter discusses the research design, methodological decisions, while providing a detailed account of the research process. Since every new research needs originality, while contributing to existing theoretical literature, the chapter also investigates the conceptual methodological landscape associated with the development of the voluntary sector, explaining how it can be applied to the research. Considering the researcher's location in the voluntary sector all methodological aspects have been formulated to reduce bias. Specifically, all stages of research have been guarded by procedures - sampling interviewees, recording and transcription of interviews, systematic analysis of the data - to reduce the impact of my professional position in understanding and interpreting the research data.

Voluntary sector research designs

Voluntary sector research, beginning in the 1970s, has mainly focused on drawing "maps" based on "conceptual considerations that typically focused on the underlying rationales of organisations" (Anheier, 2000:4). This mainly responded to the critical 'end' of the golden era of the welfare state, and search for alternative solutions to welfare provision. National-based research has grown, with a comparative interest in explaining cross-national similarities and variations (Anheier, 1990). Theoretical debates and research sought to explore, understand and test various dimensions: the supply and

demand of welfare provision, cost-effectiveness and efficiency, organisational culture, actors' welfare responsibility boundaries, with social, political and economic perspectives in welfare. Debates were initially dominated by the economic tradition but later emerged from other disciplines, including social policy, sociology, psychology, anthropology and history (Anheier, 1990). The economic approach has mostly dominated the field, focusing on understanding the role, functions and contributions of the voluntary sector, mainly in economic terms. Most social policy/sociological research has focused on micro-level analysis, with emerging macro-level studies exploring the wider public sphere (Evers, 1995; Wagner, 2000). Analysing the research landscape, most studies have followed quantitative approaches. Qualitative research exists but remains scarce.

A major limitation in most research has been the failure to acknowledge the broader socio-economic, political context of actors, structures, institutions, diverse and complex dimensions influencing the trajectory of the voluntary sector. Anheier (2000:1) argued that any research is problematic unless it acknowledges "the sheer complexity and richness of the phenomenon". The regime approach has become the most powerful response to these limitations, directing research to explore issues of "power, conflict, domination and accommodation" (Wood and Gough, 2006:1698).

Worldview and research strategy

How one chooses to study a research topic relates to a worldview, variously defined as a paradigm, epistemology and ontology, meaning "a basic set of beliefs that guide action" (Guba, 1990:17).

The voluntary sector in Cyprus has been neglected in research. The historical and multi-dimensional nature of the research question requires the research to be rich and explanatory, to provide in-depth exploration from the past to the present, to understand "the gestalt, the totality, and the unifying nature" (Patton, 1980:40) of the voluntary sector in Cyprus as well as the constellation of forces such as actors, structures, institutions, relationships that have determined its trajectory. Understanding "human action" (Marshall and Rossman, 2006:53), specifically voluntary action and philanthropy, and the conditions which influenced their trajectory, is also important. Furthermore, the lack of national data on the research topic, meant the research process needed a degree of flexibility, so that new aspects could be explored as they emerged.

All these pointed to the need to apply micro-analysis within a macro-analytic approach, to explore micro-processes, but also to locate the research topic in its wider socio-economic and political context. Social constructivism has traditionally contributed "to eliciting a middle-range emulsion between the state's macro-level structures and the voluntary sector's micro-level reactions, even if the power balance of state-voluntary relations is always shifting over time in accordance with different sets of historical contingencies" (Kim, 2010:52). Social constructivism, usually combined with interpretivism, is based on subjectivism, assuming individuals creating subjective meanings of their lives, that the social world's reality is created by actors, their social interaction within social, historical and cultural perspectives (Creswell, 2003; Lincoln and Guba, 2000). Following this principle, the research explores the complexity of meanings to the processes and conditions that can provide insight into the voluntary sector's development.

A positivist approach, with its underlying philosophy of identifying cause and outcome through reductionism and measurement, and application of "existing theory to develop hypotheses" (Saunders et al., 2008:103) would be inappropriate here. Positivism would ignore the richness of historic activity and the inter-related dynamics of processes. While social constructivism can reveal the underlying factors behind the voluntary sector's development, embedded in socio-economic and political contexts, historic events and conditions.

Conceptual context

'Locating' research in a theoretical and context is a critical part of a research project's conceptual framework and design (Marshall and Rossman, 2010:78). Contrary to traditional single-factor explanations, the current position in the literature portrays voluntary sectors evolving under specific circumstances, with historical conditions, a constellation of forces and factors influencing their development (Salamon and Anheier, 1998), creating the need for a conceptual framework of ("microscopic interpretations" within "macroscopic contexts of social transformation" (Kim 2010:64).

As the voluntary sector, does not "float freely into space" (Salamon and Anheier, 1998:227) it needs to be located in the wider socio-economic and political context. The building blocks of the research therefore involved developing a multi-dimensional design that could study any potential structure and dimension (actors, organisational structures, institutions, socio-economic and political processes, circumstances and events, roles and relationships, social interaction). Such a framework, moving between the micro and macro level, facilitates the exploration of any factor, whether in the small sphere

of social interaction or the macro-level environment, which shaped the Cypriot voluntary sector's developmental trajectory. The focus of the investigation is to identify, associate and question why and how the voluntary sector developed, why aspects unfolded as they did or shaped certain outcomes. Such an investigation brings institutionalism to the centre of research. Institutions are defined as "emergent, higher-order factors above the individual level, constraining or constituting the interests ... of actors" (Amenta and Ramsey, 2010:16). They "may range from a single organization (a political party, a union, or a corporation), to the structured interaction between organizations (for example, a party system or relationships between branches of government), to public policies, to a political regime as a whole" (Capoccia and Kelemen, 2007:349). Katznelson and Weingast (2005) explain that institutions are the means to explore "human coordination and cooperation", how problems are addressed and solved, how "political, economic, and social hierarchies", identities and actors' choices are formed, or their "range of possibilities" shaped (Katznelson and Weingast, 2005:4).

This macro approach helps to locate the case of the Cypriot voluntary sector in non-profit regime modelling, one of the best developed non- typologies and conceptual frameworks in third sector research, which has recently sparked interest in national and comparative research. The regime approach is a powerful tool for exploring institutions, structures, interests, the nature of political power and actors' interaction. It also facilitates the exploration of issues of "power, conflict, domination and accommodation" (Wood and Gough, 2006:1698). Adopting the regime approach, the research unavoidably adopts the influential social origins theory (Salamon and Anheier, 1998), the conceptual premise of the non-profit regime

model, hoping to contribute to current debates on voluntary sector regimes.

Exploring the development of many elements over extended time periods, involving transformation,, also required the identification of an approach with temporal sensitivity and a historical perspective: "an a-historical or too narrow view ... can lead to the distorted identification of the voluntary sector, by highlighting its practical utilities rather than its historical development" (Kim 2010:46). Rather than explaining development solely under a functionalist lens, historical institutionalism focuses on higher order factors, social processes, time and history (Pierson, 1996), identifying critical junctures that shape paths. Historical institutionalism can be applied to case study and small-scale research and can adopt various theoretical concepts, supporting a pluralistic approach in the data collection process (Pierson and Skocpol, 2002). Although traditional historical institutionalism has been mostly applied by political science (see Hall and Taylor, 1996) it has also been applied to study sociological processes (Pierson, 2003) and different institutions (Amenta and Ramsey, 2010).

Methodologically, the concept of historical institutionalism provides a range of possibilities here. Firstly, it facilitates "macroscopic analysis focusing on institutions and organizations in addition to aggregates of people" (Pierson and Skocpol, 2002:10), searching for "historical dimensions of causation" (Pierson and Skocpol, 2002:6), through evidence and theory. Historical causation applies when "dynamics triggered by an event or process at one point in time reproduce themselves, even in the absence of the recurrence of the original event or process" (Stinchcombe, 1968, in Pierson and Skocpol, 2002:7). Institutions and organisations are seen as highly important

because they are, according to Pierson and Skocpol (2002:14), "mutually reinforcing or complementary" each facilitating the development of the other, reflecting a "co-evolutionary process". Secondly, historical institutionalism enables the move from the micro, meso, to macro-analysis, studying how organisations, actors, organised practices and institutions relate and interact, and how their choices produce processes and outcomes (Pierson and Skocpol, 2002; Steinmo 2008), and distinct welfare regimes (Esping-Andersen, 1990). Thereby, it enables in-depth exploration of the role of institutions in shaping trajectories and a tracing of the processes, to explain the emergence and "persistence of institutions and policies" (Amenta and Ramsey, 2010:16). Thirdly, historical institutionalism identifies change, critical junctures, or path-dependent processes, to explain and understand institutional development, choices, behaviour, the changing roles of structures and actors (Pierson and Skocpol, 2002; Steinmo, 2008). Fourthly, the limitation of historical institutional studies to a few cases facilitates in-depth investigation of processes that may emerge as causal mechanisms through the research.

Methodologically, historical institutionalism drives research to understand interaction among structures, actors and institutions, exploring how temporally connected historical events and processes result in specific outcomes. This helps the researcher to understand: "the goals that actors choose to pursue, and those that they are able to pursue effectively, are shaped by the institutional arrangements through which they and other political actors must operate" (Glenn 2004:154).

A key building premise of historical institutionalism is the critical juncture tool, which facilitates analysis of data in a meaningful and

coherent way. Critical junctures are "relatively short periods of time during which there is a substantially heightened probability that agents' choices will affect the outcome of interest" (Cappocia and Kelemen, 2007: 348). Mahoney (2000) sees critical junctures as "moments that shape outcomes but also reflect choices which reflect issues of power and agency". Methodologically, a critical juncture, which can be a historical event or "a momentous political, social, or economic upheaval" or an institutional setting, is treated as the unit of analysis (Cappocia and Kelemen, 2007:349). To qualify as a critical juncture the duration of the juncture must be shorter that the duration of the path-dependent process that follows (Cappocia and Kelemen, 2007). The timing of events or processes can define paths while triggering long-term processes of path dependency (Pierson and Skocpol, 2002).

Critical junctures, constitute the "starting points for many path dependent processes" (Cappocia and Kelemen, 2007:342), with path-dependency the other major building block of historic institutionalism. Greener (2005:5) argues that "institutions and policies have a tendency towards inertia; once particular paths have been forged, it requires a significant effort to divert them onto another course ... [featuring in this way] ... social causation that is based around the notion of path dependence".

Research methods: a qualitative approach

From a historical institutionalism perspective, researchers can "blend styles of research in highly creative ways" (Pierson and Skocpol, 2002:2). Hence the institutionalist framework does not restrict the researcher to any set of research methods. Miller and Dingwall (1997:14) argue: "there are no principled grounds to be either

qualitative or quantitative in approach ... it all depends upon what you are trying to do".

Decisions on research methods derive from the research question. The research question *'How can we understand the development of the voluntary sector in Cyprus from the mid-end colonial period to the present day?'* has two main methodological 'requirements': firstly, to explore factors that can explain the development and institutionalisation of the voluntary sector; secondly, to research spanning the last century. The main argument is that we know very little about the development of the Cypriot voluntary sector and therefore need to use oral testimonies and scattered archival sources. In this knowledge vacuum, the research adopts a three-fold methodological approach:

a) an inductive exploratory method to collect data on the experiences of individuals who witnessed stages of the sector's development
b) a more focused in-depth exploration of themes emerging from the inductive approach and current theoretical context
c) archival research to fill gaps in the interview data, bring organisation to the research and provide a more comprehensive explanatory framework.

A qualitative paradigm provides for a holistic and inductive approach, which fit the purposes of the research for several reasons. Firstly, a qualitative approach is favoured in under-researched topics because knowledge is too little to make valid hypotheses or pre-define specific variables for measurement. Secondly, the qualitative approach is strongly associated with historically-oriented research and with studies requiring in-depth insight into events, contexts and

processes. Thirdly, the inductive approach of a qualitative design provides the opportunity to discover multiple dimensions, themes and patterns that may emerge through the research process and reveal rich explanatory frameworks in relation to the research question (McNabb, 2002; Patton, 1980). Although the qualitative strategy can provide descriptive, explanatory, interpretive and critical study techniques (Allan, 1991; McNabb, 2002) on complex phenomena, factors and forces that have influenced the Cypriot voluntary sector's trajectory, it also allows "theory and data collection to inform each other" (Lewis, 2003:49).

The oral history interview method

Oral history, an interview method under the research methodology of historiography (Miller-Rosser, el al 2009), is a "collaborative process of narrative building" (Hesse-Biber and Levy 2006:152), which allows someone "to present a past that was and still is full of meaning" (Bornat, 2004:38):

> *"Yet the life-history method is rarely used within mainstream social policy, nor has it been deployed within the emerging field of third sector or non-profit research".... The method can provide a profound level of historical depth... deep description, texture and detail" (Lewis, 2008: 560-561).*

Although the method has not developed as a powerful tradition in social policy or third sector research it can bring added value to social policy research (Lewis, 2008), new insight and a historical approach using the 'bottom-up' perspective (Thompson, 1988). Its added value here can be accounted. It is an ideal research instrument to generate new knowledge for new or under-researched topics such as the topic of the research. Its inductive approach

enables new themes to emerge, while 'giving voice' to individuals to open a window to past social processes, as they developed, and as experienced by the individuals (Miller-Rosser, el al., 2009). By exploring the social dimensions of a historical era, this method 'creates' history, (Legard, Keegan and Ward, 2003; Miller-Rosser, el al 2009; Raleigh, 2005), revealing new perspectives on our recent past (Smith, 2008). Hence, it can explore social action and its relationship with the socio-historical context, by re-conceptualizing processes, events and relationships (Elliott, 2005).

Despite the advantages of oral history in relation to the research, a number of limitations have been debated. There are doubts whether it can "construct over-generalised images of organisational actors and policy landscapes" (Lewis, 2008: 573). Lewis (2008) warns about the shortcomings of the 'personal factor' unless measures are taken. Other weaknesses relate to the limitations of samples when the 'survivors' of a past era are investigated (Moyer, 1999; Raleigh, 2005). Another disadvantage is oral history's unstructured approach and rather un-organized technique, which may produce bulky and un-helpful information that can disorientate the analysis process (Arksey, 2004; Legard, Keegan, and Ward, 2003).

To address these limitations, a number of measures have been taken. The oral history testimonies have been thoroughly assessed for their validity in relation to: the interviewees' selective or inaccurate memory, personal biases, subjectivity during storytelling, inconsistent information, the purposeful process of holding information back and 'distortion' of evidence. The interviewee sample was not restricted: there was an adequate list of individuals to choose from, all meeting the interviewee criteria established in the research design. This facilitated the whole process, and the oral history interviews have

provided an inductive, exploratory approach collecting rich primary data on people's experiences of voluntary activity in Cyprus, while capturing the historical dimension. The lack of published information on the research topic is the strongest element validating use of the oral history interview method.

Semi-structured in-depth interviews

Semi-structured interviews provided a more 'structured' in-depth framework (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2006). The added value of this method is that it is "issue-oriented" facilitating exploration of particular topics (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2006:120). It has provided focus on specific themes, and dimensions, and space to move in any direction that could provide insight and into the emerging themes. It has also provided important insight on human action, social structures, arrangements and processes, collecting rich information on events and experiences. It has generated primary information, uncovering salient historical events shaping the form and trajectory of the voluntary sector. This approach has therefore developed a strong explanatory framework of factors, leading forces in the voluntary sector's development. The semi-structured method has given balance to the research process, minimising the risk of collecting the quantities of unhelpful material often produced from full oral history interviews.

Document/archival research

The archival/document research strategy is powerful in providing a historical context in studies with a historic dimension (Atkinson and Coffey, 2004:59), being an effective strategy for exploring themes of past and present. A historical research strategy enables the discovery of contexts, meanings, patterns, processes, themes, activities, relationships and social rules. It can locate and analyse

simultaneously multiple sources, themes and frames, over the relevant period (Altheide, et al, 2008; Marshall and Rossman, 2006). Documents and archives have provided a historical context for the voluntary sector's development: filling gaps and providing supporting material on themes emerging from the interviews.

Designing the data collection context

In designing the data collection process, a number of issues were examined and negotiated. Following Miles and Huberman (1994:18), a researcher knows "no matter how inductive the approach, which bins are likely to be in play in the study and what is likely to be in them". These 'bins', deriving from theory and experience, guided the research design, including the development of objectives and areas of investigation.

The first stage was to 'draw' a context of specific objectives and areas of investigation:

- Collect and record any experiences of colonial era survivors that could shed light on the development of voluntary associations and the impact of the wider socio-economic and political life.
- Understand the organisation of welfare arrangements in Cyprus: the actors involved, their roles/areas of responsibility, relations between structures and actors, institutions, decision-making processes.
- Identify and explore factors, institutions, events and processes that shaped actors' roles and responsibilities in relation to welfare and voluntary sector development.

- Explore whether the research findings can locate the Cypriot voluntary sector in the comparative map of non-profit regimes and identify similarities or differences with other countries.

Establishing the inquiry's dimensions facilitated the design of the structure and content of the data collection methods. Most fieldwork took place prior to documentary research to avoid documents influencing the inductive effort of the interview process. Documentary research was used both inductively and deductively, the latter mainly for filling gaps emerging in the interview data.

The interview structure

Designing the interview structure aimed to keep a balance between too much framework and too little. Adopting Maxwell's (2005:46) position that "every research design needs some theory", the design phase followed two strands of logic: firstly, to explore topics on which the comparative literature had a role in voluntary sector development; secondly, to provide space to explore new themes that could emerge from the interview process. The following criteria were established: a) despite the influence of the literature, to provide an inductive platform so that new themes can emerge, b) to safeguard against 'leading' the interviewees, c) to ensure that the questions are open enough so that interviewees do not assume that some topics (those identified by the literature) matter more, rather to let the interview process justify the relevance of pre-defined topics.

To achieve this, a topic/interview guide was developed, which acted (Arthur and Nazroo 2003) as a dynamic tool, incorporating sets of oral/narrative questions, exploratory and inductive questions.

The following interview structure (a three-step approach) was applied in each interview.

First set of questioning/Oral history part of the interviews

A relatively open type of questioning was developed. The inductive line of questioning allowed interviewees to talk about what mattered to them, avoiding the 'leading question' pitfall, aiming to generate information on the voluntary sector's development through the experiences and life histories of the interviewees. Broad questions facilitated narrative, while avoiding providing leads, open enough to allow respondents to talk about the periods which were important to them, so they could "impose their own system of relevancy" (Wengraf, 2001:122). To avoid over-lengthy oral history interviews they were restricted to specific time limits. A variety of open questions were asked, a sample of which is provided below:

- How do you remember society during and after the colonial period?

- Can you tell me more about the period in your life when welfare was developing in Cyprus?

- What has been your experience of philanthropy and voluntary action?

- What recollections do you have on welfare and philanthropy during and after the colonisation period in Cyprus?

Considering the risks of a totally unstructured 'oral history' approach, long interviews with masses of unhelpful data, leaving the

interviewees relatively unchallenged by the research questions, a more focused approach was given to the oral history process in the interviews, with broad but focused questions relevant to the research topic. The focused approach met the objective of achieving the highest quality, rather than a mass of detailed but less relevant data.

Second set of questioning: a focused approach with semi-structured interviews

This part of the interview process adopted a semi-structured approach with a focused line of questioning on pre-defined topics, suggested by existing literature: religion, the family, communities, the state, the market and the wider socio-economic and political environment were key, investigated through the following questions:

- Which factors influenced the voluntary sector's development? (How and to what extent, were they influential?)
- Which factors have defined the welfare state?
- Do you think that [topic x] had a role in welfare? If yes, please discuss.
- Did [topic x] have a role in the establishment and development of the voluntary sector?
- Do you believe that any relationships developed between [topic x] and other institutions, such as families, communities, ruling authorities)? If yes, please discuss
- Do you believe that [topic x] shares any similarities with other countries?
- What makes Cyprus distinctive in relation to [topic x]?
- What makes the Cypriot voluntary sector different in relation to the [topic x]?

While developing this questioning, it was acknowledged that respondents would have different perspectives on time. The initial plan was to break down each question into specific time periods (from the colonization period to the present day), so that respondents would cover 'equally' each chronological period. After thorough consideration, the logic of standardising and incorporating the 'period/time' factor in every line of questioning was abandoned and a more open-ended approach adopted. This allowed respondents to focus on periods of interest to them, with which they were more familiar, or had more dramatic experiences. When historic gaps in interviewees' recollections were identified, these were 'filled' by documentary research.

Third set of questioning/Semi-structured interviews

The third part included broader exploratory questions on the voluntary sector in Cyprus:

- Does the Cypriot voluntary sector's development share any similarities with other geographical contexts?
- What specific aspects of Cyprus' welfare regime can explain the sector's role and location in it?
- What was the role of voluntary organisations in welfare? Which responsibilities/areas of provision did voluntary organisations undertake? Why? Who or what circumstances created this responsibility?

Also a set of open and probing questions to provide a platform for new insight was designed:

- Have any additional factors influenced the voluntary sector's development?
- You mentioned x. Can you tell me more?

Design of the document data collection process

A topic guide, similar to the dimensions and areas of inquiry of the interview questions, was developed. This approach would safeguard coherence of data collection, complementing and validating the interview findings. The document research topic guide included the following areas of investigation:

- aspects of the social history of Cyprus in relation to the research
- aspects of the Cypriot welfare regime that can explain how the voluntary sector developed
- topics explored in the semi-structured interview questions (the role of welfare actors, relations between structures and actors, factors that have influenced the welfare state and the voluntary sector's development)
- organisation of welfare arrangements (the welfare state, the landscape of voluntary organisations) and the circumstances that created roles and responsibilities
- key events, circumstances, periods that influenced the voluntary sector's development.

Documentary research also explored themes that emerged throughout the research, looking for supporting material to understand the findings.

Sampling

Sampling aims to narrow down numbers, subjects, material or circumstances to be researched , while developing a 'distance' so that "multiple viewpoints of an event" (Strauss and Corbin, 1998:44) can be obtained. The application of sampling factors such as

'variation/diversity', 'appropriateness', and 'consistency' (Kuzel, 1999:38) enabled the exploration of a wide range of possibilities. The research focuses on the Greek Cypriot context, culture and institutions, although some Turkish-Cypriot perspectives are provided throughout the thesis. Any data after the 1974 Turkish invasion are drawn from sources accessed from the Republic of Cyprus.

Sampling the Cypriot voluntary sector

As no research can cover everything, the research has restricted its focus to the voluntary sector in the welfare domain (social welfare activity and social service provision); it includes philanthropic formal and informal associations, social welfare associations, organisations, clubs, committees and councils. Other types of voluntary activity by sports associations, professional organisations, national movements, have been excluded from the research.

Time sampling

Exploring the whole history of a phenomenon is practically impossible and unmanageable, especially in a PhD thesis. Settling a time-frame was a 'painful' compromise, omitting early periods of the voluntary sector's development from the boundaries of the research. The study's time-span and analysis of the research is restricted to the island's recent social history for two main reasons. Firstly, it covers the most important transition period of the island, from authoritarianism to democracy. Secondly, researching the recent past facilitates the oral history interview approach.

Sampling interviewees and structures

With many possible informants a sampling procedure needs to be adopted, although some informants can be chosen "for their own sake" (Wengraf, 2001:95). Interviewee sampling decisions have

been primarily based on five criteria: a) the 'rich information case' criterion (Wengraf, 2001), b) 'people who have lived the colonisation period' criterion', c) the 'wide range of opinion' criterion (Miller and Crabtree, 1999a), d) balancing key informants (people with knowledge and experience on the research topic) and elites (people of high status, influence and power and knowledge on the research topic) criterion (Marshall and Rossman, 2006), and e) balancing elements (gender, class, status) among interviewees.

To meet the "wide range of opinion" criterion, interviewees from diverse structures were selected. A "stratified purposeful sampling" (Ritchie, Lewis and Elam, 2003) was adopted, sampling society's most representative structures. The interviewee sample represented: religious and cultural institutions (the Archbishopric of Cyprus), social welfare institutions (voluntary organisations, social groups/networks, community councils, women's organisations and welfare committees), political structures (the legislative authority and political parties), economic/labour structures (trade unions), and governmental structures (central and local government). The number of interviewees representing each sector appears in Appendix IV.

Throughout the research process a snowball/chain sampling technique has identified new interviewees. The final interviewee list covered: five politicians, three high-level officials from central and local government, two representatives from the Church of Cyprus, three historians, three social workers, two members of community structures, five leaders of voluntary organisations, one Trade Union representative, one representative of cultural committees, two market experts, three leaders of minority and women's' organisations. Interviewees also held other positions such as

ministers, journalists, former leaders, and nearly half were members of the National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA – an organisation established to overthrow the colonial regime) or were involved in the national struggle 1955-1959. This wide representation of sectors and structures has safeguarded the collection of diverse, multiple and varied perspectives.

Although most interviewees were located through informal contact and professional networking, none of the interviewee sample could be characterized as having a direct relationship with the interviewer. The final interviewee list was assessed against various sources to ensure they were the most appropriate contributors. The total number was 30. According to Kuzel (1999), 20 cases can be quite satisfactory in qualitative research. Other sources mention an interview sample size of 30 interviewees as sufficient for qualitative research/thesis (Baker and Edwards, n.d.; Sherry and Marlow, 1999). Here, the size of the interview sample was re-assessed throughout the research, as the ultimate purpose was not fulfil minimum numbers suggested in the literature but to serve the research goal in terms of data quality and saturation.

Nearly all sampled individuals had memories of the colonisation period. Key informants and elites were equally balanced in the sample. Socio-economic characteristics were also well distributed. Sixty percent were women, the remainder men.

Document research sampling

A 'purposeful', 'opportunistic' sampling strategy was applied for the document data collection process (Ritchie, Lewis and Elam, 2003; Wengraf, 2001), finding any documentary sources that could generate information on topics on the documentary research guide,

while utilizing any opportunity to identify a potentially useful documentary source. This also served to meet the research design's inductive approach.

As in the interviewee sampling process, the 'diversity' criterion was applied, to identify and sample the most representative sites for documentary sources. The list of sites developed included public and professional spaces, public and private libraries, archives and libraries located in governmental and non-governmental authorities, the Church of Cyprus, cultural and research centres, voluntary organisations, political parties and trade unions. Electronic databases enriched the data collection process.

The sources used included: official documents, mainly annual reports, colonial and post-democratic correspondence, reviews, legislation, blue books of the colonial secretariat, historical publications, journals, newspaper articles, archival files/data, records of social organisations/structures, legal documents, academic papers, research studies, official statistics, personal diaries/archives and electronic databases. Search criteria followed the interview topic guide framework (see section on the interview structure).

Throughout the selection process, documents and sources were assessed for their validity and objectivity. All written sources, especially in politically turbulent societies, serve particular interests and goals; their content is influenced by powerful groups to manipulate circumstances and achieve varied objectives (Sapsford and Jupp, 1996). Cyprus' turbulent history, characterised by extensive periods of foreign rule, a foreign invasion which still divides the island, political and foreign strategic interests which endangered democracy, freedom, rights, identity, religion, culture and cohesion:

these have influenced the content of sources. Much published work provides a biased, distorted history. Sources, whether written by Cypriots or foreigners, have traditionally served different socio-political, economic and strategic goals. Therefore, sampling and data collection were systematically assessed to safeguard the sources' credibility and validity. Therefore, politically biased sources presenting a 'selective' approach or strongly subjective in their coverage were treated with caution. These sources were not excluded, rather used as tools to understand the data's contradictory dimensions. Furthermore, systematic cross-checking was pursued, to come closer to 'reality'.

Accessing official correspondence, particularly from governmental departments holding a welfare-related role was not possible, hence the research relied on more 'controlled' material, such as annual reports. This problem was not encountered with material on the colonial era, as there was access to colonial primary archives.

Scheduling, procedures and reflections

Most interviews were arranged through informal contact. Cyprus' small size and strong networking helped to identify and gain access to most informants without bureaucratic, formal procedures. The traditional 'search from scratch' process was unnecessary. Clear information on the research's scope was given to all interviewees; their written consent to participate was granted (see Appendix I 'Research Information for Participants' and Appendix II 'Participant Consent Form'). Access to most public documentary sources (libraries) did not require written official permission. Access to a few libraries containing 'closed' and confidential official documents was not granted. This poses implications for the research. Firstly internal

and confidential correspondence could not be accessed; hence analysis heavily relied on documentary sources, balanced by interviews' personal recollections and their personal archives, including old governmental confidential reports. These limitations did not seriously weaken the research findings, rather restricted opportunities for in-depth analysis.

There was an intense effort to interview very elderly respondents on a tight schedule while they were still able to participate. To achieve a systematic flow of interviews, arrangements were made in advance and interviews were completed within a predefined timeframe. Considering the complex structure of the interviews, no specific duration was set. The real time of interviews ranged from 2 to 4 hours. The interviews started in October 2009 and were completed in December 2010. Document research was an on-going process from 2010 to 2012.

All interviews were recorded on a digital recorder and transcribed at the end of each interview. Electronic interview files were organized in electronic and hard copy folders. Interview data were transcribed in full. The transcription process was not a passive process. Strong pauses and feelings were also recorded, though not in a standardised way or detail, as that was not dictated by the research question. Data was translated from Greek (the mother-tongue language of respondents and interviewer) to English. Translation from one language to another involved more than the technical issue of accuracy: it involved understanding, to translate aspects of the conversation, concepts and meaning. Translation followed a thorough process, with data translated as accurately as possible to capture the meaning of the original language but also reflect the

original and real meaning of each story. Loss of meaning would be inevitable if a plain and passive translation had been performed.

In assessing the interviews, it can be argued that real value has been added to the research: combining oral and semi-structured interviews facilitated the development of a record of the voluntary sector, with an explanatory framework for its development in the larger socio-cultural, economic and political context. In the social welfare domain, this has largely been excluded from social history and most published work. A general reflection is that the interview design gave real value. Interviewees found the research topic interesting, but what gave a real motive to respondents was the important historic period, of Cyprus' colonization, covered. The inquiry's topic and timeframe aroused many experiences and emotions: interviewees expressed appreciation of the opportunity to reveal their experiences. Documentary research was also a beneficial technique. The research utilized rich information from original archival documents, providing in-depth explanations of its developmental trajectory.

Analysis

Research methodologies denote philosophical assumptions of paradigms or 'worldviews', and analysis methods (Creswell, 2003). Historical institutionalism, the conceptual basis of the research, is not associated with any specific method of analysis (Amenta and Ramsey, 2010). A search in the qualitative research landscape reveals many possible alternative strategies for analyzing this data. In assessing the strength of narrative analysis, which provides a "descriptive restructuring of the events" and the exact thoughts of the interviewees through narrative (Bailey and Jackson, 2003:59), it

was decided that it could not quite contribute to understanding the macro factors that have shaped development, institutionalisation and change in Cyprus' voluntary sector. The aim of oral history analysis to "reconstruct, in detail, how a social environment works and changes" (Miller-Rosser, el al 2009:479), to produce a historical story or rather developing an accurate historical context by focusing on a society's social, traditional and cultural aspects (Miller-Rosser, el al 2009) also falls beyond the scope of this research. Grounded theory analysis, a specific sub-form of grounded theory, was also excluded due to its requirement of performing consistent analysis of frequencies, magnitudes (levels), structures (types and manner), processes (order within the structure), causes and consequences. The application of 'strict rules' to an under-researched topic would restrict the reflexive and flexible approach needed. Historical analysis' detailed and systematised technique, exploring historic aspects and time-frames with a high degree of historic accuracy, was also excluded (Marshall and Rossman, 2006), because producing historiography was not the objective here.

Among these and many alternatives, the most appropriate for the research, able to reflect its objectives, was thematic analysis, where themes integrate findings into a comprehensive interpretation. Thematic analysis can code a range of information including: acts, behaviours, events, activities, strategies, practices, conditions, meanings, relationships, processes, causes, consequences, contexts (Ezzy, 2002; Gibbs and Gibbs 2007; Miles and Huberman, 1994). The themes can develop inductively or be "generated deductively from theory or prior research" (Boyatzis 1998:4). It involves "pattern recognition", understanding of the research subject, what Strauss and Corbin (1990) call "theoretical sensitivity" (Boyatzis, 1998:7-8). A theme is defined as "a pattern in the information that at minimum

describes and organizes the possible observations and at maximum interprets aspects of the phenomenon" Boyatzis (1998:161). As thematic analysis proceeds, the literature gains importance: previous research can become a powerful source of explanation or inspiration for more analysis (Fereday and Cochrane, 2006).

Thematic analysis using thematic networks

This research uses thematic analysis (Stirling 2001), approaching thematic analysis through the "thematic networks" tool (See Appendix III - Thematic network) to uncover and organize themes, structures and patterns. The thematic networks approach does not claim to have a distinctive conceptual base because its underlying foundations may reflect the fundamentals of other qualitative approaches (Boyatzis, 1998; Ritchie and Spencer, 2004). It "shares the key features of any hermeneutic analysis" (Stirling, 2001:388).

Thematic analysis uncovers themes that are "salient in a text at different levels [while] thematic networks ... facilitate the structuring and depiction of these themes" (Stirling, 2001:387). The basic element of 'thematic networks' is its "web-like" approach, where data are systematically organized and interpreted without the condition of hierarchy, providing "fluidity" to the themes and "interconnectivity throughout the networks" (Stirling, 2001:389). The approach analyses data based on a three-level data extraction technique, to identify three types: a) the basic theme, a "lowest-order theme" reflecting statements that revolve around a central notion or similar points (Stirling, 2001:388), b) the organizing theme, a "middle-order theme" that organizes, giving broader meaning to the various groups of basic themes, and c) the global theme, the main outcome of the thematic network technique, that organizes themes, giving them meaning, claims and assumptions. Depending on the

research, analysis may produce various thematic networks, which are the means to analysis, not only the actual analysis. The approach adopted in this research, based on Stirling's (2001) technique, is summarised as follows:

Step 1: Coding: the development of a coding framework based around the research questions and themes emerging from data collection. Emerging codes were not scrutinized in a rigid way, rather a flexible process was adopted, allowing the creation of any good code that could provide insight. A good code, according to Boyatzis (1998:1) "is one that captures the qualitative richness of the phenomenon". Then the text was organised and classified under the codes, a process that facilitated the next stage, the emergence of themes.

Step 2: identifying themes: organising the large volume of qualitative data was demanding. After lengthy organising and re-organising text under the codes, the process identified the emerging themes. Appendix VI presents an example of this process.

Step 3: constructing networks: Once themes emerged they were refined and organised into conceptual groups, helping to identify global themes (the main themes and arguments).

Step 4: Further exploration of themes, summaries and interpretations: the next task was to explore themes, conducting a deeper interpretation, synthesis and analysis of themes, patterns and associations.

Although the analysis followed Stirling's (2001) approach, the process has been flexible in its "investigatory style", avoiding any

standardized procedure that would "constrain and even stifle the researchers' best efforts" (Strauss, 1987 in Coffey and Atkinson, 1996:5; Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2006). Openness, adaptation and reflexivity provided opportunities for revising decisions, taking a different course of action when necessary. This helped to reveal multiple causes, explanations and "different contributory factors and influences" (Spencer and Snape, 2003:21). Following this line of thinking, data were "transformed in different ways and to different ends" (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996:49) until analysis and interpretation of themes exhausted "their full analytic potential" (Wolcott 1994, in Coffey and Atkinson, 1996:8).

Practical aspects of analysis and monitoring

Throughout the analysis, the application of a systematic monitoring procedure safeguarded analysis as not a mechanical, shallow task, but one which thoroughly evaluated the credibility of the findings and the validity of the data interpretation The nature of any research produces information, which expresses notions, facts and views of another time, influenced by specific socio-political circumstances or events. A reflexive, rather than mechanical analytic approach was therefore adopted, to grasp the motives that may have brought documents into being, reveal the purpose influencing their scope, direction, content or message that they initially intended to pass (Sapsford and Jupp, 1996). Such cautionary measures were also applied to interview data, scrutinized to minimize interpretations reflecting personal or other motives, especially political.

Assessment of the consistency of coding and emergent themes and categories was also an on-going process. Data were read and re-read to ensure that the emerging themes could be grounded in the

data. A process of challenging the data and searching for alternative meaning and understanding was also on-going (see Marshall and Rossman, 2006; Miller and Crabtree, 1999b).

A substantial amount of qualitative data has been collected from the interview and documentary research process. Presenting all the data would be impossible, considering the thesis' word restrictions. Using data, both interview quotes and documentary text in the findings chapters, had to follow a selection process: data were used on the basis of their strength and representativeness, in reflecting themes and arguments emerging in the research process.

Ethical considerations

All research has ethical dimensions involving moral dilemmas. This section describes the strategies adopted to address the ethical issues here. The rule in this research was to apply ethical behaviour always, with the principle of truthfulness during data collection. The research followed the ethical guidelines of the School of Sociology and Social Policy of the University of Nottingham.

Precise information regarding the researcher's identity, research purpose and procedures was given to all participants (see Appendix I - 'Research Information for Participants'). Consent was granted by all interviewees before their participation (see Appendix II - 'Research Participant Consent Form'); respondents were also asked to give their permission to record the interview and to use any of their quotations. One signed copy of the consent form was held by the researcher with one copy available to the participants.

The research did not involve risks for the researcher or respondents. The interviews took place in safe locations (public and private professional spaces). The nature of data collection did not place the participants at physical or emotional risk. The research process built a trusting relationship between the researcher and interviewees and was based on a commitment to securing confidentiality, privacy and anonymity. Although most oral historians usually disagree with the anonymity notion in social research, arguing that interviewees, once consent is taken, should be named as historical witnesses (Smith, 2008), this would not have been wise, considering Cyprus' small and 'closed society' and the on-going turbulent political climate. To minimize risks, the privacy and anonymity of individuals who could contribute to the data collection was of great importance, and was protected at all times. In accordance with the commitment provided to participants (see Appendix I - 'Information to Participants'), a special coding/name system was developed. Before each interview, the interviewees were assigned a code/name (see Appendix IV - 'Interviewee Code List'). Data, whether in their electronic or handwritten form, were anonymized immediately after the interview, with the interviewees' respective code, and were kept in a secure place. The interview index card contained interviewees' contact details and short profile, information on the date and location of the interview and the interviewees' coding name. This facilitated analysis and further communication with the interviewees in case more material, information or clarifications were needed. The interview index cards were also kept in a secure place.

Furthermore, the findings presented in the thesis were not associated in any way with the interviewees' identity (name, position, work location, status) so that confidentiality, privacy and anonymity would be safeguarded at all times. In cases where quotations from the

interviews were used in the thesis, these were acknowledged by the interviewee's respective code. To secure safety, all electronic and hard copies associated with interviewees' identity will be destroyed at the end of the research.

Authority, especially over the oral history (narrative) data was an important issue, negotiated with interviewees (Hesse-Biber and Levy 2006). Although it was acknowledged that, without the engagement of the interviewees, the research would lack the oral part of the data, a conscious decision was made that for the PhD thesis the researcher would have authority over the data. This decision was based on the logic of minimizing the risk of intervention or editing the data by interviewees for personal and other motives. This, according to Hesse-Biber and Levy (2006), is quite acceptable if each, researcher and interviewee have some control over the data. Furthermore, Hesse-Biber and Levy (2006) argue that the practice of sharing authority is important in research where the objective is to give voice to socially oppressed or excluded groups, or where the outcomes of the research aim at promoting change or empowering social movements, which is not an objective here.

It was therefore clarified to the interviewees that the "collaborative" nature (Hesse-Biber and Levy 2006:177) of the oral history process would allow the interviewee to have authority during story telling and that the researcher would have authority over the data during the process of interpretation, analysis, knowledge-building and presentation of findings. It was also agreed with the interviewees that, where direct quotations would be used, the interviewees could have the opportunity, if they wanted, to see the quotations, to make sure that they were correctly transcribed and translated.

Conclusion

The chapter has discussed the methodological strategy of the research and the research design, specifically the structuring of the research methods, sampling issues and the analysis strategy. The discussion has also portrayed the main practical stages of the research process, ethical considerations that underpin the study as well as reflections from the research. The aim of the chapter is to introduce the reader to the methodological considerations shaping the research. The decision for a multi-dimensional qualitative research design has been discussed against other narrower methods. Through extensive discussion of research methods (oral history, semi-structured interviews and documentary research) the chapter has also demonstrated the benefits of combining a micro- and macro-level method alongside an in-depth exploratory approach, based on social constructivism rather than positivism. The chapter has elaborated the sampling frames and tools of analysis: the thematic networks approach.

The chapter has argued for the historical institutionalism approach, as a tool to gain better understanding of the structure of institutions and their historical evolution, to facilitate micro-, meso- and macro-analysis, applying critical junctures to understand the key moments that have influenced the research topic. Within this context, the chapter has discussed decisions to adopt the regime approach and influential social origins theory (Salamon and Anheier, 1998), aiming to contribute, through the research findings, to the non-profit regime debate.

DATA CHAPTERS & ANALYSIS

Chapter 4

The State/regime and the voluntary sector:

The impact of the state and changing regime on the development of the voluntary sector in Cyprus

Introduction

Observing states and regimes to understand voluntary sector development is dominant in non-profit regime research. Studies have been rooted in either economic debates, focused on state and market forces, or more complex approaches rooted in institutional choices, social relations, regime dynamics and history within the context of welfare states. Analyses of state and regime and their relation to the voluntary sector form key dimensions of investigation in this thesis, too, posing the question *'How and under what conditions have the regime, state-related elements and the surrounding socio-economic, political context influenced the developmental process of the voluntary sector in Cyprus'?* Following the non-profit regime conceptual approach, under the lens of social origins theory, the chapter focuses on broader social, political, and economic relationships (Salamon and Anheier, 1998) to understand voluntary sector development.

Although these theoretical frameworks have usefully informed the research, evidence here challenges the narrow view - conceptualised in the literature, both theoretically and usually methodologically - of the study of voluntary sector development,

under the lens of state and regime. Current non-profit regime modelling is restricted to the experiences of specific clusters of countries that happened to enjoy much attention in comparative third sector research. The findings here, instead, suggest a renewed context of relations, actors, factors and historical experiences, moving well beyond the narrow frameworks of social origins theory. Hence, the research argues for a refined approach to investigate voluntary sector trajectories, focusing on processes rather than merely outcomes, challenging the focus on the market/government failure principle to understand welfare provision and introducing empowerment, small island, power and conflict theories as well as different regime dynamics and types of power struggles, socio-economic and political conditions to explain welfare negotiations in states which have experienced authoritarianism and turbulence. Applying the tools of historical institutionalism, critical junctures and path-dependency, only modestly used in non-profit regime literature, the chapter produces a more fruitful and insightful analysis of the state-voluntary sector relationship in Cyprus and discusses whether the Cypriot voluntary sector reflects a unique case or a context shaped by different origin factors in the non-profit regime map.

The chapter asks about relationships between the voluntary sector and state/regime in Cyprus, exploring the constellation of forces that can explain the voluntary sector trajectory, shaping an argument that the voluntary sector has not only been a derivative of the Cypriot regime and its distinct evolutionary process, influenced by the dynamic historic and socio-political context and path dependency forces, but also a source for the welfare state's development. To explore and analyze this argument the chapter is structured under three broad themes that have emerged in the analysis as explaining the sector's development in relation to regime

and state processes: a) the 'turbulent' and interrupted welfare state building process, state-regime related patterns and struggles, b) the 'small state/island' feature, and c) path dependency under the lens of critical junctures. In this framework the key themes and sub-themes that have emerged during analysis have been organised under the Chapter's headings and sub-headings, each representing summary headings of higher level interpretations of data analysis' organising and basic themes, as extracted from the thematic network analysis method. To mark the transition period, findings are divided into two main sections, the colonization and the post-democratic periods. The arguments of this chapter draw from interviews and documentary sources. Interviews gave the key themes, while documents filled the gaps, providing detail to build a more comprehensive context for oral history and interviews. Interview quotes used throughout the chapter have been selected on the basis of their strength and representativeness in reflecting the various arguments.

The impact of authoritarianism and peculiar state building process

Agreement emerges into how the welfare state, the Cypriot regime and other factors have influenced the voluntary sector. The findings point to past legacies, history, state and regime's building processes, and underlying socio-political and economic factors, for understanding key stages of the voluntary sector's development and the state-voluntary sector relationship. Long authoritarianism, British colonialism and transition to democracy, the state's political and ethnic struggles, the Turkish invasion and post-war reconstruction period, and the building of the modern welfare state emerge as the main events and processes influencing the voluntary sector. The main emergent argument is that the voluntary sector's development

is partly an outcome and derivative of the regime's turbulent and interrupted building process, its critical junctures, while the sector has been a strong source for the welfare state's consolidation. To explore this argument, the question posed to the data was *'How and under what conditions have the regime, state-related elements and the surrounding socio-economic, political context influenced the developmental process of the voluntary sector in Cyprus'?* Under this interrogative approach the analysis explores the voluntary sector's development, in the Greek Cypriot context, within the evolution of institutions, structures, welfare state development and under the lens of the most pervasive explanatory factors: ideologies, relations, roles, processes and critical junctures. Had it been possible to access primary Turkish Cypriot sources, alternative points of view could have enriched the findings, exploring the rich tapestry of both religions, cultures, regimes and their complex interaction. This research leaves ample ground for future exploration, separately or jointly, of Greek-Turkish Cypriot perspectives in welfare and voluntary sector development.

The impact of colonialism and 'turbulent' socio-economic and political context

Associations as a response to the weak colonial welfare regime

Respondents agreed in seeing the weak colonial welfare regime (1878-1960) as a key determinant, a critical juncture, for the emergence of a distinct environment of voluntary networks in Cyprus. Weakness could relate to 'failure' as determinant, aligning with Weisbrod's (1977) 'market/government failure' thesis as determining the rise of voluntary associations. This aligns with the underlying 'failure' element upon which non-profit regimes are built

(Salamon and Anheier, 1998; Archambault, 2009; Ferreira, 2006). Although both findings and literature agree on the 'failure' concept as fundamental to understanding voluntary sector development, the research points to different dynamics upon which such 'failure' rests. Specifically, the Cypriot voluntary sector's history shows 'failure' deriving outside the strict context of market and state. The sector emerged from the failure of a stateless context (colonial administration) and outside democratic and sovereign conditions. The findings also suggest a functionalist explanatory framework, where associations grew to address unmet needs of a failing stateless context. Within this differentiated context, data analysis shows processes, dimensions and factors, giving in-depth insight into the conditions connected to the 'failure', understanding the dynamics generating and shaping voluntary associations' development patterns.

Although the weakness of the colonial regime emerged as a key factor behind the voluntary associations' development, some contradictory voices offered alternative views:

> *"... after the big earthquake in Paphos in 1950, the British colonial administration helped financially the local people to re-build their houses ... this was organised social action on behalf of the British" (Interview, 4/23-3-10).*

This argument represented a lone voice, contradicting the rather 'firm' response of most interviewees that the colonial regime offered very little in welfare development. This contradiction is also reinforced by arguments about relations between the colonial regime and welfare associations. Some interviewees saw organised voluntary networks as benefitting from the colonial presence

(Interviews, 14/16-6-2010; 6/21-4-2010; Cyprus Government, 1952:12; Triseliotis, 1977:148) and argued for periods of fruitful interaction between associations and the regime. Data relate to the Government Welfare Service, key British echelons and their wives, contributing to the creation of organisations, having active roles as board members and initiating fund raising activities, including fairs, bazaars and dances (Cyprus Government, 1952:32-33). Some mentioned that at times of political calm the Government Welfare Services "maintained a cordial and co-operative liaison" with voluntary organisations throughout the island and "excellent personal relationships" developed (Cyprus Government, 1952:12):

> *"... director of the x Department ... I would say he was a philanthropist ... he laid the foundations for the introduction of social security on the island" (Interview, 6/21-4-2010).*

Sources suggest that the colonial regime funded, in a limited way, key voluntary associations in the colonisation period (Cyprus Government, 1959). Again this was not mentioned by respondents or severely downplayed in their accounts, suggesting that this funding was insufficient, and should not be acknowledged as significantly contributing to welfare development.

Another interviewee saw the British presence as 'introducing' the notion of volunteer:

> *"Although I do not remember welfare initiatives during colonisation, I will tell you a story. When I was 14 years old an English lady in Cyprus told me that I should become a 'volunteer'. I did not know what the word meant. I found a dictionary to find out what a*

'volunteer' was. Since then I provided my services as a volunteer ..." (Interview, 2/15-3-2010).

Although this data suggest that the colonial regime was not completely absent in welfare development, this represents rather few arguments. A more powerful position remains that the colonial regime was weak in addressing social needs on the island, hence the 'failure' concept, the powerful response from most interviewees that associations developed to address this failure. An interesting quote suggests that the motive behind the minimal welfare development was mainly strategic:

"Sir [name]... never cared about welfare ... he only cared to consolidate the British position on the island" (Interview, 1/29-10-2009).

Following these contradictory voices, and considering that most interviewees stressed the weak colonial regime to explain the voluntary sector's development during the colonial period, the following sections support this main argument, starting by framing the poor socio-economic context during colonialism that emerged from the interviewees' memories and experiences:

"Poor economic and social conditions mobilized communities and individuals to engage in welfare" (Interview, 2/15-3-2010).

"Women begged for food (a potato, an egg) ... this is how I remember things ... there was absolute hunger and misery" (Interview, 3/20-3-2010).

"Most children could not go to school, they had to work" (Interview, 20/6-9-2010).

> *"Cyprus was a one-dimensional economy (agricultural) and the agricultural debts were more than the value of property ... the economic situation was really bad (Interview, 11/21-5-2010).*

Although administrative changes (basic infrastructure projects, organisation of the public machinery and legislation for each sector) led to some progress, developments never secured adequate socio-economic advancement (Argyriou, 2011; Azinas, 2001; Holland and Markides, 2006; Pavlides, 1999; Triseliotis, 1977).

Most interviewees shared similar feelings about the colonial regime:

> *"There were too many needs and too many welfare gaps ... there was too much space for philanthropy and voluntary organisations" (Interview, 1/29-10-2009).*

> *"There were many needs that needed to be addressed ... I do not recall any significant action by the colonizers ... I did not feel their presence in welfare" (Interview, 8/27-4-2010).*

> *"I remember that there was no organised voluntary welfare ... philanthropy was exercised by philanthropic networks and the Church" (Interview, 5/31-3-2010).*

Documentary colonial sources confirm the colonial welfare regime's limitations: "Few of the public institutions established in England to provide for the sick and infirm poor, exist in this island …" (Colonial Secretariat, 1912:1-2). These were mainly public health institutions (district hospitals, a mental hospital, a leper farm) (Cyprus Government, 1880-1946), and a few welfare institutions (children's homes, infant welfare centres, reform schools and after-care hostels)

to address only the most pressing needs of the time (Cyprus Government, 1952; 1956), while welfare gaps were filled by "the key charitable work of voluntary societies" (Colonial Secretariat, 1912:1-2). Social security, for the mass of the working population, was absent until the mid-2nd World War. This made working life last until old age and the concept of retirement unknown (Interviews; Giallouros, 2007). Welfare strategies took shape 15 years before the island's independence, under a Ten Year Development Programme (1946-1956) including a public Welfare Service, which never managed to materialise its mission (Cyprus Government, 1952), a social protection strategy, introduced late, in 1953: a limited public assistance scheme (Cyprus Government, 1956), with few prospects of covering the population's needs.

Respondents and other sources identified two main factors bringing the weak welfare regime and growth of voluntary networks, namely the colonial ideology in welfare and the political context. Although broader factors were involved, including the Crown's budget to the colonies and geopolitical and economic interests, this analysis is restricted to those emerging as the most pervasive influences on the voluntary networks' development. The welfare ideology which held the family responsible for the welfare provision of its members, was the first main factor, transferred in Cyprus under the Criminal Law, with families held liable when they failed to undertake their welfare responsibility (Interviews, 10/21-5-2010; 18/1-9-2010; Triseliotis, 1977). A community development welfare strategy was enforced in the 1950s through an ad-hoc Grants-in-Aid Scheme for voluntary welfare activities to address community needs (Cyprus Government, 1952; 1956). The second factor shaping the regime's weak welfare features was the turbulent political environment, with continuous disorder brought by society's anti-colonial struggles against poor

social and regime conditions (Cyprus Government, 1957:2). As Iacovou (1959:1) argued, the Social Welfare Department had "shortcomings" due to the "most abnormal conditions" under which it had to work during the four-year colonial struggle (Cyprus Government, 1959). The Department's expenditure in the early 1950s, shows cuts in welfare investments to cover welfare needs arising from the struggle (32,101 CY pounds from the total expenditure of 155,504 CY pounds), (Cyprus Government, 1959:1). Consequently, for mainly political and ideological reasons, the weak welfare regime 'turned' social welfare into society's responsibility (Interviews):

> *"Hardship and insecurity not only bonded people but forced social structures to create their own system of welfare" (Interview, 13/14-6-2010).*

> *"Even though I did not have much to survive, I would help my neighbour...hardship and misery bring people together" (Interview, 13/14-6-2010)*

Although informal care and philanthropy existed since antiquity (Pavlides, 1999; Triseliotis, 1977), organised philanthropy and other welfare initiatives mark an emergent environment of associations.

The 'failure' of the colonial social protection system initiated the creation of poor relief societies, the Philoptochos associations, poorhouses, orphanages, hostels, day nurseries, infant welfare facilities, a few specialised institutions (including the School for the Blind, the Anti-Tuberculosis League) welfare and youth associations, distribution of charity funds, (Holy Archbishop of Cyprus, Files 113; 105; ΙΔ; ΙΘ; Cyprus Government, 1958:14); health care schemes, pension

schemes and welfare funds by the Trade Union Movement (Cyprus Government , 1957; Interviews, 18/1-9-2010; 6/21-4-2010). Families remained, during colonialism, the main source of socio-economic security, constituting the main mechanism of informal care (Cyprus Government, 1957:7; Interviews). Society's activities have been financed by municipalities, private and corporate contributions, church subscriptions and, in some cases, colonial governmental grants, forming the backbone of the weak colonial welfare system, an under-developed welfare-mix, dominated by society's contributions, rather than the market forces of western literature (Cyprus Government, 1880-1946; Cyprus Government, 1952; 1956; 1957; Colonial Secretariat, 1912; Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, Files 105, 113; ΙΔ; ΟΒ; Γ; Η; Θ; ΚΑ; Interviews). Building an extended society-based welfare network, clearly counteracts dominant literature arguments that oppressive environments suppress social capital (Stolle and Lewis, 2002). Oppression, in Cyprus, acted as a catalyst towards welfare mobilization and voluntary action, in informal and organised ways. This should not translate as oppression facilitating the creation of associations, rather oppression, under a wider and more complex framework of influences such as a weak welfare regime, lack of self-determination, threat to life, poor socio-economic conditions, led to increased grass-roots voluntary action. Detailed analysis of the role of Church and society is provided in separate chapters, further supporting this argument.

Although findings portray interconnected factors to explain the specific developmental pattern of voluntary associations, they lack insight into markets. Was the market absent, as a factor, in this period, or did interviewees lack awareness of market forces? The economy in Cyprus during colonisation revolved mainly around agriculture, with some colonial projects that facilitated trade and

'primitive' economic modernisation through building roads and other infrastructure. The population strata were peasants, farmers, a few miners and small 'middle' class (Chatzidemetriou, 2002; Giallouros, 2007; Markides, 1974). People relied on informal relationships and grass-roots welfare arrangements to meet their needs. Private donations were granted to associations by donors or small-scale firms (Holy Archbishop of Cyprus, File: ΙΔ). This context excludes standard market forces, capitalist economies of labour-markets, white-collar employment, heavy industries, large corporations, banks and established hierarchies of economic power which developed in the USA and Europe by the end of the 19th century (Eichengreen and Iversen, 1999:4). So it is not that interviewees' 'missed' the market factor, rather a market, as developed elsewhere (advanced industrial and capitalist market), was absent, hence had little influence on voluntary associations. The market, forming the "major economic institutions of capitalisms" (Valentinov, 2005:9) and other complex forms of western market influences, falls clearly outside the reality of the colonisation period in Cyprus and even many years after democracy. So, although failure gave rise to voluntary networks, it should translate as an absent advanced capitalist market rather than a failing market. If a capitalist market existed, inequalities stemming from it could again give rise to associations.

Associational life as a reaction to authoritarianism and a means towards empowerment

In non-profit regime studies, regime dynamics and their impact on voluntary sector development have been restricted to power relations and struggles over welfare and resources. According to the interviewees, society's engagement in welfare provision and the formation of voluntary networks were more than a society-based welfare system to address social needs. Associational life was also a

reaction against authoritarianism and a means towards empowerment. While a few studies have discussed whether empowerment creates stronger voluntary sectors, focusing on outcomes (Themudo, 2009; Wilson and Musick, 1997), the relation between empowerment, authoritarianism and the non-profit sector and other more diverse conditions under which empowerment is likely to occur, remain underexplored in non-profit regime research. Empowerment theory is therefore important to the research, among the most "vital constructs to understand the development of individuals, organisations and communities" (Perkins and Zimmerman, 1995: 571), providing a framework to explain the empowerment-authoritarianism-voluntary associations' development relationship.

To understand why a distinct environment of associations emerged during colonialism one must also explore other aspects of the colonial regime. Most respondents agreed that one such aspect was the authoritarian character of the regime, which created conditions for mobilization and empowerment, strengthening the island's associational life. One contradiction to interviewees' shared argument was:

> *"Their [British administration] presence in Cyprus was important...they brought a balanced way of governing the island, if compared to previous rulers, the Ottoman Empire..." (Intrerview, 6/21-4-2010).*

Some interviewees (Interviews, 24/2-10-2010; 25/10-10-2010; 30/8-12-10) argued, alternatively, that hardship did not always link to empowerment and associational life. These interviewees saw the harsh regime as acting negatively on peoples' collective welfare

identity, restricting their energy and activity to informal caring in the family and neighbourhood. This relates to the conceptualisation that oppressive environments "dis-empower" rather than empower individuals (Perkins and Zimmerman, 1995:571). These arguments have limitations, mainly because not shared by most respondents: the colonial regime's authoritarian character *did* facilitate certain dynamics that linked positively to the development of associations on the island.

The relationship between empowerment and associational life gains strength when accounting the way interviewees linked it with the transition to the new democratic regime and the building of the welfare state. A few interviewees (Interviews, 6/21-4-2010; 9/-4-5-2010; 29/5-11-2010) suggested that the relationship between empowerment and the development of voluntary associations should be understood under the specific political conditions on the island during colonisation: the fragmented political and national ideologies, which extended in the structures of associations. These interviewees furthermore argued that this diverse context of interests for accessing resources, institutions, ideals, as posited in collective action theory, (Perkins and Zimmerman, 1995), and the desire to retain separate development of collective action and fragmented ideas, created a strong environment of associations during colonisation and supported the island at the transition to democracy.

Following discussion on these contradictory views, the thesis next elaborates the dominant position: a stronger relationship between authoritarianism, empowerment and development of associations during colonialism, under the influence of fragmented frameworks.

The context is that, although the colonial administration promised to safeguard justice, equality, security, economic, social and cultural development, and the 1882 Constitution guaranteed the rights and liberties of Cypriots, including their participation in decision-making and the exercise of electoral rights in municipal, legislative council and Church elections (Interviews, 1/29-10-2009; 11/21-5-2010; Pavlides, 1999), various forces made the regime authoritarian, with limited prospects for socio-economic progress.

From 1900 onwards, insecurity, lack of participation, harsh administration, the slow building of political ideologies and continuous political instability, were identified by most interviewees as key conditions that strengthened associational life and created a link between mobilization, empowerment and hardship:

> *"Poverty, hardship and insecurity united Cypriots and promoted solidarity ... we had nowhere to turn to ... there was no state...we had to mobilize, unite and strengthen ... help each other to survive" (Interview, 20/6-9-2010).*

> *"You can imagine how a society feels when people are denied the right to participation or rule their own country" (Interview, 20/6-9-2010).*

> *"In the absence of the state and any social security mechanism people engaged in mutual help and other organised activities" (Interviews, 18/1-9-2010).*

> *"I wanted to overturn the tradition that I experienced during British rule, where people could not influence the administration" (Interview, 10/21-5-2010).*

How have oppression and authoritarianism triggered mobilisation, empowerment and then collective action? If power is conceptualised as a "transformational capacity", referring to the will-power of individuals "to intervene in a given set of events so as in some way to alter them" (Giddens, 1985, in Cambell, 1999:49), mainly as a "response to stimuli" (Cambell, 1999:53), then we understand why oppression triggered empowerment and 'forced' people into collective action to change their problematic situation. The findings enrich this broad conceptualisation of empowerment by identifying different types of stimuli in the Cyprus case. These come under the broad theme of authoritarianism and its dimensions, including insecurity, lack of participation, harsh administration, the slow building of political ideologies by local people, continuous political instability, threats to identity and hardship. This exploration, therefore, of the regime's authoritarian aspects, and analysis of their interaction with socio-economic and political factors, under the lens of empowerment theory, builds an argument that associational life during colonialism developed into a system which gave people a platform towards empowerment, a space of opportunities, rights and collective identities. The findings show the broader socio-economic and political framework establishing a context for understanding key conditions that shaped empowerment. The aim is not to give a detailed historical record, rather to discuss themes raised by interviewees that link to the evolution of oppression, empowerment and voluntary sector development, and the interacting factors that strengthened this relationship and gave rise to empowerment.

In the early days of colonisation (1878), high levels of illiteracy, poverty, lack of political identities and inexperience of political mobilization were mentioned by most interviewees as key factors

behind the minimal share of 'governance' and representation in the socio-economic and political life granted by the Constitution:

> *"The first newspaper was issued in 1878 ... very few people could read it, as most were illiterate... education was not sufficient ... students had no books ..." (Interview, 14/16-6-2010).*

> *"... politics was mainly the job of the Archbishop ... people had no experience of political life" (Interview, 1/29-10-2009).*

> *"... the Church represented Cypriots to the colonial governors and before that to the Ottoman Sultan" (Interview, 8/27-4-2010).*

> *"People did not know about politics ... the few seats given to Cypriots at the Legislative Council were taken by the higher-class of society: bishops, merchants, lawyers ..." (Interview, 14-16-6-2010).*

Labour-related concepts, such as "strike, cooperative, trade-union and club ('syllogos')" were unknown terms (Interview, 18/1/9/2010) and were established only in the first decades of the 20th century (Azinas, 2001:33). Society's progressive awakening led to the first mass mobilizations that aimed to change the island's poor socio-economic situation. According to Pollis (1973), these events were the first signs of a nationalist mobilization against the British, which later turned into a strong movement for unification with Greek Cypriots' Hellenic ancestry, the motherland Greece. The most powerful event, which signalled the first political move towards empowerment, was the 1931 'Octovriana' struggle against the colonial administration, which enforced, as a result, dictatorial measures during 1931-1940 (known as the Palmer Rule), with the island ruled by decrees. Interviewees with memories of this period recall that all liberties and rights, including rights of association and

electoral participation, ceased, and all forms of political, ethnic, social, collective activity were declared illegal:

> *"From 1930, the British were very cautious, they tried to ban all organised activity because they thought that organised action indicated preparation for national anti-colonial struggle" (Interview, 13/14-6-2010).*

> *"The British Colony made organised interventions in organised philanthropic groups, most of the time they closed them down because they feared that there was an 'inside' secret activity relating to the national resistance efforts against the British ... but the groups continued to work secretly, empowering their members (Interview, 4/23-3-2010).*

> *"I remember the governor issued a law in the 1930s which prohibited the association of more than 5 persons in public spaces ... there was also a joke back then ... we used to say "you have to leave ... you are the 6th" (Interview, 18/1-9-2010).*

These developments initially weakened social structures and organisational life, with serious implications for Cypriots' well-being and progress, but society soon re-grouped, with revival of the working class/trade union movement from the mid 1930s (Azinas, 2001:41; Giallouros, 2007).

Political life also relates to empowerment and its impact on the development of voluntary associations. As the multi-dimensional facets of political life are beyond the scope of this thesis, this analysis is restricted to the relationship of the political element to the research topic:

> *"The Archbishopric elections were the greatest political event for Cypriots before political ideologies developed ... don't forget political life was unknown to Cypriots, considering the previous rulers on the island" (Interview, 14/16-6-2010).*

The slow development of politics and its transition phases enables understanding of why, people's pathway to empowerment was through voluntary networking:

> *"There were no organised political parties ... the left-wing party was established in the 1920s ... progressively right (or liberal/nationalist) political wing parties/organisations emerged and consolidated (Interview, 1/29-10-2009).*

Political life was divided around conflicting stances on the anti-colonial strategy, and the national issue of the island's future: the 'Unification with Greece' nationalistic vision versus the ideology of self-government (Interviews, 1/29-10-2009; 11/21-5-2010; 14/16-6-2010; Pavlides, 1999). As the political context took shape by 1943, following the weakening of dictatorial measures, political movements "progressively developed affiliations, with working class movements, trade unions and organised structures throughout the island" (Interviewee, 18/1/9/2010). These developments contributed to establishing political ideologies and consciousness:

> *"Political mobilization extended to the Church clergy who declared a religious and moral duty to educate, inspire and mobilize Cypriots around Hellenistic/national ideals and to defend national identity" (Interview, 14/16-6-2010).*

The 'maturation' of political life and identity in the 1950s, formed a critical juncture, progressively inspiring and empowering all structures

of society, with decisive impact on their development Voluntary networks were also driven into political mobilization and empowerment (Cyprus Government 1952:12). Every social network, athletic, cultural, educational, ethnic-related clubs and welfare associations, religious networks, workers' associations, women's associations, in rural and urban territories, adopted political and ideological stances on the national issue (Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, Files Γ; ΟΒ):

> *"Philanthropic networks raised suspicions about their work because they, as most associations, engaged in the EOKA fight" (Interview 12/12-5-2010)*

> *"My organisation got involved in the EOKA struggle. It was in charge of all the women's organisations" (Interview, 13/14-6-2010).*

No interviewees mentioned any segment of the network of associations, not involved in one way or another in the struggles of the island at the time, suggesting strong links between authoritarianism, lack of political identities, empowerment and associations. Interviewees' accounts were of voluntary networks as more than a society-based welfare system to address social needs. National related activities and high levels of empowerment developed within welfare organisations:

> *"The British knew that organised groups, besides their philanthropic activity, engaged in other 'secret' activities relating to the national resistance operations against them" (Interview, 4/23-3-2010)*

> *"Philanthropy changed its form during the EOKA struggle and incorporated national elements ..." (Interview, 18/1-9-2010)*

When it was realised that the further strengthening of political ideologies could materialise only through such networks, there was a purposeful effort, from different directions, to mobilize and organise society into networks to serve different causes:

> *"It was through community mobilization that national and political associations flourished" (Interview, 8/27-4-2010)*

These developments increased associational life on the island (Azinas, 2002:152), formal and informal structures (Demetriou, 2007:178). Voluntary networks were benefiting from this empowerment era, while acting as strong sources for strengthening and shaping ideologies:

> *"… who do you think started the national resistance? ... the people organised in various groups ... the spirit of resistance against the British sprang from the inner circles of these philanthropic groups ..." (Interview, 4/23-3-2010).*

Azinas (2001:42, 52) argues rural and urban educational, reading, athletic clubs and religious associations acted as bases for the development of political ideologies, political parties and Trade Unions, giving room for working class movements to disseminate their visions and mobilize their masses during their 1940-1945 struggles. Associations therefore contributed towards socio-economic and political change, a space for the expression of interests. Argyriou (2011:12) also argues that the "diffusion" of nationalism was promoted by the organised social structures, including Christian associations and working class movements. This mass institutionalisation of collective action reflects the 'balance principle' of collective action where, after the establishment of a

homogeneous group of organisations, a new opposing group is formed, to remedy disequilibria and re-establish balance (Truman, 1971, In Ozler, 2007:4). The 'end result', further strengthening the empowerment argument under specific conditions, was associations' involvement in the anti-colonial struggle (1955-1959), contributing to the establishment of the democratic regime in 1960.

Respondents agreed that the emergent environment of associations is a derivative of the colonial regime's turbulent conditions and a strong source for the transition to democracy (Interviews) and welfare state building, facilitated by high levels of empowerment in society:

> *"Even though we were free and we had our state, we (volunteers and welfare associations) continued to engage in the social affairs of the island ... we knew how to do this anyway ... our desire for freedom was such that we never thought not to support our very own new state! ..." (Interview, 4/23-3-2010).*

> *"Independence gave a 'lead' to associations to do more work in their society ... networks supported the first years of democracy" (Interview, 19/6-9-2010).*

> *"Everything started from the nucleus of welfare associations established before democracy" (Interview, 10/4-5-2010).*

Authoritarianism initiated a complex set of processes and forces that brought associational life to serve different means and ends: functioning as a reaction mechanism against the colonial administration and a form of participation in the socio-economic and political life of the weak regime. It also facilitated the creation and strengthening of the national, religious, cultural and political

identity, strengthening ethnic identities among Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Participation in organised networks was the means for people to represent their will and change their inferior, subordinated and powerless positions: people could achieve the collective good and develop ideologies, visions and identities. Respondents' accounts show Cypriots' identity as defined, maintained and strengthened by their communal participation, with ethnic, social and religious dynamics laying foundations for peoples' empowerment and intercourse in social and political affairs. Associational life: "Helped to preserve the Cypriots' existence" (Interview, 9/4-5-2010) and their survival in an unjust and undemocratic context. Women interviewees and documentary sources suggested that women's socially and politically inferior position, changed through their involvement in charity and organised activities (Interviews/female group; PFWO/PODW, 1980 see also chapter 6)). Associational life was therefore a dynamic platform through which people defended their rights and gained social status. Again this reflects empowerment theory, where the greater the strength of social institutions, groups' shared interests and identity, under conditions of conflict, the greater the motivation for people to mobilise in collective action (Knight, 1992).

The colonial regime, society's struggles and their decisive impact on associations

The struggles dimension is closely related to empowerment, and deserves separate analysis. According to social origins theory, the four non-profit regimes derive from a specific "constellation of class relationships" and "state-society relations" (Salamon and Anheier, 1998:213). This research argues against this one-dimensional view of power relations and suggests that different types of struggles, other

than class struggles, can shape actors' relations and non-profit regimes.

Respondents and documentary sources identified multi-level power struggles, based on political, national and socio-economic foundations, between society and the colonial regime, as influencing in diverse ways the paths of voluntary networks. Although the struggles in Cyprus' history could be studied in various ways, this analysis focuses on aspects influencing the development of voluntary associations under colonialism. The struggles dimension is also explored through the lens of Church and society in separate chapters.

Society-colonial regime relationships have been characterised by intense struggles, forming a critical juncture in the development of associations. Continuous political disorder on the island, through authoritarian regime and Cypriots' anti-colonial struggles, 'pushed' voluntary networks into political mobilizations (Cyprus Government, 1956; 1957). The national 1955-1959 anti-colonial struggle, brought enforcement of martial law, intensified political disorder and affected all domains of socio-economic life. The involvement of voluntary networks in the anti-colonial struggle, and the colonial decree prohibiting the gathering of more than 5 persons, influenced associations' social interaction, welfare and charity work:

> *"I lived the arrests, the curfews, the imprisonments, the exiles, the bloodshed, the tortures and the sentences to death by hanging" (Interview, 20/6-9-2010).*

> *"Philoptochoi wanted to support the EOKA (anti-colonial liberation movement) fighters' families, but it was dangerous ... if we visited a*

house regularly it would raise suspicion that the husband was away (hence a national fighter) and we would put the family in danger ... this decreased the work of Philanthropic networks" (Interview, 2/15-3-2010).

"We had to work secretly because most members of voluntary associations were also engaged in the anti-colonial struggle" (Interview, 9/4-5-2010).

The then Director for Social Development, supported this argument: arguing that "abnormal" political conditions reduced "social intercourse" and welfare activity of most organisations (Cyprus Government, 1957:26), and made it impossible to initiate new welfare schemes that would require the "wholehearted co-operation of all communities" (Cyprus Government, 1957:35). Despite these developments, the next year's colonial report mentions that many voluntary networks remained active in welfare either by providing assistance to groups vulnerable to inter-communal strife, or rehabilitating released prisoners (Cyprus Government, 1958:17).

The institution of 'Ethnarchy', where the Archbishop acted as the Cypriots' political, national and religious leader, was a force behind voluntary associations' mobilization in national/political affairs. Although the role of religion and Church are discussed in a separate chapter, some arguments are introduced here, to explain the dynamics parallel to the authoritarian regime, shaping the colonial regime's relationship with voluntary associations. All respondents agreed that voluntary associations' engagement in the island's struggles was influenced by the political role the Church held in society. The networks created by Church circles, or affiliated to the Church, followed the political stance of the Archbishop and/or the

Church prelates and were usually identified with right-wing Hellenistic ideals and 'Union with Greece' ideology. The other major group of associations, attached to organised communism, rejected the 'Union with Greece' stance, as this would bring divisions with the Turkish Cypriot minority (AKEL, 2011; Azinas, 2001:51; Cyprus Government, 1956; 1957; Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, Files Γ; ΟΒ; Pavlides, 1999; Interviews, 1/29-10-2009; 14/16-6-2010):

> *"I also remember the great 'divide' amongst people when the Church took an active role in political and national matters ... left and right divided into two camps ... there were serious struggles and we were suspicious of each other ..." (Interview, 3/20-3-2010).*

> *"I remember how the political tension between left and right created a tense climate in all structures" (Interview, 18/1-9-2010).*

Most interviewees and colonial document agreed, the greater the political division, the more associations divided but also strengthened, forming a new critical juncture (Cyprus Government, 1958:11; Interviews). No interviewees counteracted this argument, but some remained neutral.

The struggles dimension closely relates to empowerment issues discussed previously. Respondents and sources shared the view that there is a common basis of themes and factors explaining the rise of both the struggles and empowerment. Conditions such as insecurity, lack of participation, harsh administration, the slow building of political ideologies, continuous political instability and threats to identity, form inter-connecting factors with struggles and empowerment. Has empowerment triggered struggles or did struggles give rise to empowerment? The findings cannot support

either position straightforwardly, rather a complex interaction between the two dimensions and surrounding forces. The society/colonial regime struggles, for example, were not initiated until people were empowered by the Church and society's dividing ideologies. The Church/colonial regime struggles, on the other hand, were key to peoples' awakening to the importance of protecting their identity, a pursuit which became a driving force towards empowerment. Insight into struggles and the way they facilitate our further understanding about the relationship between struggles and voluntary associations' development follows.

Continuous political disorder and the island's poor conditions initiated another type of struggle: for resources. Securing better living conditions and favours enabled concepts and practices of clientelism in society. Clientelism developed as a strong feature of Cypriot society, specifically in bureaucratic structures, societal units and structures (individuals, groups and organizations), reinforced by the island's small size Clientelism during colonialism sought to foster specific interests:

> *"Cypriots would take chickens and eggs to the British colonial authority in order to 'push' an application or meet a demand" (Interview, 19/6-9-2010).*

No other arguments were made about clientelism during colonialism, but this theme is acknowledged here to underpin later sections where specific arguments are made linking clientelism, voluntary associations and democracy.

Democracy: the impact of the authoritarian legacy and 'turbulent' welfare state building process

The transition to democracy and the state's turbulent path

The island's transition to democracy in 1960 facilitated the growth of voluntary associations: their diversification and most profound stages of transformation, and consolidation into a distinct sector have been powerfully shaped by the democratic regime's turbulent development. The data suggest that after a critical juncture a new trajectory was imposed upon the sector and the state. The analysis explores the relationship between the voluntary sector/regime trajectories, within the context of the developing sovereign welfare state. Although many thematic 'routes' could be taken, the findings are analysed under the lens of the key socio-political and economic factors that emerge as having the most pervasive impact on the voluntary sector's development.

The impact of democracy

Yishai (2002:216) argues: "the political context, including the state and its agencies, plays an important role in shaping and consolidating civil society". Tarrow (1996) stresses the decisive impact of state-building on the voluntary sector's development, while Salamon, Sokolowski and Anheier (2002) argue historic events as having a dynamic effect in determining welfare responsibilities. Evidence here supports, more or less, all these positions, but adds factors that particularly reflect the Cyprus case, introducing the impact of late democracy on the developmental patterns of regime and voluntary sector, but also empowerment, which have been completely missed in studies of non-profit regimes. Also, as suggested previously, voluntary associations acted as a dynamic force behind the building and consolidation of democracy.

Nearly all respondents agreed that voluntary associations "flourished like mushrooms" (Interviews) and doubled (Konis, 1984) in quantity during the first post-independence decade:

> *"After 1960 a new development era started ... you could see development at all levels, social, political, financial ... especially in the organisation of people in groups and networks" (Interview, 20/6-9-2010).*

Interviewees also argued against the role of associations in democracy:

> *"... the new state should be responsible in welfare ... not society" (Interviews, 6/21-4-2010, 11/21-5-2010; 14/16-6-2010).*

> *"... social solidarity should be expressed by the government and the government should not rely on volunteers ... volunteering should not replace the state's responsibility in welfare" (Interview, 11/21-5-2010).*

The critical juncture of democracy created a steady pattern of increasing levels of voluntary associations: all voluntary networks, which terminated activities during the anti-colonial struggle, resumed activities and new ones "sprang all over the island" (Cyprus Government, 1959:6-7, 17). Since most interviewees' accounts stressed the impact of democracy, the first question posed to the data was *'Why has the advent of democracy had such a catalytic role in the growth of voluntary associations?'* Bertram (2011:18) mentions that "the political histories of microstates and small islands commence from major historical turning points, preceded by long histories of being embedded in colonial empires". Democracy was

such ‘turning point’ for Cypriot society. The late transition to democracy, sovereignty and self-determination, outcomes of the struggles of the Cypriot people, “... inspired and empowered the whole fabric of Cypriot society” (Interview, 4/24-3-2010). Establishing basic rights and liberties created new opportunities where people could work for their socio-economic development. Most interviewees characterised democracy’s coming as “a historic momentum”, beginning the “era of freedom ... the first since antiquity”: a new experience for the exercise of basic rights and liberties. For an island that had not experienced sovereignty until the mid-20th century, democracy gave Cypriots a very productive decade, marked by socio-economic development, international collaboration and presence. Democracy, sovereignty and the right of association in the Constitution (Republic of Cyprus, 1960) “... empowered existing associations and created a liberal context for the creation of new ones” (Interview, 4/24-3-2010). Voluntary associations’ active engagement in social welfare contributed to social development and strengthened active citizenship, acting as a catalyst towards democratic life and consolidation (Konis, 1984:141).

The key systematic patterns

While the new democratic context was a positive force, a complex set of factors brought turbulence to the new state, hindering the possibility for building a strong welfare state. Interviewees stressed how these critical events determined the future path of voluntary associations. What can provide more depth to these arguments? Can we observe any systematic patterns that supersede the random ones? Which social, political and economic elements lie behind these patterns? How have these defined the role of the state, the voluntary sector and their position in welfare? This section analyses the most pervasive and systematic patterns and forces that have

shaped the voluntary sector/state path, suggesting that the major forces or critical junctures with a long-term influence on voluntary associations' development have been the authoritarian and colonial legacies and the state's strategies within a context of continuous political turbulence. Behind these key forces an array of constant and random socio-economic and political conditions are reflected.

Analysis here shows the building and persistence of path-dependency patterns, portraying the link between specific forces and how they have determined welfare arrangements, specifically the sector's role and development alongside the welfare state's building process. This argument reflects the key foundation of the path-dependency concept that "earlier parts of a sequence matter much more than later parts" (Pierson, 2000:263), implied in social origins theory, through its position that 'choices are constrained by the past'. The following sections, though sharing social origins theory's principle that voluntary associations are embedded in "broader social, political and economic realities" (Salamon and Anheier, 1998:215), note different experiences and factors and use more tools to understand the voluntary sector's development. Specifically, historical institutionalism's critical junctures tool is used to explore how critical events can trigger path-dependent processes and the conditions under which these occur. Analysis mainly reflects the weakness and turbulent building processes of state, regime, political structures, institutions and multi-type struggles, community empowerment under peculiar conditions, geo-political international interests, and economic conditions, mostly rooted in the island's history.

A key feature through all post-democratic decades has been of clientelism, already introduced as a feature during colonialism.

Since respondents discussed clientelism as a strong feature of society without defining a specific decade, arguments about clientelism are placed in this introductory section. Specifically, respondents argued that some voluntary associations managed to secure funding through political clientelism after democracy. Others suggested that voluntary associations developed to address the outcomes of clientelism, specifically to cover the needs of vulnerable groups never powerful enough to meet their needs through the channels of clientelistic relations (Interviews, 15/26-7-2010; 19/6-9-2010). Others suggested that clientelism has helped volunteer groups to promote social welfare concerns into the social policy arena. Useful to the research is the argument of clientelism defined as a dynamic force behind voluntary sector development.

The first decade's patterns (1960s)

A chain of critical events from the eve of democracy 'prescribed' for the Cypriot state a limited welfare course, with a dynamic environment of voluntary associations consolidating, shaping strong and stable volunteering patterns. But which are these conditions?

> *"We did not have the time to think or figure out the role of our new state in welfare or even work with the state to build our welfare system … we enjoyed only a few years of stability before the unrest and bi-communal turbulence begun" (Interview, 4/24-3-2010).*

> *".. .the new state did not have the experience to handle political and other affairs" (Interview, 9/4-5-2010).*

> *"The infant state welcomed and supported the help of volunteers" (Interview, 2/15-3-2010).*

What else could be expected from a post-colonial, underdeveloped infant state with dividing and threatening political and ethnic fronts? Debates on colonisation explain this relationship well. New decolonised states lacked experience of handling political affairs, governance and basic institutions (Marker, 2003). Even the ethnic struggles and conflicts between Greek and Turkish Cypriots are rooted in the British/colonial 'divide and rule' strategy (Given, 2002:6). Marker (2003) argues, the most difficult and complex conflicts are found in most former-colonized/controlled areas, with the Cyprus case among the most complex of these. Evidence here not only supports these theories, but provides evidence of factors specific to the Cyprus case.

Key critical junctures creating the weak welfare state were the island's peculiar social, political and economic evolution, followed by turbulent development of state and society, the influence of foreign powers and the inexperience of systems and societal structures. Discussing findings under the lens of 'critical junctures' gives more insight into the evolution of institutional welfare arrangements, shedding light on welfare negotiations and relations that produced specific volunteering patterns in welfare provision. The advent of democracy formed a critical juncture determining welfare responsibilities and shaping the trajectory of a long state-building process, under the shadow of authoritarianism, dating back to antiquity, the colonial legacy and political divisions. Although democracy created new opportunities for Cyprus' socio-economic and cultural development (Triseliotis, 1977:23), many interacting factors influenced the way welfare was negotiated.

Political factors formed key themes of the first decade. Under the post-colonial figure of Makarios, who held simultaneously the two

supreme positions of the new Republic, as President of the state and Archbishop of the Church of Cyprus, the infant political system had to build the new state under extremely challenging conditions:

> *"Conditions were critical from day one ... the new state sought synergies and allies to build democracy ..." (7/22-4-2010)*

> *"The state had not many options ... its history ... its legacies ... the way its sovereignty was 'shaped', divisions in society ... the escalation of bi-communal struggles 3 years after democracy ... all have been obstacles in building the state" (Interview, 4/23-3-2010).*

> *"... when the Republic was established, most actors were inexperienced in running the new state" (Interview, 17/30-8-2010).*

It firstly had to enforce a "dysfunctional constitution", conceived and imposed by foreign powers, which forced bi-communal divisions rather than unity in government, civil service, legislature and nearly all domains of socio-economic and political life (Coufoudakis, 2010:2). It then faced increasing conflict, arising from the disproportionate constitutional rights and powers allocated to the two communities (Interviews, 1/29-10-2009; 11/21-5-2010). Struggles for hegemony, conflicting nationalist aspirations between and within the Greek Cypriot majority and Turkish minority, embedded during the colonial era, the escalation of 1963 bi-communal strife, conflicts between Cyprus and Turkey, the intervention of other countries, the establishment of a UN peacekeeping force, an expensive defence programme (DSWS, 1964:1): these form some explanations why welfare state building remained in the shadow of political and ethnic divisions, many vulnerable elements having pressing priorities beyond welfare.

Economic factors also played a key role. The transition to democracy found the island underdeveloped. The inherited colonial economic system was based on unstable factors with limited foundations for further economic development. The focus on economic planning achieved steady economic growth and basic infrastructure improvements (PIO, 2010), but permitted the allocation of only 183,000 CY pounds to welfare expenditure in 1960 (DSWS, 1960:1). Economy-oriented strategies produced slow welfare development. Welfare planning was nearly absent in the First Five Year Plan (1962-1966) being addressed progressively in subsequent Plans (Planning Bureau Cyprus, 1961; 1966; 1971): "the government knew very little about welfare programming and community mobilization" and the first technocrats could not acknowledge "the value of balancing and reconciling economic development with social welfare objectives" (Interview, 10/21-5-2010). Delays in decision-making, planning and organising welfare are well documented (DSWS, 1961:1). Again, the first decade reflects nothing from the standard market forces and capitalist economies that were developing in the USA and Europe (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Eichengreen, and Iversen, 1999).

Social policy decisions of the first decade have also acted decisively for welfare negotiations and arrangements. While the state acknowledged its role in combating inequality through public assistance, addressing social problems, protecting the most vulnerable groups and promoting welfare (DSWS, 1961), it did not 'claim' a larger space in welfare provision deciding "to give leadership and an impetus to voluntary welfare activities" (DSWS, 1960:17). This strategy formed a new critical juncture. The state allocated a 23,300 CY pound grant out of the total 183,000 welfare expenditure to voluntary associations in 1960 (DSWS, 1960:19),

reflecting the space the state had decided to give to associations in welfare. This space was enlarged after the 1963 bi-communal crisis and Turkey's invasion warnings, which directed priorities away from welfare development: "after 1963-1964 no major social programmes were introduced" (Interview, 5/31-3-2010). The Welfare Department had to engage in emergency relief and rehabilitation for more than 10,000 displaced persons affected by the strife, and to people in secluded territories (DSWS, 1963:1; DSWS, 1964:1, 16). The 'developing' Public Assistance Scheme for targetting society's unresolved social needs, rooted since colonialism, had to cover, under the new emergency conditions, relief allocations (DSWS, 1964:2):

> *"Social needs could not be addressed by the infant state ... addressing social needs had to be the responsibility of volunteers" (Interview, 2/15-3-2010).*

In this context, the Welfare Department joined with the existing voluntary organisations, which were assigned responsibility for addressing social needs, filling welfare gaps that could not be realised by the Department's 'scope' and programme (DSWS, 1963:21; DSWS, 1965:25):

> *"I strongly believe that this was a wise decision ... to mobilize and engage volunteers in welfare" (Interview, 4/23-3-2010).*

This was not a last resort decision, rather a conscious one. A governmental report mentions, the state's awareness of the capabilities of voluntary associations as "able to sense social needs and provide the appropriate means to meet them" (DSWS, 1961:30). Citizens "came as a dynamic force to help the new politicians to

govern the welfare state" (Interview, 7/22-4-2010). This collaboration prevented possible social damage, if needs had not been met. The argument and evidence are of the interaction of state/regime conditions, shaping decisions, while triggering a path-dependency pattern of the state turning to the voluntary sector in welfare provision.

By the end of the first decade, new developments consolidated the role of voluntary associations in welfare. Firstly, Cyprus experienced the first signs of economic growth and its negatives outcomes such as an uneven standard of living, and an increasing female workforce, with limited strategies to address new needs stemming from this. Secondly, Cyprus' progressive membership in various international bodies (the Commonwealth, the United Nations and the Council of Europe); thirdly, the strengthening labour movement (Giallouros, 2007; Triseliotis, 1977) helped the state to redefine its social policy objectives and activities (Interviews). By 1967 the government recognized that "health, education and other social considerations are interdependent on a vast complex of variables which determine both the social and economic welfare of the island" (Centre for Administrative Innovation in the Euro-Mediterranean Region, 2004:2). Important improvements followed in social insurance and public health (Giallouros, 2007; Interviews; Triseliotis, 1977); new commitments were made "to provide a decent standard of economic and social living" and introduce preventive measures to address needs (DSWS, 1966:1-2). Although the state realised the need to address the negative outcomes of economic growth, not all needs could be addressed through public welfare institutions:

> *"Most parents were working and were away from home for long hours ... their children were left unattended ... when I found a child wandering alone in the village, I urged the Welfare Department that childcare services needed to be introduced quickly" (Interview, 4/23-3-2010).*

Rising demands for childcare services by 1965, in the absence of private services and insufficient resources of the Welfare Department, enforced a solution, under the new Community Development Programme, to address childcare needs outside the public welfare schemes. The programme did not reflect assumptions and beliefs about who should have responsibility in childcare provision, rather a realisation about who could actually deliver it:

> *"The state had a clear mission ... and perhaps no other option ... but to organise communities, mobilize volunteers, create associations ... in order to achieve a low social welfare budget and cover other needs (Interview, 20/6-9-2010).*

The programme, which progressively moved beyond covering childcare needs, involved financial support to voluntary associations and technical assistance for establishing volunteer networks to address community needs. This was perhaps a milestone decision and critical juncture for the escalation of voluntary welfare, but also an affirmation that the voluntary sector was to be the state's key partner in welfare. It was also the state's means to control the sector's activity, directing its work into specific areas not covered by the state (DSWS, 1965:25; Interviewees: Social Workers). During its first year, the state 'directed' organisations to introduce innovative welfare programmes, including the 'Special school' for children with special needs (by the Greek Ladies Association and the Cyprus

Mental Health Association), the Centre for Working with Adolescents and the Home for children with mental illness (by a Parents' Association for mentally ill children) (DSWS, 1965:26-27).

In the following years and until now, the state managed to 'build', through the community programme, comprehensive landscape of social services that could address diverse needs. These were composed by Community Welfare Councils of volunteers, in most territories of the island (DSWS, 1960:6; Interviews, 4/24-3-10; 29/5-11-10; 28/1-11-10):

> *"My plan in organising communities under the community volunteer councils was to progressively create coordinating volunteering councils ..." (Interview, 10/4-5-2010).*

The Welfare Department, "through joint meetings" with voluntary network representatives, co-analysed the island's social needs, welfare goals and the role of voluntary welfare (DSWS, 1963:1; DSWS, 1965:1). Infant Welfare Centres' Child welfare programmes, youth clubs, the Girls and the Scouts movement, the Red Cross Home for Sick Children, religious movements or networks affiliated to the Church, day nurseries, philanthropic associations, (DSWS, 1961:22-23; DSWS, 1962:21; DSWS, 1963:21-23; DSWS, 1964:18-20) formed the state's extended 'arm', reinforcing the Welfare Services (DSWS, 1962:16).

International factors were also key to reinforcing the collaborative state-voluntary associations strategy in welfare. The negative influence of foreign factors in shaping the state's post-democratic trajectory has already been mentioned. The international context has also a positive influence: "UN's development programme

provided us with a budget to organise social welfare" (Interview, 10/4-5-2010) and "stimulated community interest and voluntary participation" in welfare (DSWS, 1963:2). This strategy formed another critical juncture, laying foundations for strengthening the joint state-voluntary sector welfare trajectory (DSWS, 1963:3).

An overview of the first decades reflects all developments, shaped by regime and state related conditions, forming critical junctures and milestone arrangements in national and local welfare provision (DSWS, 1966:25), with great impact on the voluntary associations' development. Most interviewees agreed, attributing the slow welfare state building progress, the growth and diversification of voluntary associations, to history, the authoritarian and colonial legacies, late democracy, the political system's infancy, rising political and ethnic instability and the restricted vision of most policy makers in handling the island's affairs (Interviews). An absent market (economic forces and private welfare provision), as developed in other countries, also played a role, reflecting how and why long-term processes of path-dependency in volunteer-based welfare provision were initiated.

The second decade's patterns (1970s)

Does the past shape "later occurrences" (Mahoney, 2000:536)? How strongly can "events set into motion institutional patterns" with "deterministic properties" (Mahoney, 2000:207) or "lasting consequences"? (Pierson, 2000:263). Evidence from the second post-democratic decade reflects more strongly the principles of path-dependency, and the strength of critical junctures, in shaping welfare arrangements and voluntary sector trajectories. The evidence here also shows a strong link between empowerment, acute conflict and war. All this evidence, building on the concepts

of empowerment, war and path dependency, explains the second decade's patterns and developments of the following decades.

Little in the literature explains these thematic conceptualisations, with the specific socio-political conditions of Cyprus and their link with voluntary sector development. Perkins and Zimmerman (1995:571) have suggested that oppressive environments "may result in greater authoritarian control and community disempowerment". Similarly, Stolle and Lewis (2002) argued that oppressive environments suppress social capital. Both findings under colonial conditions and this decade's findings challenge this theoretical position, suggesting that specific conditions of oppressive environments: long authoritarianism, continuous threats, desire for self-determination and protection of identity can empower individuals and communities, providing an enabling environment for voluntary networks, regardless of acute critical conditions.

The governmental third year development plan (1972-1976), another critical juncture, shaped a trajectory based on focused social planning, and more concrete welfare objectives in childcare, delinquency, disabled people's care and public assistance (DSWS, 1972:1). The state strategy for voluntary welfare and social action, through "promotion of community development" and society's "mobilization, participation and 'contribution" to achieve socio-economic development (DSWS, 1972:1) continued, reaffirming and consolidating the developing state-sector collaborative welfare strategy, strengthening path-dependency patterns in welfare provision by the traditional actors: communities and associations.

"As a social worker I continuously cultivated the idea of engaging people in the communities in order to promote volunteerism and welfare on the island ..." (Interview, 10/4-5-2010).

"Our guidelines (as social workers) were to strengthen community organisation by mobilising volunteers ... the director of the Social Welfare Department even encouraged the participation of volunteers in decision-making and social programming ..." (Interview, 7/22-4-2010).

"There was trust in the state-voluntary sector collaboration ... this is what made it work ..." (Interview, 5/31-3-2010).

These developments, together with the Associations and Foundations Law 57/72 in 1972, contributed to the quantitative and qualitative expansion of voluntary associations and culture of volunteer-based welfare provision. The landscape of the emerging voluntary sector, mainly an outcome of the state's limited capacities and plan for building a systematised, volunteer-run social service decentralised structure, addressed social development goals including child and elderly day care, the treatment of mentally ill children and youth empowerment (DSWS, 1972:6/Appendix VI-c; Interviews; PVCC, 1973-2012: Year 1973).

The volunteer-based Community Welfare Councils (established in 1968 in the Nicosia and the Paphos districts) increased to 66 by 1972 (DSWS, 1972:6; DSWS, 1982:5, 7). Increasing numbers of voluntary associations formed the backbone of the newly emerging voluntary sector structure. As a coordinating mechanism, the state created

the district co-ordinating councils for voluntary associations[12] (DSWS, 1982:5, 7) and the Pan-Cyprian Welfare Council, creating a new critical juncture. These represented higher level coordinating bodies, composed of representatives from voluntary associations, aiming to promote collaboration, programming and coordination among volunteer-run services and between the emerging voluntary sector and the state (DSWS, 1982:3; DSWS, 1982:6; DSWS, 1973:2; PVCC, 1973-2012/Year: 1973). A high-rank governmental officer from that time mentioned: "the idea was to give structure to the voluntary sector and create hierarchies and decentralisation" (Interview, 10/4-5-2010). The voluntary sector structure, shaped by the state, involved three main organisational forms: social service community network (Community Welfare Councils), voluntary associations and co-ordinating councils, while a fourth form, the traditional philanthropic association, remained a strong player, though outside the state's control and funding. This structure brought real benefits, as by 1972, state-funded voluntary projects covered the needs of more than 24,500 individuals (DSWS, 1972/Appendix VI b, c, e) while the voluntary associations' investments reached 81,730 CY pounds, with only 17,800 CY pounds of state funding (DSWS, 1972:6/Appendix VI-d):

> *"The large context of associations was crucial because it was these networks that helped the state to respond to all post-democratic crises" (Interview, 4/23-3-2010).*

The 1973 international economic crisis, which seriously hampered public welfare initiatives (DSWS, 1973:1), was 'counter-balanced' by voluntary associations' work (DSWS, 1973; PVCC, 1973-2012/Year:

[12] The District Welfare Councils were established in Nicosia in 1971, in Limassol and in Famagusta in 1972, in Paphos in 1973 and in Larnaca in 1976 (DSWS, 1982:5, 7).

1973). While the state and the emerging voluntary sector were co-building the welfare system, based on path-dependent patterns, a serious political event disrupted its development. The 1974 coup, which aimed to overturn President Makarios, and the following Turkish invasion,, were the tragic climax of long-standing national, political and bi-communal ethnic conflicts, differences in culture, language, ideologies, but also geo-political interests of foreign powers, which contributed to the Republic's dysfunctional constitution. Most were rooted in the past and 'built' again in path-dependent patterns. One pattern, of nationalism and its progress between the two communities brought, according to Bryant (2001:893), the invasion and the island's division.

The Turkish invasion, the most tragic event in Cyprus' modern history, nearly forced a 'breakdown' in social, economic and political systems (Interviews, Konis, 1984). It formed a major critical juncture, creating new forces with serious socio-economic and cultural repercussions (Interviews), resulting in sharp transformations of welfare structures. The breakdown of more than 153 communities (50% of the community structure) and of the strong familial, communal, societal ties and solidarity levels, and the economic system, built only in the last decade, the rapid dependence on public assistance of more than 30% of the population (DSWS, 1975:iv) and the mass displacement of refugees (nearly 1/3 of the population) to new territories (PIO, 2010a), form only the initial tragic outcomes (DSWS, 1978a; DSWS, n.d.; DSWS, 1975). Despite the geo-political strategies and agenda behind the Turkish invasion, Turkish-Cypriots also experienced suffering afterwards. Mehmet and Mehmet (2003) provide an interesting account how the Turkish Cypriot family survived the invasion's "emotional scars" (Mehmet and Mehmet, 2003:12). After the invasion, the Social Insurance

Scheme faced the danger of collapse (DSWS, 1977:4) and the Welfare Department had to terminate some programmes (DSWS, 1975:iii):

> *"During and after the invasion the state turned to volunteers ..." (Interview, 7/22-4-2010);*

> *"Fortunately a well organised structure of voluntary organisations existed ... it was this structure that supported the state to address the consequences of the invasion" (Interview, 10/4-5-2010).*

The state had to face "the immense task of reconstructing a deeply wounded, striving society" and, in view of the political uncertainty, "the long term process of planning [was] constrained by uncertainty about the future course [of] the evolution of Cypriot society ..." (DSWS, 1977:11).

Although the war severely disorganised the voluntary sector, associations soon revived and, with rapid mobilization of social workers, a common struggle began to prevent the total breakdown of communities and the social system (Konis, 1984:7; PVCC, 1973-2012/Year: 1974):

> *"We prepared boxes with food and clothing and distributed them to the refugees ... we acted in organised as well as non-organised ways" (Interview, 12/12-5-2010).*

> *"The tragic outcomes of the invasion...and the wounded regime created the need for people to mobilize" (Interview, 6/21-4-2010).*

> *"The social informal network and voluntary associations is what helped the evolution of Cypriot society" (Interview, 5/31-3-2010).*

With new complex needs, the state's best course was to "turn the community development programme into a community reconstruction programme, to address the needs of refugees and communities" (Interview, 5/31-3-2010). It mobilized voluntary associations to contribute towards national social-reconstruction (DSWS, 1975:iii, 20; DSWS, 1977; DSWS, 1978a:2), and help communities to become self-sustainable (Konis, 1984:36):

> *"After the invasion, the state also relied on the work of religious groups from the Philoptochos movement" (Interview, 2/15-3-2010).*

During 1978, Community Welfare Councils increased to 69 and Youth Centres to 71, with 67 new Community Welfare Committees created as refugee organisations in the newly established communities (PVCC, 1973-2012/Year: 1978). Led by volunteer community members, the committees had to identify and address displaced refugees' needs (DSWS, 1978a: 15). Under post-war conditions, the associations' investment in welfare reached a total of 111,066 CY pounds compared with decreased state funding of 6,580 CY pounds (DSWS, 1975/Appendix VI). So what brought this great mobilisation under such critical conditions? Empowerment theory and path dependency are again relevant. According to Lichbach (1995), the stronger the shared belief system, the more likely social relationships turn into collective action based on reciprocity and trust. Truman's (1971) argument is also relevant. His position that "people create and join organisations to protect their interests in response to sufferings, dislocations and disturbances in the social environment" provides a framework to explain the creation of new, or trevival of old, associations after the invasion (Truman, 1971, in Ozler, 2007:4). Government's and society's decision to re-mobilize, just hours after

the invasion, shows how earlier events, long authoritarianism and legacies established, decades before, "institutional patterns" of collective welfare with "deterministic properties" (Mahoney, 2000:207), in grass-roots mobilisation to address any need, whatever the critical condition.

The Turkish invasion forms a critical juncture with decisive impact on the state, voluntary sector and society. Although war brought increased poverty, high unemployment and other outcomes, a new chain of processes was initiated, reflecting a continuation of past arrangements, mainly a weak welfare state that retained voluntary associations as strong allies in welfare provision. Most interviewees argued that war outcomes and the political interests of foreign powers, created deep ethnic, cultural and political divisions, bringing society to the centre of social action and recreating patterns of grass-roots collective welfare.

Although post-war political uncertainty restricted the welfare state's chance to develop to its full potential (DSWS, 1978a: 6), the progressive revival of the economy and funding from the United Nations High Commissioner for the Refugees (UNHCR), enabled a sharp increase of the Grants-in-Aid Scheme budget in the following years, which helped the voluntary sector to address the 'old/traditional' and specifically post-war needs, including institutional care for the elderly, following the break-down of social and family ties after the invasion. These developments consolidated the voluntary sector in welfare. War produced a multi-dimensional chain of reactions with needs that the welfare state addresses until now, providing important insight for understanding the current state-sector relationship and voluntary associations' role.

Non-profit regime theory lacks a theoretical concept to understand critical events, such as wars, and their impact on voluntary associations. Wimmer's (2012) theory provides a framework to understand the causes of the invasion. His position, that countries which experience shifts and transitions of power "from empire to nation-state" are more likely to experience "inter-state and civil wars" (Wimmer, 2012:10), provides a framework to explain why the transition from colonialism to democracy left many ethnic-national power issues unsettled, and how these power issues shaped the bi-communal struggles of 1963, the 1974 invasion, and conflicts within society, with direct impact on voluntary associations' development. That wars are rooted in nationalism is noted by Porter (1994).

The 'path dependency' decades (1980s-2010s)

The decades from 1980 to the present reflect struggles of successive governments to reconcile social development and economic growth. Although notable progress was made, the development of the welfare state remained under the shadow of the unresolved Cyprus political problem and other elements embedded in the island's culture and structures: weak politics, strong communal and family ties and solidarity. Processes from the micro sphere of social interaction and macro level environment, constituting path-dependent processes, best describe this. A new factor has been economic growth, with full employment (PIO, 2011). During this long period, processes and interactions at all levels, 'recycled' decisions on welfare, with only minor departures from existing arrangements. The argument that welfare decisions and processes have been path dependent, set into motion in previous decades, is grounded in both interview and documentary data which clearly reflect a tendency to maintain existing welfare arrangements, even under the interaction of factors that could initiate change.

The empowerment of different coalitions, for example, could bring a larger welfare state and smaller voluntary sector. Beyond market/employer, professional and labour/working class related coalitions, a new voluntary sector coalition emerged, which defended many social causes, after long-standing coalitions of employers, working class movements and professional associations, comprising representatives from voluntary associations and umbrella structures, including the coordinating councils of volunteering. The formation of this new coalition was typical of the way in which Cypriot society responded to crisis and new needs. Its mission was to meet social needs, while promoting agendas facilitating a better environment for voluntary associations and the specific needs of the vulnerable groups they represented (PVCC, 1975-2000). Under the strong influence of clientelism and the dynamics of power relations, the voluntary sector never managed to form a strong coalition in policy-making centres (Interviews, 10/21-5-10; 19/6-9-10; 25/10-10-10). Never fully managing to handle the demands and conflicting interests of the political arena, it has not enjoyed the hegemonic position of more powerful coalitions. As other stronger interests prevailed, voluntary associations retained the position of strong welfare provider, or perhaps were deliberately kept in this position. The voluntary sector coalition has therefore remained a safety net against clientelism and injustice, or, strong 'contributor to de-clientelization'(Wood's and Gough's 2006:1708). With the voluntary sector a weak player in the policy process, more 'self-reinforcing sequences' or 'increasing returns' (Mahoney, 2000; Pierson, 2000) were yielded as there was greater value in keeping voluntary organisations as strong players in welfare provision. Had the opposite occurred, a strong voluntary sector coalition would mean giving voluntary associations access to power hierarchies, changing the balance of power in the policy arena. As more demands would

result in more compromises, the political arena would face dissatisfaction among the traditional strong coalitions. Giving more power to associations could eventually change the balance of welfare responsibilities, as a strong voluntary sector coalition could push the state to undertake more responsibilities. Some associations gained a powerful position in the hierarchies of policy-making, rather as an outcome of interpersonal relationships, than the dynamics of power coalitions:

> *"My personal contacts with ministers, director of x and other governmental agencies helped me 'push' various demands at the government level" (Interview, 10/21-5-2010).*

Could the modern system benefit from the decline of a strongly performing voluntary sector and the emergence of a larger welfare state? Several processes have worked in the opposite direction, clearly pointing to the path-dependence, 'increasing returns' (Mahoney, 2000; Pierson, 2000) argument. One was the lack of governmental commitment to new public welfare measures (DSWS, 1985:i), despite post-war economic recovery and steady economic growth. Cyprus' continuous uncertainty hindered long-term welfare planning (DSWS, 1985:ii-iii, 39), extending the welfare state's responsibilities. Respondents suggested that the state's reluctance to undertake responsibility for more generous welfare was also a matter of a residual ideology. This context, new needs and rising inequality emerging from the growing market-oriented economic system, strengthened the voluntary sector (DSWS, 1978a, DSWS; 1982), while creating sharper divisions in its structure. This marked a new critical juncture, where the landscape of voluntary associations was organised and divided between the traditional philanthropic

domain and the new: the state's specialised social service voluntary force (SWS, 1982:2).

When governmental commitments to building a stronger welfare state were made, forty years after independence, these did not touch the space of voluntary welfare provision, making no real change in the distribution of welfare responsibilities. A key example was the governments' acknowledgment that the long-term focus on economic growth slowed social development and created an unequal income distribution and a complex set of social problems without targeted welfare strategies to address them (SWS, 1991). The new strategy adopted in 1990, based on a 10-year social development programme, committed the state to promoting social justice, re-structuring the post-war 'remedial' character of social welfare and developing a new dynamic modernised welfare system that would consolidate a strong welfare state by the 21st century. A key means to materialise these targets was through further mobilization of communities, strengthening voluntary associations (PVCC, 1973-2012/Year: 1991). A series of measures, including strengthening the co-ordinating volunteering councils, increasing the Grants-in-Aid Scheme budget to voluntary associations and establishing a Volunteer Centre, would provide the conditions to help the state materialize its objectives (PVCC, 1975-2000; SWS, 1991).

These strategies, and the progressive maturation of the coordinating councils, contributed to the empowerment of voluntary associations, building a strong voluntary sector (DSWS, 1995:2; DSWS, 1997:2), all these reflecting past negotiations and arrangements in welfare provision. The Social Welfare Services also strengthened their own services (SWS, 2000; 2001; 2002), by modernising Public Assistance Law (SWS, 2006), introducing new schemes for the elderly (SWS, 2001;

2004) and addressing more complex issues such as trafficking (SWS, 2006), the need for employment-friendly strategies (SWS, 2007b; 2008a) and decentralisation of all social services (SWS, 2008b). While the Social Welfare Services introduced the above dynamic measures in many welfare domains, they did not enter any of the welfare spaces of voluntary associations. Instead, they safeguarded a small but steady increase of annual funding to voluntary associations. They also introduced a Grants-in-Aid Scheme for local authorities in 2009 (PVCC, 1975-2000/Year: 2008; SWS, 2009), increasing welfare 'players', though maintaining the traditional strategy of community mobilization and collective action for social development. Expenditure on social protection as a percentage of GDP increased to 21% in 2010 (Eurostat, 2012), compared with 15% in 2000 (Eurostat, 2013b). In 2010, the minimum spending was 17.6% and the maximum 33.8% among EU member states (Eurostat, 2012). One rather critical synopsis of the state's role in welfare was:

> *"… I acknowledge that historic events forced the state to have other priorities … but this is not an excuse … I believe that if the state really wanted, it had the chance to build a stronger welfare state … it should take its responsibility in welfare … and this has nothing to do with my political ideologies … all political parties support the voluntary sector, hence a 'less' state' ideology …" (Interview, 14/16-6-2010).*

What explains the persistence of path-dependency after the island's democratisation? Although non-profit regime studies and particularly social origins theory (Salamon and Anheier, 1998) are based on the historic institutionalism approach, implying that "institutional choices" of welfare responsibilities "are heavily constrained by prior patterns of historical development that

significantly shape the range of options available at a given time" (Salamon and Anheier, 1998:226), they do not clearly apply its two main tools, critical junctures and path dependency, to explore voluntary sector development in more detail. This analysis has explored the interaction of actors and structures of the Cypriot regime and how they have responded to historical, social and political events and influences at different moments. The case of Cyprus reflects how the welfare and voluntary regimes have "reproduced themselves" (Wood and Gough 2006:1698) at critical junctures of the welfare state's building process. The choice of relying on the voluntary sector has created "institutional patterns" (Mahoney 2001:112), strong enough to initiate a cycle of "reactive sequences" to existing arrangements (Mahoney, 2001). Path-dependency lies in historical events (Mahoney, 2001; Pierson, 2000; Thelen, 2003). Indeed, Cyprus reflects a strong tradition of associational life and an established system of associations rooted in history, where historic events have greatly determined decisions regarding the state-voluntary sector trajectory.

How can this path-dependent course of welfare be examined under the lens of the key interacting factors emerging from the research? The findings portray a welfare regime locked into a path-dependent trajectory, tied back to the legacies of colonial social welfare arrangements, the complex interaction of socio-economic and political factors, with processes of the post-independence period. These explain the persistence of welfare arrangements over building new welfare pathways during recent decades. What about change and progress? Why did factors such as political maturation, socio-economic progress, economic growth, increasing social expenditure, the emergence of a voluntary sector coalition, not prevail over path dependency? Pierson's (2000) argument that "particular courses of

action, once introduced, can be almost impossible to reverse" (Pierson, 2000:251) provides a useful basis for discussing the prevalence of path-dependency in Cyprus. That decisions reproduced previous welfare arrangements is observed since the island's independence and in more recent decades. Following critical post-democratic decisions about who would deliver social services, the outcome weighed towards existing voluntary and community-based welfare mechanisms. After the 1974 invasion, the priority for emergency relief, economic recovery and political stability left social expenditure growth under the shadow of the post-war social reconstruction programme. The weak state, unable to meet its broader welfare responsibilities, utilized communities' safety net mechanisms (voluntary networks and community welfare councils) to meet needs and achieve social development. As the voluntary sector was driven towards its 'empowerment and re-expansion phase' and given a dominant role in the re-developing welfare regime, institutions were locked into long-lasting institutional patterns.

Critical junctures have been so critical that, in Pierson's (2004) words, it was difficult to divert institutional arrangements (the voluntary sector's dominance in service provision), from the already established path. The state's strategic macro-economic policies and consolidation of the tourist and services industries, which brought high levels of economic growth, stability, full employment, including high female participation and income levels, facilitated the expansion of the state's schemes (including social insurance, public assistance) safeguarding a high standard of living (PIO 2011b). Private forms of welfare never affected the space of volunteer-based welfare. Social expenditure levels rose to 21% in 2010 (Eurostat, 2012), compared with 10% of GDP in 1985 (Peristianis,

2008:361). Although progress was never universal, a 'larger' welfare state was built. Under these positive developments, although the critical events 'forcing' the state to have a limited role in welfare no longer existed, there was a reluctance to change the established division of welfare responsibilities. The concept of "self-reinforcing dynamics" (Pierson, 2000:259) in collective welfare, partly explains the persistence of institutional arrangements over time. Efficiency also mattered: the voluntary sector proved, over the years, an effective and efficient force in social service provision, commanding large assets and yielding substantial 'increasing returns'. Successive governments were reluctant to divert the voluntary sector's or the state's welfare trajectories. Evidence shows the sector making enormous investments (including high start-up costs and further investments), compared with limited annual state funding (DSWS, n.d.:34; DSWS, 1986:41; DSWS, 1987:38-39; DSWS, 1988:55; DSWS, 1995:3; DSWS, 1997:8).

The voluntary sector-state welfare trajectories followed, therefore, an interconnected path, based on a strong interdependent relationship: the welfare state could expand and modernise its schemes and programmes in its 'domain', while the voluntary sector expanded, through state funding and private donations, in welfare domains not covered by the state (DSWS, n.d; PVCC, Vol/Sec; 1974-2010). A possible break in path-dependent development may occur in the next decades, with two newly emergent processes. The first relates to recent efforts by government to decentralise welfare and assign more welfare responsibilities to local government structures. This may result in a smaller voluntary sector, with larger welfare provision by local government. The second relates to the Cypriot state's membership of the European Union. Europeanization has disorganized the voluntary sector and strengthened the machinery

of the welfare state. While the state developed capacity building during the European pre-accession process, the voluntary sector has rarely been given real opportunities to understand and adapt to European Union social policy or funding mechanisms. Voluntary sector developments remain mainly outside EU strategies, processes and funding.

The recent and threatening economic crisis is another condition with unforeseeable outcomes. The economic crisis of 2011 has pushed the sector towards a challenging sustainability phase. Two routes are possible. The state may increase its funding to voluntary associations to command more space in welfare provision, to help the state minimise its service provision expenditure. This scenario will strengthen the current path-dependency patterns. The second route is a statist one. The scenario here is of a state decreasing its funding to associations and volunteers, having difficulty raising funds from private charity in the severe economic conditions. This scenario may change current path dependency patterns, creating a different welfare landscape of weak state and voluntary sectors. Current increasing perceptions are that voluntary associations may be weak in responding to the competitive complex environment. As "radical change is possible when an existing structure is incapable of resisting and absorbing shocks from the outside" (Ju and Tang 2010:6), it remains to be seen how resistant the Cypriot voluntary sector is to these developments and how the state will react.

The impact of the 'small island' feature

Interview findings also indicate the 'small size' of the island of Cyprus as a key explanatory factor in the voluntary sector's development: "Cyprus' small size facilitated voluntary activity in many ways"

(Interview, 11/21-5-2010). While small island features emerge as influences in arguments on religion and society, an introduction is offered here to a comprehensive argument about the impact of small islands/states rather than breaking down its different elements in chapters on religion and society. This offers a better supporting account of the influence of small size in voluntary sector development, considering that this factor is absent in non-profit regime literature.

Three questions were posed to the data. The first was '*Does the size of a country (population, territorial scale/closeness and other features of small states) matter in understanding the development of the voluntary sector? 'How has the 'small island' feature (which dimensions and outcomes) influenced welfare arrangements, voluntary activity and the regime-voluntary sector relations?'* formed the second question, while the third was '*What behaviour/social patterns (qualitative dimensions) emerge?* The analysis has revolved around the socio-political dimensions and both positive and negative aspects of 'smallness', aiming to contribute to the literature on factors that characterize small states. It is anticipated that the small state qualitative findings can provide new direction to the non-profit regime literature, which lacks any discussion of the characteristics of small states and how these may contribute to our understanding of the voluntary sector's development. Towards this end, the discussion suggests that social policy literature on small states can provide important insight into non-profit regime theory, if it is to accommodate more countries, especially small islands/states.

Defining the 'small state/island' feature in the Cypriot context

There is no common, shared or standard definition on small states, although the small state literature is growing. Studies have

conceptualized the small state differently, giving wide space for discussion and exploration. As Maass (2009:68) argues "the term *small state* itself means different things to different people". Quantitative approaches, classify 'small states' according to population size, territorial scale, with economic indicators (GDP, and expenditure) (Cas and Ota, 2008; Prasad, 2007). Qualitative approaches draw on the power/strength dimension (Maass, 2009) and states' relations with the external environment (Moonsung, 2004). The term usually indicates a small population of 1.5 million or fewer and small geographical size, including dimensions associated with national relations, and the state's relations with the international environment and actors (Commonwealth Secretariat (2012). In this thesis the terms 'small state' and 'small island' reflect the diverse meanings of the literature on small (welfare) states, both its quantitative and qualitative elements.

The positive impact of the islands' small size on social relations and in welfare arrangements

The island's small size relates positively to several dimensions in the voluntary sector's development. Most respondents agreed on various dimensions being an outcome of the island's small size:

> *"The island's small size built social and inter-personal relations, social networking, and mobilization ..." (Interview, 29/5-11-2010)*

> *"Smallness facilitated empowerment and the building of formal and informal welfare provision and social arrangements ..." (Interview, 30/8-12-2010).*

> *"... don't forget that the size of our island mattered ... it produced high levels of trust, strengthened welfare relations, cultural/religious values and norms" (Interview, 28/1-11-2010)*

These 'small island' related dimensions persisting from colonialism to now, created a dynamic welfare force, initiating a chain process towards building welfare networks which, through time, developed into organised voluntary associations across Cyprus. The impact of smallness on the voluntary sector's development can best be observed by exploring societal structures and relations between society and the regime/state (Interviews). Trust, strong bonds and networking take a different form in the context of the island divided between Greek and Turkish Cypriots (See Mehmet and Mehmet, 2003). These authors' argument was supported by interviewees who argued that, although solidarity and trust have been strong through decades, they have been less pervasive in periods of turbulence and strife.

The island's size has created the basis for developing an extended inter-personal context of relationships, where people have been related and bonded in multiple ways through kinship, friendship, religious and communal affiliation. Introducing the religious/cultural forces, 'small size' has appeared to facilitate the spread and embeddedness of the values and practices of hospitality, giving, caring and loving, in everyday social interaction, and a common platform for action, thus advancing human welfare and development (Interviews). These outcomes, around the closed spheres of individuals, families and communities, have created patterns of collective welfare identities persisting through generations (Interviews).

Considering the regime's conditions, the island's small size relates positively to a number of dynamic processes in welfare organisation. In the absence of a sovereign/welfare state, from antiquity until the end of the Colonial Period/British rule in 1959, social units and

structures (individuals, families, neighbourhoods and communities) had to engage in social welfare relationships to address needs. The island's small geographical size created a 'favourable' environment for developing grass-roots informal acts of solidarity and welfare (giving to the poor and caring for vulnerable groups) which progressively turned into the early collective/organised welfare arrangements (Church-based Philanthropic fund, Philoptochoi, Women's philanthropic associations, social welfare initiatives, athletic, spiritual and religious clubs, formed as early as 1800) (Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus Archive, Files 105; IΘ; Θ; 113; Interviews). This, in turn, contributed to building communal welfare inter-dependence, strong inter-personal relationships, strong bonds and a shared basis for social action. The Philoptochoi and Philanthropic associations, social welfare associations and the Social Welfare Foundation ('*Idrima Koinonikis Merimnas'*), established by the Church, constituted the main forms of voluntary action[13] (Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus; File: 113 Interviews).

Smallness has supported welfare networks in identifying needs, and the expansion of a communal/associational welfare culture beyond the local territory and small village to surrounding communities, extending to society at large*:*

> *"We knew who needed help … communities were small and very close to each other and we knew, through our networking mechanisms, the needs of their people" (Interview, 2/15-3-2010).*

Other accounts were of voluntary committees in the early 1950s able to "investigate every case of begging" in their districts (Cyprus

[13] These institutions reflect only one side of the associational life as other organised networks linked to trade union, ethnic, national and political associations were also developing.

Government, 1953:3). The strong bonds and relationships that developed in each community acted as a catalyst towards real cross-territorial/communal mobilization to address needs and crises or to materialise welfare concerns. The same interviewee continued:

> *"… I went to a Poorhouse which gave shelter to 6 beggars. After I witnessed the poor conditions of this house, I instantly mobilized the Red Cross, the Philoptochos of the area and other networks and we provided more decent arrangements for them" (Interview, 2/15-3-2010).*

Cross-territorial welfare mobilization is also documented in the work of the Social Welfare Foundation ('*Idrima Koinonikis Pronoias'*) in the late 1940s, with its structured membership network, composed of all the district's organised associations (the Archbishopric, local churches, municipality, school registrars ('*Sxoliki Eforia'*), philanthropic associations, foundations, clubs, trade unions) and collaboration with other districts (Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, File: H). Again, small size was a dynamic force, facilitating trust amongst networks, at least in the welfare domain, while an opposite situation existed in other domains, with political and ethnic polarization between left and right-wing ideological centres, with their conflicting national aspirations regarding the island's fate before democracy.

The Cyprus Colonial Government Welfare Department's reports provide more insight into the positive impact of the island's small size. Territorial proximity facilitated social welfare development, progress and the easy flow and standardisation of welfare policy across the island (Cyprus Government, 1956:2-3). It was even feasible for the director of the Welfare Services to complete a series of visits and attend casework in all districts (Cyprus Government, 1956:7), and for

the small team of case-work officers to reach any family "in any part of the island, no matter how remote" (Cyprus Government, 1956:25).

A similar positive relation between the small state factor and the voluntary sector's development is apparent from democracy (in 1960) onwards. Under residual welfare state conditions, shaped by the complex interaction of cultural/religious, political and economic forces, critical events (internal strife between the two communities and the Turkish invasion manipulated by international forces) and following the realisation that building a strong welfare state was not feasible, the island's small geographical size, once again acted as a strong force behind welfare planning and structuring in the new sovereign (welfare) state. The pre-established strong grass-roots welfare relationships and the island's positive conditions for creating cross-territorial welfare arrangements, led the state's Social Welfare Services to organise, in 1967, welfare provision through a communal/volunteer-based welfare strategy (under the Community Development and Organisation Programme) (Interviews/social workers' group). While the state undertook responsibility for the broad responsibilities (social security, education, public assistance and redistributive justice through benefits), the small island factor, was largely responsible for retaining much welfare under the auspices of volunteers/voluntary groups. From 1970s, state-subsidised volunteer projects sprung from territory to territory, sharing good practice, thus building homogeneous welfare arrangements (day care centres, elderly homes), throughout the island:

> *"Each territory adopted/copied the welfare initiatives implemented by other territories. In this way social volunteer programmes proliferated in no time from territory to territory … our (island's) small size helped towards this direction" (Interview, 9/4-5-2010).*

Again, geographical accessibility reinforced inter-personal relations between communities, voluntary associations, government and social workers, bringing strong welfare relationships between the new sovereign state and society (Interviews). Small distances enabled one social worker to cover the needs of many territories, developing key contacts in each village/community (Interviews/social workers' group, Triseliotis 1977:89). Although the state's communal/volunteer-based strategy formed a large portion of welfare provision, the work of Church-supported philanthropic networks, was an important element of the Cypriot welfare system.

The small size of the state and its 'centralized structure' has also related voluntary associations with clientelism, discussed above, giving them access to bureaucrats and powerful political centres:

> *"… our small size and features of our small society helped us to have access to governmental offices … through formal as well as informal processes" (Interview, 9/4-5-2010).*

It is assumed that similar perspectives would be reflected within the Turkish-Cypriot communities.

The negative aspects of 'smallness' reinforced voluntary associations' development

It is also interesting to note how other outcomes of smallness, associated with the island's geopolitical significance in the world map, though negatively influencing the state's political and international affairs, proved positive to the sector's quantitative and qualitative development.

Interviewees argued that the island's small size, in conjunction with its important geopolitical position, has historically generated insecurity,

powerlessness and vulnerability at all social levels and domains. Successive foreign rulers, since antiquity, and their vested interests, have made the state vulnerable and powerless to rule itself under sovereign conditions. This vulnerability brought the island's late democratization, bringing a chain of interrelated post-democracy outcomes: a continuous struggle to build a state, to 'guard' its sovereignty and achieve economic and social development. It has also brought political inexperience to handle internal issues or challenges from the global economic and political environment. Vulnerability has brought, political instability, unresolved ethnic issues and the Turkish invasion in 1974, never really leaving space for the state to undertake a larger welfare role. Although this vulnerability never enabled high social welfare spending or escape from the welfare state's residual character, it had a positive impact in strengthening solidarity, Cyprus' value and cultural systems, grass-roots mobilization and a collective welfare identity to achieve common causes. Vulnerability and powerlessness, as outcomes of endogenous and exogenous conditions, forced social actors and structures to engage, after democracy, in a systematic learning process of adaptation to survive, while critical junctures initiated processes of empowerment, flexibility and adaptability. Finding solutions to welfare issues was therefore an outcome of a complex interaction between the grass-roots level, the top hierarchical structures and the internal and external environment. Vulnerability, whether actual or subjective, as expressed by interviewees, shaped welfare policies and strategies based on the *welfare mix/partnership model*, enforcing a strong voluntary sector-state relationship in welfare provision.

Can the small state/island factor warrant a separate non-profit regime cluster or is it better seen as just a new factor? The small

state/island factor is completely unexplored in non-profit regime research, as if regimes are shaped only in medium to large states. Analysis of the findings suggests that the small state/island factor forms the backbone for understanding voluntary sector trajectories in small contexts. Specifically, the findings explain how 'smallness', interacting with other factors, has created a strong basis for the development of a philanthropic culture, solidarity, social relations and welfare networking, collective welfare identities and the formation of welfare strategies. From a bi-communal point of view, it is assumed that different perspectives may emerge between the two communities (Greek-Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities) rather than within them. It also is paramount to our understanding of the establishment of associational life, proving a strong factor behind the voluntary sector's development. Has Cyprus' weak welfare regime emerged from its small size? The case of Cyprus suggests that smallness closely links with vulnerability, political and territorial insecurity and a consequently weak welfare regime. The welfare provision system, supported by extensive community voluntary welfare arrangements, progressively developing into key-service voluntary associations, has been strongly shaped by the distinctive elements of the small island: small population, territorial closeness, accessibility and proximity, strong webs of relationships, but also insecurity and powerlessness, all characteristics of small states.

The research findings closely connect with key social policy research on small islands and states. Firstly, they align with the argument of Baldacchino (2011), Irving (2011) and Katzenstein (2003) that strong bonds and social networks increase social solidarity and welfare corporatism and are indeed characteristics of small states. Katzenstein's (2003:11-12) arguments that "vulnerability generate[s] an ideology of social partnership", and that "voluntary and informal

cross-issue policy coordination" form strong explanatory variables in small states, also reflect the chapter's finding on the relationship between the small state and the voluntary sector's development in Cyprus. Also, Bertram's (2011:14) hypothesis that "the countervailing advantages of informality and non-governmental social networks provide an increasingly efficient and cost-effective substitute for the welfare state" in nations with fewer than 1 million population, adds a new dimension in understanding the research data. While, in Cyprus, path-dependent processes have strongly shaped the voluntary sector's trajectory, Bertram's (2011) hypothesis is also relevant, especially for islands like Cyprus which have witnessed various economic shocks: cost effectiveness in welfare has been a guiding principle in social policy.

Future national and comparative non-profit research should account for a state's size in explaining welfare trajectories: only then can explanations of non-profit regimes capture the realities of all states especially small ones. Could small states be studied as a distinct cluster? In a case study of three small states, Cyprus has been characterized as exceptional, because of its distinctive history, its small size, which shaped its "solidaristic social policy", the social foundations of its regime and the different patterns of relations that differentiate it from western industrialized nations (Irving 2011:241-242). The possibility of classifying small states in a new cluster requires systematic research to validate such an approach. Discussing exceptionalism (Irving 2011) could be unrealistic in the absence of systematic comparative studies in the non-profit regime literature. But the findings here suggest that size, as a factor, matters, in voluntary sector studies, and research should take such considerations more seriously.

The state-voluntary sector relation in Cyprus: a unique case or a context shaped by distinct origin factors?

This chapter argues that the voluntary sector's development in Cyprus derives partly from the turbulent and path-dependent evolution of the welfare state and regime and is in turn a strong source for their (state and regime) formation and consolidation. This finding is important in itself, considering the lack of research on the sector in Cyprus.

The 'theoretical' importance of the findings is that they align with the general principles of the prevailing non-profit sector 'social origins' theory (Salamon and Anheier, 1998). Firstly, the data share the theory's positions that "institutional choices" on welfare responsibilities "are heavily constrained by prior patterns of historical development that significantly shape the range of options available at a given time" (Salamon and Anheier, 1998:226) and secondly that the voluntary sector is a "by product" (Salamon and Anheier, 1998:245) of its regime, which itself derives from the complex interaction of socio-economic and political factors.

The data here though challenge whether the distinctive development of the Cypriot voluntary sector can be identified with existing non-profit regime literature, specifically the regime routes, shaped by the state-sector relationship (Salamon and Anheier (1998). Social origins theory, based on a quantitative dichotomy of two variables, namely the voluntary sector's size and the level of government spending, classifies countries into four regime types, under the lens of the social class/power approach. The liberal model, which applies under conditions of low welfare expenditure and a weak state, results in a strong voluntary sector. The corporatist model, assuming shared welfare engagement with high levels of

welfare expenditure, again produces a large voluntary sector. The social democratic model based on high welfare expenditure and a strong state leads to a weak sector and last, the statist model describes the case of a weak voluntary sector with low welfare expenditure (Salamon and Anheier, 1998). Social origins theory has been challenged for its applicability and its high 'dependency' on Esping-Andersen's (1990) work (Gough, 1999; Kabalo, 2009; Ragin, 1998; Steinberg and Young, 1998). The findings so far suggest that the theory, can offer a powerful basis for understanding voluntary sector development, but with limitations, as it cannot capture trajectory diversity. The analysis of regime-state related factors in the Cyprus case reflects the Cypriot voluntary sector's development and dominance in the welfare system as embedded in a peculiar regime developmental process and a set of differentiated dimensions, struggles and distinct development patterns, not captured by the quantitative methodology of most non-profit regime theory or the restricted experiences of the current non-profit regime map. The regime-state related factors in relation to this argument are discussed below:

Cypriot regime's developmental process: departing from western reality

The Cypriot welfare and voluntary regimes have not experienced Salamon and Anheier's (1998) regime and state related 'origin factors' in the same way or at the same time as the Western industrialized world, most of which is classified in the non-profit regime map; rather, distinct factors explain their development. Furthermore the findings reveal new regime factors not noted in social origins theory and present a strong case that the voluntary sector's trajectory was shaped by these prevailing regime and state related conditions. The Cypriot welfare state's development establishes,

therefore, a basis for arguing how the process of development of a country, influenced by the legacy of colonialism and a late transition to democracy, followed by a challenged, turbulent, changing environment, unresolved political issues, and the interaction of various socio-economic forces, have shaped a strong voluntary sector.

Can these findings challenge social origins theory? The theory has produced four non-profit regimes, applied to capitalist sovereign western countries, which made transitions into welfare states. European and American reality portrays welfare and non-profit regimes emerging from regime related origin factors such as monarchical regimes, the influences of the French and the industrial revolution, the enlightenment, Marxist ideologies, early democracies, early modernization, advanced capitalist markets and complex power relations of social classes and institutions within a sovereign context (Salamon and Anheier, 1998), reflecting the principal elements of the pioneering welfare regime typology by Esping-Andersen (1990). The findings here stand outside this specific context.

The Cypriot sovereign state's building process started from the transition to a late democracy in 1960, preceded by colonialism from 1878 to 1960 and successive authoritarianisms dating back to antiquity. The infant welfare regime carried the heavy weight of severe underdevelopment from its earliest stages: armed conflicts, a nearly complete state collapse, continuous turbulent development, unstable political conditions, with external and internal threats to sovereignty. These conditions forced the state to prioritise sovereignty, security, political stability and economic growth over stronger public welfare. Even with positive economic performance,

the regime's turbulent development minimised the welfare state's capacities to respond to complex and increasing social problems.

Cyprus' transition from stateless conditions to sovereign (welfare) state was not preceded therefore by the western capitalist experience, rather by long authoritarianism and intense struggles for self-determination and welfare. The late transition to democracy was marked by intense political conflict, power struggles beyond class-based conflict and an invasion that nearly forced the breakdown of the regime and its structures. Trimikliniotis (2001:10) traces "capitalistic modernisation" after the Turkish invasion on the island, while Cyprus' transition to a welfare state occurred late: in 1981 (Peristianis, 2008:268), it passed Pierson's (2006:110) minimum 3% indicator under which a state qualifies as a welfare state. Cyprus' interesting developmental trajectory is not unique. The Israeli third sector has also experienced the influence of a turbulent changing regime (Gidron, et al., 2003) and reflects new origin factors. Similarly, Ireland has experienced state partition, the development of two jurisdictions and voluntary sectors (Acheson, Harvey and Williamson, 2005). The dominant non-profit regime clusters, introduced by Salamon and Anheier (1998) do not acknowledge the existence of a Mediterranean cluster. Cyprus shares many similarities with the Mediterranean cluster discussed by Archambault (2009)[14]: a history of successive authoritarian regimes lasting until the 20th century, late transition from authoritarianism to democracy, weak central government and a strong voluntary sector deeply involved in social service provision (Archambault, 2009:6). Similarities are also found

[14] The Mediterranean cluster, as discussed by Archambault (2009), consists of Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece.

with Gal's (2010) extended Mediterranean family of countries[15] with features such as lower GDP and social expenditure than western industrial states, religion's stronger role and a long Church legacy, strong families acting as safety net against many risks and clientelism (Gal, 2010). Cyprus also shares similarities with Ferreira's (2006) account of southern states: social security systems (based on contributions), high benefit protection for some sectors, a public-private mix in welfare, including the market, the community, the state and voluntary associations. These cases strengthen the chapter's argument that non-profit regime modelling lacks tools to study diverse states.

Exploring non-profit regime dimensions against the static-temporal dichotomy

As the findings demonstrate, the voluntary sector has not developed in a static context nor had a steady developmental trajectory, rather it underwent major transitions and turning points. Non-profit regime models place countries into one regime, assuming that throughout its history, a country remains in one regime. The findings suggest the contrary. Exploring the case of Cyprus, through its turning points, new problems emerge in locating its voluntary sector in the non-profit regime map. A preliminary adaptation of non-profit regime's foundations to the Cyprus case, reflects the problems clearly. Under colonialism low welfare expenditure resulting in a large environment of associations, would classify Cyprus as liberal non-profit regime, which turned into a statist regime during the anti-colonial struggle. Before the invasion, low welfare spending, a weak welfare state, the increasing number of associations and the emerging state-sector relationship would turn the non-profit regime into a hybrid liberal-

[15] Gal's (2010) extended family of Mediterranean welfare states consists of Cyprus, Greece, Israel, Italy, Malta, Spain, Portugal and Turkey.

corporatist one. Then, in the invasion's aftermath, a statist non-profit regime arose again, which, in the reconstruction period, would turn once more into a hybrid liberal-corporatist regime. Could these classifications make sense?

These transformations of the Cypriot voluntary sector, under stateless or state conditions, reflect the need for understanding non-profit regimes under a dynamic rather than a static approach. Although western nations have also experienced key turning points, it is argued that some countries have experienced such rapid turning points that a classification as a single regime is inappropriate and its 'transition' among regimes problematic. A theory should therefore account for time and change. This is supported by Wagner (2000:543), who demonstrates the importance of analysing various conditions across time, identifying the vitality, the "evolutionary character" of systems and the time dimension, as ways to capture systems' "structural transformations". Gough (1999) also argues the emphasis on class struggle has shifted the focus away from the fact that regimes encounter "dynamic changes and shifts" (Gough, 1999:4). A similar stance is held by Gidron, et al. (2003), regarding the Israeli third sector, which has also developed under a changing regime. Such cases need to be studied under a "dynamic model" that incorporates new origin factors "as they shift and change over time" (Gidron, et al. 2003: 41). Bahle (2003), furthermore, argues that the classic welfare regime approach fails to reflect institutional change. Baldwin (1996) has also criticised the concept of a static welfare regime, with Taylor-Gooby (2001) adding that welfare states are dynamic, changing organisms, which continuously transform. The time dimension has been partlially acknowledged by supporters of social origins theory. While Salamon and Sokolowski (2001) stress that social origins theory succeeds, to some extent, in classifying

countries into specific non-profit regimes, they acknowledge that not all countries had the same regime type throughout their historical development and that not all can be treated within the strict framework of non-profit typologies, without analysing their historical and political discourse. The case of Italy forms a strong example, where Anheier (2000:11) suggests: "the complex historical course with pronounced statist, corporatist and social democratic elements makes [Italy] a mixed type that seems difficult to locate".

Distinctive power relations and struggles

Power relations and struggles are strong factors behind the development of the voluntary sector and have been decisive elements throughout the state's developmental process.

What new types of state/regime related struggles emerge, and how have they influenced the voluntary sector? Voluntary associations in Cyprus emerged under struggles between society and successive authoritarian regimes, rather than a sovereign state. Before the transition to democracy, complex struggles shaped the regime, including confrontations between the working class and local bourgeoisie (AKEL, 2011), struggles between the nationalist front and the left-wing camp, the common struggles of working class movements (Giallouros, 2007:16) and society against the colonial regime. Under British rule, conflicting political ideologies divided and organised associational life along ethnic, religious and political/ideological lines. Unlike the "retarded pattern" of development of voluntary sectors in developing countries (Salamon and Anheier, 1997), political turbulence strengthened and empowered associational life and challenged the authoritarian regime, especially in periods of harsh administration. This supports Abzug's (1999) argument that the heterogeneity of the population

and its diverse needs matter in understanding increased mobilization (Abzug, 1999:135). The argument fits with Weisbrod's (1988) and James' (1987) position that increased heterogeneity produces a large voluntary sector. These developments, in conjunction with the Church's hegemonic and political role, strong forces of society (explored more fully in the next chapters), explain why the Cypriot context experienced a large religious philanthropic and welfare voluntary networks under British rule and in the first post-independence decades.

After democracy, bi-communal struggles between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, the state's struggles against the illegal Turkish Cypriot administration of the occupied part of Cyprus, the political struggles and conflicts within society's divided political camps and struggles beyond national borders between Cyprus and Turkey, most of which remain unresolved to date, have been influential, alongside class struggles, in shaping the welfare regime, determining levels of welfare spending, defining choices and decisions about welfare responsibilities. The impact of power relations, developed between the state and the Church of Cyprus, after the island's independence, also played a role, and will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter. On-going struggles between the government of the Republic of Cyprus and the illegal Turkish Cypriot administration and its motherland, Turkey, have established sovereignty and political issues as long-standing priorities, creating a culture of a weak welfare state and a strong voluntary sector.

Whether under a colonial regime or later as a democratic state, Cyprus strongly experienced "pre-capitalist sources of identity and political mobilisation" (Gough 1999:12) where the lack of rights and threat to self-determination created specific underlying dynamics,

pushing people into constant struggles to re-gain and maintain ethnic, religious and collective welfare identities. Participation in voluntary associations was key to maintaining an identity. Cyprus' peculiar struggles are also stressed by Hatzivassiliou (2005), who mentions that strong bonds with Hellenic civilization, culture and the Greek heritage differentiate Cypriot struggles from other anti-colonial movements. All these arguments challenge the restricted focus of current non-profit regime modelling in understanding relations in welfare and suggest that a wider search for actors, factors, dimensions and patterns, under a broader context of power relations is needed for the non-profit regime map to accommodate more experiences, shaped by different types of struggles.

Current non-profit regime literature addresses some factors in a limited way, while leaving others unexplored, while important insight is provided by the broader social policy literature. One case is the link between identity and the impact of ethnic and international struggles in shaping voluntary sector trajectories. Gough (1999), commenting on the limitations of the class analysis approach in understanding regimes, identifies other "sources of stratification", among them ethnicity (Gough, 1999:4), which links with the Cypriot bi-communal and political struggles. Useful discussion of the strong relationship between conflicting ideologies and beliefs, in religion, nationalism, ethnicity and culture, geo-political interests and the influences of outside powers is provided by Berg and Janoski (2005:80). Wood's and Gough's (2006: 1709) 'post-class' analysis not only supports the argument that struggles should extend beyond the "capital-labour confrontation" but introduces new regimes, to capture the reality of nations around the globe. Although Cyprus is not included in their global welfare regime analysis, their work offers a new line of thinking about regimes to discuss the great work

performed by communities, organised voluntary networks and families in Cyprus, under stateless conditions, to be discussed later. Wood's and Gough's (2006) "informal security regime" can more effectively explain how insecure and authoritarian conditions may trigger mass informal mobilization and grass-roots welfare provision. Although more research would be needed, it is argued that Cyprus' past and recent history clearly reveals common features with regime factors of developing societies (Gough, 1999). For example, the island had extensive experience of colonialism and a history with settler societies. It strongly depended on international economic and political factors, limited growth of industrialisation and income, a peculiar distribution of power resources and organisation of politics, weak democratic practices and poor welfare strategies (Bryant, 2006; Chatzidemetriou, 1985; Mallinson, 2005). Could the informal security regime, strongly linked to the "British colonial legacy" as Wood and Gough (2006:1704) argue, enrich non-profit regime modelling? Although this may provide a sound basis for explaining the Cypriot welfare regime and the development of its voluntary sector before democracy, more case studies and comparative research are needed to support the argument.

Another unexplored link in non-profit regime research is that between critical events, that go far beyond conflicts and struggles, such as wars, and voluntary sector development. From a power resource approach, Wimmer (2012) provides a useful theoretical base to understand the roots of war, showing that when "the distribution of resources and power between rulers and ruled changes" there is increased activity, shaping alliances along ethnic lines (Wimmer, 2012:9), which under escalating circumstances, can lead to war. Although this is useful in thinking about the case of Cyprus, it does not provide much insight into how voluntary

associations are affected by alliances or the creation of ethnic lines. This research provides an account of the relationship between ethnic/national divisions and voluntary associations, thus contributing to filling this gap. Specifically, it has discussed how ethnic related interests have formed a platform for turbulence and the creation of two separate voluntary sectors after democracy, and how Hellenistic ideals and the 'Union with Greece' ideology as opposed to the left-wing's close attachment with Turkish Cypriot minority interests, influenced associational life during colonialism. More experiences need to be gathered to understand the diverse conditions under which ethnic divisions and voluntary associations relate.

Is the study of state-voluntary sector relationship enough? The main non-profit and welfare regime theory suggests that regimes and struggles shape relations among welfare actors (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Salamon and Anheier, 1998) and their trajectories in welfare. The study of the state-voluntary sector relationship has so far dominated the literature. The following data chapters challenge this restricted view of studying voluntary sectors, because this twofold relationship gives little insight into understanding more actors and factors influencing voluntary sector trajectories. Nevertheless, this section provides some arguments, for locating the state-Cypriot voluntary sector relationship in existing theoretical contexts.

The strong state-sector relationship in welfare delivery has emerged as key to understanding post-independent voluntary sector growth in Cyprus. This is not a distinctive nation-related element, as the tendency of states to rely on community and societal arrangements has been dominant in research studies (see the John Hopkins Comparative non-profit sector project; Commonwealth Secretariat studies; Third Sector European Policy (TSEP) network papers). The

findings show a 'collaborative' relationship (Gidron et al. 1992) developing in Cyprus. As will be discussed later,, this relationship becomes weak when the role of the Church is explored, leading to an argument for 'dual' welfare systems developing in Cyprus. The strength of the state-sector relationship has followed from the degree of the state's weakness at different times, and the urgency to address needs. Weisbrod's market-government failure (heterogeneity) theory, despite its weakness in providing a holistic explanation, can explain how the failure of government and market in welfare forced the state to collaborate with actors in welfare provision. Under the lens of the resource dependence model (Saidel, 1989 in Cho and Gillespie, 2006), the strong interdependent sector-state relationship could be explained by continuous demand for social services (the resource), the lack of a strong state to provide such services, and the capability of the voluntary sector to deliver the 'resources'. From the point of view of dynamic resource theory, the Cypriot regime, under "dynamically interacting factors" (Cho and Gillespie 2006:506), created a stable pattern of interaction through a process of exchanges. The voluntary sector provided services in exchange for state funding and the state relied on the sector to deliver such services to handle pressing needs arising from turbulent periods. The high degree of interdependency made voluntary associations less autonomous to move in new welfare directions not funded by the state.

Considering the findings discussed in the following chapters, it is argued that exploring state-voluntary sector relationships provides too little added value for understanding a voluntary sector's development, as other relationships are important in some contexts, with decisive impact on associations' trajectories.

The impact of the voluntary sector on the welfare state

Voluntary social welfare in Cyprus has a long history and tradition. The voluntary sector has derived from the Cypriot regime's distinct evolutionary process and dynamic historic and socio-political context, while offering a source for the welfare state's building, development and consolidation. Although non-profit regime theory posits that organizations "are not only providers of goods and services but important factors of social and political coordination", there are no tools to assess this dimension in locating their position in non-profit regimes: rather their position depends on the regime trajectory, its decisions on welfare, based on social class dimensions. The Cypriot voluntary sector's quantitative and qualitative growth, and capacity to act, under diverse and critical circumstances, undoubtedly contributed to society's welfare, under stateless conditions, but also to the welfare state's consolidation and the prevalence of democracy, cohesion and solidarity.

Before democracy, when the island's development was "retarded, its potentialities as a market were reduced and the prospects for industrialization diminished" (Argyriou, 2001:11), voluntary welfare emerged, under the philanthropic doctrine, with goals to address despair, poverty and social needs. Then organised voluntary networks were the means for achieving welfare, solidarity and cohesion, political mobilization and the building of collective political, welfare and national identities. Its role has been vital to shaping the path of the new sovereign state when it took responsibility over welfare. The new state, relying on voluntary welfare, had the space to address security issues, political instability and building the economic system. After the invasion the state had a voluntary force dedicated to addressing the needs of refugees and implementing national long-term social reconstruction. At this

critical period the voluntary sector saved the welfare state from total breakdown. After reconstruction, the voluntary sector was the state's key ally in its modernization phase and acted as a safety net when the state could not address complex emerging needs, by providing mechanisms through which people secured their welfare needs. The sector helped to reconcile and balance the complex, heterogeneous needs and interests of a fragmented society before and after democracy.

The contribution of the voluntary sector is clearly documented throughout the findings. This is not a wholly distinctive national element. Although non-profit regime theory gives little attention to the power of non-governmental welfare institutions in shaping welfare trajectories, the voluntary sector's contributions to more than welfare are acknowledged by some authors (Gidron, et al. 2003; Graefe, 2004).

The Cyprus voluntary sector's role and capacity to act, under diverse and critical circumstances, suggest that the following dimensions are assessed in locating a sector in the non-profit regime map: a) the existence and/or activity of a voluntary sector under stateless conditions or before a sovereign state's building, b) a sector's contribution to building the welfare state, c) its multi-faceted role (welfare, religious, political) and, in some circumstances, its role in handling issues of fragmented societies and d) its role at critical junctures. These dimensions bring the voluntary sector into another position, which acknowledges its role as agent of co-ordination and change, rather than a passive welfare actor influenced solely by the welfare state. Evidence from other countries could enrich the dimensions identified, to assess how it changes a sector's position in

non-profit regimes and whether it alters the logic of current non-profit regime typologies.

Conclusion

Exploring the forces that can explain the voluntary sector's trajectory, in relation to state and regime related influences, key emphasis has been given to processes, institutions, critical junctures and transformations. The voluntary sector has been a derivative of the distinct evolutionary process of the Cypriot regime, influenced by the historic and socio-political and economic context and path dependency, but it has also been a source for the welfare state's development and consolidation. Analysis of the state-voluntary sector relationship reflects different experiences and factors not captured in the current non-profit regime map and challenges the static orientation of origin factors in existing non-profit regime debates.

Which theoretical concepts best explain the relationship between the state and voluntary sector trajectories in Cyprus? Clearly, the findings so far cannot be fully reflected in current theory. This study of the Cypriot state/regime-voluntary sector relation suggests that current non-profit regime theories cannot incorporate diverse realities, distinct historical developmental patterns and new qualitative dimensions. A multi-dimensional and dynamic third sector regime theory should be able to incorporate voluntary sectors developed as outcomes of authoritarianism, colonialism, war, continuous crisis and insecurity, conditions of long underdevelopment, multi-level power relations and competing interests beyond the class basis and of a cross-border nature, based on nationalist, political, ethnic and geopolitical factors, and between local actors, international powers and invading countries.

Such a theory should have an expanded array of regime/state related 'origin factors' to take into consideration the dimension of time and the different historical and socio-political circumstances of more countries. The aim should be to merge such origin factors and experiences of western (Salamon and Anheier, 1998), underdeveloped (Salamon and Anheier, 1997), politically turbulent (Gidron, et al. 2003; Kabalo, 2005) and Mediterranean regimes (Ferrera, 1996; Gal, 2010; Karamessini, 2007; Katrougalos, 1996; Moreno, 2006). Such a new model should be sensitive to the small state/island factor, since social policy formation can be greatly influenced by 'vulnerability' or the positive elements of small states identified by this research, Irving, (2009; 2010), Baldacchino, (2011), Bertram, (2011) and others. It should also give more emphasis to the potential for ethnicity to form cleavages and analyse how voluntary associations grow and develop out of these struggles, in the search for a shared identity. The need to test "other historical and cultural factors and geography" is also stressed by Steinberg and Young (1998). A refined theory should furthermore reconcile the qualitative and quantitative dichotomy (Ragin, 1998), to overcome the limitations of the twofold sector-state relationship analysis.

Whether such an extended theory is possible depends on future comparative research with countries sharing similar experiences to Cyprus. If the research were designed to explore the state-sector relation, as in most studies following the non-profit regime approach, this would be the last section of the thesis and these the concluding arguments. The analysis of the following chapters reveals that this approach cannot provide answers to the question whether Cyprus is a unique case or context of distinctive factors, on the basis of the state-voluntary sector relationship alone.

Contrary to most other studies, this research offers a different perspective for studying voluntary sector development, using multiple levels of observation and analysis, asking separately about relationships between the voluntary sector and a) the state/regime, b) the Church/religion and c) society, also – originally - analysing society into different parts and evolutionary aspects. The following chapters, therefore, offer new perspectives and insight stemming from this multiple-level insight.

Chapter 5

Religion and the voluntary sector:
The impact of religion/culture and the Church on the development of the voluntary sector in Cyprus

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to move beyond the state/regime-voluntary sector analysis and explore the influence of religion on the voluntary sector's development. Studying the religion-voluntary sector relationship is a new approach, considering that the non-profit regime literature has restricted its focus to the analysis of states and regimes, assuming the full functioning of sovereign states to study the state-voluntary sector relationship. Church has been studied as an element of society striving for hegemony with state, class-based power relations and secular forces dominating (Salamon and Anheier, 1998; Archambault, 2009). This has its limitations: analysis of the Church/religion-voluntary sector relationship in Cyprus suggests new dimensions beyond the 'traditional' origins factors. It is suggested that the dominant state-society approach of non-profit regime theory is not and should not be the only way to study voluntary sector development.

Analysis of the Church/religion-voluntary sector relationship reflects three dimensions of religion, important to the research question: institutional/structural, cultural/spiritual and political, with different types of influences and power actors, a diverse base of power issues, relations and motives for collaboration and conflict, challenging in various ways both secularisation and power resources theory.

The case of Cyprus reflects new power relationships: conflicting relations within an authoritarian regime, between a "nation-leading Church", the regime and a fragmented landscape of voluntary associations, a Church leader ruling the sovereign state, and a strong Church having hegemonic presence in all affairs of state. The Church's complex hegemonic role, an outcome of peculiar conditions of nation and state building, diverse regimes (including stateless, sovereign and occupied regimes), with diverse interests (religious, national/ethnic, political, cultural, economic), poses a number of theoretical questions. The specific role and trajectory of the Church of Cyprus firstly challenge the foundations of secularisation theory, which assumes the decline of religion and Church in society when modernisation forces emerge. This should be understood as flowing from complex Church-state relations, developed under the shadow of critical events, which largely prevented secularisation forces from diminishing the Church's role in society. These are hardly distinguished or addressed in non-profit regime theory. The findings also challenge the restricted view of power resource thesis, as applied by social origins theory and non-profit regimes. This entails the need to acknowledge other powerful actors, and diverse causes of conflict, stemming from religion's multi-faceted dimensions, proposing that cultural, ethnic, national and political elements should form stronger tools for exploration and analysis. Social origins theory rests on the simplicity of power relations theory, where religion is conceptualised as an institutional power, under the Church, playing under the rules of capitalist economies. The missing element of religious culture and doctrine in non-profit regime theory is also challenged by findings here. Although these issues have been partially addressed in non-profit regimes of third world countries (Salamon and Anheier, 1997), studies miss the 'doctrine' element. The emerging dynamics provide new ways to

understand welfare arrangements and voluntary associations' development, supporting Anheier's (1990:373) position that associations "are often based on strong ideological components and are religious, rather than secular, in their value orientation".

Drawing on these arguments, and refined exploratory tools, the chapter explores the trajectory of associations, positing that religion as institutional structure, cultural and political force, not only shaped associational life but had profound impact in shaping its major transformation points. The chapter is structured under the main themes that emerged as explaining the sector's development in relation to religion. Data are divided between the colonization and after democracy periods, so the Church-voluntary sector trajectory is more effectively documented and discussed. Then themes are synthesized and more critically discussed in an integrated analysis section. The chapter uses interview quotations, selected on the basis of their strength and representativeness in reflecting the various arguments.

A main finding is the overwhelming support towards the Church, which may raise questions regarding the diversity and representativeness of respondents. For clarity, and drawing from the methodology chapter, only two respondents came from religious circles. Counterarguments, though few, are fully discussed, contributing to the main arguments or leaving room for further research. A limitation here is the focus on Christian Orthodoxy, leaving room for future research to explore whether the dominant Church restricted or supported associational life among Turkish Cypriot groups, or how the divided landscape of religions and associations contributed to the island's division after democracy and the overall impact on voluntary associations.

The distinctive hegemony of religion before democracy and its impact on associations

The impact of religion as a spiritual/religious doctrine and a cultural force

The findings identify Christian Orthodox doctrine as key in understanding voluntary sector development, strengthening arguments in the literature that religious beliefs and values have long served "to shape the level, form and goals of one's associational life" (Smidt, 2003:2) and the wider literature discussing this relationship (Bahle, 2003; Jeffers, 1999; Smidt, 2003). As I will argue later in the chapter, religion has been the driving force of individual, collective, formal and informal welfare activity and the principle that shaped the foundations of associational life and voluntary associations. A strong relationship also emerged between religion, regime conditions and culture, where the latter was not limited to hospitality and caring, but also to nationalism and identity building.

The dominant social origins theory (Salamon and Anheier, 1998), in the non-profit regime literature treats religion as a "social institution" (Church) which has engaged in power relations, mainly with the state, to negotiate over welfare. The theory does not account for the relation between religious doctrine and voluntary associations, or other intervening factors that could explain this relationship. The findings here therefore challenge the approach of studying the Church's role solely based on the power resources approach, without acknowledging the impact of religious doctrines and other dynamics, in shaping welfare, national, political and religious identities and the trajectory of associations. Analysis provides rich insight into the question posed: *'How have spiritual/religious and cultural dimensions of religion influenced society's engagement in*

individual and collective acts of welfare, and what was the impact on voluntary associations?'

The first set of interacting themes emerging from the findings is a broad connection between religion and welfare, well documented in the literature (Ellor, Netting and Thibault, 1999; Midgley, 1995). The impact of religion as doctrine, a cultural and spiritual/religious force, on individual and collective welfare action has been closely related to the Church of Cyprus' historic role transmitting Christian Orthodox values in Cypriot society, and to the importance Christian Orthodox religion placed on the concepts and practices of philanthropy, charity and altruism. Personal recollections of the late colonial period described extensive Christian Orthodox preaching and acting on the principles of loving and caring for others, while giving to all in need:

> *"Before the 1950s, welfare was the responsibility of the Church of Cyprus ... actually the roots of welfare are found in religion and the Church of Cyprus ..." (Interview, 4/24-3-2010).*

> *"The Church preached the values of religion and philanthropy ... the importance of philanthropic acts in helping the poor and the vulnerable" (Interview, 1/29-10-2009).*

> *"The Church's stance and ideology 'to help each other' ... its intense preaching of Christian Orthodox values, established a welfare culture in everyday life ... based on Christian Orthodox preaching ... people were taught to love and care for others" (Interview, 8/27-4-2010).*

While this would be expected of the Church, it was argued that, in Cyprus, it has been very intense, because of the island's turbulent history and the Church's multi-faceted role in Cypriot society:

> *"The role of the Church acted as a catalyst in view of the absolute absence of a state and an organised welfare framework on the island" (Interview, 4/24-3-2010).*

> *"I remember absolute hunger and misery ... for every 2 persons the government would give only 1 loaf ... it was not enough ... the priests would not only preach but would collect money to help the poor ... would support people at all difficult times ... even raise money for funerals when families were too poor to pay for the burial of their loved ones" (Interview, 3/20-3-2010).*

> *"Our group [Philoptochos association under the Church] visited poor families, identified needs and provided solutions ... most families experienced poverty, misery and devastation ... the Church helped ... don't forget that we lived in an unstable environment, ruled by outsiders ..." (Interview, 2/15-3-2010).*

> *"There was no state ... but we had the Church ... the Church played an important role in welfare and supported its people during the difficult periods of Cyprus' history" (Interview, 1/29-10-2009).*

Intense supporting arguments are reflected in historical sources. At a citizens' assembly the Church stressed, in 5/2/1949, "it is the duty of all Orthodox Christians to help all those in need, to advance the supremacy of Christian culture and to work under the flag of the Church" (Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, File: 113:46). Archbishop Leontions adopted, between 1933-1947, the position that: "... you need to love your neighbor and to provide any material good for the

relief of our poor brothers" (Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, File: Θ: 291). The Church did not only preach, but was, through its ranks, a model for the people. Enlightened and courageous prelates dedicated their lives to the religious cause and were ready to be sacrificed if that would secure the welfare of Cypriots, and strengthen their religious identity (Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, 2011; Pavlides, 1999). Many experienced cruel deaths defending their faith and the Orthodox Christian religion (Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, 2011). Therefore, Archbishop Makarios III (1997) named Cyprus a holy island, a land of saints. Bishop Leontios, in his memorable trial in 1939, accused for his speeches favouring Union with Greece and mobilizing Cypriots for the 1931 anti-colonial struggle said "... I am now ready to be sacrificed ... to save my people ... I do not seek glory of myself but glory for my people ... and as a shepherd I am looking after the welfare of my good flock" (Mahlouzarides 1979, in Pavlides, 1999). Religion's intensity during colonialism can be explained by secularisation theory's critics' proposition that religion strengthens, as an outcome of social and political struggles (Chaves, 1994).

What impact did Christian Orthodox doctrine and Church have in society? The Church's determination to defend Christian Orthodox religion, and protect its people, under conditions of successive conquests, socio-economic and political turbulence in the island's history, brought the deep embedding of religious values and tradition in society (Interviews; Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, File: 113:59, 63, 109-112) establishing a strong culture of philanthropy and social responsibility as moral and social norms. Religiosity and philanthropy were viewed as means to self-fulfilment and achieving a moral life (Interviews). These, respondents said, consolidated the Orthodox Church's moral strength, making the practice and

defence of religion a collective mission, which formed hereditary deposits for generations to come. The authoritarian colonial regime therefore reinforced the development of strong relationships between society and Church (Interviews), supporting an argument of Norris and Inglehart (2004), that regime conditions, poverty, vulnerability and insecurity, powerfully influence the degree of religiosity. It is argued that authoritarianism strengthened Cypriots' religiosity, hence their connection to the Church.

Insight into the impact of religious doctrine on the life of Cypriot people is provided by the interviews. Respondents' accounts saw philanthropic sentiments of giving, helping neighbours, friends and even strangers, perceived as social responsibility and an innate force, stemming from each Orthodox Christian:

> *"I could not imagine not helping someone who was in need" (Interview, 13/14-16-2010)*

> *"We grew up with the doctrine of philanthropy … we had to give, we had to help" (Interview, 19/6-9-2010).*

> *"We were Orthodox Christians ... we were born with the trait of helping and giving" (Interview, 15/26-7-2010).*

Similarly, they connected philanthropy as derivative of Cypriot culture, with culture a powerful force that bonded people through individual and collective philanthropy, closely connected to religion:

> *"I do not recall any house that did not give shelter to the stranger (guest), to a traveller … or food to the poor … this is our culture" (Interview, 4/24-3-2010).*

> *"Philanthropy and altruism were the source of everything that was voluntarily initiated … this is our culture, this is our religion … this is who we are … (Interview, 9/4-5-2010).*

The findings show religion as a strong source of inspiration and a force behind every welfare act. Religion has been so deep in society that religious tradition has been an act of everyday life throughout history. Individual and collective welfare were platforms through which people reached morality, religiosity and God. Altruism was a way to contribute to the struggles led by prelates defending religion. The deep embeddedness of religion was responsible for the emergence of a class of philanthropists (Interviews, 1/29-10-2009; 6/21-4-2010), involving respectable figures from different social classes, whose work greatly contributed, throughout decades, to philanthropic, religious and welfare causes. With religion as a strong collective welfare culture and social norm, and considering the lack of such considerations in non-profit regime theory, the findings here are located in literature focusing on the welfare culture of social actors (Oorschot, 2007; Oorschot, et al, 2008; Pfau-Effinger, 2005b). The argument of the strong interaction of the themes of religion/Church, welfare action and Christian Orthodoxy and their impact on individual and collective welfare, should be understood as a set of themes whose strength was determined by successive authoritarian regimes, forming a key intervening factor in these complex relationships.

What else does the Church's eminent spiritual role say about the level of welfare activity? How have Church and religion influenced the creation of associations and work of organised voluntary and philanthropic networks? The findings suggest that the strong influence of the Church during colonialism opened a pathway for

creating the first wave of associations. This may also be understood as an outcome of Christian Orthodox religion's ideology regarding the institutionalisation of welfare philanthropy. The relevance of doctrines in promoting the institutionalisation of collective welfare action, is also noted by Salamon and Anheier (1997). This should, again, be understood under the strong influence of the regime. During colonialism, the early philanthropic organised/formal networks portray collective welfare activity, based on religious values of Christian Orthodox doctrine. All sources of data, (documentary sources and interviews alike), clearly show the philanthropic base and motives of associations:

> *"The foundations that were laid by Christian Orthodox doctrine: to care for one another, to love and to help the poor, guided the development of organised voluntary activity" (Interview, 2/15-3-2010).*

Most organised networks established throughout the decades, including the Philoptochos associations, Women's Religious Groups/Christian Associations, Christian Clubs, the OHEN/*'OXEN'*, Orthodox Religious Foundations (THOI/*'ΘΟΙ'*) had philanthropic foundations (Interviews, 8/27-4-2010; 9/4-5-2010; Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, Files ΙΔ:172-176; Θ; ΙΘ). Interviewees recalled:

> *"At Christmas and Easter the philanthropic networks offered money and baskets of goods to poor families" (Interview, 4/24-3-2010).*

> *"The Christian Women's' Clubs organised 'love visits' to hospitals" (Interview, 2/15-3-2010).*

> *"I remember school visits by the Orthodox Religious Foundations, to give shoes and clothes to poor children" (Interview, 3/20-3-2010).*

"... we [our local Philoptochos] also visited neighbourhoods to give clothes and food to poor families" (Interview, 5/31-3-2010).

Whatever the organised networks' mission (athletic, recreational, welfare or other) there was a common principle to provide help beyond their closely affiliated network (Interview, 4/24-3-2010; Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, Files OB; IΔ; File KA; IΘ). This philanthropy-based context of associations clearly portrays the influence of religion and the way it shaped the course of the first-wave of associations. The link between Christian Orthodox doctrine and the evolution of voluntary associations is well documented in the wider literature (Buijs, 2003; Constantelos, 2004; Karayiannis, 2004; Smidt, 2003; Wilensky, 1981 in Baldock, 1999).

As already argued, the regime formed a key intervening factor in the complex religion/Church, welfare action (informal/organised) and Christian Orthodoxy relationship. This provides a different angle for understanding voluntary sector development. A preliminary synthesis identifies three main themes and sub-themes, emerging from this complex relationship, which also determined the strength of relations between society and Church. Firstly, the authoritarian colonial regime 'pushed' society to seek protection and meet its increasing social needs from a higher powerful and spiritual force:

"The Church and the philanthropic networks and, of course, welfare associations have helped Cypriots survive the difficult years of colonisation" (Interview, 27/16-10-2010).

"The Church and its network have been the only positive force in society that comforted the poor and the ill ... if associations had not existed there would be only misery, suffering ..." (Interview, 30/8-12-2010).

"... we had nowhere else to turn to...nowhere...thank God we had our priest, our Church ... families, of course, also provided help when they could" (Interview, 25/10-10-2010)

This strengthens arguments, developed in the previous chapter, regarding the role of regime types in shaping relations among welfare actors. Interviewees who had memories from the colonial period (or family recollections) argued that the powerlessness and insecurity imposed by the changing and harsh regimes before democracy, brought people closer to religion, to come under the protection of a supreme power, God (Interviews). Pavlides' (1999) historical accounts describe the hardship Cypriots experienced through centuries under conditions of slavery, exploitation, lack of basic provisions, with no opportunities or hope for the future. These led people to "a very intense religiousness ... as in their great despair the only guiding light and hope was the Christian faith ... and their attachment to ecclesiastical tradition" (Interview, 14/16-6-2010[16]). The Church was also the key guardian of associations, a point of reference and safety net for all at difficult times. The strong connection of associations to religion is what, according to one interviewee, helped the philanthropic networks to survive during the colonial struggles:

"Do you know how many respectable figures, members of the Union of Greek Christian Orthodox Youth (OHEN/'OXEN') and the

[16] Reading from interviewee's personal documentary collections.

Philoptochos associations were captured by the colonial administration during the anti-colonial struggle? ... yet their faith in God and the Church's mission to protect Christian Orthodox networks, helped the networks to continue their work" (Interview, 4/24-3-10-2010).

Secondly, through religiosity and philanthropy, Cypriots also strove to adopt a "moral biography" (Schervish 2008). Although a "moral biography" relates to religion, it also interestingly connects with the regime and associational life. Being religious and moral was also a means to secure access to the web of mutual care exchanges and social welfare relationships, which helped people to survive the poor socio-economic conditions of the weak welfare regime. Access to this web of relationships strengthened mobilization and collective welfare engagement, facilitating the creation of more networks and associations:

"The Philoptochos movement was a network of solidarity ... every parish had a network ... every Christian Orthodox was involved in one way or another in this large network ... we knew the Philoptochos of our area and they knew us ... it was easy for them to identify needs and it was easy for us to ask for their help ..." (Interview, 27/16-10-2010)

"All networks and associations initiated by the Church, or with close relationships with the Church, collaborated strongly with one another ... this context enabled them to act quickly to address needs" (Interview,29/5-11-2010)

"Every woman of each parish would have to be a member of the Philoptochos movement of her area ... every person would have to pay a contribution to the Philoptochos (where possible) so that the

Philoptochos could provide its help to those in need ...” (Interview, 24/2-10-2010).

Thirdly, authoritarianism created conditions where people sought to protect their cultural and national identity. Being religious was a way to maintain cultural identity, which, in the case of Cyprus, closely links to national/ethnic identity. This relationship appears strong in the wider literature (Perry, 1998; Sherkat and Ellisson, 1999), but not in non-profit regime literature. Interviewees felt that, without a sovereign state and with continuous threat to Cypriot religious and national identity, engagement in common religious, social and national causes helped people to maintain their identity:

“Through philanthropy and helping we strove to support our existence, especially in the absence of the state, and with the critical historic events that Cyprus faced ... maintaining an identity was very important” (Interview, 9/4-5-2010).

“... associations, besides their philanthropic activity, were working in national-related activities...to strengthen their members’ and others’ national identity ...” (Interview, 29/5-11-2010).

“Collective social activity and identity building sprang from every organised group ... from philanthropic networks to athletic clubs” (Interview, 10/21-5-2010).

“We shared common goals ... participating in organised activities made us stronger ... it strengthened our identity and we developed a collective mission … this was the only way to develop as individuals ... to free our island and ‘bring’ welfare to Cypriots (Interview, 4/24-3-2010).

These suggest that the Church of Cyprus' historical leading role and struggles in shaping and protecting religious, cultural and national identity became each and every individual's cause. Participation in associations or collective social action was a means to shape and protect identities. This gives us a stronger basis for understanding the interaction between national identity, religiosity and associational life. A previously quoted passage reflects the argument well: "A good Christian ... would work under the flag of the Church" (The Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, File 113:46). A good Christian would need therefore to lead a moral life, be a philanthropist and an altruist based on his or her religious doctrine. A good Christian would also need to express his/her religiosity under Hellenistic ideals, the principal foundation of national identity and culture (Interviews). It is beyond the scope of this research to discuss the complex debates about national identity in Cyprus between left-wing nationalism, which fosters "cross-communal loyalties and identities" (Peristianis, 2008:116), incorporating Turkish Cypriot identity, and right-wing nationalism linked to Hellenic/Greek Cypriot national identity. Beyond the right-left wing divide, Cypriots' identity was defined, maintained and strengthened by associational life with ethnic, social and religious dynamics laying foundations for people's intercourse in social activities. That Church prelates would express their religiosity and spirituality through sacrifice, to protect religious and national identity, also explains why the religious expression of philanthropy was so strongly bonded to national causes. Participation in organised networks, as already argued, was a means for people to represent their willpower, defend their identity and lead a moral life, a relationship reported elsewhere: "through nationalism and religion, Greek-Cypriots found a way to maintain their cultural existence" (Symeonidou 2005:2). These findings on religion, identity, culture and associational life, now provide a stronger basis for understanding the

religion-regime relationship during colonisation. This explains why associational life became a system of intermixed religious and national values, sentiments and ideological stances. The Church's multiple roles, and contribution to the island's religious and national affairs are analysed in a later section.

The findings not only support a complex regime-religion-welfare action (informal/organised) relationship, but also an interdependent relationship between the Church and society's units and structures:

> *"The families run to the priest and to the teacher to solve their problems ... the priest and the teachers were the most important persons to turn to for help" (Interview, 2/15-3-2010).*

> *"There was enormous trust towards the Church, the Church always stood by the people at difficult times ... the Church protected people and cared for their welfare" (Interview, 2/15-3-2010).*

> *"When the head of a family died, the priest of the church would collect money for the funeral" (Interview, 3/20-3-2010)*

This interdependency served different ends. Society had a religious focal point to satisfy religious needs and provide protection. The Church could strengthen religious doctrine and power in society, with more adherents and more affiliated associations. This argument connects with the Church's hegemonic role in a society where the Archbishop was the Ethnarch, the political, national and religious leader of Cypriots. This explains why the Church was able to reach and influence every unit of society.

Contradictory views mentioned that not all members of society developed an interdependent relationship with the Church and that strong links were also developed within the solidaristic system of left-wing associations, not closely attached to the Church or its mission (Interviews, 6/21-4-2010; 14/16-6-2010; 18/1-9-2010). This reinforces arguments of the previous chapter regarding the development of a divided landscape of associations functioning against the dominant hegemony of the Church and outside its established welfare system. Such data reinforce previous argumentation on heterogeneity, involving many diverse interests in understanding mobilization and large voluntary sectors. This also supports relevant theoretical concepts on mobilization expressed by Abzug (1999) and heterogeneity outcomes reflected in the work of Weisbrod (1988) and James (1987).

The Church's influence as a welfare provider and coordinator of welfare

Beyond the influence of Orthodox Christian doctrine, interviewees identified the Church's historic institutional welfare trajectory as welfare provider and co-ordinator of welfare, as important factors behind the institutionalisation of associational life, structural evolution and growth of voluntary associations in Cyprus (Interviews). This adds to a previous argument that religious ideology around the institutionalization of collective welfare matters, in understanding the development of associations, and the Church's stance in institutionalizing welfare provision in society. This adds to the work of Salamon and Anheier (1997), who see the stance of religious doctrine on institutionalization as the only factor behind the creation of associations.

The findings show how, during colonialism, the Church served as a vital source leading collective welfare action, community development, social progress, welfare organisation and targeted welfare provision. As a welfare provider, the Church shaped, through decades, the pathway for institutionalising welfare outside the boundaries of the colonial administration's public welfare provision. Interviewees reported that the Church's engagement as provider and co-ordinator of welfare went beyond the pure motive 'to help everyone in need', rather it was the means to prove its power against the colonial regime and against other structural arrangements that threatened its hegemonic role in society (Interviews, 6/21-4-2010; 7/22-4-2010; 14/16-6-2010):

> *"The Church's priority was to create its own welfare mechanism, in order to strengthen its presence, through welfare provision, against the left wing trade unions and political forces and the colonial administration" (Interview, 6/21-4-2010).*

> *"The Church's role in welfare has never been purely a 'helping hand' to the poor, rather a mechanism to strengthen its structure against the colonial rulers" (Interview, 7/22-4-2010).*

These quotations reflect a view of the Church having wider interests than its 'pure' welfare role. This position could not be identified with a specific group of interviewees, sharing similar political or ideological viewpoints: therefore no elaboration is possible on the context of these arguments. Despite this limitation, the quotations help gain understanding of the Church's motives, using secularisation theory below. Applying the supply side principle of secularisation theory's critique, we could argue the Church's motives as 'strategic' and supply-based, meaning it created welfare and religious

institutions to increase religiosity in society: the stronger the supply (when welfare and religion are supplied more through institutions, associations), the less likely religion's decline (Norris and Inglehart, 2004). Secular forces in this case could be any authority or structure (colonial administration, Church opponents) that wanted the decline of the Church.

Although the role of churches as agents of welfare and contributors to shaping welfare regimes is discussed in the wider literature (see study of the Institute for Diaconal and Social Studies, 2006 for a European overview), non-profit regime literature has conceptualised the Church as an agent striving for hegemony in welfare, in a context where class-based hierarchies prevail. The findings provide a threefold explanation of the Church's role. Firstly, Christian Orthodox doctrine dictated the Church's engagement in welfare and promoting philanthropy for the well-being of its people, linking to theoretical stances that religion matters (Buijs, 2003; Karayiannis, 2004; Wilensky, 1981 in Baldock 1999). Secondly, the Church's intense welfare role was 'imposed' by the weak and harsh welfare regime and the island's poor socio-economic conditions under British colonial rule. This links to the general foundations of the 'failure thesis' (Weisbrod, 1977), though not to its principle assumption, the existence of a sovereign state. Thirdly, the Church's role has been generated by powerful dynamics, specifically, the pursuit of hegemony in society under the dimensions of "power, conflict, domination and accommodation" (Wood and Gough, 2006:1698). Interpreting the findings, under this threefold context, the following section explores the historic role of the Church in welfare provision, how it involved society in the principles of its welfare pathway, how it organized, institutionalized and coordinated welfare activities, the

context of developing relationships, and the overall impact on associations.

To explain the Church's welfare role during colonialism, most interviewees referred to the period before colonialism. Documentary primary data provided more insight into the Church's historic role in welfare (Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, 2011; Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, Files IΘ; Θ; HΘ; Pavlides, 1999). The first monasteries provided the first social services to the people, while the monks provided empirical medicine (Interview, 06/21-4-10; Pavlides, 1999). The first prelates, besides preaching Christian doctrine, engaged in acts of social welfare, and the organisation of Christian communities (Pavlides, 1999). The early monastery became the Church, the school and the hospital for the people (Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, 2011; Philelefttheros Publishing Group 2011:24-25). The social welfare mission of the Church during colonialism was exercised by its expanded organizational structure and widespread network of bishops, priests and parishes. In the absence of a welfare state, until the mid-end of the 20th century, the Church became the welfare provider and coordinator and the Church network would take care of the sick, the poor, orphans and vulnerable members of society:

> *"The Church was the main provider of welfare and we should attribute the development of welfare to the Church's initiative" (Interview, 10/4-5-2010).*

> *"The powerful organization of Church networks all over the island helped the Church's welfare role and its strong connection with the people … it also helped the Church to identify problems and meet the needs of each parish" (Interview, 9/4-5-2010).*

> *"The Church would represent the needs of Cypriots to the British governors and, centuries before, to the Ottoman Sultan" (Interview, 8/27-4-2010)*

> *"The Church would give land to 'shelter' philanthropic purposes" (Interview, 8/27-4-2010)*

> *"The Church and its affiliated Christian network introduced regulations for charity collection" (Interview, 1/29-10-2009)*

> *"The Church tried to institutionalise and coordinate the Philoptochos movement" (Interview, 3/20-3-2010)*

> *"The Ecclesiastical Committees would collect money at Sunday Church ... and would give up to five shillings to poor families" (Interview, 17/30-8-2010).*

Contradictory positions were also found in the data:

> *"... and of course the Church had in mind that by helping the poor and providing welfare services to society, it would attract more adherents to the Christian Orthodox religion" (Interview, 7/22-4-2010).*

Though mentioned only once, this argument has theoretical value, supporting an older concept that behind the 'social entrepreneurship' of the Church lay religious motives, aiming to bring more religious supporters (James, 1987). It also links with the supply side of secularisation theory: the more Churches or religious associations are available, the more people will join and support them (Norris and Inglehart, 2004). Another critical, but lone voice argued:

> *"The Church's provision has been selective and restricted to its religious followers" [and that it] "never reached all of the people, but only those who were close to the church" (Interview: 19/6-9-2010).*

Though these arguments were few in relation to the interviewee sample, they support previous contradictory arguments regarding the Church's profile, role and motives, reinforcing the Church's developing interdependent relationships with societal groups on selective criteria, and its welfare role aimed to strengthen its hegemony in society against the colonial regime and opposing local groups.

Another stance providing contradiction to the dominant view regarding Church's welfare role in society was offered by an interviewee who argued that:

> *"... any philanthropic work should be attributed to the work and efforts of some illustrious religious leaders/clergy/philanthropists ... because the church had no organised or systematic strategic framework towards welfare or philanthropy" (Interview, 19/6-9-2010)*

This position was not supported by other respondents and has no other supporting data. A thorough reading of this interview, reflected strong personal opposition to the Church; hence welfare development was attributed to religious individuals rather than the Church, contrary to most interviewees. Evidence clearly reflects a strong Church welfare role, which despite any ulterior motives, built a wide network of associations, regulated charity, institutionalised and coordinated the Philoptochos movement, thus contributing structurally and strategically to the development of the voluntary

sector. Although data reflect therefore the social service of early Christian Orthodox philanthropists and Saints, including Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian, John the Eleemosynary (Archbishop Makarios III, 1997), these acts of philanthropy were promoted under the auspices of the Church. A strong feature in the interviews was the constant identification of figures of the Church of Cyprus, from various hierarchical ranks, who initiated important welfare activities: the foundation of key welfare institutions, such as orphanages, homes and organised welfare provision for the poor, the elderly, the sick and the Philoptochos Movement (Philoptochoi/Friends of the Poor). Archbishop Cyprianus for example founded the first higher educational institution in 1812 "to the glory of God and in cultivation of the enslaved Hellenes of Cyprus" (Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, 2011:08:47). The Archbishops invested in the spiritual and educational development of Cypriots, contributing greatly to the building of schools all over the island (Interview, 6/21-4-2010). The Church also supported a plethora of welfare associations for the improvement of welfare on the island (Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, File Θ; Interviews). This links to a previous concept on the doctrine's dimensions, that Christian Orthodox religion, favours the institutionalisation of welfare, hence the creation of welfare movements and networks.

These findings are discussed more analytically in the following section as, according to interviews and documentary sources, they are important for understanding the influence of the Church in motivating people to engage in organised philanthropy and welfare through establishing new organisations and shaping their trajectory.

Exerting power from its Constitution and hegemonic status as the religious and national leader, the Church, either by the initiative of

the central Church network, or of dedicated clergy, began a systematic effort to organise and institutionalise philanthropy and welfare. An old source describes the institutionalisation of philanthropic associations as Christian Orthodoxy's means to express Christian Orthodox values and Cypriot culture and its mission to provide service through organised establishments (The Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, 1852:204). A prime example, set by the Church, so that people would apply philanthropy in organised ways, was the development of the Philoptochos institution. The Bishop of Kition, Kyprianos Oikonomides, established the first Philoptochos Sisterhood in Larnaca in 1870 ('Philoptochos Adelfotis Kirion Larnacas') (Phileleftheros Publishing Group 2011:34). Then followed, in 1880, the Philoptochos Brotherhood of Nicosia/Sisterhood of Ladies for the poor (Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, File 105). Then a Philoptochos Club was established in Famagusta in 1906 (Interview, 13/14-6-2010). From the 1930s onwards, the Church engaged more systematically in organising philanthropy on the island. A Church circular mentioned: "... where Philoptochos associations are absent, Philoptochos funds should be established under the auspices of the Church" (The Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, File Θ) and Philoptochos organisations should be established in all areas and districts (Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, File 113:97, 101-103). Drafting regulations for the Philoptochos Brotherhoods established the institution's functional framework, facilitating its spread all over the island, marking the consolidation of the Philoptochos Movement. Each parish would establish a Philoptochos Brotherhood to function under Church auspices. The Archbishop of Cyprus was the link between the brotherhood and the Ecclesiastical Council. Their objective was to provide help to the poor and needy, initiating acts that would exercise religiosity. Members of the Philoptochos movement were all Christian Orthodox residents of the parish, over 18 years of age (The

Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, File 113). The rapid spread of the Philoptochos institutions served wider philanthropic objectives and initiated the mass mobilization and engagement of women as members and leaders of their steering committees (Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, Files 113:97, 101; Interviews). Most interviewees shared the argument that the sector's structural evolution was rooted in the Philoptochos Movement and initiatives towards the institutionalisation of philanthropy, developed by the Church:

> *"Organised philanthropic activity, through religious networks, formed the basis for everything that was later developed (Interview, 2/15-3-2010).*
>
> *"The Church and its philoptochos movement has been the basis of the voluntary sector" (Interview, 7/22-4-2010).*
>
> *"The Philoptochos association was such a strong movement in society that we should acknowledge it as the institution that laid the foundations of associations that developed" (Interview, 18/10-9-2010).*

The philanthropic system and welfare arrangements developed by the Church set examples, inspiring individuals and groups to welfare initiatives to address social needs under colonial rule. This developed a new welfare movement, of communal philanthropic organisation, under the auspices of the Church (Interviews). This new context involved a plethora of religious and welfare Church-based associations such as the Women's Religious/Christian Clubs, the OHEN/*'OXEN'*, the THOI/*'ΘΟΙ'*, (Interviews, 2/15-3-2010; 4/24-3-2010; 8/27-4-2010; 9/4-5-2010), the Philanthropic Fund, the Religious Clubs, the Spiritual Brotherhood of Greek Ladies of Cyprus, Greek Orthodox

Organisation of mothers (*'MANA'*), (Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, File ΙΘ; Mitsides, 2008). Other welfare associations, not clearly documented whether or not initiated by the Church, were part of the new welfare movement of associations. These included the Greek Ladies Club for Enosis *('Σωματείο Ελληνίδων Κυριών Ένωσης'*), the Brotherhood for the Sick of the leprosarium 'the Pain', Children Camping Associations *('Παιδική Εξοχή'*), Lyceum of the Greek Ladies of Famagusta, (Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, File: ΙΔ) athletic clubs (The Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, File: ΟΒ). The Church supported a Greek Orthodox Organisation of mothers (MANA), distributed material help to families (Cyprus Government, 1956:24), sponsored and organized most charitable societies (Cyprus Government, 1956:32), mobilizing everyone to engage in private charity and raised funds from church or door-to-door collections (Cyprus Government, 1956:24). Left-wing associations opposing the way philanthropy developed under Church auspices, applied their own solidaristic system of welfare provision in society, through other associations. The previous chapter explored these associations' establishment under the regime influence. Here it emerges that the Church was also a driving force, reinforcing the argument of the complex interaction between regime and religion in understanding voluntary sector development.

The dominant role the Church intended to play in welfare becomes clearer once we explore the creation of the Social Welfare Foundation, an institution established by the Church in 1940, which aimed to act as a co-ordination mechanism in welfare. The Social Welfare Foundation, chaired by the Archbishop, was to systematise philanthropy, initiate and coordinate any activity that would contribute to the progress and welfare of Cypriot society. Its founding represented the extended fabric of Cypriot society

including the Church network, the municipalities, the Philoptochos brotherhoods, religious and welfare clubs, the educational board and trade unions. The prerequisite for membership to be "faithful to the Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus, to the national ideals and culture" (Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, File 113) helped the foundation to serve different purposes, with different impacts on the development of associations. The diverse aims of the members facilitated the diversification of associations in different domains. The Foundation's primary function, to identify social needs, initiated and improved measures in child protection and care, health provision, support for ex-prisoners, welfare support to the poor and elderly and financial support to education (Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, File 113:42, 60, 75). The Foundation mobilized its members to address needs and gave a platform for creating new organisations. The Foundation's co-ordination role, which aimed to bring most welfare networks under the auspices of the Church, managed to control and coordinate fundraising and the activities of existing networks (Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, Files Γ; ΙΔ; 113). Developing the social work profession facilitated the institutionalisation of philanthropy while helping voluntary organisations to move to new activities:

> *"It was the Church that took the initiative to establish the social work profession in Cyprus … it funded the studies of the first social workers (and others) ... this has contributed enormously to the organisation of welfare" (Interview, 4/24-3-2010).*

Although the Church's intense role in organising welfare throughout the 1940s created turbulence with some associations which feared for their autonomy after the Social Welfare Foundation was established (Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, Files Γ; Θ), fruitful collaboration was progressively systematized among most voluntary

associations (Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, Files 113:59; Γ). Despite internal rivalries and conflicts, people's discontent against colonial rule was great, and their strong religious faith eventually united people under the auspices of the Church. Common causes created strong bonds between people, society's structures (voluntary and philanthropic networks, schools, associations, etc) and the Church, involving practical support from Church to society, including granting land, and financial support (Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, Files ΟΒ; Θ, ΚΑ; Γ; Η).

An overview of the evidence supports the existence of factors explaining Churches' roles in welfare. The findings shape a threefold context where Christian Orthodox religion and its institutionalisation brought the Church to become the main welfare provider on the island, while encouraging the creation of welfare and philanthropic voluntary associations. This mass welfare organisation, outside the realms of colonial administration, was also driven by the failure of the stateless context to meet people's social needs. It also connects with issues of power: the Church wanted to hold this hegemonic role in society for different reasons. Besides the pure 'help everyone in need' ideology, it was also driven by power-related motives that closely link, as discussed in the following section, with the political/national role the Church developed, with decisive impact on voluntary associations.

The impact of Church's national/political role on associations

The Church's distinct political/national activity in the island's history deepens, according to interviewees and documentary sources, our understanding of its impact on the voluntary sector's development. Non-profit regime literature hardly provides clear theoretical tools to conduct a political analysis of welfare actors (in this case the

Church) that combine multiple motives, namely welfare, ethnic/national related motives, their connection with power (the Cypriot case of Ethnarchy) and struggles and their overall impact on voluntary associations. Drawing on the general foundations of collective power theory (Parsons 1960 in Mann, 1985; Perkins and Zimmerman, 1995), we can argue that the Church's rising power stemmed from its special Ethnarchic status, which 'assigned' it the responsibility to access, through struggle or other means, resources, institutions, ideals, not otherwise available to the people. Securing self-determination, ethnic and national identity (Hellenism and Christian Orthodoxy), emerge as key driving forces. If we conceptualise such forces as 'resources', as Wimmer (2012:9) suggests, then we understand how ethnic lines, in conjunction with Church power, formed its motives in creating associations. These findings support previous arguments to 'extend' the power resource and struggles thesis, to involve cultural and ethnic elements, challenging once more the class-based focus. This is supported by other research suggesting that class-based analysis "on its own" can no longer be "a defensible form of political analysis without concern for other, non-materialist issues, including religion" (Madeley 2000; Haynes 2006:2). The findings below support this, and strengthen the argument for developing tools and theoretical concepts to capture the conditions under which religious actors have diverse roles and dominant presence.

Most interviewees argued strongly that the Church has been the key actor in the development of religious, cultural, welfare and national consciousness throughout the centuries, and that it had an active role in the island's national, educational and social struggles (Interviews; Pavlides, 1999). This section brings together arguments already made or implied in a scattered manner, but have so far

served to support other themes, rather than to discuss how the decisive role of the Church in the political/national affairs of the island influenced voluntary sector development. It provides further evidence of new emerging themes. An interview with a member of a voluntary network, gives perhaps the best starting point to discuss the immense political/national role of the Church in society and its impact on associations:

> *"The reason we have Hellenism today is because of the Church, the protector of our cultural, our religious and national identity, education and initiator of the island's social, cultural, religious and national struggles ... struggles in which we have all, in a way contributed ... our aim, like the Church's, was to serve spiritual, social and cultural causes and contribute to the national cause" (Interview, 13/14-6-2010).*

The trajectory of associations, whether Church-based or other, was shaped by the three-fold mission of the Church, combining spiritual/religious, national/political and social objectives. That Christianity and Hellenism were two interconnected poles, which guided individual and associational development even before colonialism is also discussed by Panayides (2000). The Church has long founded and supported associations, to promote and develop Christian Orthodox religious doctrine, an important dimension of which was the protection of the national identity linked with Hellenistic ancestry. But, when the Church assumed a more intense role in the anti-colonial struggle, the trajectory and context of associations was also transformed. Though remaining path dependent in relation to religion, rather than solely the regime (chapter 4), the establishment of a large number of important island-wide institutions co-existed chronologically with the Church's

involvement in the anti-colonial struggle. This entailed the preparation of society to overthrow the colonial administration, intensification of the long-standing aspiration for the island's unification with Greece, and its reconnection with Hellenic civilization (Interviews, 1/29-10-2009; 4/24-3-2010; 18/1-9-2010). Others saw the Church's "agenda" behind the Philoptochos Movement, as aiming to mobilizing Cypriots in associations so they could more effectively contribute to the national anti-colonial armed struggle, while helping the Church maintain its hegemony in society, after the desired liberation (Interviews, 4/24-3-2010; 13/14-6-2010). This argument is supported by the Church's managing to hold a supreme position in the new sovereign state, enjoying through its leader, the Archbishop, political and religious authority.

More evidence to support the Church's link with the mobilization of Cypriots in associations is reflected in the following data. The OHEN/*'OXEN'*, founded in Limassol in 1939 (Panayides, 2000) and consolidated as an institution in 1947 (Pavlides, 1999), aimed to strengthen the spiritual/religious "phronema"[17], the social consciousness and national spirit of young people. Its rapid expansion to 20,000 during the 1950s (Pavlides, 1999) led to the creation of the Pan Cyprian Organization of Religious Orthodox Foundations. Similar objectives were followed by the then newly established THOI/*'ΘΟΙ'*. Again, their rapid expansion all over the island led to the establishment of the Pan Cyprian Organisation of Religious Orthodox Foundations. These structures, created by the Church's initiative, form only some prime examples of the religious-based associations, which followed or adopted the three-fold

[17] Phronema: what one has in the mind, the thoughts and purposes (Theological Dictionary of the New Testament)

spiritual/education, social activity and national-anti-colonial Union with Greece mission (Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, Files 113; OB; G).

The Church's intense efforts to organize people in associations, especially during the 1940s, also created a more evident national-centric structure. Every part of society's network, including cultural, educational, ethnic-related clubs and welfare associations strongly associated with the Church: even athletic networks adopted the Church's ideological mission. An example is the establishment of the Pan Cyprian National Organization of Youth (PEON/*'ΠΕΟΝ'*) in 1951, which developed activity on nationalist grounds and towards the 'Enosis' (Unification with Greece) objective (Panayides, 2000). Though it was oriented around the education of young people on Christian and Hellenic ideals and the formation of a national Hellenic consciousness, it also adopted a clear mission towards the Enosis cause (Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, File: OB). What about the Philoptochos Movement? Religious networks, including the OHEN/*'ΟΧΕΝ'*, the THOI/*'ΘΟΙ'*, the PEON/*'ΠΕΟΝ'*, the Philoptochos brotherhoods, women's associations, in rural and urban territories (The Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, Files Γ; ΙΔ) formed the backbone of the anti-colonial armed struggle. Indeed, the EOKA struggle was largely supported by the grassroots because its members had their basis in religious and other associations (Azinas, 2001; Interviews; Leventis, 2000; Pavlides, 1999). This is supported in various recollections of active members of OHEN/*'ΟΧΕΝ'* and other organizations (Council of Historical Memory of the Liberation Struggle of EOKA, 1955-1959).

The creation of these associations, their development and the drive behind the Philoptochos Movement went clearly beyond the pure religious/welfare principle. Besides organizing Cypriots into networks,

the aim was to strengthen their national spirit and 'phronema', and prepare for the 1955-1959 anti-colonial struggle:

> *"I remember very vividly how strongly we felt at the summer camps [organised by our association] about the need to free our island. The idea of having an identity ... of being free ... was cultivated in our consciousness in every collective event" (Interview, 4/24-3-2010).*

Driven by social, national/ethnic related and political motives, the Church's strong engagement in the national struggle (mainly supported by the right-wing camp) and its intense role mobilizing society in philanthropic and welfare associations that would also work towards the armed anti-colonial struggle, increased the number of right-wing Hellenic associations, but also created divisions in society. These divisions were outcomes of conflicting interests and ideologies between the Church and the left-wing political camp, which took a different stance on the methods and ideologies of the armed-struggle. Mainly for this reason, according to interviewees (probably with a right-wing ideology) the left-wing movement started to further empower its structures with the creation of left-wing associations all over the island. It is documented that a plethora of left-wing organizations developed, the largest being the Restorative Organisation of Youth (*'AON'*), channelling their opposing ideological activity (Pavlides, 1999):

> *"Church's priority was to build its own network, which expanded beyond welfare, while left-wing political forces intensified the mobilization and organisation of people into associations" (Interview, 6/21-4-2010).*

All these developments had several 'positive' implications for the context of associations on the island. Firstly, the 'uncontrolled' creation of left- and right-wing associations resulted in the sharp increase of diverse associations all over the island, significantly enlarging their spread. Although associations engaged in varied activity with different ideological paths, a strong nucleus of motivated individuals and groups was formed in society, which would unite to struggle for common or diverse causes. This large, albeit fragmented, context supported the island at its transition to democracy. These associations facilitated the further development of associations and early consolidation of a distinct voluntary sector. This spirit and tradition of mobilizing and uniting for common or diverse causes still live, albeit for different causes, connected with the issues and problems of the modern welfare state. Most interviewees agreed that this influenced 'positively' the voluntary landscape.

A contradictory argument saw the roots of the island's division here:

> *"…no one imagined at the time that those divisions, would, in the long-term, prove catastrophic for future generations" (Interview, 10/21-5-2010).*

This one critical voice captures the root of conflicts in society, connecting with the Turkish invasion. These findings should also be understood under the lens of an expanded power relations theory that moves beyond social origins theory's class-based confrontation (Salamon and Anheier, 1998). Firstly, the conflicting anti-colonial ideologies dividing associational life into two camps show struggles to strengthen the structures of each camp to gain power and hegemony in society, while strengthening previous arguments for

rooting divisions in non-materialistic dynamics, including cultural/religious ideologies and political conflicts. The hegemony of collective culture stands out here, rather than hegemony over material and economic interests, reflecting arguments made in the wider literature on culture (Pfau-Effinger, 2005a, 2005b).

The findings should also be understood within the distinct ethnarchic framework, under which the Church of Cyprus exercised political and religious power. Ethnarchy explains why national/political causes were so closely related to the Church-affiliated network of welfare associations, and why they conflicted with segments of society that opposed the ideological stance of the Church. Under the institution of Ethnarchy, linking state with religion, the Church exerted robust influence on society, determining the role of social structures and actors, the pattern of social welfare organization and the dynamics of collective action and social responsibility. The complex interconnection of nationality and religion under harsh regime conditions helped the Church to build a strong ecclesiastical mechanism of grassroots associations and associations all over the island. The conflict between the Church and the colonial regime also explains the hegemonic position of the Church in society. As much as the colonial regime tried to weaken and challenge the Church's ethnarchic position and separate the religious from state affairs, the more the Church tried to empower itself and its structures including church-based associations. It cannot be estimated whether the voluntary sector would have its current form and dominant position in society or thriving collective spirit had this complex web of relations and factors not existed. Although most interviewees expressed the Ethnarchic status of the Church positively, one interviewee argued:

"The Church, through its Ethnarchic status, created an 'emperor like image', where its relationship with its people has been one characterised by the 'ruler' (the church) and the 'slaves' (the Cypriot people)" (Interview, 19/6-9-2010).

The impact of religion and the Church after democracy

Interviewees argued that the Church may have delayed modernization, but these relatively few individuals were overwhelmed by respondents pointing to other more prominent factors such as the history and critical junctures of the island (Interviews, 6/21-4-2010; 7/22-4-2010; 10/21-5-2010). To explore the impact of religion and Church after democracy the following questions, driven mainly by secularisation theory, were applied to the data. *'Did moral sources like philanthropy or the values of the Christian Orthodox religion lose their influence on society after Cyprus' independence?' 'Did the Church continue to have its robust power in the structural welfare arrangements after the establishment of the sovereign state?' 'What was the impact on the development of the voluntary sector?' 'How relevant is secularization theory in the case of Cyprus?'*

Most evidence from democracy onwards reflects similar themes to the colonial period, reflecting path dependency patterns, namely a strong religious culture, the functioning of the Philoptochos movement, albeit in decline, and the hegemony of the Church in various affairs, though under a different regime and circumstances:

"Our cultural and religious identity remain intact since the time of Homer … all those brought up with the Hellenistic and Orthodox religious ideals managed to survive, to re- produce and to re-create…" (Interview, 13/14-6-2010).

> *"Altruism, religiosity and active engagement in the social affairs of the communities were deeply rooted in the consciousness and new life of Cypriots after independence … and never forget that the existing associations established before democracy (most representing the Christian network) and their members were behind nearly all social interventions introduced in the new state ... they identified social needs and persuaded the state to take action" (Interview, 4/24-3-2010).*

On the role of the Church in society, after its political role was secularised and 'handed' to political circles from 1977, the Church has been seen as a strong critical voice on social, economic and political issues, even on governments, extending beyond the boundaries of ecclesiastical and religious affairs:

> *"The Church was so powerful that it 'continued' to act as a semi-state in society" (Interview, 10/21-5-2010).*

The Church's role in society was noted by respondents:

> *"The Church's participation in political and social events and affairs is truly amazing ... the priest has to be present for every traditional/familial event ... there is a conception somehow that the Church and the clergy must be present at every event, activity or national affair ..." (Interview, 19/6-9-2010).*

To gain deeper understanding of the role and influence of religion on the welfare state and the voluntary sector after democracy, the findings are further discussed in the context of the major historical turning points of the post-democratic period to the present day.

After democratization, the new state heavily relied on pre-established welfare networks (voluntary organizations and Philoptochos Movement to address social needs (Interviews; DSWS, 1960:17). This validates previous arguments regarding the immense role of the Church during colonialism in building a strong environment of associations. It also reaffirms how the intense role of the Church in empowering people for common causes, created a strong nucleus of societal groups, able to influence the welfare arrangements of the new sovereign state. These should be understood as relating to the vulnerability of the inexperienced and politically divided regime, discussed in the previous chapter, but also path-dependency. A factor strengthening the role of the Church in the democratic welfare context was its politicization at the new Republic's highest position. The Archbishop of the Church of Cyprus' election as head/president of the new state unavoidably brought the Church closer to politics, rather than restricting it to its religious/spiritual domain. This reaffirms previous arguments on the Church's motives behind the organisation of people into networks during colonisation that would facilitate its hegemony in society after liberation. As data reflect, this was fully accomplished from the eve of democracy until 1977, when the island's presidency was 'handed' to political powers. Hence, the new state's social policies were influenced by the Church's hegemonic role in society, which favoured welfare grassroots and associations, including further strengthening the Philoptochos movement. Interviewees argued that, while secularisation forces such as economic development, sovereignty, international developments, political maturation were in process, the welfare state was built on the principles of religion and philanthropy, while the work of voluntary associations was its backbone.

This context connects with path–dependency, but also with power issues. It could be argued, initially, that the influence of religion on welfare arrangements was an expected outcome, considering the historic institutional role of Church in welfare and the embedding of religiosity and altruistic principles as strong traits to be incorporated into the welfare state building process (Interviews). Evidence shows the intense role the Church retained in welfare after democracy. During the first post-democratic decade, in the 1960s, important welfare institutions and associations were run or supported by the Church, including the Nicosia Greek Orphanage, the OHEN/*'OXEN'*, the hostel for girls run by the Famagusta Social Welfare Foundation, social welfare programmes run by religious bodies in collaboration with voluntary associations (DSWS, 1961; 1962; 1963; 1964; 1965; 1966) and old peoples' homes run by the Philoptochos Brotherhoods (DSWS, 1961:33). In the absence of any state-run institutional care for old or ill persons (DSWS, 1961:28) or other basic social services in the first decade, the Church's affiliated and close networks provided various services for the welfare of children, youth, the elderly, run by voluntary and religious organisations (DSWS, 1965; 1966), a home for the 'incurable' run by the Famagusta Philoptochos Brotherhood, a special school for trainable children run by the Greek Ladies Association and a voluntary organisation, a home for mentally impaired children (DSWS, 1966). Under a weak social insurance scheme the philanthropic, charitable organisations and the philoptochos organisations distributed cash or in-kind assistance to the poor (DSWS, 1961; 1962; 1963; 1964).

Although the state was building its welfare system, the Church and – as will be presented in the following chapter – the family and society's structures remained key actors. One interviewee expressed a critical view:

> *"Why did the Church retain its welfare provision network and even expand it? ... Why didn't it give it to the new sovereign power and support the work of technocrats of the developing welfare state? ... Doesn't this show the desire of the Church to enjoy power in society?" (Interview, 14/16-6-2010)*

This contradictory argument suggests that the Church's power hierarchies retained previous arrangements (philanthropy), not mainly for ideological/religious reasons, but because it helped the Church to retain its hegemony in welfare and society. The Church's strong hegemonic role in society clearly reaffirms the argument that the Church' s goal was to retain its position in socio-political affairs, challenging classical secularization theory's argument that "religion becomes less and less important to society" as modernisation forces take over, and after the "decline of religious practices in modern societies" (Schultz, 2006:171-172). Contrary to theoretical stances, Church hegemony does not solely relate to religious impulses and doctrines and the effort to embed them strongly in society. The Cypriot context suggests a more complex role and motives of the Church in society when such an institution has held a nation-leading role.

Although in the first post-democratic decade no 'bitter' conflicts between Church and state emerged, as in other countries, we may ask whether there were conflicts with the state's new technocrats, with the welfare role of the Church and its religious network 'excluded' from official welfare annual reports? Instead they presented the new collaborative framework then developing between the state, communities and voluntary associations under the Community Development Programme. These welfare

arrangements were funded by the state and there was a strategic effort to build, as discussed earlier, an isomorphic landscape of social services run by voluntary associations. State funding was a strong means to create separate paths of associations, those functioning under philanthropy and others acting as the specialised social policy force, on behalf of the state. Did this signal the first move to impose new ideologies in the organisation of welfare, mainly by bureaucrats, as reaction against the embeddedness of religion/Church in welfare provision? Secularisation forces were strengthening against the dominant Church:

> *"The Church put all its efforts into expanding and supporting its philanthropic structure...obviously to gain more power against the Trade Unions, left-wing political forces in society and other emerging groups (Interview, 6/21-4-2010).*

> *"The director of the Social Welfare Services encouraged the engagement of volunteers in decision making and social policy implementation ... giving them new roles in social programming... this was part of the democratic and modernisation processes that were developing ... as a means to 'overcome' the 'old' Church related welfare arrangements" (Interview, 7/22-4-2010).*

Although various structural forces were strengthening, secularisation was not yet established as a strong force that would alter pre-existing welfare arrangements. Major events would only strengthen the hegemonic role of the Church. The 1974 Turkish invasion, the most critical event after democracy, brings two themes in relation to the Church, one the further delay of secularisation forces, the other the further empowerment of the Church in all affairs. Despite the coup preceding the invasion, to assassinate the leader of the Church and President of the Republic, the Church managed to regroup and play

a central role in the national effort to address the devastating repercussions of the war and support the welfare state and its people in the aftermath and reconstruction period:

> *"... the monasteries became shelters for the people and the Church clergy became the guardians of every family" (Interview, 11/21-5-2010).*

> *"... all the organised networks, welfare associations, Philoptochos associations, ecclesiastical committees and others co-ordinated their efforts for the relief of refugees" (Interview, 9/4-5-2010).*

A strong aid network of a plethora of organizations, mostly Church-based or Church connected, collected and distributed clothes and food. Other organised volunteer groups placed tents giving temporary shelter to the refugees. A culture of giving and helping was evident within informal groups:

> *"Most of us (refugees) left our houses bare-foot ... we found shelter in other villages ... families gave us clothes ... shelter ... food" (Interview, 3/20-3-2010).*

That families not affected by the invasion would give shelter to refugees, up to 50 of them an interviewee recalls (Interview, 16/30-8-2010), reveals the strength and emdeddedness of the Christian Orthodox doctrine, in Cypriot society, despite pre-war socio-economic progress:

> *"Our religion taught us to be good Christians ... and a good Christian had a duty to give and to help" (Interview, 5/31-3-2010).*

The readiness of each individual, family, community and organised network to unite, only days after the invasion, has its roots in the historic trajectory of the Church, which invested in the dissemination and establishment of Christian Orthodox doctrine. This suggests that, despite the critical war outcomes, the death of Archbishop Makarios III and former President of the Republic of Cyprus in 1977, and a new president elected from political circles, the Church's role remained intact. The war strengthened the role of the Church, which had begun to be challenged by pre-war secularization forces, including socio-economic progress. Secondly, it revived religiosity and philanthropy, which had begun to be challenged by the emerging new wave of voluntary associations specialising in specific social policy areas, mainly, in the second post-democratic decade. That religion and the power of the Church did not decline can also be attributed to another important factor, the strong connection between religion/the Church and nationalism, and consequently national and religious identities, which were threatened by the war. These, considering the turbulent climate on the island from the early years of democratisation, have remained strong, as pivotal elements in Cypriot society.

As modernization processes developed significantly after the war reconstruction period, in the late 1980s, including the strengthening political environment and socio-economic progress, new modern concepts and practices, the Church started to lose its hegemonic role in society:

> *"Colonization, poverty and poor conditions and the war created a space for the Church to act ... progress and economic growth caused its decline..." (Interview, 7/22-4-2010).*

> *"After political groups gained more power in society, the Church soon realised that its role in political life could not be as active as during the colonisation period" (Interview, 1/29-10-2009).*

This marked the beginning of a path of secularization. The welfare state started to expand and consolidate its collaboration with voluntary associations. A government employee recalled that:

> *"The state started to realise that the Church could not be the primary actor in welfare ... and that the state could not be absent any more ... this is why the state started to take its welfare role more seriously" (Interview, 20/6-9-2010).*

These developments forced a sharp transformation of the landscape of associations. Church-affiliated networks, including the religious associations and the Philoptochos Movement, progressively lost their dominance, in the late 1980s, with a new wave of specialised and professional associations. These mainly emerged and grew with increased funding mechanisms introduced by the Social Welfare Services of the Ministry of Labour and Social Insurance and other public authorities. This suggests that the funding mechanism formed the new driving force behind the transformation of associations and the weakening of previous political and national related dynamics. Although interdependent relationships developed between the state and the voluntary sector, strong relationships persist between the Church and society's structures. Was funding the only factor? It could be argued that the decline of the power of the Philoptochos Movement may also relate to its failure to adjust to changing socio-economic developments and modernisation, as happened with many associations established during the colonial period:

> *"The Church had a role in the past, through philanthropy, but could not seriously engage in solving contemporary problems" (Interview, 7/22-4-2010).*

Although this reflects the voluntary failure thesis (Salamon, 1987), it could also mark the dominance of new modern concepts, practices, lifestyles and capitalistic forces over traditions of the 'old world', including philanthropy and intense religiosity. It could also be described as a transition phase of the secularisation of the Philoptochos movement and the old ways of practising religiosity, giving way to more modern ways of practising religion rather than a decline in religion as such. The Church:

> *"... was the first to introduce a specialised closed community programme for the treatment and rehabilitation of drug-addicted persons ... at a time when the state was not convinced of the need of such a programme" (Interview, 9/4-5-2010).*

Other interviewees added welfare initiatives of the Church, as founder or supporter of innovative social programmes. This provides an alternative view to a previous account that the Church could not address contemporary social problems. More supportive material on the Church's capability in addressing social needs is explored below.

Despite secularisation forces and the Church's loss of its pre-independence structural power, the Church has been a critical voice in political affairs and a strong economic force in society. Though no religious political movements or "powerful parties of religious defence" developed in Cyprus, as in the USA and Europe (Manow and Kesbergen, 2009:38), the Church engaged seriously 'back stage' and publicly, in politics. No research analysing its

degree of influence in the political system exists, but this research suggests it may be substantial.

Although the Church no longer enjoys a strong network of associations it has retained a fairly strong institutional role in welfare, outside state machinery. This supports more recent research on secularisation theory, the argument that religious practices expand while modernisation does not bring religion's direct decline, as initially assumed. Mandated by its Constitution, the Church engages in almsgiving and funding philanthropic, spiritual and educational institutions, while addressing national needs (Constitution of the Holy Church of Cyprus, 1980 Articles 155, 177). It also creates philanthropic and spiritual foundations: orphanages, homes for the elderly, boarding schools, homes for protecting youth, religious clubs, monitored by internal Church regulations (Constitution of the Holy Church of Cyprus, 1980, Articles, 187, 189), social and cultural institutions (Constitution of the Holy Church of Cyprus, 2010 Articles, 11, 71). Although the philanthropic source of inspiration and philanthropic dimension of structural welfare arrangements have faded recently, the Church continues to exercise its social welfare and philanthropic missions independently, "outside the bureaucratic structure or mainstream control of the welfare state" (Interview, 15/26-7-2010). The Bishops establish charity funds, foundations for the elderly, Philoptochos brotherhoods, Christian Orthodox brotherhoods, charitable institutions and foundations (Holy Metropolis of Kition, 2011; Holy Metropolis of Limassol, 2011; Holy Metropolis of Morphou, 2011; Holy Metropolis of Paphos, 2011). Respondents and documentary sources identified many individuals who still act as philanthropists to support social welfare foundations, programmes or other important social causes.

Recent economic crisis brought the Church and philanthropy to the centre of welfare. Is 'back to Church' philanthropy a likely scenario? In 2012 Cypriot society experienced the repercussions of the global economic crisis, and in 2013 a near-collapse of its banking and services sectors, with serious effects on society:

> *"Dozens of individuals hit by the economic crisis and unemployment turn to the Church to cover their basic everyday needs ... some need money, others food" (Simerini Newspaper, 2011).*

Small soup kitchens, charity, 'social welfare supermarkets', clothes' distribution are among recent welfare initiatives showing the transforming needs of society and revival of philanthropy (Alithia Newspaper, 2013; Sky, 2012; Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, 2013). These recent developments challenge the secularisation processes, building a case that major changes can, under the right constellation of forces, here the critical juncture of economic crisis, reverse secularisation paths and re-establish previous institutions and arrangements.

The Church/religion-voluntary sector relationship: a synthesis of religious, secularisation, power-relations, non-profit regime and path dependency considerations

Despite a period of secularisation, religion remains a major source of values and continues to influence society, social, national and political affairs, while philanthropic social welfare is still a reality in Cyprus, through organised associations and distinctive individual philanthropists. This focused study of religion has provided valuable insight into the Church/religion – voluntary sector relationship. The findings support an argument that religion as institutional structure, cultural/religious and political force, shaped associational life, and

the development and major transformation points of the voluntary sector and the regime/state. Many dimensions discussed here reflect themes of the previous chapter, establishing a preliminary linkage between the findings relating to regime/state and religion. With the lack of comparative study addressing the arguments raised here, including more countries with characteristics like Cyprus, the findings cannot claim uniqueness of religion's decisive role in Cypriot society, which may be seen rather as a distinctive case. The case of the Israeli third sector (Gidron et. al, 2003) and Lebanon (Jawad, 2010) to name just two examples, have also much to offer to current debates about these research questions, considering their intense religiosity and turbulence in their nation-state building processes.

Various theoretical concepts are used to explain the Church's role and relationship with the voluntary sector and its hegemonic persistence in society to the present, showing the limitations of non-profit regime theory to capture fully the Church/religion-voluntary sector relationship. How do the findings here relate to the non-profit regime literature? Non-profit regime studies have followed the regime-society route to understanding voluntary sector development. Studying the Church/religion-voluntary sector relationship is introduced as a new approach here, arguing for added value to non-profit regime analysis. Firstly, the analysis strengthens the argument that the voluntary sector is an offspring of the Christian Orthodox religion. The focused approach, studying the Church-sector relationship, has facilitated the emergence of new factors and dimensions not captured in the traditional state-society analysis. How effective is social origins theory (Salamon and Anheier, 1998) in discussing the relationship between the Church, religion and the voluntary sector's development? Social origins theory treats and conceptualises religion and the Church restrictively, rather than

opening the possibility for diverse dimensions to emerge. The need for diversity is essential, to capture the main themes emerging in this chapter while exploring further our understanding of the dynamics of secularisation, power relations and path dependency approaches.

Religion and doctrine matter

These findings provide strong support for the argument that religion and religious doctrine matter in understanding voluntary associations' development. Non-profit regime literature emphasises power relations among actors, including the Church, to understand the sector's development. Can this approach address all cases? The findings suggest that doctrine matters more than the dominant work in non-profit regime literature has assumed, in understanding the evolution phases of voluntary associations. All that the doctrine posits, to love and care for everyone, to practise and institutionalise philanthropy, to have a Church determined to protect religion and provide welfare for its people, have been strong determinants behind the transformation and growth of associations. Much of the welfare domain is rooted in Christian Orthodox doctrine.

That doctrines matter is acknowledged by various authors, Constantelos' (2004) documenting the Christian Orthodox Religion as a robust pre-condition for the voluntary sector's evolution in Christian Orthodox countries, while Wilensky (1981) long ago argued that different religious cultures give "different textures" to welfare arrangements (Wilensky, 1981 in Baldock (1999:459). Buijs (2003) adds that studying religious traditions is an important tool to explain the different approaches evolving in different states.

Claiming that doctrines matter should not be a free-floating argument, rather located in a historical-institutional context. Analysis

suggests that the strength of a doctrine has been affected by history and country-specific circumstances: hence the doctrines and their impact on the development of associational life should be understood in this context. Karayiannis (2004:2-3) suggests that "the Orthodox Orient did not pursue the same historic-social and ideological course of development as the Western European countries and Churches", an argument supported by most interviewees. The Church of Cyprus as an autocephalous church system, performed, under the institution of ethnarchy, a more intense spiritual, religious, national/political and educational role, acting as a "nation-leading Church" (Karayiannis, 2004:3). The Church of Cyprus has therefore shared strong relationships with society, contrary to western experience, where "the centralized authority of the Pope of Rome was extended to many peoples and nations ... thus, the conscience of a relationship between the church and the nation was not developed" (Karayiannis 2004:3).

The findings clearly challenge the one-dimensional view taken by non-profit regime literature to understand the impact of religion on voluntary sector development. Although supporters of social origins theory have acknowledged the significance of "religious impulses" (Salamon, Sokolowski and List (2003:1) or altruism behind volunteering (Anheier and Salamon, 1999), such dimensions have not been incorporated in non-profit regime typologies. A notable exception is Salamon and Anheier (1997), who assessed religious doctrines, classifying countries into non-profit regimes, albeit in the third world with its different experiences. Non-profit regime typologies could therefore be informed by the findings here, together with work such as Buijs' (2003:12) argument for the need to explore "the inspirational sources" linked to different religions in understanding welfare arrangements and voluntary sectors. Insight can be drawn from

Manow and Kersberger (2009) who have developed a similar position: they challenge the power resource approach based on the relationship of state, working-class and elite mobilizations (labour-capital struggles) in understanding the histories of welfare states and their development. Berger's (2006) argument for more qualitative research to understand links between religious affiliation and philanthropy/associational life is also important, strengthening the thesis' argument for more qualitative data in non-profit regime studies. Insight from comparative work linking social welfare models (liberal, social democratic, corporative and conservative and Southern Europe models) with various ecclesiastical traditions (Institute for Diaconal and Social Studies, 2006) can also be valuable. More comparative studies can provide diverse reflections on the perspectives of other religions and denominations in relation to the research question, bringing more value to the data and arguments. This could develop a stronger theoretical framework and qualitative tools to explore the impact of different religious doctrines on welfare systems and voluntary associations.

Power relations approach and dimensions of inter-relations revisited? Exploring cultural, national and religious interests

Social origins theory suggests that the voluntary sector's contour is shaped by "inter-relationships" and the "balance of power among social classes, between state and society" (Salamon, Sokolowski, Anheier, 2000). Kabalo (2009:4), in his proposition for a 5th non-profit regime, argues that voluntary sectors can emerge from the "inter-relations between society and a changing ruling authority". Similar problems emerge here, firstly the strict view of a state-society relationship, secondly the restricted focus of the power relations approach. This section provides a deeper critical perspective for

understanding the limitations of these two recurring problems in relation to the Cyprus case.

The limitation of the state-society relationship in understanding voluntary sector development in contexts where the Church has held a dominant role in society, or acted as a "nation-leading Church" (Karayiannis, 2004:3) is clearly problematic. Firstly, society should not translate as Church. The Church cannot be a hidden element of society, rather a dominant institution that should be understood as enjoying power as a separate welfare and political player, comparable with the state in this case. Secondly, a state-society approach assumes the full functioning of a state. But what about regimes which long lacked a political sovereign centre, and where the Church held a nation-leading and welfare role? The study of the voluntary sector in Cyprus before democratisation should be understood under the lens of a Church-society (including voluntary associations) relationship, where the colonial regime was an influential factor and actor. The findings suggest that the autocephalous status of the Church of Cyprus, its distinctive evolutionary welfare and political role, performing functions, similar to those of a state, with its persisting powerful status in society, could not diminish the Church as a social force influencing the voluntary sector trajectory. These arguments call into question the dominance of the state-society approach, signalling the need for a more dynamic approach and a 'religion-centric' lens to understand voluntary sector development in some nations. This aligns with Haynes' (2006) argument for the need for a state-society-religion analysis in social policy research. Similarly, Wagner (2000), identifies the problem of social origins theory's dependence on the "static dichotomy between government and non-profit service providers", rather than capturing the evolutionary dimensions of more actors.

Manow and Kersbergen (2009:5) argue the need for adding a religious dimension to the traditional class-based/power resource approach, given the Church's institutional role in societies.

The dominance of the class-based power relations approach in exploring non-profit regimes poses a number of theoretical implications for this research, when exploring religion and its impact on voluntary associations. The findings suggest that voluntary sectors do not develop solely out of conflicts between the traditional class actors for hegemony over capital-labour interests, as Western experience suggests: a broader variety of historical circumstances, factors and motives in power relations should be acknowledged, specifically the cultural, national, ideological and spiritual elements embedded in religion. Connecting regime/state related data and the current chapter, the Cyprus case shows that power relations developed: a) between the Church and colonial regime, and under Ethnarchy, where relationships have been marked by conflict and antagonism over political, national/ethnic and cultural issues; b) as an outcome of strong but divisive interrelations between Church and segments of society, which escalated with the organisation of society around the national anti-colonial struggle, based on the complex interaction of social/welfare, economic, religious, political and national motives, especially national identity building; c) out of two types of struggles in the post-democratic period: firstly, bi-communal struggles between Greek and Turkish Cypriots and the war between Cyprus and an invading country (Turkey), rooted again in political, ethnic and religious fronts and geo-political interests; and, secondly, a 'welfare/religious culture' conflict between the established Philoptochos networks and the new force of social-policy/state-funded voluntary associations (and the state) which strove for hegemony in the voluntary landscape of associations,

initiated by secularization forces, diverse ideologies regarding the division of welfare and diverse interests, from cultural beliefs to social, political and economic forces and motives. This context remains unexplored in the important social origins theory (Salamon and Anheier, 1998). Similar critiques are made by Steinberg and Young, (1998), and Wagner, (2000).

Behind all major conflicts common factors emerge: political, national/ethnic (including identity, Hellenism and freedom), cultural and religious. This is not to argue that economic resources did not form a basis for conflict in determining welfare responsibilities, but they did not form motives behind the island's serious conflicts, at least not until new ones emerged with the recent economic crisis.

That the findings call for a theoretical framework accommodating diverse interests does not claim to be a totally new theoretical contribution. Pfau-Effinger (2005a, 2005b) has analysed the division between material interests and cultural values, while the impact on welfare regimes receives generous attention in the literature. Haynes' (2006:2) thesis on religious fundamentalism and position that "class-based analysis on its own [is] no longer a defensible form of political analysis without concern with other, non-materialist issues, including religion" and that religion's link to the nationalist dimension "cannot be explained by economic or class issues alone" provide further support to the argument. While this work relates to welfare regimes, it can, in conjunction with the research findings, inform non-profit regime models, so that the reality of more nations is understood. Some of these concerns have been interestingly addressed in the latest work of Salamon on civil society, which makes, using social origins theory, clearer distinctions between various dimensions of power relations: socio-economic classes, socio-

demographic (including ethnic and religious), state-church-society. These parameters give a wider framework for understanding the "divergent religious and cultural traditions, levels of development, and historical evolution" of more nations (Salamon, 2010:192). Still this renewed thinking has not informed non-profit regime typologies.

The secularisation approach

Secularisation theory arguments have been documented throughout the chapter to explain themes and emerging factors. So how important is secularisation in explaining the persistence of Church actors and the impact on voluntary associations? The Church of Cyprus has been for centuries the centre of welfare, in the absence of a democratic state, becoming the infant state's support mechanism after democratisation (1960). Despite secularisation forces, the Church has had central presence at every historic critical juncture threatening the island, such as authoritarianism, conflict, war, economic capitalism, and the recent economic crisis. Although some respondents argued that the Church may have brought a delay in modernisation, including the transition from philanthropy to social policy based associations, reflecting the traditional defence line of secularisation theory, evidence here suggests that the Church has not remained tied to traditional practices of philanthropy and altruism. So, the classical view of secularisation theory, developed by Weber and Durkheim, arguing for a declining role of the Church in society after modernisation, does not reflect Cyprus' case. This has many roots. Although society may no longer fully adopt earlier religious practices, it retains a strong relationship with the Church, turning to the Church when everything else seems to fail. This has roots in history, when the Church was the only institution to which people could turn for assistance. Other conditions have contributed to the hegemonic position of Church in society, thus challenging the

strength of secularisation theory, including: the specific ethnarchic status the Church enjoyed, which also relates to power issues, the peculiar state building process and critical junctures, which have delayed modernisation and strengthened the Church's role and the strong embeddedness of religious values.

Other causes for the hegemony of Church stem from its 'strategic' decision to supply religious welfare institutions to the people. This, according to secularisation theory (Norris and Inglehart, 2004), economic theory (James, 1987) and resource mobilisation theory (Sherkat and Ellisson, 1999:369) explains the strength of religion and participation in associations.

Another factor has been the constant insecurity, vulnerability and continuous threat to identity and rights experienced in Cyprus. This can be explained by non-classical secularisation theory, which suggests that security and vulnerability levels dictate religiosity levels (Norris and Inglehart, 2004). Vulnerability, in Cyprus' case, increased religious belief and practice, creating strong bonds with the Church, consolidating the persistence of religion at all levels. Some security created after the war, though the national problem has never been resolved, has, in conjunction with secular forces, disempowered the philanthropic movement, yet persistent insecurity on the island has never allowed religion, its authorities and dimensions to disappear. Another argument of non-classical secularisation theory that progress and economic growth can determine the strength of religiosity (Chaves, 1994; Norris and Inglehart, 2004) is also relevant to the Cyprus case. When the state assumed more responsibilities in welfare (chapter 5), during the governmental third year development plan (1972-1976) and in 1990 with the adoption of a 10-year social development programme, the volunteering landscape

witnessed major transformations in the voluntary sector structures, with the building of an isomorphic context of voluntary associations across the island. All these arguments align closely with Wagner's (2008) position that the persistence of religious values does not fade with secularisation.

Revisiting the dimensions of path dependency in understanding welfare arrangement transformations

The importance of considering and analysing values over material interests, is key to understanding important influences on the voluntary sector's development, including religion, religious doctrines and non-material power relations. This section discusses the importance of acknowledging the material-cultural divide in understanding transformations and path dependency. Key questions have been asked here. *'Why have strong philanthropic culture and structures endured and reproduced after transition to democracy?' 'How has this 'reproduction' influenced the development of the voluntary sector?' 'Why has change, with the creation of a new environment of social-policy based voluntary associations, not broken the philanthropic pillar of the voluntary sector?'*

Although social origins theory (Salamon and Anheier, 1998) rests on path-dependence assumptions to explain non-profit regimes, it does not provide the tools to explore path-dependency as concept and process, or under a wider non-material lens. Insight is therefore drawn from the welfare regime literature. While power relations, religion/doctrine and secularisation considerations have provided a basis for discussing the findings, it is argued that the main themes of the chapter cannot be fully analysed without exploring path-dependence.

According to Norris and Inglehart (2004:15), "predominant religious cultures ... can be path dependent ... reflecting the legacies of past centuries", despite modernisation. The evidence here strongly aligns with this position. After democratisation, philanthropy, as collective welfare activity to achieve common causes, remained a strong cultural element of Cypriot society; it formed a unitary shared culture. Cultural values of social responsibility, solidarity and altruism, institutionalised philanthropic-based voluntary structures, directed choices and action in welfare provision, hence were reproduced in post-democratic welfare arrangements, reflecting a path dependence process. Why has a path-dependence process emerged? At critical periods post-democratisation the philanthropic cultural values and philanthropic-based associations formed strong deposits that helped the welfare state to grow and re-build, and the people to cope with the outcomes of the bi-communal struggles and the invasion. Philanthropic associations yielded such increasing 'returns' (material and non-material), that any other decision, for example to build a new welfare service provision mechanism, would bring a change beyond the capacity of the state at that time. These philanthropic cultural and religious values reflect the persistence of non-material dimensions. Pfau-Effinger's insight on culture, path dependency and welfare regimes, provides a basis to explore the argument:

> *"There also exists other types of path dependence when culture is considered ... welfare state policy has a special mutual relationship ... [not only] ... with key institutions of society, with structural dimensions, and with the actions of social actors [but also] with the cultural dimension" (Pfau-Effinger 2005a: 5).*

The chapter argued for the decisive role of cultural values, which never disappeared or declined, after secularisation forces became stronger. How is path-dependency involved? Philanthropic culture guided welfare arrangements, while other critical events and factors suppressed secularization. When the state dictated new welfare arrangements, funding social policy-based voluntary associations, philanthropic associations weakened. This should be understood in conjunction with regime conditions that became less critical. Despite weakening, the impact of philanthropic culture persisted and the old environment of philanthropic associations, though in decline, continued to operate in society. How can two different welfare arrangements persist simultaneously? That philanthropy enjoyed continuing legitimacy in society can be explained by previous arguments, mainly: a religious culture, strengthened under vulnerable and turbulent conditions; power relations rooted in religion, including cultural, national, ideological and spiritual elements; and the legacy of Ethnarchy. Following Pfau-Effinger's (2005) position, this phenomenon is described as a strong shared culture, or "static power", strong enough to interact with social actors, institutions, and social structures in the "reproduction of welfare arrangements" (Pfau-Effinger, 2005a:5-6). This provides a framework to 'wrap' together all the arguments made so far. Although, therefore, interacting factors, in particular secularisation forces, pushed the state to move away from the old/traditional welfare philanthropic arrangements, parallel 'static' cultural powers reproduced and maintained the philanthropic environment of cultural values and institutions, bringing balance between philanthropic and social-policy based voluntary associations.

The discussion so far suggests that the study of cultural, non-materialistic elements, in the context of path-dependency, provides

a stronger explanatory framework to acknowledge "static powers" and their influence on the voluntary sector's development. To strengthen the analytical potential of these dimensions, more explanatory tools in non-profit sector research need to be developed, to explore distinctions between institutional welfare arrangements (associations) and cultural welfare arrangements (social responsibility, social values, philanthropy, altruism) under the lens of path-dependency.

Conclusion

The research's qualitative route facilitated exploration of deeper meanings in relation to religion that emerge as having an impact on the research question. Analyzing the impact of religion on voluntary sector development, by studying the religion-voluntary sector relationship, has shown three dimensions of religion as important to the research question: institutional/structural, cultural/spiritual and political, each exerting different influences on voluntary associations. These might have been missed had religion been explored as part of the traditional state and regime analysis, a dominant approach in non-profit regime theory.

The chapter's main argument has been that religion as an institutional structure, a cultural and a political force, shaped associational life, with profound impact in shaping the voluntary sector's development and major transformation points, but also the regime/state. New themes that emerged as sub-dimensions to the argument, hardly addressed in non-profit regime theory, are the complex interaction of the intense culture of religion as an outcome of authoritarianism, vulnerability, social and political struggles, based

on self-determination, nationalism/ethnicity and identity pursuits, and the legacy of Ethnarchy.

Beyond the profound role of religion, well documented in the literature, Christian Orthodox doctrine emerges as a new factor in understanding voluntary sector development. Doctrines should form a new element of analysis in non-profit regime theory, to facilitate study of the impacts of different religious doctrines on welfare systems and voluntary associations. That doctrines matter should not be a free-floating argument, rather located in a historical-institutional context. Analysis suggests that the strength of doctrine can be dictated by history and country-regime specific circumstances and the development of associational life should be understood in this context. Maintaining, for example, national/ethnic identity, a vital pursuit of every Cypriot, was achieved, under stateless conditions, largely through associational life. The findings therefore challenge the approach to studying the Church's role, based solely on the power resources approach, as usually posited in non-profit regime theory, without acknowledging the impact of religious doctrines in shaping identities and the trajectory of associations. The chapter, furthermore, argues for more comparative studies, to provide more and diverse perspectives on other religions and denominations in relation to the research question.

The Church's institutional trajectories, as welfare provider and co-ordinator, have been identified as important factors behind the institutionalisation of associational life, and, consequently, of the structural evolution and growth of voluntary associations in Cyprus. This suggests that religious ideology about the institutionalization of collective welfare matters, in understanding the development of associations, but also the stance of the Church, in institutionalizing its

welfare provision, while supporting the institutionalization of other forms of welfare provision (voluntary welfare) by society. Furthermore, two explanations emerged behind the institutionalization concept, a pure welfare motive, on behalf of the Church, or pursuit of power in society. Using the foundations of collective power theory, the chapter developed a framework to explain how the Church, empowered by its special Ethnarchic status, which 'assigned' it responsibility for safeguarding welfare, ethnic and national identity, and the right to self-determination, extended its anti-colonial mission to the grass-roots, by organising welfare and other associations along ethnic lines. No clear evidence was provided whether the Church's welfare provision system extended equally between Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities. Such data could therefore become the focus of future research.

The Church's persistent hegemony after democracy argues for important underlying factors: power relations, the legacy of Ethnarchy, and the peculiar building process of the sovereign state. Under the lens of secularisation theory, the findings suggest how studying the Church's role, under the critical junctures of the particular context, can reflect important themes relating to the delay of secularisation forces caused by socio-political struggles and further empowerment of 'old world' actors (such as the Church) which are supposed to decline with modernisation processes.

Another theoretical position taken here is to challenge the power relations approach, as used in social origins theory, because it cannot capture underlying factors behind the Church's role, specifically non-material factors such as cultural, national/ethnic and peculiar status arrangements, including the Ethnarchic legacy and a nation-leading Church, acting under stateless, and to some extent,

sovereign conditions. As these factors have underpinned most arguments, the chapter provides a context for understanding how power relationships develop, using an extended framework that moves beyond the class-based approach where: a) a nation-leading Church is in conflict with a non-sovereign/authoritarian ruler, over political, national/ethnic and cultural issues; b) develops dividing relationships with segments of society, based on its complex mission (social, religious, political/national); c) has a strong role in the bi-communal struggles in society and the conflicts between the state and an invading country, but also cultural struggles between the old world of associations and modern associations.

Last, but not least, the chapter has used path-dependence for understanding the full potential of the data, an element missing from the dominant non-profit regime theory. The study of religion as a cultural, non-materialistic element, in the context of path-dependency, has provided a renewed framework to acknowledge the persistence of religion, challenging secularisation theory, but also the limited and restricted use of path dependency to understand voluntary sectors. This new framework, based on current assumptions in welfare regime literature, suggests that cultural powers can be 'static', reproduce and maintain a philanthropic environment of cultural values and institutions.

Chapter 6

Society and the voluntary sector:
The impact of the Cypriot society (family, community and gender perspectives) and other societal dynamics on the voluntary sector's development

Introduction

The chapter applies a society-centred approach exploring how key societal spheres such as families, communities, and gender can further contribute to our understanding of the voluntary sector's development in Cyprus. It is argued that the analysis of society and its relation to the voluntary sector gives insight into dimensions of society not easily captured through the state-society or state-voluntary sector approach that dominates non-profit regime studies.

The study of the society-voluntary sector relationship is important because societal spheres have formed the back-bone of informal and collective communal mobilization and welfare provision, the resources for creating voluntary networks, and should have a place in studying voluntary sector trajectories. The themes are discussed under the complex interaction of socio-political conditions and processes that have shaped the characteristics of society's spheres and their level of influence on the voluntary sector's development.

The separate development of Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities on the island, mainly after the Turkish Invasion in 1974 "makes a separate analysis of civil society in each community necessary" (Civicus, 2005:110). Therefore, but also for reasons relating to the research design, data collection and analysis have focused on the Greek Cypriot community, albeit with some

reference to Turkish Cypriot perspectives as means to facilitate argumentation or note areas for future research.

The main problem that emerged in understanding the findings has been the lack of a comprehensive theoretical context that could reflect all emerging dimensions. Although the family's role stands out in the continental non-profit regime model (Salamon and Anheier, 1998), the theory does not provide tools to explore family and community patterns or other dimensions such as social capital, values, solidarity, and how these influence voluntary sector trajectories. The non-profit classification also misses gender and gender roles, patriarchal models and the role of other social groups in understanding voluntary sector development. Another emerging dimension is time and evolution, which should be central to data collection and analysis, as they provide insight not captured by the static approaches mostly used in non-profit regime research.

The main question posed to the data was *'How, and under what conditions, can societal spheres contribute to our understanding of the voluntary sector's development?'* Various sub-questions were also posed to the data as part of the process of analysis. Data reflect overwhelming support for the contributions of families, communities and women, shared unanimously by all interviewees regardless of gender. This wide support by all interviewees strengthens assertions on women's contribution in voluntary sector development. The chapter is hence structured under these two main themes that emerged as having explanatory power for the research question: families/communities and gender perspectives. To gain more-insight into the themes, a dynamic rather than a static approach has been applied, to trace the evolution of society's spheres and interrelations, under the lens of, mainly, social capital,

collective action, non-profit regime and gender theory. As in other chapters, interview quotations used in the chapter, selected on the basis of their strength and representatives, aim to reflect various themes and arguments that emerged in the research process, with the gender of respondents noted in responses about gender.

Societal synergies to understand voluntary sector development

The family and community perspective under colonialism in understanding the voluntary sector

Family and community perspectives are discussed first. Culture, religion and regime have been identified as key interacting factors with the welfare role of families and communities. Interviewees argued that, under lengthy authoritarian conditions and weak welfare regimes, the family in Cyprus performed a paramount role in welfare provision:

> *"The British colonial administration did not care for the welfare of the people ... the economic situation was really bad ... families undertook a significant welfare role" (Interview: 11/21-5-2010)*

> *"I still remember ... the families, the neighbourhood, the schools, the Church and the communities all involved in welfare provision" (Interview, 4/23-3-2010).*

> *"Welfare was in the hands of families, communities and the Church" (Interview, 2/15-3-2010).*

> *"In the absence of a welfare state, informal welfare networks took action to address social needs and remedy welfare gaps" (Interview, 4/23-3-2010).*

Families' and communities' roles as welfare providers have been traditionally so decisive that they could be characterised as the strongest informal welfare spheres. The Cypriot family, having no significant differences from the standard Mediterranean family (Gal 2010) and other southern regime proponents (Ferrera, 1996; Flaquer, 2000; Moreno, 1998; 2000), has been the source of solidarity, the unit promoting strong welfare relations and foundation upon which the welfare state was built:

> *"Cypriot families are similar in the Mediterranean countries" (Interview, 2/15-3-2010)*

> *"... this common welfare effort of people is a Mediterranean phenomenon" (Interview, 14/16-6-10).*

Such arguments apply, according to Mehmet and Mehmet (2003) to the traditional Turkish Cypriot family also, acting as "a close, cohesive unit typically generating net positive social capital". Families' and communities' historical responsibility in welfare provision and their influence in voluntary sector development is not a new theme, but well documented in the literature (Abzug, 1999; Defourny and Pestoff, 2008; Portes and Zhou 1992; Wilson, 2000). Cyprus, and other countries, can illustrate different experiences and factors that may contribute to further understanding their contribution in voluntary associations' developmental patterns.

What patterns emerged in respondents' accounts of Cypriot families that are relevant to the research? How was a culture of shared values and informal welfare provision among families built? An interviewee stressed: "families transmitted many great values, norms and practices through the generations" (Interview, 2/15-3-2010). The older members of the family (parents and grandparents) invested in 'building characters' based on religious values, cultivating high levels of social responsibility within the family unit and the extended family structure. To befriend the poor and society's vulnerable groups and to have a 'collective' welfare obligation were acts deeply practised by family units, from which stable patterns of self-development based on altruism, philanthropy and solidarity developed (Interviews). Interviewees also recalled many other positive values and experiences from their surrounding environment that influenced their later engagement in informal welfare activities and voluntary networks:

> *"I was taught the steps of volunteering at a time when there was philanthropy and compassion for the stranger and the neighbour ... my parents wanted me to appreciate what God gave to our family ... from them I learned what it means to give to anyone who was in need" (Interview, 2/15-3-2010).*

> *"Giving shelter to relatives and strangers was an informal act of philanthropy practised by most families" (Interview, 4/23-3-2010).*

> *"My father was a grocer ... I remember him filling bags of rice and sugar to give to the poor" (Interview, 2/15-3-2010).*

> *"When the head of the family died, all the neighbours would take care of the family members and the orphans" (Interview, 15/26-7-2010).*

"We would eat less in order to give to another poor family ... we had to unite and protect ourselves and help each other in order to survive..." (Interview, 20/6-9-2010).

"All friends and relatives would help to build a house ... it could take 3-5 years ... this special type of bonding and common effort in all social events and activities is a strong Mediterranean element ... I have also seen this in India and Central Africa but not in western countries" (Interview, 14/16-6-2010).

"No one was obliged to give or help the neighbour, the friend, even the stranger ... it all came down to the social responsibility norm, an inner force that stemmed from each individual" (Interview, 16/30-8-2010).

What are the roots of this solidarity, altruism and philanthropy practised by families and neighbourhoods? Regime-related factors, religious/cultural influences, the small island factor and social capital dynamics are key here. On colonial regime conditions, interviewees argued:

"Poor economic and social conditions 'mobilized' communities and individuals to engage in welfare ... hardship forced families to constantly utilize social capital and engage in social networking and acts of solidarity" (Interview, 2/15-3-2010).

"The absence of a state and consequently an organised welfare state did not give any other options to the neighbourhoods and the communities ... They had to mobilize in order to address welfare needs" (Interview, 4/24-3-2010).

Strong levels of solidarity, and shared values towards communal mobilization to achieve collective welfare objectives, relate to the harsh socio-economic conditions imposed by successive authoritarian regimes, and critical historic turning points of the island (conflicts and war). This harsh and turbulent context equipped families with the capacity to utilize their own resources, energies and cultural/religious resources, to achieve welfare for the family or the community at large:

> *"It was very difficult for Cypriots to earn their living ... hardship, though, brought people closer and built strong relationships" (Interview, 4/23-3-2010)*

> *"... the neighbourhood promoted philanthropy ... the community maintained close ties, in comparison with other countries ... strong social ties are part of our culture and have been formed by the special conditions on the island" (Interview, 17/30-8-2010).*

> *"Families had to help each other. They had to do their best to survive. If a family needed help, the family asked for help from their neighbour family, the priest. In the villages you could see how close people were to each other. There was so much communication and solidarity. People helped each other to survive. There was no homeless or abandoned child. The villages were characterized by close ties." (Interview, 3/20-3-2010).*

The strong relationship between family norms, informal and collective welfare practices also relates to the strong influence of religious doctrine and historically strong bonds between society and Church:

> *"The priest had an important role in the communities ... the priest affected the behaviour, the feelings and acts of people ... and following religious preaching on philanthropy a poor family would help another poor family" (Interview, 20/6-9-2010).*

Religious values strengthened the family's capacity for primary responsibility in welfare provision and to contribute to establishing shared values and norms in relation to collective welfare activities in both informal and organised ways.

The small island factor also, according to the interviewees, contributed to building these positive patterns and characteristics: "our small size helped us to develop close social ties ... shared values ... and mission" (Interview, 9/4-5-2010). As argued in a previous chapter, the island's small size has facilitated social and inter-personal relations, social networking, and mobilization, which, in turn, impacted positively on empowerment, the building of formal and informal welfare provision and arrangements, while producing high levels of trust, strengthening welfare relations, cultural and religious values (Interviews).

Families and communities emerge as major sources of social capital. Social capital, expressed by norms of mutual help, based on kinship and strong community ties, philanthropy and altruism, has been a strong persisting pattern in society, with positive impact on collective welfare mobilization and the development of voluntary associations:

> *"I remember families would take care of their members, other families and the neighbourhood. Villages were close community structures marked by close ties and a high degree of solidarity" (Interview, 17/30-8-2010).*

How can the extensive welfare role of the family contribute to the analysis of factors that shaped the trajectory of the voluntary sector? How has the interaction of regime, religion and other social dynamics contributed to the development of voluntary associations?

> *"The roots of the voluntary sector relate to the stamina of individuals and families ... the religious tradition 'of helping anyone in need' and cultural values" (Interview, 2/15-3-2010).*

The findings clearly identify the family as society's primary sphere, which acted as a strong source for transmitting and establishing norms, values and practices, conducive to collective welfare, mobilization and consequently voluntary networking, particularly during colonialism:

> *"A large amount of philanthropic activity developed in the neighbourhoods and communities ... involving informal acts of solidarity and mutual aid to address needs" (Interview, 4/23-3-2010).*

Welfare provision was not restricted to the family but extended beyond the family nucleus, as stressed by most interviewees:

> *"There was no state and no social security ... it was a norm of society to 'give' and to engage in welfare provision for 'anyone in need' ... this, I think, was the basis for the development of more organised welfare activities" (Interview, 18/1-9-2010).*

This cyclical mutual aid among family members and between families had a number of positive outcomes in developing the voluntary sector during colonialism. It built an inherited practice of mobilization and networking which, in turn, led to the creation of

solidaristic and caring communities. The high levels of reciprocity, trust and solidarity and strong social relations that developed formed large stocks of social capital which laid strong foundations for the creation of voluntary organisations:

> *"If you consider the numbers that were receiving help through the networks of relatives or neighbourhood/community networks, you can imagine the stock of social capital, the level of social activity and the large numbers of socially responsible individuals that grew in every community ... there were nuclei of volunteers everywhere" (Interview, 15/26-7-2010).*

Many respondents supported this argument: this, in turn, stimulated individuals to engage in more organised forms of social welfare relations, based on a shared context of 'learned norms and behaviours'. These accounted for the high levels of mobilization and formation of associations, most of which exist to the present day.

The traditional Cypriot community has also been a distinct sphere that served, according to the interviewees, different purposes beyond dividing the island into its various geographical parts. The Cypriot community was a vibrant and dynamic structural sphere that brought together the strong web of welfare relations, with norms and practices developed in family units and neighbourhoods. It was a sphere that gave a sense of belonging and basis for organising welfare in different geographical boundaries:

> *"In the absence of comprehensive welfare, communities and villages bonded to survive ... there was no other option but for people to help each other" (Interview, 14/16-6-2010)*

"... they [communities] also organised in order to help themselves" (Interview, 13/14-6-2010).

Marked by similar dynamics to those described earlier, high levels of solidarity, were an outcome of regime-related factors and religious and cultural influences, the communities forming a strong source of collective welfare, communal mobilization and the backbone of the future state's welfare provision mechanism.

How can these generalised arguments help us gain more insight into the community's role in the developmental patterns of the voluntary sector? Which community forces and dynamics emerge? The distinctive dynamics of strong relations and community solidarity, under harsh conditions, with the Church's strong support, form key factors in understanding collective welfare practice, the mobilization of community members and creation of community voluntary associations:

"As far as I remember, community members mobilized by the initiative of the Church and established the first Philoptochoi" (Interview, 2/15-3-2010)

"There were no organised public structures that could provide social protection ... welfare was addressed by communities" (Interview, 11/21-5-2010)

"Communities and neighbourhoods were small ... strong ties were established ... the needs of people could be identified and addressed..." (Interview, 2/15-3-2010).

"Much of this community mobilization was attributed to the regime ... we had to mobilize ... the British did not introduce community development as in the other colonies" (Interview, 10/4-5-2010).

Contradictory arguments also emerged:

"I remember Governor x, was president of the Antileukemia Association.... there was an interest by the British in the welfare of the people ... which supported welfare initiatives ... of course it was not enough, but we should acknowledge their involvement" (Interview, 13/14-6-2010).

"Important social legislation was enacted by the British to address social issues, never addressed before ... this was important for the work of associations" (Interview, 4/23-3-2010).

"Governor x created the Deaf School at Morfou area ... thus introducing ... more innovative ways to address specific problems" (Interview, 6/21-4-2010).

Although most respondents did not deny the contribution of social legislation, development projects and welfare initiatives on the island, most argued that "it was not enough" and that welfare was in the hands of families, communities and the Church. Welfare initiatives, most of the time, were means to 'calm' groups and their demands for better socio-economic conditions and self-determination, especially before the anti-colonial struggle (Interviews, 17/30-8-2010; 18/1-9-2010; 19/6-9-2010). Contradictory quotations reinforce arguments raised in the previous chapter for 'weak' welfare arrangements by the colonial regime.

Dividing lines, mentioned earlier are key to understanding welfare actors' trajectories. Cypriot society has long been characterised by its embedded heterogeneous elements. Understanding, therefore, community-related dividing lines during colonialism is important in understanding voluntary associations' development. There was no clear evidence from the interviews whether solidarity developed as strongly between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities as within the Greek-Cypriot community. During colonialism the main division was between society and the British colonial authority. This resulted in the creation of welfare-based associations, which then transformed into multi-purpose associations serving welfare, national, ethnic and political goals:

> *"... as long as voluntary organisations were not involved in political affairs, the ruling authority left philanthropic groups to act freely to achieve their purposes ... but when they engaged in national-related missions ... then things changed ... I still remember the conflict ... I was a lawyer and met and knew very well General x [of the British administration] ... there was no concern for society's welfare ... his priority was to diminish all anti-colonial demands and stop the struggle of EOKA" (Interview, 1/29-10-2009).*

Major dividing lines developed between Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities, which, from democracy to the present, have engaged in intensive power struggles around national, political, religious and, to a lesser extent, economic issues (Interviews). This progressively marked separate community development, with the growth (after the Turkish invasion) of two separate voluntary sectors. Power struggles and dividing ideologies were at the heart of the Greek Cypriot community also. During colonialism, the Greek Cypriot camp was divided into those whose ideology supported Union with

Greece, and left-wing parties supporting Cyprus' independence and co-operation with Turkish Cypriots. Again, this internal dividing line pushed voluntary associations into associating with either right- or left-wing ideological camps:

> *"Our strong national ideals helped us [our association] work hard and with enthusiasm to address the welfare needs of our communities and societies, but also work for the national cause [Enosis with Greece] (Interview, 9/4-5-2010)*

> *"The Church engaged heavily in politics ... its priority was to mobilize and create a supporting network with a shared ideology to work against the left-wing political forces and associations and the British colony ... The Church's powerful ally was the Philoptochos movement, which became strong in society..." (Interview, 6/21-4-2010).*

This conflict resulted in the creation of a large landscape of associations, striving to strengthen their political cause (right-wing and left-wing) and hegemony in society (Interviews, 4/24-3-2010; 6/21-4-2010; 9/4-5-2010; 18/1-9-2010; 29/5-11-2010).

A contradictory stance marks the 'unity' ideology of all Cypriots, rather than dividing ideologies:

> *"We created a strong structure of trade union associations and other networks that would address the needs of all Cypriots [Greek and Turkish]" (Interview, 6/21-4-2010).*

Although this reflects a different ideology, it reinforces the dominant argument that heterogeneity or shared missions within divided

groups in turbulent societies, count as strong factors behind the large landscape of associations.

The Turkish Cypriot community was itself divided, among those supporting the island's partition, including separation of the two communities, and those supporting the island's independence and collaboration with Greek Cypriots. Without evidence, it can only be assumed that a similar trajectory was shaped as in the Greek Cypriot community. Despite their different evolution, each community promoted strong bonds within their internal structures as means to strengthen their power (DSWS, 1956; 1957; 1958). Associational life, and the organisation of people into networks, was the means to facilitate collective empowerment, promote collective identities and common causes, within each community and its dividing camps.

Another big social group that had a decisive role in shaping the voluntary landscape was young people. Its influence is reflected by its evolutionary trajectory, especially at the critical juncture of the colonial struggles of the island:

> *"During 1950-1959, I was a member of EOKA, I was 15 years old ...most of us were young! ... we would distribute money to the families of the EOKA fighters" (Interview, 4-23-3-2010).*

Youth in Cyprus, in the persistent authoritarian context, grew up under very distinctive circumstances, hence their high level of maturation and stance in relation to national ideals and religious tradition. Their development was influenced by the island's intense struggles and youth's mobilization and organisation into associations that served social, religious, national and political ends. During colonialism, the building of youth character was unavoidably

influenced by national conditions and the strong embeddedness of religion and culture in society:

> *"When I went to summer camps ... all our activities revolved around the idea of liberating our island ... we were taught to have a welfare mission … but that it was also our responsibility to be active members of society during the island's forthcoming anti-colonial struggle" (Interview, 4/23-3-2010).*

Summer camps and other organised events helped the development and maturation of young people, waiting to take action for their country (Interviews, 9/4-5-2010; 13/14-6-2010). All these stimuli acted powerfully on young people's consciousness and personal development for collective welfare and associational life:

> *"...we would carry guns, throw bombs, fight for our freedom and struggle for the welfare of our people ... at the same time we engaged in welfare activities to support the population during the difficult years of the anti-colonial struggle" (Interview, 4/23-3-2010).*

> *"Young women would carry weapons in their school bags" (Interview, 2/15-3-2010).*

Young people grew up, guided by strict disciplines revolving around national ideals and the collective good. The youth of Cyprus have been characterised by their determination, courage and skills:

> *"...young men and women were involved in one way or another in the anti-colonial struggle ... many left their houses" (Interview, 2/15-3-2010).*

> *"In that period age did not matter ... we were all young, 10 or 15 years old, but quite mature ... we were ready to die for our country and serve its people ... I was not afraid of being captured or tortured ... and despite colonial measures that prohibited freedom of movement [a curfew] I was helping community members ..." (Interview, 4/23-3-2010).*

The youth of Cyprus have been "an illuminative example of heroism, self-sacrifice and national glory ... youth activity has been recorded in Cypriot history, which the whole Greek ethnos (nation) should remember with pride" (General Grivas, In Varnavas, 2000). This is also reflected in a famous quote from a letter written by a young fighter, before his death: "You need to read and study Christian/religious books because you will extract power to handle difficult times" (Patatsos I. Letter 8/8/1956, in Varnavas, 2000).

How can this youth profile, the empowerment and evolution of youth, contribute to explaining the volunteering landscape's development? The initial preparation for the anti-colonial struggle involved the organisation of youth in associations and their active engagement in the struggle. The ideological divide on the national issue, which divided the associational landscape into two opposing left and right-wing camps, was heavily supported by the island's youth. Again, under turbulent conditions, the strong interconnection between religious and national ideals created masses of active and dedicated young people, ready to engage in struggles for their country's freedom. This huge mobilisation organised the mass of the young population into associations, forming new patterns in the structures of the voluntary sector. Youth members composed a large percentage of most associations, athletic, cultural, educational, ethnic-related clubs and welfare associations, religious networks

(THOI/*'ΘΟΙ'*, the OHEN/*'ΟΧΕΝ')*, the PEON/*'ΠΕΟΝ'*, the Restorative Organisation of Youth (*'ΑΟΝ'*) (Holy Archbishopric of Cyprus, Files Γ; ΟΒ).

Families and communities after democracy

Can we argue that the residual character of the post-democratic welfare state has been an outcome of the strong welfare role, capacities, energies and solidarity of the family and community spheres? Any arguments should be analysed against the wider context of influences exerted by the regime and the impact of religion and culture discussed in previous chapters. The urge for social progress, when the island gained its sovereignty, was a shared vision and effort of both communities. The period after democracy brought important changes to society and to the associations' trajectory.

Previous family and community patterns remained strong features of society. Strong social ties continued to characterise families and communities, which remained powerful sources of social capital and collective welfare:

> *"Active engagement in the affairs of communities was deeply rooted in the consciousness of Cypriots" (Interview, 4/23-3-2010).*

> *"...the established organised social networks were empowering their structures [after democracy] ... communities were supportive towards any welfare initiative ..." (Interview, 4/23-3-2010).*

> *"...an increasing number of associations and councils were developed after democracy" (Interview, 2/15-3-2010).*

By the end of the first post-democratic decade, despite social development, Cypriot norms and values remained strong deposits in society:

> *"The family continued to transmit the values of volunteering ... volunteering values would be transmitted to the new generation through practice and example" (Interview, 13/14-6-2010).*

How was collective/organised action shaped?

> *"Communities had a tremendous will to get involved in addressing their social needs ... they generated and utilized new energies to run community programmes … this underlying culture of people coming together for a common cause has made community volunteering materialise in Cyprus" (Interview, 4/23-3-2010).*

This context provided important resources to the development of associations, which flourished after democracy. People wanted to work with the new state to build their welfare system. Is this why the state did not assume more welfare responsibility? An interviewee argued:

> *"... Cypriots have revolted for so many things ... why didn't they demand a comprehensive welfare framework after independence? ...why have they allowed the state to place this huge responsibility [welfare provision] on volunteers? ...surely it was most convenient, so that the state could invest in economic development ..." (Interview, 14/16-6-2010).*

Strong 'forces' worked in this direction. Firstly, the dynamics of a weak regime, political instability, vulnerability and path-dependency, discussed in previous chapters, retained the family and

communities as the most important sources for social protection, where the extended family played an important role. It is assumed that voluntary associations are created to meet demand for social services not satisfied or provided by other sectors, the state or the market (Hansmann, 1987; Weisbrod, 1988). Secondly, the state introduced community development initiatives as early as the first post-democratic decade, 'leading' communities to undertake welfare provision roles at a local level:

> *"We [social workers] did capacity building in communities, we taught them how to work in groups, how to think more strategically, how to identify social problems in the community, how to mobilize resources to address problems ... then social services [ran by communities] spread all over the island ... this was the mission of Community Service at the Social Welfare Services ... to develop communities to address new forms of service provision ... this opened the way to voluntary associations to cover various social policy areas ..." (Interview, 20/6-9-2010).*

This explains why society's spheres formed the backbone of the welfare state through the state's Community Development Programme (the milestone arrangement in the growth and diversification of voluntary associations which contributed to the strengthening of the volunteering landscape especially after the invasion) (DSWS, 1966:25; Interviews). Thirdly, society's positive response, and its high stocks of social capital, 'consolidated' the larger domain of social service provision as a responsibility of communities and volunteers, resulting in the flourishing of voluntary–based social services everywhere. Fourthly, it has been an outcome of society's high levels of maturity to support the infant state in welfare provision. Which other dynamics emerged?

> *"Our history, religion and national identity, social solidarity and altruism have been strong elements behind welfare developments" (Interview, 11/21-5-2010).*

Post-democratic economic growth and the evolution of the first nucleus of social workers in Cyprus also contributed to the way society's spheres and voluntary associations developed (Interview, 4/23-3-2010).

Interviewees argued for a stronger role for the state:

> *"...the state should have a larger role in welfare ... and should not 'hide' behind the volunteers ... it should take its responsibility for the welfare of its people" (Interview, 11/21-5-2010)*

> *"This is why we never built a proper welfare state ... social/welfare issues that should be addressed by the state, 'became' the responsibility of volunteers" (Interview, 14/16-6-2010).*

The 1974 Turkish invasion created a fundamental schism between and within both communities. Though the main Turkish perspective was to protect the Turkish Cypriot population following the 1963 bi-communal struggles, and long-standing conflicts between the two communities, it brought serious disturbance and trauma to both communities. It broke the close ties of society's vital spheres, families, neighbourhoods and communities:

> *"...family, neighbourhood, community solidarity 'broke' very rapidly in 1974 with the Turkish invasion and the displacement of a large percentage of the population as refugees" (Interview, 4/23-3-2010).*

It also brought a sharp transformation of the welfare structures, with the breakdown of more than 153 communities (50% of the community structure) (DSWS, 1975:iv) and mass transfer of displaced refugees to new territories (DSWS, 1978a; DSWS, 1975). How has this development affected society's evolution and the trajectory of associations? Despite the overall trauma, families survived because of the high stocks of social capital, with the supporting network created by many groups not directly affected by the invasion:

> *"There was absolute chaos … chaos ... we were trapped in the village … the nearby community gave us bread and canned food, clothes ... families gave us shelter and emotional support" (Interview, 3/20-3-2010).*

> *"We [volunteers] did miracles ... it was amazing how many things we accomplished back then to relieve the refugees after the invasion" (Interview, 5/31-3-2010).*

This reflects the influence of social capital and the powerful impact of values on the mobilisation of social groups at times of crisis. Beyond informal welfare, insight into organised welfare activity is provided by respondents:

> *"A Co-ordinating Committee of Women's Associations was soon formed after the invasion ... it collected clothes and food, the women (most being refugees themselves) and cooked to feed other refugees" (Interview, 13/14-6-2010).*

> *"The rapid displacement of the refugees caused great misery and problems. Priorities changed. The refugees, despite their suffering, engaged themselves in volunteer work to support all efforts towards the relief of the population. Each and every one of us, either as an*

individual or a member of an organised network contributed to the re-building of our society and re-organisation of our communities after the invasion" (Interview, 4/24-3-2010).

Did the invasion and occupation bring a breakdown in the organised structure of associations? A respondent vividly described the invasion as bringing mainly a geographical displacement, rather than breaking the volunteering landscape's backbone:

"After the invasion, the members of our association were scattered, not only inland but also in Athens, United Kingdom, Australia ... but then I thought that the association should revive ... and indeed it rose from the ashes even stronger ... even under the refugee status we regrouped and continued our struggles for welfare, peace ... our journey is long, as is the trajectory and work of our association" (Interview, 13/14-6-2010).

Another theme emerging from the findings is that the new, evolving post-war trajectory brought new needs, mainly from the breakdown of the extended family and neighbourhoods, and the displacement of refugees. This resulted in building new agendas in welfare provision such as childcare and elderly care services. Income support, benefits and social assistance, have been the state's responsibility, while post-war welfare needs have been primarily addressed by communities and voluntary associations, resulting in further expansion and diversification of the voluntary sector (DSWS, 1975; 1977; Interviews).

Post-war community transformations and socio-economic developments forced the two main communities, Greek and Turkish Cypriots, to develop their own solidaristic contexts and associational

life, moving in separate ways towards social, national and political development. This explains the wide spread of organisations all over the island. As in the Greek-Cypriot community, associational life still gives a sense of identity to the Turkish-Cypriot community and foundations, clubs, fraternity homes, the means of participation in society (Civicus, 2005:110). No other evolutionary characteristics better describe the two communities' relation to the development of voluntary associations. Perhaps because the Cyprus problem remains unresolved, the two communities and their voluntary sectors evolve separately, giving no chance for a co-evolution to explore different trends and patterns.

Capitalistic economic influences and globalisation brought further negative influences on society's structures: materialistic objectives, loosening family ties and weakening community solidarity. Social capital has begun to enter a transformation phase too. Changes in values and norms have brought significant shifts in the supply of social capital and volunteering levels. This is important to the research, because the scale and characteristics of the voluntary sector depend on the capacity of society's spheres to produce social capital and supply associations with volunteers. Despite change, the volunteering landscape did not increase but remained at similar levels.

Family and community patterns in war-torn/divided societies with developed voluntary sectors

What have we learned from in-depth study of families and communities about voluntary associations' development? How do patterns link with current theory? The pioneering social origins theory (Salamon and Anheier, 1998), which shapes the dominant non-profit regimes, does not expand on family and community patterns to

understand the place of voluntary sectors in non-profit regimes. Neither does it address dynamics such as solidarity, social capital, empowerment, or critical junctures such as conflict and war, or the impact these may have on society and voluntary associations. Cypriot families and communities have played vital roles in welfare throughout the island's turbulent history. Whether under 'stateless' conditions or after the devastating outcomes of war, families and communities have acted as strong welfare/care networks, influencing welfare behaviour and volunteering activities. Which patterns and features could inform understanding of non-profit regimes? Cypriot families have been characterised by their strong intergenerational solidarity, traditional caring roles, stamina for survival and intense shared culture and values. The family unit has traditionally reflected the extended family model; communities have been a large family of families where caring and welfare relations have spread and recycled among all members (Interviews; DSWS, 1969). These conditions enabled families and communities to act as platforms for mobilizing citizens and creating voluntary associations, while contributing to shaping the contours of the Cypriot welfare state. This analysis goes beyond the restricted view of social origins theory, where the scale and growth of voluntary sectors are determined by welfare spending and regimes' socio-political and economic conditions. This cannot capture the specificity and micro-level detail that emerged here.

The role of families and communities in promoting associational life and active engagement in welfare is not unique to the Cypriot informal care network/system. Communities and families have long acted as informal platforms for the voluntary sector's development (Abzug, 1999; Defourny and Pestoff, 2008), facilitating the mobilization of citizens in developing non-profit organisations

(Dallago 1990 in Abzug, 1999; Portes and Zhou 1992). Considering family and community patterns in non-profit regimes does not matter to the Cyprus case alone: it and should, therefore, inform non-profit regime typologies.

How can the role of communities and families be further understood under the lens of other more society-centred theoretical concepts? Much of the relationship between families, communities and the voluntary sector, shown here, can be found in the social capital literature (to be discussed later in the chapter).

The literature on small states, discussed in chapter four, gains importance here, with the size of the island a strong factor in explaining family and community patterns in the voluntary sector. Bertram's thesis on small states is very relevant; he stresses (2011:23) the "tendency of small polities to operate with a greater degree of informality and bottom up social solidarity" and that there is an "endogenous ability" of small societies to respond to needs through their "informal bottom-up mechanisms based on family, community, and personal relationships". Could this important context of informality and solidarity, as outcomes of small states, inform understanding of non-profit regimes? The findings suggest that the strong link between families/communities and development of voluntary associations, under the interaction of such social dynamics should form key parameters in classifying countries in a regime. Just as relationships based on class have so far been the tool to understand the route voluntary sectors have taken, it is suggested that relationships based on solidarity, social capital and informal welfare form a new dimension to the classification of countries in non-profit regimes. Important insight can be drawn from welfare regime models based on such social dimensions. Pichler and

Wallace (2007) have produced social capital regimes and other work has used social trust (Larsen, 2007) and social capital dimensions (Oorschot and Arts, 2005; Wood and Gough, 2006) as key indicators/tools to understand welfare regime typologies.

The link between solidarity, social capital and voluntary associations' development challenges non-profit regimes theory, but also theories on the society-voluntary sector relationship. Salamon, Sokolowski and List (2003:43) argued that in developing and transitional states, strong relations based on kin and community undertake much welfare provision, rather than voluntary organisations, reducing "the need for building institutionalized structures of voluntary organization" and institutionalised solidarity mechanism. Cyprus contradicts this argument. Under colonial authority, although informal welfare was based on family and communities, a complex set of conditions initiated the creation of solidarity networks, marking a strong environment of social welfare and national-related voluntary organisations outside the informal welfare organisational context, where families and communities acted as strong supporting sources.

Collective action theories also provide important theoretical resources to understand the intense mobilization of society, from both micro and macro perspectives. While intense social mobilization was dictated by macro forces, such as critical junctures of the regime, religion and culture, the strong drive to collective welfare action was facilitated by negotiations in caring/welfare work performed by women, families and communities but also non-material, cultural elements such as identity, religion and the need for self-determination. Entering the diverse debates about collective action theory, from Olson's (1996) theory's evolution to the present would not add value to the research (see Reuben, 2003 for a

review). But key principles of theory are applied that add explanatory power to the findings. The discussion applies the principle of collectivities that can "illuminate processes and dynamics within particular classes of collective action" (Oliver, 1993:276), to identify factors that shaped collective action trajectories.

From a regime perspective, collective action was dictated by authoritarianism: Cypriots created and engaged in associations to safeguard their collective interests. Interviewees agreed that oppression and authoritarianism triggered mobilisation, empowerment and collective action, while identifying different types of stimuli key to the Cyprus case, including insecurity, harsh administration, the slow building of political ideologies, continuous political instability and threats to identity. Protecting shared interests "in response to sufferings, dislocations and disturbances in the social environment" (Truman, 1971, In Ozler, 2007:4), or taking action "in a given set of events so as in some way to alter them" (Cambell, 1999:53) are dimensions observed by collective action theory too.

Although the findings reflect shared interests, there is a clear heterogeneous context marked by divisions. So how can we discuss heterogeneous collectivities? Which collective interests and processes initiated collective action? Whether explaining family, community or youth mobilisation and their engagement in associations, respondents agreed on a common context of social (welfare), national/ethnic, religious and political interests, including the need for self-determination, protection of social and national identity and the strong link between these interests, collective action and the institutionalisation of such action through forming associations. The collective action context can also explain internal

complexities and divisions. The heterogeneity of the population, as expressed in collective action by interviewees, can be explained by the collectivity principle, which acknowledges many and diverse interests, while explaining the formation of groupings under the 'larger' collectivity. This brings more theoretical depth to the strong, albeit fragmented, colonial collectivity context in Cyprus, expressed by associations with diverse ideologies formed between social groups, the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities and within their internal fragmented structures. If the broader collectivity is considered, all social groups shared the same idea: Cyprus should have self-determination. But they had different ideas on sovereignty arrangements. Therefore, the collectivity-opponent (regime/state) model forms a context to explain all social groups opposing one authority. The case of Cyprus clearly aligns with the position that the greater the heterogeneity, the larger the collective action (Oliver, 1993).

Despite the usefulness of the 'collectivity' principle to explain the Cyprus case, the findings' focus on non-material interests challenges collective action theory's close attachment to the attainment of collective goods, for Olson (1965) and proponents, the stimuli for shaping collective action. The findings suggest that material welfare (public good), but also non-material stimuli (religious, cultural, national/ethnic factors), should guide research applying collective action theory to voluntary sector trajectories. The findings also challenge assumptions underlying collective action theory that democracy and "political freedoms" are 'pre-requisites' to collective actions and social movement formation (Pizmony-Levy, 2006:4). The link between sovereignty, democracy and associations' development is assumed by Salamon and Anheier, (1998) and has been challenged in previous chapters: Cyprus' different contextual-

institutional conditions, particularly its authoritarian regime, were key driving forces behind voluntary associations' development.

Adding a gender perspective in exploring voluntary sector development

Nearly all interviewees (including the men) identified mothers and women as important welfare contributors in the island's social history, with the Cypriot mother identified as:

> *"...a unique figure ... a carer ... a fighter who participated in all major historic struggles for the freedom of the island ... the one who encouraged her children to sacrifice their life for their country" (Interview, 9/4-5-2010).*

> *"...the one who would transmit all the positive values of the Cypriot tradition (philanthropy, altruism) ... the one who would not only care for her own children but the children of every family" (Interview, 4/23-3-2010).*

An interviewee recalled her mother saying:

> *"You need to think of the others not just yourself ... you need to take care of people that are not as fortunate as you" (Interview, 2/15-3-2010).*

The interviewee then recalled going, during colonialism, from door to door, with her mother, distributing goods to the poor.

Another interviewee described the multiple roles of Cypriot women:

> *"Women worked ... were mothers and carers ... took care of the workers in the villages ... engaged in philanthropy ... provided hospitality to the stranger..." (Interview, 9/4-5-2010).*

The role of Cypriot mothers during the anti-colonial struggles was key:

> *"When our husbands joined EOKA, we stayed on our own for a long time ... my husband was away for more than 1.5 years and I had to take care of everything ... feed my children, give shelter to EOKA fighters, hide guns in my house..." (Interview, 3/20-3-2010).*

Such evidence is found frequently here. How can these accounts become the platform for further analysis? What assumptions can be drawn about Cyprus' women or the impact of gender on the development of associations? A respondent argues that negotiations in care work influenced voluntary associations:

> *"...Don't forget that Cyprus introduced national childcare services too late if compared to other countries ... it's because of the role of the mother and the solidarity she built in families and communities" (Interview, 4/23-3-2010).*

During colonialism, women had distinctive involvement in creating and running poor houses, organised almsgiving and philanthropy. If a mother would motivate her children to hide guns in their schoolbag (Interview, 4/23-3-2010) to achieve a common cause (anti-colonial struggle), it is easy to understand the stamina and power of Cyprus women in mobilizing others to organise and provide collective welfare, under any conditions:

> *"I was working full-time, I had two children, I had little help in raising the children and yet I was intensively involved in voluntary*

causes in many ways ... including the anti-colonial struggle" (Interview, 9/4-5-2010).

Women's endless efforts for social welfare and the island's struggles explain why society was continuously supplied with significant stocks of altruistic stimuli and why it nurtured a model of active participation to achieve welfare objectives, all forming the basic prerequisites for the organisation and formation of voluntary associations:

"It was the women in the neighbourhoods who organised and formed associations of a social/voluntary nature" (Interview, 9/4-5-2010).

"I recall two distinctive ladies (Mrs x and Mrs z) the head/leaders of these associations who managed to make a big transition in the area of voluntary social welfare ... they changed the form of welfare in Cyprus and marked the transition from the uncoordinated philanthropic actions to the coordinated organised form of social care (Interview, 4/24-3-2010).

Important 'dividing lines' stood out in the data regarding the range of characteristics of women involved in philanthropy, including Christian Orthodox and nuns in monasteries, benefactors (*'ευεργέτριες'*), donors (*'δωρήτριες'*), teachers, housewives and working women from different socio-economic backgrounds. How can these dividing lines help us gain understanding of philanthropy and associational life? Social class and status, including wealth and education, played a role in initiating welfare activities and creating associations:

"A small middle class, or we could say, an aristocracy class, emerged during colonisation that engaged heavily in philanthropy ... rather than pure altruism. Their motive was their class and the

assumption that they had to take care of the poor..." (Interview, 14/16-6-2010).

Religiosity also played a role. Examples given by interviewees linked positively women's level of religiosity with their level of philanthropic engagement:

"Many women were very religious ... being religious at those times meant doing what the Church said ... philanthropy was one" (Interview, 15/26-7-2010).

The drive behind initiating welfare projects and creating associations seemed stronger when all three factors combined (high economic status, education and strong religiosity or strong bonds with Church networks):

"Maria x, a well known aristocratic figure of society, with fine education, established Philoptochos x ... having a twofold mission: to cultivate religion but also help poor families of [x territory] (Interview, 13/14-6-2010).

Informal welfare activity, or moderate contribution to philanthropic causes, belonged more to highly religious women from lower social classes:

"Most Cypriots were very, very, very, poor ... I was not a member of a Philoptochos because I was poor myself ... but I remember ladies of the Philoptochos movement who helped me and other families who had absolutely nothing and needed food and clothes..." (Interview, 3/20-3-2010).

"... I came from a poor family but we would always give to other poor families..." (Interview, 4/24-3-2010).

Apart from the distinction between creating an association or contributing to its mission, it can be argued that associational life was broadly cross-class as it derived from both aristocratic and low class circles.

Education also mattered. In the 19th century the first teachers, a small nucleus of educated women on the island, dedicated their lives to educational, spiritual, national and welfare causes, but also to strengthening the status of women in society (Interviews, 8/27-4-2010; 13/14-6-2010; 22/21-5-2010). The teacher was the role model for philanthropy and intense activity for welfare causes, a leader behind the formation of women's welfare associations. The teacher became a powerfully distinctive figure in the patriarchal structures of a society whose underlying norm was to transmit philanthropy and associational life through the decades:

"Cypriot women teachers, especially during colonialism, cultivated valuable seeds from which flowers blossomed" (Interview, 13/14-6-2010).

The evolution of women's roles and gender relations in understanding change and development in voluntary associations

The shift from informal to collective and organised welfare forms one key transformation of the voluntary sector. The evolution of gender relations, including the division of roles in welfare and changing relations among spheres, contributed to this shift, and to changing patterns in voluntary associations. The patriarchal context emerged

as having regulated roles and also contributed to changing patterns in the voluntary sector's development.

Bringing together interviewees' accounts, a trajectory of the evolution of women and gender relations is shaped. Respondents, male and female equally, agreed that various dynamics have shaped the system of social networking and dominance of the patriarchal model in Cyprus. These defined gender roles and social relations, and the range of choices in welfare action. How are patriarchy and the evolution of gender relations associated with the shift from informal to collective organised welfare? Which dynamics brought change in the voluntary sector's trajectory? Although the roots of patriarchy have multiple dimensions and explanations, the arguments here focus on those that may contribute explanatory power to the research. Long authoritarianism, political and ethnic turbulence and religious and cultural values have dominated social life, and largely determine the division of care work and social welfare provision in Cyprus. For centuries, women's role was restricted to the household or heavy work in the fields, profoundly limiting their possibilities. This reflects Ungerson's (1987:50) view that "all kinship obligations are gendered". As most women lacked education, their mission was to serve the family and others, to marry and give birth to many children (Interviews, 6/21-4-2010; 13/14-6-2010; Aggelidou, 2010). Even until the middle of the 19th century very few young women received basic education (Interview, 13/14-6-2010; Philelefthe ros, 2011). The complex interaction of these influences determined the role of women as home carers and informal welfare providers of the extended family, even the neighbourhood, in a male-dominated society (Interviews, 3/20-3-2010; 11/21-5-2010; 13/14-6-2010).

Both male and female interviewees stressed the important role of women in the extended family system:

> *"Under a patriarchal state of affairs, women were good wives and mothers ... they would give comfort and take care of everything" (Interview, 13/14-6-2010/ woman interviewee).*

> *"I think the families, especially women, consciously developed the values of giving and volunteerism, among their informal caring roles ... in the extended family" (Interview, 10/21-5-2010/male interviewee).*

This brought a rich web of reciprocal welfare relations within families and among communities:

> *"The good mother, the grandmother, even the great grandmother would take care of the extended family's needs, but would also take care of the needs of the neighbour, the friend and even the stranger" (Interview, 3/20-3-2010/woman interviewee).*

> *"Relatives would help each other and would engage in welfare not only within the family but outside the family unit, to the community...mothers and grandmothers have been important figures in these informal welfare relations" (Interview, 15/26-7-2010/male interviewee).*

> *"Families would help each other on all matters. Women were responsible for the welfare of family members and neighbours ... Cypriot women had a childcare role, prepare meals for the farmers/the workers, housework (Interview, 16/30-8-2010/male interviewee).*

Although this division of care work restricted women's role in the structural hierarchies of society and public life (political life, education) for many decades, it strengthened their role in other domains of society (Interviews, 1/29-10-09; 3/20-3-10; 13/14-6-10).

This gendered informal welfare provision context, reflects much of social life for women until the late 19th century, when the first signs of gender empowerment emerged. This had roots in the work of the first Cypriot women teachers, who educated pupils on the values of solidarity, philanthropy and altruism, drawing on Hellenistic tradition and religion, faith in God, social responsibility, norms of reciprocity, loving/caring for others and sacrifice for one's country:

> *"Teachers and priests were distinctive figures in every community, teaching the context of our religion, culture...women teachers, rather than the priest, I would say, empowered, through their work, young girls and women" (Interview, 9/4-5-2010/woman interviewee).*

Left-wing feminists followed a similar path, though not restricting their mission to Hellenistic traditions, rather to universal solidarity (Interview, 6/21-4-2010).

Feminists and women teachers' determination to empower the female population marked the first steps of a social revolution on the island, opening the way for a language of equality, social progress and change in the status and role of women in society (Interviews/women). These 20th century developments were key to the progressive empowerment of Cyprus' female population.

Cyprus' first feminist newspaper, in 1913, was a landmark in women's progressive empowerment (Interview, 17/30-8-2010), giving new

impetus to gender issues, arguing: "educate and elevate the woman and you will be surprised to see the rebirth/renaissance of humanity" (Politis Newspaper, 2009). Great Cypriot female figures or illustrious feminists pioneered, in many different ways, strengthening women's access to domains of Cypriot life, organising the female population in charity welfare activities and establishing the first women's networks on the island:

> *"With the establishment of the x association in 1930, social provision was organised in the area of x ... most ladies of the area were members ... it was a new institution, a new space of action...its philosophy was to raise the status of women in society ... and her involvement in culture, philanthropy and arts ... Philoptochos x, established much earlier, in 1905, by x was the first to introduce ... innovative fundraising ... with the involvement of most women of the territory" (Interview, 13/14-6-2010/woman interviewee).*

Strong relations between Cyprus and Greece enabled Greek feminist activists to spread their cause in Cyprus, forming another key factor. This feminist wave brought the progressive mobilisation and organisation of women in networks, and the establishment, in 1898, of a Union of Greek Women (branch of the reputable Greek Central Union, created in Greece by the great feminist Kallirois Parren (Simerini Newspaper, 2011; Vima Newspaper, 2010; Interviews, 9/4-5-2010; 13/14-6-2010; 1/26-10-2009). From this point, patriarchal society was challenged by Cyprus' emerging feminist nucleus. The progressive rise and emancipation of women in society was evident by the 1930s. Influenced by the spirit of the first educated women, organisation into social action networks was established as a 'new' possibility for women previously trapped in a patriarchal context. By the 1940s, creating and participating in associations became a

growing domain of female activity, becoming considered a responsibility, along with the home caring role:

> *"Education empowered women and inspired them to develop innovative welfare activities which laid the foundations for organising welfare through the creation of associations" (Interview, 13/14-6-2010/woman interviewee).*

> *"Youth summer camps in 1930 were created by our association ... we also organised women to collect clothes and food for poor children ... many social programmes that run today are our initiatives and inspiration, dating back to the 1930s and 1940s" (Interview, 9/4-5-2010/woman interviewee).*

> *"Traditionally, the roles of men and women were different ... women for example worked informally and voluntarily at grass root level and men held other higher 'hierarchical' positions in society" (Interview, 8/27-4-2010/male interviewee).*

> *"The role of x was enormous (the first woman [social profession] of Cyprus) ... She was so active that she managed to create, organise and coordinate many welfare committees and associations in the city of x" (Interview, 17/30-8-2010/male interviewee).*

> *"I remember Mrs x ... she voluntarily helped the Church to organise philanthropy ... she laid the foundations of new approaches in welfare and social work and the way these could interact to raise Cypriots' standard of living" (Interview, 20/6-9-2010/male interviewee).*

Male teachers' support was an influential contribution to the broadened welfare role women undertook in society. These

developments did not change the patriarchal nature of society, rather broadened specific domains in which women could take action, resulting in a growing female movement of organised welfare action.

A contradictory view of this altruistic, philanthropic and solidaristic argument, was offered by some interviewees. During colonization a middle/aristocratic class, composed of traders, developed; out of this class, philanthropic ladies' associations were created in towns:

> *"These clubs met in houses and gossiped about society ... but also talked about how to help the poor ... you could see these during the late 19th century and start of 20th century ... this class created a cultural and spiritual imbalance from 'real' philanthropy that was developing in the surrounding environment" (Interview, 27/16-10-2010/male interviewee).*

Unfortunately, no other insight from interviewees or documentary sources was available to elaborate how this type of 'aristocratic' philanthropy differed from other philanthropic activity that developed in society and how this influenced the trajectory of associations. This missing information should form the focus of future research, as the element of 'aristocratic' philanthropy can become a strong contradictory factor against the dominant value-based philanthropic and solidaristic argument, and thus weaken the strong religion-Church-voluntary associations link reflected in the previous chapter.

The broadened space of welfare action, with increased female activity in philanthropy and voluntary associations, has not, according to evidence here, influenced the traditional care work

undertaken by women in the family. A quotation, recorded previously, supports this argument:

> *"I was working full-time, I had two children ... I was intensively involved in voluntary causes ... and contributed to the dissemination of our values and culture ... even to the anti-colonial struggle" (Interview, 9/4-5-2010/woman interviewee).*

These great works by women, reflected in both male and female accounts in the interviews, can perhaps be understood under an expanded version of Moreno's (2002) superwoman concept, which should not only refer to Mediterranean women's "hyperactivity" in reconciling family life and paid labour, but also care work in the community, voluntary associations and participation in a country's struggles.

The female presence in society was not restricted to social, welfare, educational and equality-related causes. As already mentioned, women's first 'revolution' was clearly established with their involvement in the national anti-colonial struggle (Interviews):

> *"The role of the Cypriot women has been a remarkable one. They played also a significant role in all major historical eras of the island. Although women functioned in a patriarchal society, they were actively present in all religious, social and national struggles in the history of Cyprus" (Interview, 2/15-3-2010/woman interviewee).*

Under international influences, women were also empowered to conquer further ground in their patriarchal society.

The women of Cyprus mobilized their resources to address, through charity, the needs created by international struggles, including World Wars I and II. Women also contributed to the organisation of women into labour movements and distinct Unions of working women. In the light of international socio-economic and political struggles, after the 2nd World War, the first political-labour related women's organisations were established, marking, by 1948, the first 'Progressive Women Associations' co-ordinated under the Pan-Cyprian Organisation of Democratic Women (Interviews; PFWO/PODG, 1980:15-16). This wave of associations created a new pattern in organised associational life as they developed activities around issues such as democracy, rights and equality, unknown until that time to Cypriot society. The complex interaction of these factors brought the development of female-run associations, pursuing cultural, charitable, educational and welfare activities, but also broader socio-economic and political pursuits (PODG, 1980:15-16), clearly consolidating new patterns in associational life that persist today.

Studying the evolution of gender relations in society provides insight into gender divisions and how these have influenced voluntary associations' trajectory. The findings suggest that the progressive empowerment and emancipation of women in Cypriot society, primarily shaped by negotiations on care work outside the household (in associations), marked new patterns in associational life. Then national-related struggles, brought by surrounding regime conditions, facilitated women's entry into nationally and politically related activities, with their involvement in the island's struggles, an allegedly male-dominated activity, considering society's patriarchal structures. This challenged the patriarchal model, especially of gender roles in public life. During the anti-colonial struggle (1955-1959), women took leadership roles, organising teenage girls and women into

associations, pursuing both national and welfare objectives (Interviews). The arrest and imprisonment of many women, members or leaders of associations, created new dynamics in patriarchal society, acting very positively for future generations. Post-democratic conditions, though turbulent, strengthened women's status in society. Women were behind welfare initiatives to address needs after the inter-communal struggles in 1963, during and after the Turkish invasion.

A distinctive synergy of a matriarchal voluntary sector in a patriarchal society

One strong emerging theme is the strong female profile of the voluntary sector. Clearly, in the Cyprus case, a range of circumstances and opportunities shaped the informal and organised role of women in welfare and their influence in the institutionalisation of voluntary activity. Studying the evolution of the role and status of women, and their progressive emancipation, under the complex interaction of prolonged authoritarianism, social and national struggles, in a strict patriarchal society, helps us to understand how gender roles in welfare provision have been defined and have contributed to building a large environment of voluntary associations.

The findings reflect a distinctive synergy of a matriarchal voluntary sector in a patriarchal society. Can a matriarchal voluntary sector grow in a patriarchal context? Is it solely an outcome of patriarchy? Could we argue for a matriarchal dimension in the private household (family) and community spheres and a patriarchal dimension in the public sphere?

All respondents agreed that the development and emancipation of women, and the roles they have performed in society, reflected distinctive regime conditions, culture, religion and the patriarchal context. Women traditionally held a distinct caring role in family and community, while, at critical junctures they sometimes held the breadwinner role. Men held the traditional breadwinner role in the private household and public life. Cypriot women have engaged in social welfare associations, reflecting their traditional domestic, nurturing roles, reinforcing the separation of gender roles (breadwinner versus care-provider). This is not unique to Cyprus: patriarchy created a context for a female community and voluntary sector in Ireland too (O'Connor, 2000). Overall, as Stolle and Lewis (2002:6) have argued, the voluntary sector has been historically "dominated by women". In Cyprus, associational life and philanthropy were legitimate activities for women, supported by the Church, which itself was the highest hierarchical and patriarchal structure of society. This reflects social role theory, which suggests that women "accommodate to the roles that are available to them in their society" (Eagly et al, 2000:126), engaging in social activities that "conform to gender roles and stereotypes" (Eagly et al, 2000:151). The voluntary sector's matriarchal nature reflects negotiations of gender roles in social care, but also the distribution of power in patriarchal society. This strengthens Phillips' (2002:80) argument that associations reflect the "balance of power" in society. These arguments show the distinctive synergy of a matriarchal voluntary sector's development emerging from a highly patriarchal and politically turbulent society, challenging arguments that "the story of civil society is one of masculine political birth" (Banon, 2006:6).

Another emerging theme that can make a theoretical contribution to the literature is the positive relationship emerging between women, associational life and empowerment. Patriarchy and complex regime conditions 'pushed' women to utilise any social norm that would grant them larger space in the public sphere. The findings add the complex interaction of these dimensions, identifying the key importance of gender empowerment in understanding the development of the voluntary sector. A similar positive relationship was found in Victorian England, where volunteering gave some sense of freedom in the patriarchal society (Smith, 1995). Similarly, Banon (2006:9) has argued that civil society can be "a space for informal politics".

The literature offers contradictory perspectives: Jaggar (2005:14) argues that engagement in "self-help" activities forces women "to exhaust their scarce energies" in producing informal services "rather than mobilizing as citizens ... for the provision of public services" thereby limiting rather than facilitating women's empowerment (Jaggar, 2005:10). Similarly, the 1973 resolution of the American National Organisation for Women stressed that volunteering was "an extension" of unpaid care work, which reinforced "low self-image" (Oppenheimer, 2000:16). Phillips (2002:87) has also argued that "celebrating civil society as the sphere of freedom and autonomy is not really an option for feminism, given the inequalities that so often mar the cosy associational world", while Finch and Groves (1983:7) discussed the consequences of "tensions between paid work and unpaid caring". Pascall (2012:15) has also studied how changes in the breadwinner model influence "its interconnecting and interdependent parts". So has voluntary work been women's work because they had no access to paid work? Do tensions emerge? Do gender role changes affect voluntary associations? The findings

of this research do not provide much evidence for this questioning of relationships debated in the feminist literature (Laslett and Brenner, 1999; Lin, 1999; Orloff, 1996; 2009; Pascall and Lewis, 2004, Sainsbury, 1999). Although, in the case of Cyprus, one key 'interconnecting part' of the male breadwinner model, (Pascall 2012), has been unpaid care work in voluntary associations; no evidence offered insight into the impact of this relationship on the evolving nature and changing patterns of gender roles. Most women interviewees referred to their multiple roles as home carers, working mothers, members and/or leaders of associations, without mentioning any complexity stemming from multiple labours or that volunteering was an obstacle to paid labour. Surprising as it may be, considering the feminist literature, women interviewees seemed to reflect Moreno's (2002) 'superwoman' concept, rather than counting the costs of care (Rimmer, 1983), the time invested in care, or its impact on earnings (Graham, 1983). Long hours of paid and unpaid work persist: Cyprus ranks eighth in Europe for women's average weekly working hours (Anderson et al., 2009:24) and fourth for the hours spent on unpaid work by employed women (Anderson et al., 2009:26). Though no data are available to relate this evidence to women's voluntary participation in associations, it can be assumed, based on previous arguments that voluntary association participation does not seem to be influenced by paid or unpaid care work. Perhaps this is rooted in the special history of the island, which never left room for tensions to turn into stronger equality-based debates and demands? Alternatively, that the state has provided sufficient benefits and the extended family and voluntary associations adequate welfare, alleviating these tensions? These questions can only be addressed by in-depth research focusing on gender relations and welfare dimensions. What can be argued is that Cypriot women reflect solidarity as well as superwoman

elements. Solidarity forms one main contribution of women, to understand the continuing power of Cyprus' voluntary sector. Women's multiple roles can also be explained by an 'expanded version' of Moreno's (2002) superwoman concept, which should refer to Mediterranean women's "hyperactivity" in reconciling family life and paid labour, as the findings support, and care work in the community, voluntary associations and participation in a country's struggles. So why does Cyprus reflect this tremendous solidarity and superwoman elements rather than fighting for gender equality in a patriarchal context? Evidence suggests this may be rooted in factors identified throughout the thesis: the regime's continuing vulnerability, ethnic conflicts, outcomes of the invasion shaped a context where women focused their interests on families and communities. Securing equality demands and rights came rather late, as most important equality-related legislation was enacted in the 2000s.

Evidence and analysis about such 'tensions' is hardly addressed in voluntary sector research and is totally missing from non-profit regime theory. A synthesis of the arguments would suggest a strong gendered context for studying voluntary associations' development. Cypriot patriarchal society has, for decades, disempowered women in the wider public sphere, while creating a protective associational environment with many opportunities for social action. Has associational life and philanthropy been a key mechanism to retain the patriarchal dimension of Cypriot society? How should we view this linkage between empowerment and associational life? Clearly the environment of voluntary associations has been created and regulated by society's patriarchal structures: it reflected the culture and ideology of its time regarding the 'permitted' space of social action between men and women. The increasing role of women in associations reinforced their socially constructed care work role,

shaped by the structural hierarchy: women could not easily challenge the power of gender relations. Patriarchy has therefore offered a space of opportunities and female empowerment in specific domains. Surely, more systematic research is needed on the role of voluntary associations in advancing the role of women in society and "engendering civil society into feminist debate and analysis" (Banon, 2006:27).

Families, communities and women as major sources of social capital

Close analysis of society's key spheres has revealed important dimensions in its relationship with the voluntary sector. Social capital has emerged as a strong factor behind the society-voluntary sector relationship. The "embeddedness" of social capital in the "triangular relationship between the state, the family and civil society" (Stolle and Lewis, 2002:20) makes the concept of social capital an important theoretical tool for exploring the contribution of families and communities in voluntary sector development. For analytical purposes here, social capital is conceptualized "as a societal resource that links citizens to each other and enables them to pursue their common objectives more effectively" (Stolle and Lewis, 2002:1), involving all "norms and networks facilitating collective action for mutual benefit" (Woolcock, 1998:55). Which conditions gave rise to social capital, with what implications for the voluntary sector's development?

The family and community and women have been identified as major sources of social capital, informal and formal welfare activity through associations. Developing strong social capital, expressed through norms of mutual help, based on kinship and strong

community ties, philanthropy and altruism, has been a persisting pattern in Cyprus' society, with positive impact on collective welfare mobilization and voluntary associations' development. Interviewees clearly stressed an interactive context of high levels of social capital and strong links between social capital, informal welfare and social action, rooted in or generated by societal spheres, but also by regime, religious and cultural forces and their diverse dimensions:

> *"During colonisation you did not see people dying from hunger and destitution on the streets ... during the invasion no orphan was abandoned at an institution...informal networks took care of everything" (Interview, 4/23-3-2010).*

> *"Farmers gave oil and wheat to poor families ... a family helped their neighbour to build their house ... this is how and why villages survived in those difficult years ..." (Interview, 3/20-3-2010).*

> *"...the community could generate and utilize its social capital, to run community programmes ... this underlying feature has made volunteering really successful in Cyprus" (Interview, 4/23-3-2010).*

Most elements of the argument are not new to the social capital literature. The positive link, for example, between active participation, informal welfare and social capital (Coleman, 1988; Fukuyama, 1999; Putnam, 2001) and its relationship with the state, families, communities and voluntary associations (Putnam, 2001; Stolle and Lewis, 2002; Sedano et al, 2009) are well documented.

Social capital, as the findings portray, has been a crucial force behind the voluntary sector's trajectory and key historical turning points: it could be identified as a vital embedded element in Cyprus. The complex interaction of historic and contemporary forces and

other embedded factors enables, retains or strengthens social capital, with specific outcomes for the voluntary sector trajectory. In the case of Cyprus, rich outcomes emerged, characterised by a broad landscape of voluntary associations, working in various domains, having diverse pursuits and interests (social, national/ethnic, religious, political), albeit fragmented, reflecting the dividing lines of a turbulent society. The specific way social capital developed in Cyprus is not unique, rather an element underlying the contours and history of Mediterranean states. The link between social capital and history is reflected in a study of social capital regimes, where Cyprus has been placed in a distinct cluster of a "southern social capital regime" with Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece and Malta, all sharing high levels of informal social capital (social networks, social and family support) and historical experience (Pichler and Wallace, 2007).

Does social capital have a gender dimension? Respondents agreed that there is a strong female profile behind informal and organised welfare activity, including the generation of social capital. Women, through collective norms and social networking, have pursued their common collective welfare objectives. The findings also portrayed elements of family life (functions, attitudes and behaviour of parents especially mothers) as having a direct impact on relationships and the building of social capital and welfare activity. Supporting arguments are found in the feminist and social capital literature too. Women are found to be involved more in social networking, a basis for social capital (Putnam, 2001) and to engage more in informal solidarity (Oorschot, Arts and Halmanbut, 2005). That their traditional, caring family role is embedded in other 'welfare institutions', extending to community and voluntary associations, has been argued by Stolle and Lewis (2002).

Do political instability and unresolved ethnic issues matter in understanding social capital? Does the way social capital developed in a divided island necessitate a differentiated approach in voluntary sector research? All interviewees saw a strong link between social capital, social action and the turbulent regime. Cypriot society, with its dividing lines and cleavages, its experience of long and hard struggles, the absence of a state or stable conditions, developed distinct survival mechanisms, characterised by extremely high stocks of social capital. This suggests that the absence of a formal (welfare) state or stability does matter in understanding the mutual help context, high levels of social capital or welfare relations developing in a country. All these find support in the literature. The relationship between high mutual help, social capital and problematic regimes (which lack a state/welfare state) has been discussed by a number of authors (Coleman, 1994; DiMaggio and Anheier, 1990; Gidron et al, 1997; Jaffe, 1992; Portes, 1992; Santos, 1999 in Ferreira, 2006).

In the case of Cyprus, high levels of social capital have been interestingly associated with opposing regime conditions, namely the authoritarian/colonial regime, inter-communal conflict and war, as well as democratic and modernization processes. How could social capital persist in all circumstances? Under British colonisation, and in the absence of a welfare state, people developed strong bonds and ties, albeit divided ideologically and politically, as well as ethnically. Cypriots engaged in different alliances, reflecting clear divisions in association life, albeit with strong social capital developing in each space. After democracy, and despite inter-communal conflict and war, and some conflict-free decades, the creation of associations did not diminish, it rather increased. What explains this paradox? The findings suggest that strong determination and shared

ideological roots, and fragmented collectivities, discussed earlier, within and between Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities, are important. These conditions motivated each group to strive for hegemony in society, by strengthening their stocks of social capital within their various alliances, to achieve their shared mission and collective causes. This clearly reflects the very definition of social capital provided earlier by Stolle and Lewis (2002:1) and Woolcock (1998:55). It reaffirms a need, discussed extensively here, to refine the power-relations approach to accommodate non-material issues. This could explain the urge for creating more and more organisations and associations, to gain power under turbulent conditions.

Locating the findings in non-profit regime modelling

The relationship between women and the voluntary sector's development is strong in the findings, albeit weak in the non-profit regime literature. Traditional non-profit regime literature gives little space or tools to analyse important dimensions found at the heart of the society and their impact on the voluntary sector's development or the special national conditions and history under which these develop. Non-profit regime theory mentions families under the continental non-profit regime, mainly to support an argument about how the regime differs from others (liberal, social democratic, static), rather than to provide theoretical tools to locate family and community patterns across non-profit regimes. Theory completely misses the gender and social capital dimensions.

Social origin theory posits that the "non-profit sector's embeddedness in broader social, political, and economic realities ... and interrelations developed among social institutions, groups and social classes ... can explain the shape of the non-profit sector" (Salamon

and Anheier, 1998:215). Can it reflect the dimensions emerging here: families, communities, gender, youth? explain evolution and change in roles and relations? or the overall impact on the volunteering trajectory? As argued in previous chapters, the dominant theory, for the last 15 years, provides only a general conceptual framework rather than diverse theoretical insights to capture the specific realities of a range of countries. The findings here suggest that the place of a country in the classification system of non-profit regimes should be assessed after thorough acknowledgment and analysis of the impact of emerging factors such as social capital, gender relations, family and community dimensions within a dynamic context that considers time, evolution and process rather than in a traditional static analysis.

It emerges that every element is important. Social spheres emerge as strong factors contributing to the voluntary sector's development, under a turbulent building process. While this is reflected in an earlier work of Salamon (1994:112), mentioning that "the most basic force [behind the associational revolution] is that of ordinary people who decide to take matters into their own hands and organise to improve their conditions or seek basic rights", such dynamics have not been incorporated in the typologies of non-profit regimes.

Relationships have also developed differently: class relations are not the only route to understand voluntary sector development, and relationships explored under the lens of solidarity, social capital and informal welfare provision, can add new patterns to existing classifications of non-profit regimes. All interviewees reflected how gendered power relations influenced welfare and voluntary associations' development. Evidence here suggests that power relations should cover a wider ground, particularly gender relations:

within the family, labour/care work in voluntary associations, the community and society at large. Feminist social policy gains importance here. Orloff (1993), Lewis (1992) and other feminists have discussed the limitations of the welfare regime to capture the essence of gender relations. Theoretical insights from Stolle and Lewis' (2002) arguments on gendered social capital could provide valuable insight, parallel to the findings, to build a new context of dimensions for understanding women's role in voluntary associations' development. The original findings here add that the study of gender relations should be sensitive to complex factors which may emerge from turbulent regimes, so that fuller theoretical understandings are built.

Social capital has not been a tool for analysis in comparative non-profit regime research either, although it has been applied in welfare regime studies (Orschott and Arts, 2005; Pichler and Wallace 2007). Considering its important status in the research findings, it is argued that social capital should enrich theoretical arguments and studies exploring national and comparative voluntary sector trajectories. Comparative research, especially on countries sharing similar experiences to Cyprus, could inform about nation-specific norms, patterns, events determining the volume of social capital and its relationship with gender, familial, community characteristics. It could also identify factors strengthening or weakening social capital in non-profit regimes.

Another important element is the findings not reflecting a 'static' response or consistent trajectories. After a crisis, society's spheres adapted to new circumstances, bringing cyclical responses of adaptation, mobilization and collective welfare action. Changes and specific evolutionary elements within society's spheres also

emerged as influencing voluntary associations, resulting in distinct variations and patterns of activity. The findings show time and process as important when a phenomenon's evolution is studied. The study of society under the lens of change and evolution not only helps to examine patterns, characteristics and variations but also track processes and corresponding changes to the voluntary sector trajectory.

It therefore emerges that current theory fails to account for the distinctive features of some societies. Cypriot society can hardly be located in the strict framework of non-profit regimes, unless its classification is adapted to societal factors and experiences that emerged as important to the research question. One notable exception is the work of Themudo (2009), who provides ample support for a gender/non-profit sector relationship. Repeating Donoghue's question (2010:44) "Might the sector be envisaged differently?" as part of her critique of social origins theory, we could argue that a society-centred dynamic approach should be at the heart of theory and non-profit regimes because societal spheres have a powerful qualitative story to tell about important societal perspectives and patterns.

Concluding remarks

Previous chapters have demonstrated the decisive impact of state/regime, religion and culture on the voluntary sector's development. This chapter reflects how such developments have been realized by the interaction of underlying forces of society, namely communities, families and gender relations, suggesting that society's evolutionary dimensions matter in understanding voluntary sector development.

The importance of studying the 'heart' of society is warranted by findings which have identified key social units, structures and groups of Cypriot society as having a direct connection with the transformation phases and development of the voluntary sector, while contributing to the building process of the sovereign democratic state, the welfare state, religion and culture. This argument also brings a wider spectrum of factors: social, political, national/ethnic, which, under certain circumstances, generate dynamics with potentially decisive impact on the voluntary sector's development. It also brings forward new dimensions such as social capital, patriarchy, war, bi-communal struggles, identity, collective action and empowerment questions, needing to be explored in research about voluntary sector development.

Analysis shows the scale and growth of voluntary sectors determined partly by welfare spending and socio-political and economic conditions of the regime, but also by family and community patterns not usually captured in current research approaches. In exploring family and community patterns, the findings identify the island's small size, relationships based on solidarity, social capital and informal welfare provision, collective action and empowerment as important dimensions that should inform non-profit regime studies. The need emerged to understand society's collective action under the lens of non-material stimuli, rather than solely pursuit of collective goods, as key stimuli for shaping collective action.

The findings also show a distinctive synergy of a matriarchal voluntary sector in a patriarchal society. The matriarchal nature of the voluntary sector reflects negotiations of gender roles in social care, but also the distribution of power in patriarchal society. Studying the evolution of women's position in society, under the complex

interaction of regime conditions in a patriarchal society, helps us to understand how gender roles in welfare provision have been defined, and have contributed to building a large environment of voluntary associations. These arguments show the distinctive synergy of the development of a matriarchal voluntary sector emerging from a highly patriarchal and politically turbulent society. The case of Cyprus also reflects multiple facets of social capital and their interconnection with the development of the voluntary sector, rooted in social and political realities and historic circumstances.

Considering the above themes and dimensions, the chapter suggests that a society-centred approach can contribute to our understanding of the voluntary sector's development in Cyprus, as it gives insight into dimensions and facets of society not easily captured through the state-society or state-voluntary sector approaches that usually dominate non-profit regime studies.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

Introduction

This final chapter provides a synthesis of findings and analysis, to provide a concluding overview of arguments, positions and thematic interconnections that emerged in this research. It is divided into two main sections. The first locates the research in the literature and suggests refined ways of studying voluntary sector trajectories, based on the understanding gained in this research. The second section discusses the origin factors that emerged as having influenced the voluntary sector's development, bringing a deeper level of analysis to the findings.

Locating the research in the voluntary sector literature

Understanding the development of the voluntary sector is not a new enquiry in voluntary sector research. A growing landscape of national investigations, varying in focus, level and mode of analysis and methodology has, to a larger or lesser degree, addressed aspects of the research question. At the comparative level the most comprehensive study is the Johns Hopkins transnational research project based on the social origins theory of Salamon and Anheier (1998), followed by other studies (see Salamon and Sokolowski, 2001; Salamon, Sokolowski and List, 2003). Archambault (2009), Ferreira (2006), Gidron, et al. (2003) Kabalo (2009) and Wagner (2000) form a group who have challenged the theory by introducing new clusters and origin factors in non-profit regime modelling.

While Cyprus has been systematically excluded from comparative research, it appears in recent studies such as the European Quality of Life Surveys (Eurofound, 2011) and Eurobarometer (European Parliament, 2011), again with little value to the research, due to their different foci and approaches. A similar situation reflects national level research. No statistical information is available on the size and scope of the Cypriot voluntary sector, nor a study similar to the one conducted. The few national studies conducted on the state-of-the art of the voluntary sector in Cyprus (Civicus, 2005; ECNL, 2008; Katsikides, 2001; Patsalidou, and Kyriakou, 2009) have no connection to the research questions raised here.

Although the research fills a significant gap, it does not claim originality of its research focus. Following the influential publication of social origins theory (Salamon and Anheier, 1998), the premise of which has informed this research, there has been growing interest in investigating the development of voluntary sectors around the globe. Studies include the UK (Kendal, 2002), France (Archambault, 2001), Israel (Gidron et. al, 2003; Kabalo, 2009), Cuba (Grant, 2009), Japan (Haddad, 2001), South Korea (Yu and Tang, 2010), Korea (Kim, 2008), Hong-Kong (Lee, 2005), Estonia (Kala, 2008), Greece (Polyzoidis, 2009), Argentina (Thomson, 1997), Norway (Sivesind et al., 2002), Italy (Barbetta, 1997) and Ireland (Acheson et al, 2005).

Despite the findings' common denominator with the theoretical foundations of social origins theory, that "broader social, political, and economic realities" (Salamon and Anheier, 1998:215) and historical factors can explain voluntary sector trajectories, the research conceptualises a new approach and new origin factors to understand trajectories, as discussed below.

It could be argued that the research's focus on the social welfare domain is a limitation: a wider conceptual definition, could, perhaps reveal new dimensions. It is suggested, though, that focusing on one domain rather than the 'whole' can provide more in-depth understanding, particularly in a context lacking basic research. Such an approach has already been argued: "the analytical distinction between service-delivering associations" and other types of organisations is important if the dynamics of development are to be explored (Evers and Laville 2004:12). Another characteristic of the research is its focus on sources, generated from the Greek Cypriot community, religion, culture and society rather than covering the Turkish Cypriot minority or other elements on the island (Turkish settlers, other religious minority groups). This has been a deliberate decision, after weighing logistics, restrictions in accessing sources, the need to manage the research under a strict time framework, and ethical considerations, in relation to collaborating with illegal authorities of the island. A challenge for future research would be to gain access to sources in the occupied areas and provide new understanding of voluntary sectors developing in divided countries. Future research should, therefore, develop tools to study complicated cases such as Cyprus with "units below that of the unitary state itself" (Acheson, Harvey and Williamson 2005:185), to understand the case of countries facing communal/national and geographical divisions.

New/refined approaches to studying a voluntary sector

Beyond the new origins factors posited in the research, the thesis suggests a new context of refined ways to study voluntary sector trajectories.

The Cyprus case suggests that rich thematic links emerge from in-depth qualitative exploration focussing on process rather outcomes or quantitative methods. It also emerges that the research's in-depth, inter-sectoral, cross-cutting approach applied at all levels and dimensions can yield more insight than the traditional two-sector state-society approach. In this research, for example, key actors and institutions have been treated as separate cases for investigation, hence the structuring of the chapters. Particularly, it has adopted multiple levels of observation and analysis, studying separately relationships between the voluntary sector and a) the state/regime, b) the Church/religion and c) society, exploring and analysing society into its different parts and evolutionary aspects. At all levels of analysis, the complex interaction of diverse factors, forces and themes has been considered. The need for an 'inter-sectoral dynamics' approach is not a new argument in the literature (See Bahle, 2003; Evers, 1995; Wagner, 2000); but this research adopts deeper levels of detailed observation. The findings have been further explored drawing on dimensions of "power, conflict, domination and accommodation" (Wood and Gough, 2006:1698), as well as historical institutionalism, thus incorporating microscopic elements with higher order factors, time and history.

The use of a synthesis of theories rather than one single theoretical framework has appeared valuable. Mainly because of a lack of a suitable theoretical framework, the research has followed the institutionalisation approach, which according to Kramer (2000):

> *"...is not constituting a single or even a coherent body of theory; rather, it contains a variety of perspectives, some complementary, while others may conflict ... [where this] interdisciplinary character*

...[can] explain non-profit organizations in their larger contextual and operating environments" (Kramer 2000:14).

The study's adoption of historical institutionalism, enabled a cross-cutting approach, which facilitated 'movement' between the micro and macro, social processes, time and history levels, rather than focusing only on static higher order factors, (Pierson, 1996; Pierson and Skocpol, 2002; Steinmo 2008). It also allowed exploration of different directions, welfare actors, institutions, structures, cultural and non-cultural elements, including any aspect which could provide insight into the voluntary sector's development in Cyprus. These differentiate the research from other non-profit regime studies, which usually adopt more restricted ways to apply historical institutionalism. Other studies, although focusing on countries' historic experiences to explain voluntary sectors' development, do it in a static rather than dynamic way, usually studying the historic evolution of power relations, to explain start and endpoints (size of welfare spending and voluntary sector outcomes) rather than the evolution of any element or institutional process. Most also lack the use of historical institutionalism's tools of critical junctures (Pierson and Skocpol, 2002; Steinmo, 2008) and path dependency, which facilitate the exploration of temporally connected historical events, and the way these shape processes and outcomes, including the moments that constitute the "starting points for many path dependent processes" (Cappocia and Kelemen, 2007:342).

Its qualitative approach also differentiates this research. Most other research on the topic uses quantitative methods. The same applies to the influential social origins theory which uses two main indicators: the levels of government welfare spending and the size of the non-profit sector, measured by its employment rates, volunteer time,

expenditure and income (Salamon and Anheier, 1998) to understand patterns of voluntary sector development. This obviously limits the data's scope and excludes rich insight to feed debates about the distinctiveness existing around the globe. The research has moved beyond most existing research tendencies, drawing from the power of the qualitative approach, specifically the combination of in-depth interviews, oral history and documentary research. The new origin factors that emerged in this research, while building on the theoretical premises of social origins theory, provide a fresh qualitative context to think differently about the forces that can explain voluntary sector trajectories. This has been an outcome of in-depth qualitative exploration, thus challenging the strength of current non-profit regime classification systems and their ability to capture the reality of more countries. Before completion of the current research it was found that qualitative research designs have been applied in other national studies (See Kabalo, 2009; Lee, 2005; Ju and Tang, 2010). Some might argue that the adoption of this combination of approaches might produce too much detail. Detail and "internal differences" according to Evers and Laville (2004:12) are important in understanding the factors that account for a sector's development.

Origin factors: introducing an extended conceptual framework

In the long social history of Cyprus, the voluntary sector, has, unlike other countries, been unexplored, empirically and theoretically. The main question this research sought to address was to understand the factors that can explain the recent history of Cyprus' voluntary sector's development in the domain of welfare. This section provides a synthesis of the main findings, shedding light on key themes and concluding with new factors that have not been discussed or

adequately addressed in current theory, while identifying implications for current and future research.

So why has the voluntary sector in Cyprus developed the way that it did and how can the wider context provide more insight into factors that shaped its trajectory? The findings suggest that the sector's particular pattern of development has been located within the wider socio-political context and history, different and more complex historic interactions, influential path dependency forces. The voluntary sector, state, society and Church trajectories emerged as having followed an interconnected path in welfare, based on peculiar interdependent relationships that can be explained by the new origin factors that emerged in the research. This link created a mix of 'dual' welfare systems. The first reflects the strong state-sector relationship in welfare, based on the strategy of state funding of voluntary associations; the latter the growth of a separate context of voluntary associations, remaining distant from the state-funding apparatus, mainly attached to the Church. Both relationship types, in the Cypriot context, have developed as outcomes of the turbulent building process and trajectory of the state, beyond class power relations and state strategies with deeper roots in authoritarianism, late democracy, the strong legacy of service provision by voluntary associations and path dependency.

Regime/state, religion and society form the three broad dimensions associated with the voluntary sector's development. A deep exploration and analysis of this threefold context reveals in-depth insight into socio-political and economic factors, dimensions, relationships, processes, patterns and critical junctures that, under the influence of history, have shaped the voluntary sector's path, formed its major stages of transformation and defined its relationship

with structures and institutions. Within this analytical context, cross-cutting themes emerged, reappearing throughout the research, linking dimensions of the threefold context (state/regime, religion, society) and providing a stronger explanatory framework for Cyprus' voluntary sector's development:

a) The peculiar state building process, an outcome of changing regimes, marked by long authoritarianism, colonialism, late transition to democracy, continuous political and ethnic struggles, invasion/war, a harsh post-war reconstruction period and a late building of a modern welfare state. These also formed most of the key critical junctures which underpinned trajectories of state, religion and society.
b) The nation-leading Church, or ethnarchy, and evolution of religion, also emerged as strong forces behind the developmental trajectories of society, state and the voluntary sector.
c) Intense struggles, conflicting power relations and dividing elements, as outcomes of a continuously fragmented society and politically turbulent state, formed another set of cross-cutting themes, which appeared as strong forces for change and path dependency.
d) Path dependency also featured as a strong explanatory factor behind every trajectory, process and relationship that has defined the role of voluntary associations and their space in the welfare context, and negotiations in welfare provision.
e) Family and community patterns under the strong influence of gender relations have formed a strong nucleus of society that influenced in various ways both the state and religious trajectories and consequently the voluntary sector.

f) The small size of the island, social capital, identity, ethnicity, nationalism, the patriarchal society, gender relations and the Mediterranean cultural contours of the island form another set of key connecting elements and cross-cutting themes that had a decisive impact on voluntary sector development.

Synthesis of these complex interconnections has led to the main argument: that the voluntary sector's development is partly an outcome of the state's/regime's turbulent and interrupted building process, and of religion's and society's evolution, under the impact of the island's distinctive features and a series of critical junctures. The voluntary sector has also been a strong source for the state's and welfare context's consolidation. This finding is important in itself, considering the lack of research on the sector in Cyprus. It also contradicts the dominance of the traditional religion-centric rhetoric, which claims that the sector has been solely an offspring of religion.

Where are market forces? During colonialism, a market, forming the "major economic institutions of capitalisms" (Valentinov, 2005:9) and other complex forms of western market influences, fall outside the reality of Cyprus' colonisation period, and even many years after democracy. So, voluntary associations developed, not because of a failing market, rather the failure of regime forces that could create a market. After the island's independence, the growth and expansion of the voluntary sector should be understood as part of the overall transition from non-market to market economy. Such shifts, according to Anheier (2000:15), change societies' conceptualisation of what is public good and whether it should be "part of the private world of markets" or negotiated with the voluntary sector. The first decade's economy-oriented strategies produced a slow pattern of welfare development, with a growing voluntary landscape of

associations. The increasing female workforce, in the developing economy, created rising demand for childcare services, not addressed by the state, which became the responsibility of voluntary associations. It seems that, in Cyprus, the transition to market conditions assigned welfare provision to society. Even when private forms of welfare provision were introduced, these never affected the space of volunteer-based welfare provision. We can, therefore, argue that market forces have brought, to some extent, a changing pattern in the development of voluntary organisations, but that the foundations and principle patterns were already shaped before the transition to democracy. The evidence here suggests that the literature has been too restricted to the western world in analysis of markets and their influence on voluntary sectors' development. According to Esping-Andersen (1990:79) "state and market...have interacted continuously to manufacture the peculiar blend of social provision that goes into defining welfare-state regimes". In the case of Cyprus, social provision patterns were already established before the emergence of a market. The post-colonial voluntary sector has been, to some extent, influenced by market forces, but not as they influenced other countries (industrialisation, capitalist markets). Under conditions of strong economic growth, market forces did dominate most governmental decisions, hence priority was given to economic growth and employment rather than building a stronger welfare state. This worked against welfare development, hence path dependency brought a growing landscape of associations.

A reflection on the new origin factors:

The regime-state development defines the voluntary sector trajectory: emphasising process to understand patterns and outcomes

The findings reveal a turbulent path of voluntary sector development, one that is embedded in history, the building of the regime/welfare state and the complex interaction of processes, institutions and actors. Each of the main building stages of the state, also formed key critical junctures influencing the voluntary sector's development: long authoritarianism, colonialism (including stateless conditions), a late transition to democracy, continuous political and ethnic struggles, invasion/war, a harsh post-war reconstruction period, a late building of a modern welfare state and, most recently, the state's near economic collapse. The interaction of these junctures imposed changing patterns on the voluntary sector's development creating a large and diverse voluntary sector, which persists to the present.

A functionalist perspective would assume that the voluntary sector grew to address the needs of the weak and residual welfare regime. But, if the focus is on process, this is an inadequate analysis. Before identifying the new regime-related elements of the research, it is important to acknowledge that the Cypriot case supports the value of a historical perspective in understanding non-profit organisations (DiMaggio and Anheier, 1990), clearly reinforcing the argument that voluntary sectors are "a by-product of a complex set of historical forces" (Salamon and Anheier, 1998:215). Social origins theory (Salamon and Anheier, 1998) assumes that low welfare spending produces a large voluntary sector, caused by a weak working class unable to fight for welfare provision. Cyprus lacks statistical data to assess whether Cyprus fits this logic. However, qualitative data,

generated by analysing processes, introduce new dimensions. A large voluntary sector does not link only to low welfare expenditure, but also to a turbulent state-building process, marked by specific critical junctures and constant interacting factors, wider than the restricted 'weak working class' hypothesis of regime analysis has assumed. The case of Cyprus also challenges the restricted view of non-profit regimes, which assume the existence of a sovereign state. Findings suggest that non-profit regimes are shaped not only under stable, sovereign and democratic conditions, but also changing (state) regimes which can create a different set of dynamics, resulting in a similar outcome, (a growing landscape of associations) but bringing also changes in the sector's structure, which are worth understanding, considering that they result in different patterns of development. So, our thinking about non-profit regimes should not simply note the 'starting point' (size of welfare expenditure) and the outcome (scale of the voluntary sector), but process, in order to understand patterns.

Which specific dynamics and patterns emerge from such a wider conceptual framework? Insight is generated by exploring process, under the lens of cross-cutting themes and critical junctures. Colonialism, in the case of Cyprus, brought poor socio-economic conditions, insecurity, lack of participation, harsh administration, slow building of political life, political instability, intense anti-colonial struggles: beyond the functionalist explanation of voluntary networks developing to address needs, this context also creates an interesting and important link between identity, empowerment and associational life. A number of reflections are key here. Firstly, colonialism is related to a constant pursuit of national, ethnic, religious, political and collective welfare identity. Secondly, this diverse base of identity formation emerges as a driving force behind

the creation of associations. Thirdly, the colonialism-diverse identity relationship has been associated with changing patterns in association life, specifically multi-mission organisations serving diverse causes (welfare, political, national). These processes created a heterogeneous context where, the more the divisions (within society and with the colonial regime), the more society's networks strengthened.

The advent of democracy, brought two opposing sets of elements: empowerment, liberalism and self-determination on the one hand and bi-communal struggles, political turbulence and international intervention on the other. These conditions produced, under the influence of colonial legacy, a weak and inexperienced political system, insecurity and instability and an intense pursuit of sources of sovereignty, welfare and identities. This complex interconnection of themes facilitated the further growth, diversification and transformation of voluntary associations, bringing consolidation into a distinct sector. Economic growth (period of early 1970s), associated with the rising entry of women into the labour market, and socio-economic inequalities, resulted in the quantitative and qualitative expansion of voluntary associations, marked by an isomorphic organisation of voluntary social services around the island.

The 1974 Turkish invasion, mainly an outcome of historic conflicts and divisions (religious, cultural, national, political), and external geopolitical interests, has been linked with new and sharp transformations in the evolution of structures, institutions, socio-economic and political affairs on the island. War created the conditions for building the welfare state on new grounds, under the shadow of the invasion's consequences. The voluntary sector reorganised, rather than declining, with associations taking new

routes of action; they were geographically separated as a consequence of communities' (Greek and Turkish-Cypriot) separation.

The post-war period, developing under the shadow of the unresolved political problem, has been fuelled by state strategies of volunteer mobilisation to meet welfare goals, resulting in an increased landscape of welfare voluntary associations. The modernisation period (mid 1980s and 1990s) brought new patterns marked by dividing lines in the structure of the voluntary sector itself, between the declining philanthropic networks and the new, state-funded, voluntary force that would work in specific social policy domains. The last decade, from 2000 onwards, under good economic conditions, was marked by steady voluntary sector growth but also a new state strategy at the end of the decade that introduced state funding to local authorities for their welfare provision programmes. The assumed opportunities for collaboration between the two welfare actors actually turned into an antagonistic environment, while the voluntary landscape remained static but intact in size (PVCC, 1975-2000). From 2012, the economic crisis period reflects a revival of the old philanthropic culture and a turning to new routes of modern philanthropy by all voluntary associations to address the ills of the crisis. It is uncertain whether this new state of affairs will influence the size of the voluntary sector as well as its developmental patterns.

Discussion of various sets of connections among emerging themes, clearly shows a new context of sub-origin factors (patterns) and a deeper level of analysis to understand voluntary sector development. No theory in voluntary sector literature addresses these key themes: how bi-communal armed conflict, political

instability, war, the forceful division of countries, post-war priorities of war-torn states, international intervention and struggles beyond social class conflicts influence voluntary sector trajectories. How state-formation, nation-building, regime related processes and war interact with voluntary sector trajectories must remain an object of more research. Similarly, there is no conceptual framework to understand how these themes shape specific patterns, and whether they account for large or small voluntary sectors. The literature neither explores the impact of a stateless context and absent market, where the findings instead bring a new way to understand the economic failure concept (Weisbrod, 1977) focusing on the failure of regime forces to create either market or state for a long period.

The same applies to colonialism, which here emerges as a strong origin factor behind the Cypriot voluntary sector's development. Colonial conditions, and their contribution to creating internal conflict in society, forced a voluntary sector to develop before the building of a sovereign state/welfare state. This type of 'forceful' and fragmented development remains under-explored in the literature and needs further investigation. Could, for example, the current voluntary sector be quite different if its development occurred under different colonial conditions? When Salamon and Anheier, (1997) acknowledged the impact of colonialism and post-colonialism as key origin factors in third-world/third sector research they found that third world/third sector development has been generally "inhibited" by authoritarianism, colonialism and low economic growth (Salamon and Anheier, 1997:19). The Cypriot case challenges this expectation, as a strong and diverse voluntary sector persisted under various critical events and conditions, including authoritarianism and colonialism. A similar case is shown in Brazil,

where authoritarianism sparked a large volunteering landscape to address rising welfare needs (Salamon and Anheier, 1997). These suggest that, under colonialism, two different outcomes emerge, which strengthens the need to investigate more conditions around the colonialism-voluntary sector relationship as well as post-colonialism. The case of Cyprus shows that the post-colonial period brought new critical events, mostly rooted in the colonial legacy, which influenced both state and voluntary sector trajectories. This is not new: "all the 'new' nations [post-colonial nations] faced severe problems, for political independence did not automatically bring them prosperity and happiness ... they were seldom free of external influences ... they were still bound to ... structures developed earlier by the colonial powers" (Greer, 1987:536).

Another missing element in theory is analysis of the relationship between authoritarianism, empowerment and the non-profit sector, and the conditions under which empowerment is likely to occur. The evidence here suggests society's engagement in welfare provision and the formation of voluntary networks were more than a society-based system to address social needs. Macro forces, such as oppression and authoritarianism but also non-material, cultural elements such as identity, religion and the need for self-determination triggered mobilisation, empowerment and collective action which, under the lens of empowerment and collective action theory, builds an argument that associational life can develop into a system which gives people a platform for social mobilization, identity building and empowerment.

A multi-faceted view of struggles can define more patterns

The struggle dimension, a strong theme behind the development of the voluntary sector, did not develop as an isolated phenomenon, rather as an embedded feature of society, rooted in state and nation-building processes, as well as socio-political and economic forces. In all their different facets, struggles have triggered dynamics for the creation of a large, albeit diverse, landscape of associations. The struggle dimension, in non-profit regime research (Salamon and Anheier, 1998), has been mainly a tool to explore capital-labour conflicts and economic interests (see Korpi, 1998 for a review of the power resources theory); hence non-profit regimes are assumed to derive from a specific "constellation of class relationships" (Salamon and Anheier, 1998:213).

The case of Cyprus shows a new, more complex connection between the struggle dimension and the development of the voluntary sector. A key emerging theme is of a multi-faceted context of struggles and power relations rooted in national, political, social, religious and cultural interests, bringing specific elements, including identity, Hellenism and self-determination, and creating a heterogeneous society with diverse coalitions: these shaped the backbone of a growing voluntary sector. This argument clearly goes beyond the narrow power relations and outcomes approaches, which address how class conflicts create small or large voluntary sectors. This does not deny the development of power relations amongst social class coalitions and institutions aiming to remedy class inequalities and socio-economic conditions or to pursue classes' interests. Nor is it assumed that struggles for hegemony in the hierarchical levels of power did not exist in Cyprus. What is suggested is that historic and political critical events, and different types of state/regime related conflicts, played a more influential role

in shaping welfare relations and the voluntary sector regime. A closer exploration of the complex interaction between struggles and their root causes, under the lens of critical historic junctures, reveals important patterns of voluntary sector development, strongly challenging social origins theory's understanding of struggles and their relationship to non-profit trajectories.

One key emerging theme here is that the regime types create specific power relations. The dynamics of Colonialism, for example, generated conflicting power relations between society and British colonial authority. Another is that complex dimensions of regimes create dividing lines, especially when a society has the preconditions of roots of conflict. In Cyprus, conflict lines between and within the structures of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities, based on political, national, ideological and religious grounds, brought change in the typical pattern of welfare provision, creating new waves. Firstly, associations extended their mission to areas associated with conflict. Secondly, the interaction of heterogeneity and conflict created an uncontrolled expansion of diverse associations across the island. These have resulted, not only from society' spontaneous impulses, but were also motivated by the struggles of the nation-leading Church with the colonial regime, including groups which opposed Church ideology and its hegemonic position in society. The argument here is that a key institution of society, such as the Church, so far understood for its hegemony struggles over social welfare in non-profit regime studies, is related to a diversity of struggles, with pervasive impact on voluntary sector development. The Cyprus case also shows how associational life became the Church's tool to organise people into networks, to serve its multi-faceted mission (social/welfare, religious, political, national), a position that moves beyond the pure religious motives expected of a Church. This relates

to another pattern, the building of an extended Church-affiliated network of philanthropic and religious associations. By strengthening its own structures, the Church maintained its hegemony in society over opposing colonial and national left wing, and Turkish-Cypriot forces.

Associational life, therefore, became the means for opposing alliances to gain power, build collective identities and promote diverse causes in a fragmented and turbulent society. Multi-dimensional power relations, under the right constellation of circumstances, show therefore a strong and direct link with the development of associations: the more the conflict, the larger and more diverse the landscape of associations.

Most dimensions of struggles persisted after democracy, because the dynamics of the colonial legacy and interconnecting themes were 'transferred' to the infant sovereign state. Ferreira (2006:4) also links "heterogeneity and fragmentation of interests" with an authoritarian past. A new dimension that emerged was between the sovereign state and international powers, particularly Turkey and its threats to invade the island. In relation to voluntary associations, a path dependent trajectory is observed, marked by a growing voluntary sector, supported by a society that engaged in associational life for different reasons. It is interesting that, despite the beginning of a process of modernisation, a large philanthropic landscape of networks remained in the voluntary sector. This is, mainly, an outcome of the hegemonic role of Church in Cypriot society, with its leader (Archbishop) elected as President of the sovereign state. This not only challenges the traditional account that modernisation brings secularisation (Schultz, 2006), but builds an argument that modernisation processes can minimise secular forces in contexts

where key institutional actors, in this case the Church, which have traditionally opposed modernisation, retain, under special circumstances, hegemony in society. The philanthropic movements' decline, though not dissolution, came only after the Church lost its hegemony in political affairs. This change in power relations also brought new patterns, marked by an increase of state-funded associations.

The 1974 invasion forms, besides a critical juncture, an event reflecting the culmination of long-standing struggles of the island, intensified by new geo-political interests of foreign powers. War became also the root for creating new conflicts and struggles which persist to the present: conflicts resulting from the separate development of Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities, the state's struggles against the illegal Turkish Cypriot administration of the occupied part of Cyprus and Turkey, extending struggles beyond national borders. In the voluntary sector, the invasion brought short-term breakdown and disorganization, but, under specific dynamics, also revival and growth soon after the war. This builds an argument that, despite serious struggles during critical events such as wars, voluntary organizations can, particularly in societies that have been deprived their freedom and self-determination for decades, re-group and adapt to the new circumstances without causing serious changes in the voluntary sector structure.

The struggles of the modernization period reflect new economic conflicting interests and coalitions, based on material interests, where the strongest coalitions enjoyed hegemonic position in society, and satisfied their interests. 'Weak' voices, demanding more social services, remained in the shadow of other interests. Their demands were mainly addressed by other non-powerful actors: voluntary

associations, families and communities, resulting in a diverse and large voluntary sector. Within this new secularized context, the Church remained a strong voice in the island's economic and political affairs. This dynamic context of material-related struggles has determined welfare spending, negotiations on welfare responsibilities, and the space of voluntary associations in welfare.

Heterogeneity, a diverse underlying element in power relations and behind Cypriot voluntary sector development, has not been addressed in non-profit regime typologies. It has been addressed in third-world third sector research, albeit focusing on outcome rather than process, concluding that the greater the heterogeneity the greater the voluntary sector (Salamon and Anheier, 1997:7). A synthesis of the arguments about struggles suggests that a wider search for the actors and factors shaping power relations is needed to understand the dynamics behind voluntary sector development. The low levels of social welfare expenditure in Cyprus (DSWS, 1960 - 1997; Eurostat, 2012) and its large voluntary sector should not, for example, translate into a liberal non-profit regime being an outcome of a dominant middle class and a weak landed elite and working class movements, as social origins theory suggests (Salamon and Anheier, 1998:228-229). Rather a strong voluntary sector, as in the Cypriot case, may be an outcome of far more complex interactions, of more actors and more multi-faceted struggles, based on diverse factors of a heterogeneous society, within a wider context of intense historic conditions. If the case of Cyprus can show diverse struggles, reflecting religion, ethnicity, nationalism, culture, social and economic issues, and critical events such as war, as useful sources for understanding heterogeneity, conflict, and their varied impact on society's and associations' evolution, then comparative research could also benefit from further exploration and analysis of these

linkages, to assess their impact on non-profit regimes and even typologies.

The lack of a broader application of the struggle dimension in voluntary sector research is not only a thorn in the Cyprus case. Gough (1999), noting the limitation of the class analysis approach in understanding regimes, has identified other "sources of stratification", among them ethnicity (Gough, 1999:4), to capture the experiences of more nations. Understanding that struggles should extend beyond the "capital-labour confrontation" is also stressed by Wood and Gough (2006:1709) in their "post-class" analysis. Wimmer's (2012) war theory also provides a framework to understand power relations developing on ethnic lines, nationalism and nationalist ideologies and the way these can trigger "long struggles over who should rule over whom", "generate waves of war" (Wimmer, 2012:8) and understand that countries which experience shifts and transitions of power "from empire to nation-state", have a higher risk of experiencing both "inter-state and civil war" (Wimmer, 2012:10).

Path dependency in welfare?

Most research has been built on the premise that choices "whether to rely on market, non-profit, or state provision of key services ... are heavily constrained by prior patterns of historical development that significantly shape the range of options available at a given time and place" (Salamon and Anheier, 1998:226). The findings align fully with this position, as critical historic events have greatly determined choices, decisions and path of the state-voluntary sector trajectory. Key strategies, in the Cypriot context, and settlements on who should deliver welfare, bringing the persistence of the voluntary sector, have

been clearly "constrained by prior patterns" (Salamon and Anheier, 1998:226) of history, specifically the strong interaction of regime, society and religion, rather than reflecting 'rational' state decisions or state's ideologies in welfare.

Using the tools of critical junctures and path dependency, the research has clearly demonstrated that Cyprus' welfare and voluntary sector regimes have, using Wood's and Gough's (2006:1698) terminology, "reproduced themselves", creating "institutional patterns", strong enough to have initiated cycles of "reactive sequences" (Mahoney, 2001:112). Pierson's (2000) argument that "particular courses of action, once introduced, can be almost impossible to reverse" (Pierson, 2000:251) is relevant here. This framework explains why and how the welfare regime has been locked in a path-dependent trajectory, tied back to the legacies of colonial social welfare arrangements, and to the complex interaction of socio-economic and political factors and processes of the post-independence period. Despite, therefore, change and secularisation, path dependent conditions, brought about by the complex interaction of regime, actors, structures, institutions, even values, shaped a continuity of welfare arrangements making it difficult to divert institutional arrangements (the voluntary sector's dominance in service provision) from the already established path. Efficiency also mattered in triggering path dependency. The voluntary sector proved an effective and efficient force in social service provision, triggering 'increasing returns' (Mahoney, 2000; Pierson, 2000) from path dependency.

Key forces building path dependency have been religious, cultural, non-materialistic. Pfau-Effinger's (2005a:5-6) analysis of the relevance of "static powers" in understanding welfare arrangements,

where “the interplay of social actors, institutions, cultural values and social structures” have the power to “reproduce a welfare arrangement” is also relevant. The findings support that legitimization and reproduction of philanthropy, despite secularisation forces, has been an outcome of the strong embeddedness of religion and culture as shared norms and values in society. To strengthen the analytical potential of this dimension, more explanatory tools in non-profit sector research are needed: to explore the distinction between institutional welfare arrangements (associations) and cultural welfare arrangements (social responsibility, social values, philanthropy, altruism) under the lens of path-dependency.

Voluntary sectors in small islands

The island’s small size has also emerged as a key factor behind the developing trajectories of the main structures of welfare provision (state, religion, society), and, consequently, the voluntary sector. The analysis has revolved around the socio-political dimensions as well as the positive and negative aspects of ‘smallness’, contributing to the voluntary sector regime literature, which misses the important ‘small size’ factor, thus restricting our understanding of the development of voluntary sectors that function in small geographical contexts. A set of interconnecting themes derive from the relationship between small size and the voluntary sector.

The interaction of ‘smallness’ with regime, religious and societal factors has created a basis for the development of a strong philanthropic culture, social relations, welfare networking, collective welfare identities, strong religious, cultural values, solidarity and norms. Similar outcomes arise when analyzing the negative aspects of ‘smallness’, including insecurity, powerlessness and vulnerability.

This is not new in the literature. Katzenstein (2003:11-12) has argued that "vulnerability generate[s] an ideology of social partnership". Both the positive and negative aspects of smallness created a favorable environment for the development of informal acts of solidarity, which progressively turned into collective/organized welfare arrangements. The island's small geographical size has furthermore facilitated long-term patterns of organization and community welfare planning and the building of isomorphic welfare voluntary programmes all over the island.

How strong is the small size of island against the other origin factors identified in this thesis? A synthesis of findings clearly shows that the weak welfare regime and the strong voluntary sector have not emerged solely from the island's small size. What can be argued is that the size of the island has been a strong interacting factor in shaping Cyprus' historical experiences and connections between state's, religion's, society's and voluntary sector's trajectories. Non-profit regime typologies lack acknowledgement of a country's size in understanding a voluntary sector's trajectory. It is therefore difficult to make generalizations on the findings of one case or even argue that small island states should be studied as a distinct cluster. Future national and comparative non-profit research should explore the size factor in explaining welfare trajectories, in order to capture the realities of all states, including small islands. Beyond the findings of this research, important insight can be also drawn from social policy research on the influence of smallness on welfare regimes (Irving, 2009, 2011; Katzenstein, 2003; Prasad, 2007; Baldacchino, 2011; Bertram, 2011).

Religion: an origin factor under a new lens

Religion, as doctrine, institutional structure, cultural and political force, has been a contributing factor behind the development of the regime, society and voluntary sector, including voluntary associations' major transformation points. The strong connection that emerges from this set of themes suggests that the study of religion in voluntary sector research cannot be separated from its own history and specificities.

When we focus on religion as doctrine and cultural force, there emerges a strong link between Christian Orthodox religion, philanthropic behaviour and its institutionalisation through the creation of welfare associations. This remains underexplored in current non-profit regime models, as the connection between welfare provision and welfare actors, including the Church, has been based on power resources theory, which assumes that actors strive for hegemony in relation to welfare provision and material interests. The research challenges this assumption and posits that welfare arrangements also derive from religious doctrine, hence cultural interests. So it is suggested that there is a need to incorporate the distinctiveness of each religion and its doctrine in non-profit regime theory, so that more diverse influences on welfare arrangements can be identified and further explored. This argument finds support in the literature. Wilensky (1981) stressed much earlier that different religious cultures give "different textures", thus differences between the Catholic and the Protestant traditions are reflected in welfare states (Wilensky, 1981 in Baldock (1999: 459). Berger (2006) has supported a connection between philanthropic variation between countries and groups' religious affiliation, while Wilson and Musick (1997) have found a strong connection between religiosity, morality and philanthropy.

Viewing religion as an institutional and political force, Cyprus portrays a distinct nation leading Church (under Ethnarchy), with a multi-purpose mission (religious, political, national). This forms a key factor in understanding its complex relations with society, ranging from interdependence to conflicting relations, its hegemonic position and influence, with a varied but positive impact on the voluntary sector's development. A synthesis of these arguments suggests that religion is so important that its various components (cultural, religious, political, ethnic/national, institutional) can shape society's diverse interests and concerns, including protection of social, national and religious identity, rights to welfare and self-determination, explain areas of conflict, and define welfare arrangements, including the work and organisation of voluntary associations.

Without claiming uniqueness, and with the lack of comparative data, it is suggested that the development of Churches and their varied pursuits should matter more to the study of voluntary sector trajectories. In conjunction with the research findings, social policy literature can provide important insight to explore these connections. There is evidence, for example, of the broad and influential role of religion in creating ethnic identities, protecting culture, parallel to its welfare/religious mission, especially when societies have faced crisis or tension (Sherkat and Ellison, 1999). Manow and Kersberger (2009) also make an important contribution with their argument that different denominations in Western European countries can explain some variations of various dimensions of welfare states.

That the current non-profit regime literature has focused solely on state-society relationships to understand the voluntary sector poses, therefore, a number of problems for the research. Firstly, it hinders an extensive analysis of religion and its relationship with society and

other dimensions such as ethnic, political, identity, collective welfare identities based on philanthropy, altruism or other multi-purpose causes. Secondly, society should not simply translate as Church. The Church cannot be a hidden element of society, rather a dominant institution that should enjoy the status of a separate welfare and political player, as the state has. Thirdly, it assumes the full functioning of a state. But what about regimes like Cyprus which lacked a political sovereign centre and where the Church held a nation-leading, political and welfare role? The distinctive role and autocephalous status of the Church of Cyprus call for a renewed approach, to capture the distinctive roles of actors and institutions in building the voluntary sector and the welfare state. The cases of some other countries reinforce this argument, that religion and Churches should be studied from diverse angles to understand voluntary sector development. Insight can be drawn from the complex role of religion in Israeli society and its impact on the third sector (Gidron et. al, 2003), and the mission of religion-based organisations in Lebanon, where a context of political dynamics has enforced a dual element in associations divided between charity and their complex political identities (Jawad, 2010).

Future research should also explore the strength of secularisation theory in relation to voluntary sector research. The findings here challenge secularisation theory in many ways, mainly as an outcome of the Church's role and status in society, under the peculiar state building process, constant insecurity and multi-faceted vulnerability, which have delayed modernisation, strengthening religion and the Church's role. These important elements need further exploration, to gain more understanding of how regime-related conditions and strong religious elements can suppress secularisation and create strong patterns of voluntary activity.

A gender / familial, community synergy

Analysing society's key spheres gives insight into facets of society not easily captured through the state-society-voluntary sector approach, providing insight into the development of voluntary sectors. The findings suggest that the classification of countries into non-profit regimes may be influenced by factors such as social capital, gender relations, family and community and path dependency, in a dynamic context that considers time and evolution.

Families and communities, within which women have a pervasive role, emerge as strong welfare provision mechanisms behind voluntary mobilization. This comes from strong influences such as solidarity and philanthropic culture, the troubled state-building process and the complex interaction of social relations, political conditions and history. Current non-profit regime literature lacks a conceptual framework to study these dimensions. The findings here reflect that important macro/micro patterns emerge from these linkages. In this research, families and communities emerge as accounting for a large voluntary sector based on informal and solidaristic patterns of development, which also acted as sources for building and strengthening the voluntary sector. This is not a unique feature of the Cypriot informal care network/system. What perhaps could differentiate Cyprus from most other countries is its size, constituting a strong factor explaining the family and community patterns that emerged in voluntary sector development. Still this needs further comparative exploration. Although the role of family stands out in the continental non-profit regime model (Salamon and Anheier, 1998), the theory does not provide tools to explore family- and community-related dynamics that could explain non-profit regimes. Insight could be drawn from other conceptual frameworks. Kulic's (2007) ecological system model, for example provides a

dynamic approach to explore human development and social interaction under the influences of the surrounding environment, exploring the family (micro) context, norms and values (macro context) in relation to volunteering activity.

The gender dimension emerges as a strong factor in the findings and reflects specific conditions under which the development of gender relations and voluntary associations can be understood. Cross-cutting elements, interacting with all conditions, have been the complex interaction of authoritarianism, political and national turbulence. Patriarchy has been a pervasive factor defining gender roles, social relations, and the range of choices in welfare activity. The evolution of society, as expressed by the development of changing gender roles, religious, national and political ideologies, values and social capital, the empowerment of feminist and youth movements, provides another strong synergy of themes behind collective welfare and institutionalised voluntary activity. Has patriarchy and the evolution of society influenced voluntary associations or have associations themselves contributed to these synergies? Although the first has had a strong contribution, it is argued that voluntary associations have been the means facilitating the evolution and maturation of society's spheres, and also spaces that legitimized traditional gender roles.

The interactions in this context created a 'matriarchal' environment of social welfare voluntary associations within a patriarchal society, reflecting negotiations of gender roles in social care, the gendered nature of voluntary action, but also the distribution of power in patriarchal society. Gender issues in non-profit regimes remain unexplored. Gendering non-profit regimes is important if the aim is to account for all factors influencing the development of voluntary

sectors. Towards this end, important insight can be drawn from the research findings but also feminist work on the relation between behaviour and social activity, gender roles and stereotypes (Eagly et al, 2000:151), and the role of religion in shaping identity, gender roles and "spaces" of organized and informal welfare activity (Sherkat and Ellisson, 1999:374). A broader challenge for research would be to adapt power relations approach to the wide range of gender relations in order to generate more experiences on how gendered power relations influence voluntary associations' development.

Another theme emerging in the findings is the strong link between society's spheres, including women, social capital and organised social action. Social capital linked positively with quite opposing regimes, authoritarianism, democracy and post-democratic instability, suggesting that specific conditions can create varied levels of social capital with diverse patterns in voluntary sector development, concluding that this link can help to explain welfare arrangements developing in a country. Social capital has not been a tool for analysis in comparative non-profit regime research, although it has been explored in welfare regime studies (Orschott and Arts, 2005; Pichler and Wallace 2007) and a few national voluntary sector studies (Coleman, 1994; Gidron, 1997; DiMaggio and Anheier, 1990; Jaffe, 1992; Santos, 1999 in Ferreira). It is suggested that the study of social capital can form a strong element in non-profit regime research. More comparative evidence could provide insight into how social capital varies according to different voluntary sector trajectories or regime types.

The study of relations has also been an important tool in understanding important dimensions in society. A rich context of relationships emerges as having developed, suggesting that class

relations, as posited in non-profit regimes studies, are not and should not be the only route to understanding voluntary sector development. Relationships explored under the lens of social capital, gender and wider aspects of society's evolution can add new patterns to existing classifications of non-profit regimes, strengthening a previous argument for gendering power relations.

Which non-profit regime for Cyprus?

The synthesis of these findings, specifically those origin factors which emerged as having influenced the development of the voluntary sector in Cyprus, provides a basis for taking the concluding analysis even further, particularly in relation to non-profit regime modelling.

As the findings identify, the voluntary sector has not developed in a static context nor had a steady developmental trajectory, rather it underwent major transitions under the influence of various actors, structures, institutional processes of the micro-meso and macro levels. At nearly all turning points, the Cypriot context retained an increased landscape of associations, despite changing patterns in its structure. So which non-profit regime applies to Cyprus, using the dominant non-profit regime typology (Salamon and Anheier, 1998)?

Under colonialism, low welfare expenditure, which resulted in a fairly large environment of associations, would classify Cyprus under the liberal non-profit regime, which turned into a statist regime during the intense years of the anti-colonial struggle. Before the invasion, low welfare spending, a weak welfare state, the increasing number of associations and emerging state-sector relationship, turned the non-profit regime into a hybrid liberal-corporatist one. In the invasion's aftermath, a statist non-profit regime arose again, for a short period,

which turned, during the reconstruction period, into a hybrid liberal-corporatist regime. As already discussed, for each regime scenario, social class-power relations should explain why a specific regime was in place. Could these idealised classifications make sense? Can they address the diverse circumstances of different countries, across time?

Time, evolution and historic experiences form one important cluster of factors. The changing pattern of transformations of the Cypriot voluntary sector reflects the need for understanding non-profit regimes under a dynamic rather than static approach, for various reasons explained throughout the thesis. Another critical point is that a liberal non-profit regime, as defined by non-profit regime typologies, cannot possibly apply under authoritarian conditions, hence new typologies should develop to capture the realities of authoritarian experience.

Although western nations have also experienced key turning points, it is argued that Cyprus' turning points and long periods of unrest, whether authoritarianism, war or ethnic, national and political turbulence, make its classification into a single regime, by calculating the level of welfare expenditure, and its impact on the scale/size of the voluntary sector, within an explanatory context of class-based power relations, inappropriate, and its 'transition' among regimes problematic. Cyprus experienced too late key events that other countries have experienced much earlier (democratisation/ sovereignty, modernisation, a capitalist-based market). The evolutionary character of Cypriot society and religion also pose problems in locating Cyprus in one of the current non-profit regimes, considering that typologies miss accounting important elements such as religious and cultural dimensions, gender relations, social capital

and the contribution of society's spheres. This gives support to Wagner's (2000:543) position that the "evolutionary character" of systems and the time dimension are vital if systems' "structural transformations" are to be captured.

The changing evolutionary character of the Cyprus case is not unique. The Israeli third sector has also developed under a changing regime. Unable to locate the Israeli third sector in a non-profit regime either, Gidron et al. (2003:41) posit that cases like Israel need to be studied under a "dynamic model" that incorporates new origin factors "as they shift and change over time" (Gidron et al. 2003). The case of Italy has also troubled non-profit regimes with its "complex interplay of statist, corporatist and social democratic features" Anheier (2000:11). Ireland, sharing strong elements with Cyprus including partition, the functioning of two separate jurisdictions and separate development of voluntary sectors, has not been located as a whole or its jurisdictions separately in the non-profit regime map (Acheson, Harvey and Williamson, 2005). Malta's similarities with Cyprus: being an island in the Mediterranean, based on a services oriented economy and tourist industry, with a strong family institution and history marked by many rulers and British colonialism (Graselli, Montesi, Iannone, 2004), has not yet been investigated in relation to its voluntary sector either. An interesting feature, though, is that despite similarities between Cyprus and Malta, voluntary organisations in Malta have a very "marginal and symbolical role", delivering to a very small extent in the fields of education, housing, nutrition and work, while the state has responsibility for social welfare (Graselli, Montesi, Iannone, 2004:16). This outcome is odd because, if similarities and common histories do not reflect commonalities in voluntary sector development, then more insight into process and

detail is needed to understand voluntary sectors across countries that seem to share core similarities.

Time, another barrier to classifying countries in non-profit regimes, has been acknowledged by one of the authors of social origins theory. Anheier (2000) has agreed that not all countries had the same regime type throughout their historical development and that not all can be located within the strict framework of non-profit typologies, without analysing their historical and political discourses.

Diverse histories produce, therefore, more complicated regime types than usually assumed. So far, different regimes have developed to cover different experiences and contexts. The Cypriot voluntary sector has not experienced the dominant context of 'origin factors' (Salamon and Anheier, 1998) in the same way or at the same time as the western industrialized world. Early transitions to modernisation after the revolutions of the west (the French and the industrial revolution), capitalist nations' intense class-based struggles, or early breakdown of key institutions, are factors unknown to Cyprus or existing at an infant stage, yet this set of factors influenced in specific ways the evolution of western nations, their experiences and classification in specific clusters. Cyprus experienced underdevelopment, stateless and authoritarian conditions since antiquity, a late building of a sovereign (welfare) state, preceded by diverse conflicts, rather than western capitalist experiences. Cyprus' turbulent historical experience shares elements and patterns of different non-profit regimes in completely different contexts. For example, it reflects some origin factors of the western/developed world (Evers and Laville, 2004; Salamon and Anheier, 1998; Wagner 2000), features of the underdeveloped/third world cluster (Salamon and Anheier, 1997) and underdeveloped welfare regimes (Gough,

1999), the politically turbulent and distinct characteristics of Israel (Gidron, 2003; Kabalo, 2005) and patterns of the Mediterranean welfare regimes (Bonoli, 1997; Ferreira, 1996, 2007; Ferreira and Figueiredo, 2005; Gal, 2010; Gunther et al, 2006; Karamessini, 2007; Katrougalos, 1996; Leibfried, 1992; Moreno, 1998, 2002, 2006; Rhodes 1997; Trifiletti, 1999). Cyprus shares similar experiences with the Mediterranean cluster[18] (Archambault, 2009): a history of successive authoritarian regimes lasting until the 20th century, a late transition from colonialism to democracy, a weak central government and strong voluntary sector deeply involved in social service provision, a stronger role of religion, long Church legacy and strong family and community networks (Gal, 2010). It furthermore reflects new origin factors and different ways to conceptualise and understand voluntary sector development, as shown throughout the thesis.

Can there be a non-profit regime for Cyprus? One that can reflect the voluntary sector's changing features and the state's development over time? As it stands, non-profit regime theory and its idealised and simplified models, cannot address the detailed differences and experiences of Cyprus. Is Cyprus always going to be an exception because models are ideal types that always have exceptions? Or is Cyprus going to be an exception because it is Cyprus? Anderson (2008:7) has characterised Cyprus as an "anomaly" in Europe, due to its distinct turbulent path, and Irving (2011) as a case of exceptionalism. The research cannot support either position, unless the themes and arguments reflected in this research become an object of further comparative investigation.

[18] The Mediterranean cluster, as discussed by Archambault (2009), consists of Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece.

Mediterranean and turbulent clusters of non-profit regimes?

One key feature of the Cypriot voluntary sector is its strong Mediterranean character. Do findings warrant a discussion towards locating Cyprus in a Mediterranean non-profit regime? The dominant non-profit regime clusters, firstly introduced by Salamon and Anheier (1998) do not have or acknowledge the existence of a Mediterranean cluster. Cyprus, on the other hand, shares many similarities with the Mediterranean cluster (Archambault, 2009; Ferreira, 2006; Gal, 2010). Despite similarities, this set of arguments should not be interpreted as arguing for or against a non-profit Mediterranean regime for Cyprus, rather as arguing the need for further investigation of this cluster of countries, because common histories may not always result to the same outcomes in voluntary sector development. For example, Ferreira (2006) argues that "many of the southern regimes welfare structures were built before democratisation and thus without the participation of civil society" (Ferreira, 2006:4), that welfare provision in Portugal and Spain was assigned by the state, during their dictatorships, to Church and religious organisations and that non-profit welfare provision organisations in Spain were created in the 1980s following the initiative of local authorities. This qualitative argument offers a new perspective for understanding differences and similarities, not captured in the simplicity of quantitative data analysis of Archambault's (2009) Mediterranean cluster of non-profit regimes, where Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece seem to fit. Considering Ferreira's account, Cyprus portrays a contradicting story with underlying differences. The Cypriot voluntary sector emerged before the building of the welfare state and actually contributed to its creation. Welfare provision was not 'assigned' to any actor, as in the case of Portugal and Spain, rather Cypriot society took things into its own hands and created informal welfare arrangements, when

Cyprus was under colonisation. Without performing a detailed comparison with each country of Archambault's (2009) Mediterranean cluster of non-profit regimes, existing arguments are strong enough to suggest the need for more comparative research to understand underlying dynamics not captured by existing approaches.

Limitations of the research

The chapters have extensively discussed the limitations of current non-profit regime theory in exploring the new emerging themes and findings. In addition, this research does have its own limitations. This does not relate to the themes that emerged, as these have been carefully assessed for their consistency with the coding system and have been grounded in the data. A continuous process of challenging the data and searching for alternative meaning and understanding was also a priority. What limitations arise?

One could relate to the research strategy. One is the absence of quantitative data and analysis that could facilitate the location of the Cypriot non-profit sector in the comparative map of non-profit regimes as initiated by Salamon and Anheier (1998). The quantitative approach was not selected for two main reasons: firstly the lack, even of basic data that non-profit regime research uses, upon which the research could build and discuss new evidence. Collecting data in the framework of a PhD thesis would not be manageable in terms of time or budget. Secondly, the under-researched nature of the research topic called for a qualitative approach that would bring depth and context to a topic that has never been explored either at national or comparative level. Does this reflect a compromise? It is the researcher's belief that the

qualitative approach yielded added value, making a contribution both to national and comparative research, considering that new themes emerged not yet discussed by comparative studies.

The choice of the research design and methods, particularly the choice of oral and semi-structured interviews and documentary research has been an appropriate combination of methods that extracted original and in-depth data that would have been missed if other methods were employed. As argued in the Methodology chapter, the outcome of the interviews has added real value to the research and if decisions were now made for similar research the same methods would be employed. Particularly, the oral history interviews have enabled bringing to life the experiences of social actors that have never been recorded in research or other informal accounts before.

Another limitation could be the interviewee sample. Although nothing in the selection process could be done differently it may be the case that interviewees may have been more keen supporters of specific issues and ideologies. This is perhaps more evident in the Chapter on the role of religion in understanding the voluntary sector's development where the work of the Church was mostly embraced rather than challenged. Interviewees' stance on religious issues could not be predicted or known prior to research, as religious beliefs remain a private issue.

Other limitations arise from the methodological choice to balance gender in the interviewee sample. Equally representing men and women made it harder to explain gender differences that emerged in the research. Chapter 6 finds a distinctive synergy of a matriarchal voluntary sector emerging from a highly patriarchal and politically

turbulent society. The findings discuss women's multiple care roles at home and in voluntary associations, but offer no evidence to explain the tensions and complexity of multiple labours (costs of care, impact on earnings) and their impact on the voluntary sector's development. Why were there few critical perspectives on these issues? Does this result from the small sample of women interviewees or does it reflect the culture and ideology of Cyprus, rooted in the island's special history, which never left room for tensions to turn into stronger equality-based debates and demands? More interviews with women might alleviate these tensions: if the thesis were designed with a gendered focus, then perhaps. Considering, though, the goals of this research, it is suggested that limitations in discussing gendered arguments should weigh less against the rich data that emerged from the equal representation of men and women, which have considerably enriched the thesis with important arguments.

Despite limitations, it is the researcher's view that the research design has enabled the extraction of findings and analytic discussion that can not only inform other national and comparative research but can support the concluding arguments. Perhaps new research, using a different sample and different documents, can assess the strength of conclusions and the extent to which they form a solid context of factors that can contribute to our understanding of the voluntary sector.

Lack of alternative viewpoints that could be generated from a Turkish-Cypriot sample of interviewees could be another limitation. The interviewee sample expressed and reflected views mainly from the Greek Orthodox religion and perspective, and could not provide material for both religions, cultures, regimes and their complex

interaction. The research leaves, therefore, ample ground for future research to explore separately or jointly the Greek-Turkish Cypriot perspectives in welfare and voluntary sector development.

Concluding remarks

The thesis conducted a rich exploration, the first ever, on the Cypriot voluntary sector, tracing its evolution from past to present. This concluding chapter reinforces, what the literature has assumed, that voluntary sectors are complex entities with complex histories. What this research argues differently is that events, circumstances and constellation of factors, can force voluntary sectors to adapt and transform, hindering their location in specific regimes, unless regimes account for diverse experiences. It emerges that voluntary associations can grow and strengthen under authoritarianism, conditions of long underdevelopment, war, continuous crisis, multi-dimensional power relations and struggles, including those of a cross-border nature, for diverse reasons, ranging from nationalist, political, ethnic, religious and geo-political factors, between local actors, international powers and invading countries. Culture, religion, identity, social capital, solidarity, gender relations, society's spheres, a strong Church role, in a small island Mediterranean context form a set of dynamics that contributed to the Cypriot voluntary sector's development. Whether these themes are distinct to the Cyprus case, or to a group of countries, remains to be explored further by future research. Performing broad comparative research to understand the history of all countries would be an unreachable endeavor in the framework of this research. References to some countries with similar characteristics and background to Cyprus have been made, to build arguments and escape the trap of claiming that emergent themes are unique to the Cyprus case.

Many theoretical concepts and frameworks have been used in this research to analyse and understand the voluntary sector's development. Clearly this portrays the weakness of any current single theory to capture the reality of Cyprus and probably other countries. The thesis provides ample insight into new origin factors, more complex interconnection of themes, methodological and conceptual approaches to studying the voluntary sector, aiming to stimulate more debate and inform non-profit regime studies. It is difficult to argue for a new theory on the basis of one case. Future research can investigate the strength of the arguments here, assessing whether they can contribute to the building of an extended theoretical approach.

Looking forward, many forces are expected to change the nature, role and development of voluntary organisations in Cyprus. Today, the Cypriot voluntary sector functions in a state facing the risk of bankruptcy. Cyprus' application to the European Union for a bail-out reflects the financial challenges faced by the state. These include internal and external economic challenges: rising national account deficit, high sustainability risk to the Cyprus Banking system (EC, 2012), high unemployment at 14% in February 2013, compared with 5.3% in 2009 (Eurostat, 2013a; MLSI, 2012) (the second member state, after Greece, in terms of increasing unemployment). With the expected reductions in social welfare benefits (Planning Bureau, 2012), it is anticipated that the voluntary sector will continue to grow, addressing new challenges and needs. It remains to be seen whether the voluntary sector can undertake this heavy burden, and whether it can escape the economic trap of the almost bankrupt financial system. It is also to be assessed whether and how other new globalisation forces, as outcomes of economic austerity will affect the voluntary sector.

Cyprus still experiences high levels of solidarity and philanthropy, with people's powerful capacity to move between informal and formal welfare activities to address needs. Families affected by the economic crisis provide assistance to others now experiencing extreme and absolute poverty. The feminist movement and organised groups have turned to philanthropy, while the Church has turned into an organised welfare provision mechanism, reviving its philanthropic activity from the period when there was no welfare state. The loss in trust in the political and market systems, breaking news of the corrupted political and financial system, have brought the Church to the centre of political, social and economic affairs, reflecting its past nation-leading role in society. Voluntary organisations still reflect a common heritage, historic institutions and a reference point for most Cypriots, regardless of their heterogeneous values and interests. Readers should already connect the present to the past, as many themes revive at this new critical juncture of economic crisis.

How do the findings help us to understand the sector, its present and future? To understand the current status of any institution and structural arrangement, or moreover plan its future, it is essential to understand its past, a powerful source of lessons for the future. The thesis has provided ample insight into the past. Voluntary organisations in Cyprus are already called to address multiple needs while they strive to adopt survival strategies themselves. Understanding the forces and dynamics that have shaped welfare arrangements before and after the island's transition to sovereignty is critical, because the old dynamics need to be reborn if associations are to support a 'collapsing' welfare state.

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Appendix I

Research Information for Participants

Research Information

Subject: Understanding the factors that have influenced the development of the voluntary sector in Cyprus from the mid-end Colonial Period (1950/1960) to the present day.

Researcher: Olivia Patsalidou | oliviapatsalidou@yahoo.com | Tel. +357 99597952
School of Sociology and Social Policy - University of Nottingham

Aim/Purpose of Research: In the long social history of Cyprus, the 'persona', contributions, underpinned ideologies, values and the historical trajectory of the voluntary sector, has not, unlike in other countries, been the subject of any substantial empirical and theoretical exploration. The research aims to understand and analyse the factors and forces that opened a path for the voluntary organisational forms in Cyprus and how they have influenced their progression into institutionalised arrangements that led to the emergence of the voluntary sector. The research will therefore provide a multi-dimensional explanation and critical analysis of the constellation of forces (i.e. actors, organisational structures, socio-economic and political processes, circumstances and events, etc) that facilitated voluntary action and shaped, determined or caused the developmental trajectory of the voluntary sector.

Participants:

- Key Informants: will include historians, social workers, governmental officers, religious, community and voluntary organisations' representatives, etc) from governmental departments, local authorities, community councils, welfare and cultural committees, trade unions, the market, women's organisations, voluntary associations, etc)

- Elites: will include former leaders of the Republic, ministers, politicians, high-level officials from central and local government, leaders and high rank clergy from the Church of Cyprus, heads of the voluntary sector, etc) from political, economic, legal, social, private and administrative sectors and structures.

Method of data collection [What the participants have to do]:

- The participants will engage in-depth, personal/face-to-face interviews
- Duration: to be agreed with the participant
- Place: will be decided by the participant
- Costs: There are no financial costs for the participant

Benefits for participants:

- There are no financial incentives for taking part in the research
- The participants will contribute to our understanding of the forces and factors that have influenced the voluntary sector's development in Cyprus and help to enrich the national and international literature with data on the Cypriot voluntary sector.
- Participants will receive an electronic copy of the Executive Summary of the thesis/research.

Safety/Confidentiality/Privacy Issues

- There are no foreseeable risks to the individual if they participate in the research.
- The privacy and the anonymity of all participants will be protected. The findings will not be associated with the identity (name, position, work location, status, etc) of the interviewees. The researcher will safeguard and guarantee confidentiality at all times. Pseudonyms or other form of coding will be given to the participants before the interview and digital recordings will be saved with the pseudonyms or coding. Data, either in their electronic or handwritten form, will be anonymized at the end of each interview session. All anonymized data will be collected and kept in a safe place.

Voluntary participation:
Participation is voluntary. Participants can withdraw or refuse to participate, without giving any reasons, even if the interview meeting has been scheduled.

Contact details of supervisors:

Professor Gillian Pascall and Associate Professor Mark Lymbery – University of Nottingham

Complaint procedure

If you wish to complain about the way in which the research is being conducted or have any concerns about the research then in the first instance please contact the researcher's supervisors or if this does not resolve the matter contact the School's Research Ethics Officer, Dr Tony Fitzpatrick (tel. 0115 951 5230, email Tony.Fitzpatrick@nottingham.ac.uk. School postal address: School of Sociology & Social Policy, University of Nottingham, University Park, Nottingham, NG7 2RD

Appendix II

Participant Consent Form

Consent Form

Thesis title: 'Understanding the factors that have influenced the development of the voluntary sector in Cyprus from the mid-end Colonial Period (1950/1960) to the present day'.

Researcher: Olivia Patsalidou

School of Sociology and Social Policy - University of Nottingham

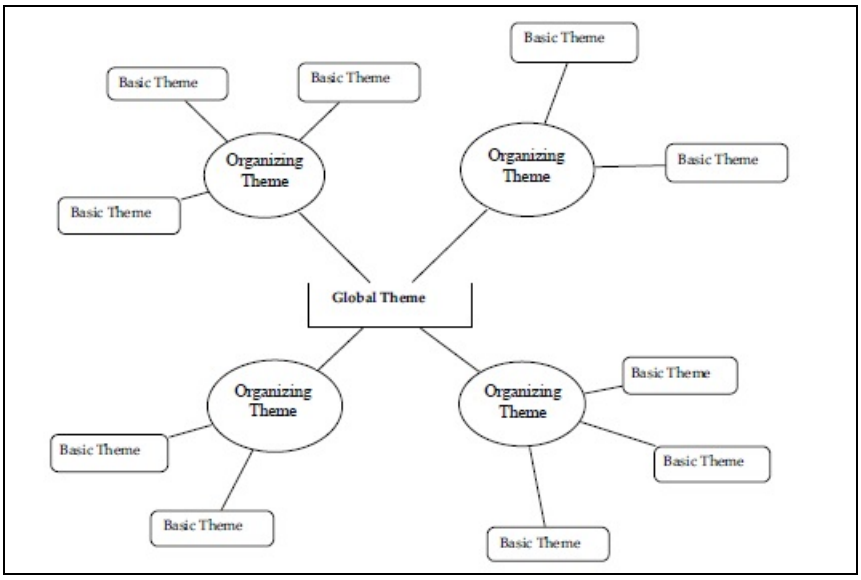
In signing this consent form I confirm that:

I have read the Participant Information Sheet and the nature and purpose of the research project has been explained to me.	Yes	☐	No	☐
I have had the opportunity to ask questions.	Yes	☐	No	☐
I understand the purpose of the research project and my involvement in it.	Yes	☐	No	☐
I understand that my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw from the research project at any stage, without having to give any reason and withdrawing will not penalise or disadvantage me in any way.	Yes	☐	No	☐
I understand that while information gained during the study may be published, any information I provide is confidential (with one exception – see below), and that no information that could lead to the identification of any individual will be disclosed in any reports on the project, or to any other party. No identifiable personal data will be published.	Yes	☐	No	☐
I agree that extracts from the interview may be anonymously quoted in any report or publication arising from the research	Yes	☐	No	☐
I understand that the interview will be recorded using an electronic voice recorder	Yes	☐	No	☐
I understand that data will be securely stored	Yes	☐	No	☐
I agree to take part in the above research project.	Yes	☐	No	☐

Participant's name	Participant's signature	Date
Olivia Patsalidou		
Researcher's name	Researcher's signature	Date

Appendix III

Thematic Network



Source: Stirling-Attride (2001)

Appendix IV

Interviewee Code List

INTERVIEWEES		GENDER F/M	AGE	CODE NO.
	ELITE (E) KEY INFORMANT (KI)			
Trade Unions/ Journalist	KI	M	1935	016-30-8-10
Church	KI	M	1937	017-30-8-10
	E	M	1938	027-16-10-10
Community structures	KI	F	1928	003-20-3-10
	KI	M	1942	015-26-7-10
Cultural/ nationalist committees	E	F	1932	013-14-6-10
Historians	KI	M	1946	014-16-6-10
	KI	M	1950	022-20-9-10
	KI	F	1939	023-25-9-10
Lawyer/State	KI	M	1947	019-6-9-10
Left Wing Party	KI	M	1925	006-21-4-10
	E	M	1939	029-5-11-10
Market	E	M	1950	028-1-11-10
	KI	M	1939	030-8-12-10
Minority organisations	KI	F	1934	012-12-5-10
Right Wing Party	E	M	1922	001-29-10-09
	KI	M	1939	018-1-9-10
Social Democratic party	E	M	1920	011-21-5-10
Social worker	KI	F	1940	004-24-3-10
	KI	M	1947	020-6-9-10
	KI	F	1944	005-31-3-10
State	KI	M	1936	010-21-5-10
	KI	M	1941	021-15-9-10
Voluntary associations	KI	F	1936	002-15-3-10
	KI	F	1954	007-22-4-10
	KI	M	1944	008-27-4-10
	E	F	1942	024-2-10-10
	KI	F	1944	025-10-10-10
Women's organisations	KI	F	1935	009-4-5-10
	E	F	1935	026-19-10-10

Appendix V

Sample listings of themes

This appendix provides a sample of key/representative themes that emerged in the research. Because of word length restrictions a full account of themes and sub-themes is not possible.

GLOBAL THEME:
The voluntary sector is an outcome of the regime's turbulent and interrupted building process, its critical junctures, historic, socio-political economic and path dependency forces

ORGANISING THEME:
Main regime conditions (and critical junctures) that shaped the voluntary sector trajectory

BASIC THEMES:

- Authoritarianism, British colonialism
- Late democracy
- Political and ethnic struggles
- The Turkish invasion
- Post-war reconstruction period
- The slow building of the modern welfare state

} shaped the development of voluntary associations

ORGANISING THEME:
Associations created as a response to the weak colonial welfare regime

BASIC THEMES:

- Authoritarianism and colonialism linked with an absent capitalist market and a welfare state (link between stateless conditions and failure in welfare provision)
- Poor socio-economic conditions: poverty, increased social needs, hardship, limitations of colonial welfare provision

} Outcome: increased social action

ORGANISING THEME:

Associational life as a reaction to colonial authoritarianism and a means towards empowerment

BASIC THEMES:

- Harsh colonial regime's dimensions and intense colonial-society relations forced people to mobilize
- Harsh regime conditions caused dis-empowerment / British reaction to mobilizations did not suppress empowerment
- Collective action and associational life became the means to participation and change
- Church-colonial regime struggles was a driving force towards empowerment
- Fragmented evolution of political life triggered empowerment and influenced associations
- Associations become vehicles of political identity building
- Diverse welfare associations created, based on national/political/welfare issues

ORGANISING THEME:

Colonial regime-society multi-level struggles shape associational life

BASIC THEMES:

- Struggles move beyond class with an impact on associations
- Colonial regime – society - Church struggles (political, national, socio-economic) define welfare arrangements
- Left and right wing ideologies divided and increased associations

ORGANISING THEMES:

- **Democracy liberal and turbulent context had a positive influence on voluntary associations**

- **The turbulent post democratic building process of the regime caused the diversification and transformation of associations and consolidation into a distinct sector**

BASIC THEMES:

- Positive link between voluntary associations' growth and critical junctures
- Major critical junctures (causes & outcomes)

-democracy
-post-democratic period
-post-colonialism
-political inexperience
-dividing fronts (nationalist struggles bi-communal conflict)
-politicisation of Church
-state strategies in welfare

- strengthened and transformed associations
- built a strong state-voluntary sector collaboration in welfare
- move beyond class-based interests

- Focus on economic growth and welfare collaborations rather than a strong welfare state
- Interaction of empowerment and coalitions in determining welfare arrangements
- Continuation of welfare arrangements [evidence of path dependency]

ORGANISING THEME:

Small island features shape voluntary sector trajectories

BASIC THEMES:

- Social networking, and mobilization, solidarity, trust, building of formal and informal welfare provision as outcome of small island
- Link between small island and religious dimensions
- Dimensions of collective welfare identities
- Size created a 'favourable' environment for informal and institutionalised welfare
- Smallness facilitate the organisation welfare
- Link between small island, welfare arrangements and path dependency
- Small size facilitated clientelistic relations
- Insecurity, powerlessness and vulnerability as outcome of the small island and causes of regime related dimensions (late democracy, struggles, etc)

GLOBAL THEME:

The voluntary sector as a source for the welfare state's development

- Associations shaped the path of the new welfare state
- Associations supported the sovereign state
- Associational life addressed society's fragmented needs

GLOBAL THEME:

Religion's institutional/structural, cultural/spiritual and political dimensions and Church based power relations influence the trajectory of voluntary sectors

ORGANISING THEME:

The impact of religion as a spiritual/religious doctrine and a cultural force

BASIC THEMES:

- Connection between religion and welfare
- Christian Orthodox religion influenced formal and informal welfare activity
- Religion- regime relation determined the influence of religion and context of associations
- A strong culture of philanthropy and collective welfare culture
- Christian Orthodox religion ideology on the institutionalisation of welfare creates a strong philanthropic network
- Religiosity was a means to secure access to the web of mutual welfare exchanges

- Religiosity was a means to protect the cultural and national identity/strong link between associational life-religiosity-identity

ORGANISING THEME:

Church's welfare provider trajectory during colonialism has been a strong force behind the institutionalisation and evolution of associational life in welfare

BASIC THEMES:

- Church had a strong role in welfare provision/influence of regime
- Church's welfare provision role embedded in history
- Church's welfare trajectory as a means to gain hegemony
- Institutionalisation of philanthropy across the island and coordination of welfare
- Strong link of religiosity, welfare provision and national ideals was directed by Church
- Strong and conflicting Church-society relations in welfare

ORGANISING THEME:

Church's political/national activity shapes the context of associations

BASIC THEMES:

- Ethnarchy imposes a three-fold mission in society (welfare, national/ethnic, religious) and self-determination
- Establishment of island-wide associations co-existed chronologically with Church's political role
- Non-materialistic dynamics (cultural/religious ideologies and political) dominate power relations with positive impact on associations
- Church- society dividing interrelations divide and increase associations
- Harsh regime conditions reinforced the Church role in society and established its mission

ORGANISING THEME:

Late secularisation shapes path dependency patterns

BASIC THEMES:

- Strong welfare/political role of Church after democracy has an impact on associations
- Church hegemony delayed modernization and built new state on pre-established welfare arrangements (incl. philanthropy)
- Secularisation weakens philanthropy and strengthens state-funded associations
- Modernisation builds interdependent state-sector relationship
- Church-society relationships build welfare initiatives outside state machinery

ORGANISING THEME:

Continuous instability strengthen the role of religion

BASIC THEMES:

- Regime conditions delay secularisation, strengthen associations

- Philanthropy formed strong deposit that helped the welfare state to grow and re-build
- Instability makes cultural elements static powers
- Economic crisis revives old welfare arrangements

GLOBAL THEME:

Societal synergies/dynamics influenced voluntary sector's development

ORGANISING THEME:

Families'/communities' welfare provider role as a strong source for associations' development

BASIC THEMES:

- Regime, socio-economic and religious factors shaped societal spheres' role
- Families as a source of informal welfare, social capital
- Regime, religion and the small island factor shaped families' welfare role
- Families created solidaristic and caring communities
- Families' role created a culture of collective action and pro-volunteering behaviour
- Community dividing lines shaped voluntary associations' development
- Families/communities formed the backbone of the welfare state
- Path dependent family and community patterns after democracy

ORGANISING THEME:

The youth of Cyprus supported the backbone of associations during anti-colonial struggle

BASIC THEMES:

- Regime factors and religion mobilized and empowered youths' participation in society
- Organisation of youth in the divided landscape of associations strengthens associational life

GLOBAL THEME:

Gender dimensions influenced voluntary associations' development

ORGANISING THEME:

Multi-roles of mothers and women

BASIC THEMES:

- Mothers and women as important welfare contributors
- Women as informal carers, fighters (for national causes) and members of associations
- Women's role in organising collective welfare and impact
- Socio-economic, political characteristics explain women's associational life
- Strong link between women teachers, collective welfare and philanthropy

ORGANISING THEMES:

- **The evolution of women's roles and gender relations explains change and development in voluntary associations**

- **A matriarchal voluntary sector in a patriarchal society**

BASIC THEMES:

- Evolution of gender relations contributes to the shift from informal to collective and organised welfare
- Regime, religion and social dynamics determined patriarchal model and division of gender roles
- Strong link between women, associational life and empowerment
- Women empowerment creates multiple roles (new welfare roles, political/national, cultural)

ORGANISING THEMES:

- **Families, communities and women as major sources of social capital**

- **Social capital as a force behind voluntary sector development**

BASIC THEMES:

- Mutual help, strong community ties, philanthropy and altruism influenced the development of voluntary associations
- Regime, religious and cultural forces determined strength of social capital
- Strong link between women and generation of social capital
- Inter-relation between social capital, social action and turbulent regime
- A strong social capital associated with opposing regime conditions

Appendix VI

Sample of interview material and assignment to thematic categories

ORGANISING THEME:

Associations created as a response to the weak colonial welfare regime

BASIC THEMES:

- Authoritarianism, colonialism, absence of a welfare state
- Poor socio-economic conditions: poverty, hardship, limitations of colonial welfare provision
- Increased social needs enforced social action

Sample of supporting interview material:

- Absence of a welfare state resulted to increased social needs and initiated collective action (establishment of Philoptochoi) Interviewee: 002-15-3-10[565-599]
- Poor economic and social conditions mobilized communities and individuals to engage in welfare. Interviewee: 002-15-3-10[599-601]
- Women begged for food (a potato, an egg, etc). This is how I remember things during 1930-1940. We lived extremely difficult times. In the 1940s there was absolute hunger and misery. People made breads with raisins. Interviewee: 003-20-3-10[18-22]
- The poor conditions in Cyprus and the absence of a government, helped the establishment of the Philoptochoi and welfare associations. Interviewee: 002-15-3-10[565-599]

- The fact that we got poor, this helped us get closer. Even though I did not have much to survive, I would help my neighbour. Hardship and misery bring people together. Interviewee: 013-14-6-10[754-756]
- There were no organised public structures that could provide social protection during colonialism. Interviewee: 011-21-5-10[15-16]
- I do not recall any major welfare activity initiated by the colonizers. Interviewee: 002-15-3-10[539]
- The Cypriots desperately needed help. They were in great need. This is why they organised in informal and formal welfare activity. Interviewee: 002-15-3-10[274-277]
- The British rulers did not care for the welfare of the people. Cyprus was a one-dimensional economy (agricultural) and the agriculture debts were more than the value of property. The economic situation was really bad. Interviewee: 011-21-5-10[16-20]
- Threat to life, insecurity, lack of democratic life and social security made people powerless. We had to organise society in order to support the people. Interviewee: 002-15-3-10[79-82]
- In the absence of comprehensive welfare, communities and villages bonded to survive...there was no other option but for people to help each other. Interviewee: 014-16-6-10
- The ruling authority did not place the welfare of the people as their priority. They did not care to address needs. As far as I remember, the Church was the main actor to address welfare. This is why the Church established the Philoptochoi. They had the role of today's Social Welfare Services. Interviewee: 002-15-3-10[109-114]
- I lived the arrests, the curfews, the imprisonments, the exiles, the bloodshed, the tortures and the sentences to death by

hanging, the closing of the schools, the demonstrations, the fights, the tension ... The colonial government had no role in welfare. I never felt their presence ... I felt their military presence. I also remember the heavy taxation and poverty. These conditions/poor conditions and hardship were reinforced by the British...Hardship reinforced people and enforced social action. Interviewee: 020-6-9-10[17-23]

Appendix VII

Timeline of Critical junctures and outcomes in the Cypriot voluntary sector development

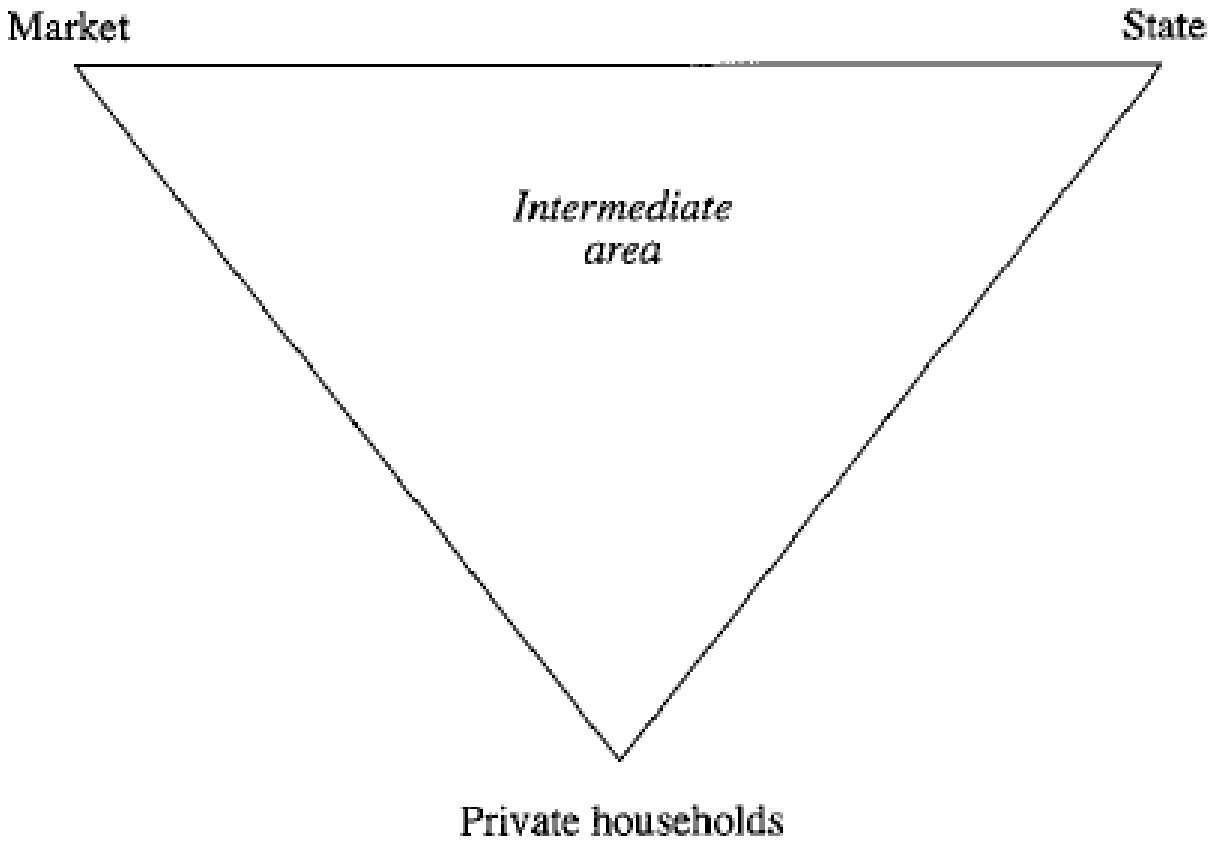
	Key factors and Critical Junctures	Voluntary sector's characteristics
1878-1960	British Rule Colonial regime - weak welfare regime and - regime's authoritarian character	Emergence of a distinct environment of voluntary networks
	Church's ethnarchic role	An effective 'schism' to the landscape of associations was created where the more the division of the political front, the more society's networks increased and strengthened
	Society's struggles against the colonial administration	
1955-1959	The anti-colonial struggle	- Associations continued their work, albeit with difficulty - A rather static development describes the period, but with no indication of a decline in the landscape of associations
1960	Democracy - Independence: Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus	- A steady pattern of increasing levels of voluntary associations -first signs of path dependency building
	Infant/inexperienced state	-A dynamic environment of voluntary associations developed
1963-1964	Bi-communal strife The 1963-4 Crisis (Intercommunal clashes)	-Decisions triggered a path dependency pattern in welfare arrangements
	State strategies towards welfare	A joint state-voluntary sector welfare trajectory developed
1965-1968	Introduction of a financial support scheme in 1965	A dynamically growing and diverse voluntary force was developing

	Establishment of a Community Development Unit and programme in 1968	- Boosted the growth and diversification of voluntary associations -An isomorphic organisation of services and associations was initiated - Triggered long-term processes of path dependency in volunteer-based welfare provision
1972-1973	Enactment of the Associations and Foundations Law 57/72	- Quantitative and qualitative expansion of voluntary associations - Emergence of a voluntary sector
	Creation of district and national coordinating councils in 1973	-Facilitated the growth of the emerging voluntary sector -Consolidation of path dependence processes
1974	Turkish invasion on the island	-Termination of associations' activity in the northern island (invaded/occupied area) but remobilization in the non-invaded areas - Separation of the landscape of associations among the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities -Strengthening of associations not affected by the invasion and new routes of action
1974-1989	Post-war welfare reconstruction strategy *(the pre-war Community Organisation Programme turned into a Community Reconstruction Programme)*	Path dependency patterns in welfare with high levels of solidarity and increased role of associations in welfare
	Modernisation in the uncertainty context of the Cyprus problem and needs from the growing market-oriented economic system	-Positive dividing lines/ increase of associations -Welfare arrangements based on path dependency

1990	State 10-year social development strategy	-Welfare arrangements based on path dependent patterns
	Governmental strategy to decentralise welfare and assign more welfare responsibilities to local government structures	This scenario *may* result in a smaller voluntary sector
2004	EU Accession and Europeanization	This *may* bring a fairly large voluntary sector albeit with few skills to respond to the competitive EU context
2010-present	Economic crisis	This scenario will strengthen current path dependency patterns.
		This scenario *may* change current path dependency patterns and create a different welfare landscape of both a weak state and voluntary sector

Appendix VIII

The welfare triangle



Source: Evers and Laville, 2004