levels. Cultural issues are not only less amendable to compromise, they are not necessarily amendable to solution. The means by which they were resolved in the past, such as elite accommodation, have been discredited and rejected today.

Federalism, as a tool of change, has been used most effectively in Canada, and likely elsewhere, when the public perceives that it is an active participant. Accordingly, one must not just search for institutional accommodation (i.e., federation versus confederation) but rather for a popular or participatory framework. "A constitution is not worth the paper it is written on unless it involves a will to make it work. The will can be generated by popular participation."

There has been a proliferation of literature in the last decade on the shape of the world to come. According to Samuel Huntington, it will not be defined by economic issues, but by cultural identities. Authors disagree to which degree the world has become culturally homogenous - we were also treated to Benjamin Barber's thesis in mid-1990's which posits that the world is and will be divided roughly into two forces: Jihad *versus* McWorld. Many miss Barber's central point which is that the cultural war can be avoided by ensuring citizen participation.

Drawing on Barber's point, it was suggested that **difficult cultural issues and citizen disengagement may be redressed by creating models that invite citizen participation or that empower people.** As Peter Jay pointed out in his book the *Wealth of Man*, all economic change has been managed by governments. **Cultural change or accommodation must likewise be so managed through a certain citizen democracy.** It would seem that the chances of developing such a participatory framework in Cyprus are quite low, especially given the Greek Cypriot unilateral approach. International pressure and support are required for any model to work. This begs the question – what has the international contribution to reconciliation on the island really amounted to?

One participant suggested that it is impossible to separate political, social, economic and other aspects of one's identity. Identity should be perceived in a more integrated way instead. She also pointed out that the overwhelming pessimism around the table is misplaced. By the virtue of being here - exchanging and articulating views and possible solutions, we are *de facto* "negotiating." "We are here because we agree that conflicts can be resolved."

The value of polling was noted. Mapping out what communities are really made of could expose a large middle ground amendable to negotiation that does not deny history. This would be especially valuable because the media only notes the extremes. Common symbols, such as geography, do exist. Work of artists, creators, volunteers and academics that overcomes the identity boundary deserves support.

It was pointed out that not one person in Cyprus is prepared to die for the Cypriot flag. The reality is that there are two distinct peoples living on the island. Imposing solutions from the